

**COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PAULINE CHURCH GROWTH STRATEGIES,
INCLUDING THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BOOK OF ACTS,
WITH CAPRO STRATEGIES IN NIGERIA**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a comparative study of Pauline church growth strategies and Calvary Ministries (CAPRO) strategies in Nigeria. The growth of the church has become a critical area of biblical and missiological studies. This debate revolves around the balance between quality and quantity in the discourse of church growth. Closely related to this is the portrayal of Paul as a missionary who planted and grew churches seemingly without any planned or strategy. This research contributes to this ongoing debate by critically comparing CAPRO strategies in Nigeria and Pauline church growth strategies. It is the aim of this comparison to test the organization's assumption that their strategies are based on the Apostle Paul's pattern in the NT. Having critically examined CAPRO and Paul's church growth context, the study identified and grouped significant phenomena and patterns in their church growth endeavours as common categories and strategies for comparison. The categories identified from CAPRO and Paul include contextual realities, church planting, ethnicity, discipleship, and partnership. These strategic categories are compared, and form the chapter structure of this thesis. This research employs a qualitative research method and a socio-historical approach to critically examine CAPRO and Paul respectively. The study argues that Paul had well-thought-through strategies for the evangelization of the Gentiles and growth of the churches he planted. Although CAPRO and Paul depended on the Holy Spirit, they also took into consideration the following strategic approaches: church-planting, disciple-making, ethnicity, and partnership; to build qualitative and quantitative churches. Having compared CAPRO and Paul this thesis concludes in Chapter Seven that CAPRO's church growth strategies are in many ways analogous to, but asymmetrically dissimilar from, Pauline church growth strategies. Therefore, cautionary recommendations are made for all church growth advocates and Pauline enthusiasts.

DECLARATIONS

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed Blesherik (Candidate)

Date 27/07/18

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote.

Other sources are acknowledged by midnotes or footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if approved, to be available for photocopying by the British Library and for Inter-Library Loan, for open access to the Electronic Theses Online Service (Ethos) linked to the British Library, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organizations.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my wife, Afiniki B. Leo and my two children: Emmanuel and Grace who are facilitating the growth of many churches in Africa, Europe and beyond. Their unreserved commitment to church growth made them sacrificially support this research project until it became a reality. To God be all the glory!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABD – *Anchor Bible Dictionary*
ACNT – *Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament*
AO – *Administration Officer*
ATR – *African Traditional Religion*
Bsac – *Bibliotheca Sacra*
CAGB – *CAPRO Access to Good Books*
CAPRO CES – *Chief Executive Secretary*
CAST – *CAPRO Sending Team*
CC – *CAPRO Congress*
CCC – *CAPRO Chapter Coordinator*
LCM – *CAPRO Chapter Manual*
CCPM – *CAPRO Church Planting Manual*
CCVD – *CAPRO Core Values Document*
CEC – *Executive Council*
CGPD – *CAPRO Guiding Principles Document*
CIC – *CAPRO International Council*
CM – *Calvary Ministries*
CNC – *National Council*
COCIN – *Church of Christ in all Nations*
COM – *CAPRO Outreach Ministry*
CP – *CAPRO Policies*
CSH – *CAPRO Staff Handbook*
CSM – *CAPRO Short term Ministry*
CUP – *Cambridge University Press*
CVS – *Christian Volunteer Service*
CZD – *Zonal Director*
DNTB – *Dictionary of New Testament Background*
DPL – *Dictionary of Paul and his Letters*
DTS – *Discipleship Training School*
ECWA – *Church of Christ Winning All*
EDM – *Ecole des Missionneurs*
EDNT – *Evangelical Dictionary of the New Testament*
EDWM – *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*
ESV – *English Standard Version*
FCS – *Fellowship of Christian Students*
GPC – *Guiding Principles of CAPRO*
HTR – *Harvard Theological Review*
HTS – *Hervormde Teologiese Studies*
IBMR – *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*
IC – *International Chairman*
ID – *international Director*
IJFM – *International Journal of Frontier Missions*
IVPNTC – *IVP New Testament Commentary*
JSNT – *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSUP – *Journal for the Study of New Testament Supplement Series*
JSOT – *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
MBB – *Muslim Background Believers*
M&MD – *Mobilization and Media Director*
MSB – *Mission Sending Base*

NAC – *The New American Commentary*
NAK – *National Archive Kaduna*
NIBC – *New International Bible Commentary*
NICNT – *The New International Commentary on the New Testament*
NIFES – *Nigerian Fellowship of Evangelical Students*
NIV – *New International Version*
NouT – *Nouum Testamentum*
NTS – *New Testament Studies*
OJ – *Operation Joshua*
OUP – *Oxford University Press*
PNTC – *Pillar New Testament Commentary*
RD – *Research Director*
SBL– *Society of Biblical Literature*
SBLDS – *Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series*
SBLGNT – *Society of Biblical Literature Greek New Testament*
SNTSMS – *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series*
SOL – *School of Leadership*
SOM – *School of Missions*
STM – *Short Term Missions*
StratCon – *Strategy Conference*
SU – *Student Union*
TCCPP – *Toward CAPRO Church Planting Policy*
TD – *Training Director*
TDNT - *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TDNT – *Theological Dictionary of New Testament*
TynB – *Tyndale Bulletin*
WBC – *Word Bible Commentary*
WUNT – *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*
ZIBBCNT - *Zondervan Illustrated*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In the first half of this chapter, I present the background to the study, the statement of the problem and research question, the research goal, scope and limitations, sources and organization of research material and methodology. The last section briefly reviews the church growth movement and theory, and provides a definition of terms.

1.1 Background to the Study

Since Roland Allen published his book *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or ours?* a century ago, there has been a growing interest and literature on Paul's church growth strategies.¹ Although Allen's focus was on how to plant indigenous churches, his profound belief in indigenous church growth, the Holy Spirit indwelling believers and the local church is still essentially relevant today (Terry & Plummer 2012:10). However, to study Paul from any angle is complex because of his strategic role in Christianity. The complexities are generated by: (1) the number of letters attributed to him, (2) the circumstances of the letters, (3) the letters only giving readers one side of the conversation as there is no extant feedback from the churches themselves, (4) the uncertainties of authorship, (5) the important but not always easily harmonizable witness of the book Acts, and (6) the historical distance.

A survey of the secondary literature on Paul and his mission also leaves one with no doubt that there are different views on Paul and his missionary enterprise. For instance, scholars like Daniel Boyarin (1994) claims Paul as an important Jewish thinker and cultural critic while David Wenham (1995) explores whether Paul was a follower of

¹ Cf. D. A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990); Edward J. Schnabel, *Paul, the Missionary: Realities, Strategies, and Methods* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2008). Plummer et al. (eds.), *Paul's Missionary Methods: In His Time and Ours* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012).

Christ or the founder of Christianity, arguing for the former. J. Christian Beker (1980) and N. T. Wright (2005) present Paul's Christianity as the completion of the covenant, or fulfilment of the Old Testament.² These views highlight the tension among Pauline scholars and Paul's related literature. A study of these various views would make an interesting thesis but the focus of this research is to examine Paul's church growth strategies and compare them with CAPRO mission strategies in Nigeria. The term 'CAPRO' is used in this thesis as an acronym for the Nigerian organization for world evangelization and revival campaigns which used to be known as Calvary Production but is now known as Calvary Ministries.³

1.2 Statement of the Problem and the Research Question

There are two sides to the problem addressed in this thesis. Firstly, the assumption that CAPRO church planting and growth strategies are based on the so-called 'New Testament pattern', especially according to the apostle Paul's approach. This study seeks to test this assumption by identifying and comparing Paul's strategies with CAPRO's strategies in Nigeria. The investigation is directed to show the extent to which CAPRO strategies are the same, similar to or different from Pauline strategies, and possible areas of improvement in the CAPRO approach to missions and church growth. Moreover, although CAPRO has had some measure of success in church planting and church growth, the work has not been critically examined since it began in 1975, certainly not comparing CAPRO church growth strategies with the Apostle Paul's approaches. This is significant because the Nigerian church and those who are influenced by the organization want to objectively identify the factors responsible for

² D. Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); D. Wenham, *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995); J. Christian Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1980); N.T. Wright, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective*, (London: SPCK, 2005).

³ See Chapter Two.

the growth or failure of CAPRO and to see how consistent CAPRO strategies are with Paul's missionary strategies.

Secondly, it is widely believed that the Nigerian church is among the fastest growing churches in this century, but there is a problem of ignorance among Christians and non-Christians on the status of Christianity and the strategies employed to evangelize the non-Christians, and to plant and grow churches in Nigeria, especially in the Northern region. For instance, sixty years ago, Buchanan and Pugh reportedly claimed that there was no Christian community of any size outside Ilorin and Kabba in Kwara State, Nigeria (Crampton 2004:9). Some propagandists also claim that the whole of Northern Nigeria is Muslim with little or no significant Christian presence. This tradition is generally accepted without much scrutiny among most Nigerians, especially those who have not travelled widely in the region, as well as the international community. This research acknowledges the fact that there are many difficulties associated with the church in Northern Nigeria, one of which is the status of Christianity, given that the church is growing rapidly in the region despite stiff opposition and ongoing Islamic *sharia* law campaigns. Crampton, in his survey of the origins and growth of Christianity in Northern Nigeria, inquired into why in some parts of the North there were vigorous self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating churches whilst in others there were small weak Christian groups with little sign of growth (Crampton 2004:9). Apart from the fact that Crampton's study needs a thorough update, it fails to examine how the church is growing among many ethno-linguistic groups in Northern Nigeria which were previously adherents of African traditional religion or Islam. Moreover, his study has no focus on the New Testament, Paul or CAPRO.

Therefore, this research critically investigates church growth strategies of CAPRO in Nigeria, highlighting the growth of the church in Northern Nigeria, and contributes to the awareness of the changing religious landscape in the region through the work of CAPRO mission. The study also compares Paul's and CAPRO church growth strategies, thereby contributing to the long-standing debate on church growth theory and praxis. Since CAPRO and Paul's missionary work were not done in a vacuum but in a particular time and place in history, this study illuminates the understanding of biblical texts and helps Paul's enthusiasts and readers, such as CAPRO, to treat each epoch of Pauline history in its unique context.

Despite the ongoing discussion on church growth in CAPRO, crucial questions remain unanswered. For example, how consistent are CAPRO church growth strategies with Pauline strategies? Too often the claim that the organization is planting and growing New Testament churches has been superficial and simplistic. In this study, I critically scrutinize this claim and find out what parallels exist between Paul's and CAPRO church growth strategies. Furthermore, did Paul even think of church growth and did he have any strategy at all in his church growth endeavour? Hence, the twofold main question for this research is: How did Paul and CAPRO plant and grow churches, and how are their strategies similar or different? Care is taken that these similarities and differences do not originate from CAPRO's misinterpretation of Paul but through interpreting Paul's ministry and Scriptures in the Nigerian context.

1.3 Research Goal, Scope and Limitations

My goal in this study is threefold. Firstly, on the one hand, the study explores Pauline letters and the book of Acts to objectively identify how Paul grew churches and, on the other hand, investigates how CAPRO plants and grows churches in Nigeria. Secondly,

the categories identified in Paul-CAPRO strategies are compared. The strategic categories used in the comparison include: Pauline and CAPRO contextual realities,⁴ church planting and discipleship, people group or ethnicity and partnership approaches. These categories were identified by investigating both primary and secondary sources of Pauline and CAPRO missionary endeavours. Thirdly, it is also the objective of this research to contribute to knowledge and provide a sound biblical basis for effective and relevant church growth strategies in CAPRO Nigerian and beyond.

This study explores Paul's letters and the book of Acts to identify Paul's methods of planting and growing churches. The research is limited to examining CAPRO official or generic strategies as adopted in the organization's strategic plans⁵, manuals and policies. It does not focus on the methods of individual church-planters, although inquiries into such are made to underpin the underlying fundamental approaches in CAPRO church growth. I am also aware that the activities and tactics employed to implement these strategies may vary from one people group or context to another. For example, the activities designed to achieve discipleship experience in a Muslim community in the North-East may not be the same in the North-West, and could be completely different among African traditional religion (ATR) communities in the same Northern Nigeria. Similarly, although both may involve teaching, the teaching method varies from one context to another. The application of any method — group discussions, storytelling,

⁴ In a literal sense, by contextual realities I mean situations that make any context unique. These are situations that may or may not be universal but limited to a particular time frame or location in history. In this study, contextual realities in the Greco-Roman world in which Paul lived and carried out his mission are different from CAPRO's context in Nigeria in twenty-first century independent Africa. I opined that the correct assessment of these real circumstances would help provide significantly a quality background framework for judgment and interpretation of Paul and CAPRO.

⁵ See Appendix 5 for areas covered in CAPRO strategic goals.

music or lectures —depends largely on the people group’s culture and method of learning.⁶

1.4 Methodology and Research Design

The focus of this thesis is to carry out a comparative study of Pauline church growth strategies with CAPRO strategies in Nigeria. Comparative research methodology is simply the way of examining two or more cases, specimens, or events with the goal of discovering something about one or all of the things being compared (Hantrais 2018).⁷

Scholars agree that comparative research ‘provides insights that would not be gained otherwise’ (Liao 2004:1074). Tim Futing Liao argues that the use of comparative research method ‘goes back to the beginning of the social sciences and is evident in the works of Emile Durkheim and Max Weber’ (Liao 2004:1074).⁸ The multidisciplinary nature of comparative research stems from its flexibility to relate with all kinds of social factors. For example, the historical comparative research engages in comparing different time frames.⁹ Comparative research methodology is employed in this thesis to compare and contrast the church growth strategies of CAPRO in Nigeria and Pauline mission as discovered in Paul’s letters and reported in the Book of Acts. However, one of the common challenges faced by comparative researchers is the variation in context and definition of categories. This study is not an exception. The idea and the need for comparative categories to be succinctly identified in a comparative research is a

⁶ See also Kenneth O. Gangel et al., *Christian Education: Its History and Philosophy* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1983); Wilhoit Jim, *Christian Education: The Search for Meaning* 2nd ed., (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1991).

⁷ Cf. James Mahoney, Dietrich Ruechemeyer, ed., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003. Linda Hantrais ‘Comparative Research Methods’ *Social Research Update*, Issue 13, Summer 1995, <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU13.html>. Access 7/7/2018.

⁸ Tim Futing Liao ‘Statistical Comparison’ in Michael Lewis-Beck, Alan E. Bryman, Tim Futing Liao, Alan Bryman *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, v. 1 (London, Sage, 2004), pp. 1074-1075.

⁹ Jochen Lasen “Defining comparative social policy”. *A Handbook of Comparative Social Policy* (Edward Elgar, 2004). Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Hugh Heclio; Carolyn Teich Adams; *Comparative Public Policy*, (London: St. Martin's Press, 1983). Adam Przeworski; Henry Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry* (Wiley-Interscience, 1970).

widespread idea and significantly needed among scholars (Haspelmath 2010:663). Therefore, this study critically explored CAPRO and Paul's context to identify significant phenomena and patterns in their church growth endeavours which are designated as church growth strategies in each for comparison.¹⁰ The categories identified for comparison include contextual realities, church planting, ethnicity, discipleship, and partnership.

This research uses the qualitative method in collecting the data. Mahoney and Goertz have rightly observed that 'the quantitative and qualitative research traditions can be thought of as distinct cultures marked by different values, beliefs, and norms' (Mahoney and Goertz 2006:227).¹¹ Although there may be tension between these two research methods, scholars in these two traditions agree that they have the same overarching goal of producing valid descriptive and causal inferences.¹² Ragin [1987] in a comparative study has combined the two research methodologies to produce a work that has become a classic in the field of qualitative research methodology.¹³ The study uses comparative research methods to compare and contrast Pauline-CAPRO strategies. This, however, is not without difficulties and problems. For example, the cases being examined are of different contexts, language, availability of information and theological stance. Whereas CAPRO is more institutionalized, Paul's mission was in its pristine state. The church in the first century did not have the scale of historical, theological and denominational differences that CAPRO may be facing today. Therefore, the quest for an appropriate methodology was one of the challenges of this study initially and remained the priority of this research.

¹⁰ Cf. Martin Haspelmath, 'Comparative Concepts and Descriptive Categories in Crosslinguistic Studies' *Language* 86, 3 (Sept 2010), pp. 663-687.

¹¹ James Mahoney, Gary Goertz, 'A Tale of Two Cultures: Contrasting Quantitative and Qualitative Research' in *Political Analysis* (2006) 14:227-249.

¹² Cf. H E Brady, 'Data-se Observations Versus Causal-Process Observations: The 2000 U.S Presidential Election' in H. E. Brady and D. Collier eds. *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards* (Langham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004). James Mahoney, Gary Goertz, 'A Tale of Two Cultures: Contrasting Quantitative and Qualitative Research' in *Political Analysis* (2006) 14:227-249. Frank Esser, Thomas Hanitzsch, *Handbook of Comparative Communication Research* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

¹³ See Charles C. Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987). Cf. Stanley Lieberson 'Small Ns and big Conclusions: An Examination of the Reasoning in Comparative Studies' in *Social Forces* 72 (1991), 1225-37; J. Goldthorpe, 'Current Issues in Comparative Macrosociology: A Debate on Methodological issues' in *Comparative Social Research*, 16 (1997), 1-26.

There is no perfect hermeneutical approach because each interpretive method has its unique sets of questions depending whether or not the emphasis is historical, literary, sociological or theological. For the purpose of reading Paul, this study employs different hermeneutical instruments, particularly socio-historical criticism.¹⁴ I chose this approach to the text because ‘the Christian religion is a historical movement which has expressed its basic convictions in patterns derived from the various socio-cultural environments through which it has passed through in the course of its development’ (Moore-Jumonville 2002: 72).¹⁵ For instance, Chow [1992] observed that 1960 may be regarded as the watershed in the development of social-historical understanding of the New Testament. This was earlier heralded by Judge [1960] who strived for a revived interest in the social context of early Christianity. There is more research and writing on the textual and contextual life and theologies of Paul, and in recent years Biblical scholarship has witnessed more works in the area of sociology of Paul’s missions;¹⁶ yet there is still need for more critical attention on how Paul planted and grew churches in the 1st century CE, especially in the context of CAPRO work in Nigeria. The methodology adopted here is employed with care, thereby attempting to avoid the limitations and weaknesses as much as it is practically possible. In approaching both the primary and secondary sources, care is taken to avoid the trap of *isogesis*, and attempts

¹⁴ This approach asks questions like, ‘If the story claims to be historical, what really happened? What social, historical, or cultural information can be gleaned from the text? What background information is necessary to better understand the text? What was life like for the common people, not just the ruling elites?’ See *Felix Just Biblical Exegesis: An Introductory Overview*, <http://catholic-resources.org/Bible/Exegesis.htm>, access 13/05/2015.

¹⁵ Quote from Robert Moore-Junmonville, *The Hermeneutic of Historical Distance: Mapping the Terrain of American Biblical Criticism 1880-1914* (Oxford University Press of America, 2002), p. 72.

¹⁶ Significant contributors in this area between 1960 and 1990 include: E. A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century* (London: Tyndale, 1960); J. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1975); H. C. Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1980); R. Banks, *Paul’s Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in Their Historical Setting* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980); R. F. Hock, *The Social Context of Paul’s Ministry: Tentmaking and Apostleship* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1980); G. Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1982); S. C. Barton, “Paul and the Cross: A Sociological Approach,” *Theology* 85 (1982) 13–19; D. Tidball, *The Social Context of the New Testament: A Sociological Analysis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984); R. N. Longenecker, *New Testament Social Ethics for Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984); S. C. Barton, “Paul and the Resurrection: A Sociological Approach,” *Religion* 14 (1984); F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* (SNTSMS 56; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); J. Stambaugh and D. Balch, *The Social World of the First Christians* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1986); P. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); M. Y. MacDonald, *The Pauline Churches: A Socio-Historical Study of Institutionalization in the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); H. C. Kee, *Knowing the Truth: A Sociological Approach to New Testament Interpretation* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1989); C. J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990).

were made to avoid forcing the application of modern tools and approaches on the 1st century milieu.

Regarding research sources and the organization of material, I use both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are divided into direct and indirect primary sources. In studying Paul, the direct primary source is the New Testament text, particularly the Pauline Epistles and the Book of Acts. These sources are used to collect the data that inform the structure of this thesis, and the selection of comparative categories and illuminates Paul's church growth strategies. Secondly, the study examines indirect primary sources including the works of ancient historians, writers, philosophers and sages to highlight the contextual background of Paul's church growth activities in the Greco-Roman world. Without the knowledge of the socio-historical context of Paul's missionary activities, the judgment and conclusion of this study would be distorted thereby limiting the validity of the strategies identified.

In studying CAPRO, this study uses both primary and secondary sources to collect the required data. The primary sources include interviews of CAPRO leaders. I visited and interviewed some CAPRO leaders who are overseeing CAPRO church planting teams and zonal directors in both Northern and Southern Nigeria. They were selected because they are daily engaged in facilitating church growth through discipleship and mobilization of the Nigerian church for worldwide missions. However, it was not possible to interview all the CAPRO staff, short-term workers, partners, and other supporters. Therefore, some selected individuals who were capable of providing useful information about CAPRO's history and strategies were interviewed both formally and informally.¹⁷ I also had the privilege of participating in various strategic planning meetings organized by CAPRO in 2009-13 in Lagos and Jos. The research population for this study includes CAPRO staff, partners and supporters, men, women, young people and elders as categorized below, though for security reasons in Northern Nigeria, the names of some missionaries and indigenous church workers are not disclosed.

¹⁷ See questionnaire in Appendix 1.

- i. The CAPRO executive council members were selected for this study because of their positions and experiences in the organization. They were individually interviewed since they were expected to have a proper overview and understanding of CAPRO church-growth strategy.
- ii. The CAPRO field leaders, unit leaders, staff members, and chapter co-ordinators of CAPRO Nigeria also form part of the population interviewed. Since these levels of leadership are the 'ground soldiers', they understand the organization's strategies and have had their own share of experiences regarding the impact of CAPRO church growth strategies in their field of operation.
- iii. Other staff members drawn from various fields and departments were randomly selected. They are referred to as leaders or indigenous workers.

The choice of informants was by simple random sampling because the target population, over 1,000 staff and partners was too large to reach every individual. It was also difficult because of the geographical spread of the mission fields. Therefore, this research interviewed only the pioneering leaders, head of departments, regional and zonal leaders, members and partners as well as indigeneous church leaders. The oral interviews were conducted between December 2010 and March 2015. During this time, I also attended CAPRO events including field conferences, international strategy conferences, international congresses and staff retreats, as well as visiting some informants' residences and/or offices. The interviews were conducted through planned face-to-face meetings, e-mails and telephone conversations. In addition to the above sources, I also relied on my long-standing membership status as a frontline serving missionary with the organization for about 30 years to verify the data collected. These years of missionary experiences in CAPRO also helped to facilitate my data collection, collation and analysis. This facilitated the process of objective data analysis and

interpretation, but not without challenging my conclusions. Other primary sources include critical examination of the minutes of national and executive council meetings, international council meetings, strategy and congress issue papers, staff conferences and Last Days Gathering (LDG) teaching papers, field records and reports, correspondence and occasional papers presented at staff conferences and the official journal of the organization, *Occupy*.

In the case of the Pauline mission, the direct primary sources are the New Testament texts, particularly the Pauline Epistles and the Book of Acts. This study also examined indirect primary sources including the works of ancient historians, writers, philosophers and sages to highlight the contextual background in the Greco-Roman world where Paul carried out his church planting and church growth activities. Biblical scholars agree that there is no perfect hermeneutical approach because each interpretive method has its unique sets of questions depending whether or not the emphasis is historical, literary, sociological or theological.¹⁸ For the purpose of reading Paul, this study employs different hermeneutical tools, particularly socio-historical criticism.¹⁹ I chose this approach to the text because ‘the Christian religion is a historical movement which has expressed its basic convictions in patterns derived from the various socio-cultural environments through which it has passed through in the course of its development’ (Moore-Jumonville 2002:72). Although there has been more research and writing on the textual and contextual life and theologies of Paul, and in recent years biblical

¹⁸ R Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life* (Philadelphia, PA, 1979), 1-6, presents an over-ambitious methodological view. But some scholars such as Riesner understood this as too harsh and pretentiously scientific. Rainer Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 29-30. For further study in this area see Corley *Coloquy on New Testament Studies. A Time for Reappraisal and Fresh Approaches* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 275.

¹⁹ This approach asks questions like, ‘If the story claims to be historical, what really happened? What social, historical, or cultural information can be gleaned from the text? What background information is necessary to better understand the text? What was life like for the common people, not just the ruling elites?’ See *Felix Just Biblical Exegesis: An Introductory Overview*, <http://catholic-resources.org/Bible/Exegesis.htm>, accessed 13/05/2015.

scholarship has witnessed more works in the area of sociology of Paul's missions,²⁰ yet there is still need for more critical attention to how Paul planted and grew churches in the first-century CE and how his mission principles and practices impact CAPRO mission work in Nigeria.

The secondary sources in this study are the related works of eminent scholars in the field of New Testament, Pauline studies, missiology and related disciplines. These scholars were attempting to ask or answer questions around CAPRO and Paul's life and mission. They provided relevant and helpful insights or raised questions that are relevant to the problem this research is addressing. The methodology adopted here is employed with care, attempting to avoid the limitations and weaknesses as much as it is practically possible. In approaching both the primary and secondary sources, care was taken to avoid the trap of *eisegesis*, and attempts were made to avoid forcing the application of modern tools and approaches on the first-century milieu.

1.5 Did Paul consider Church Growth in his Missionary Endeavours?

Paul's perspectives on ἐκκλησία (church) vary according to context and develop progressively as he grew in his contemplation and writing. Paul described ἐκκλησία as the body of Christ, God's field and building among others.²¹ However, our question is how did Paul think about church growth or is the idea being imposed on him and his

²⁰ Significant contributors in this area between 1960 and 1990 include: E. A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century*, (London: Tyndale Press, 1960); J. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975); H. C. Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective*, (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1980); R. Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in Their Historical Setting*, (Exeter: Paternoster, 1980); R. F. Hock, *The Social Context of Paul's Ministry: Tentmaking and Apostleship*, (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1980); G. Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth*, (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982); D. Tidball, *The Social Context of the New Testament: A Sociological Analysis*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984); C. J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, WUNT 49; (Tübingen: MohrSiebeck, 1989; rpt. Winona Lake, IN.: Eisenbrauns, 1990).

²¹ See Chapter Three for Paul's perspectives of ἐκκλησία and more discussion on Paul's view of the church and church planting.

writing? There is a tension in the debate among scholars on church growth. The question is whether or not churches grow by divine or human activities. Do churches grow by divine intervention or by human persuasive sociological techniques? There are two main strands of arguments. Firstly, there are those who emphasize human techniques in church growth. For example, Donald McGavran is one of the pioneers of church growth theory and a missiological thinker in this area (McGavran 1980; McGavran & Arn 1977:24). As the father of modern church growth movement, McGavran's view could be summarized, in part, as 'most of the barriers to the Gospel are not theological, they are sociological' (McGavran 1970:207). Apart from advocating for a homogeneous people group movement, he argues that as the Holy Spirit brings about 'people movement' through mass conversions, missionaries must make disciples of them (Holladay 1983:85). But in the process, it is easy to become victims of over-emphasizing the numerical growth of the church over the quality and conduct. Secondly, there are those who see church growth as a divine act which requires no human effort or planning. They see any attempt to pay attention to any socio-cultural concern is making the church of Christ secular or reducing it to a human social institution that can be manipulated. Hemphill maintains that church growth is not something we do or produce by programme or plan. It is supernatural by the Lord himself (Hemphill 1994:10).

Although it is not wholesome to emphasize numerical growth and human strategy over the quality and role of the Holy Spirit in the growth of the church, I would rather be hesitant to subscribe to any view that presents the church as if it emerges from outer space and functions in a vacuum. God works on earth through human agents and there is always a context for every action. These contexts may include socio-cultural elements that God uses to nurture the growth of the church in each community. Therefore,

‘genuine church growth is not the result of sociological manipulation and neither is it received by passive idleness’ (Hicks 1997:17-34).

Did the early followers of Christ, like Paul, think of church growth? This is a difficult question with varied answers. However, in this section I argue that Paul expected and planned for church growth in his mission endeavours. Firstly, whereas some still wonder whether Paul ever thought about growth in his mission expeditions, Frank Stagg described the book of Acts as ‘the story of an unhindered gospel’ (Stagg 1974:451-60). If the gospel was unhindered Paul did not need to think about church growth. But Stagg drew his conclusion from the adverb ἀκωλύτως (‘unhindered’, Acts 28:31) that ends the Book of Acts. Like many advocates of church growth, he argues that the Book of Acts is focused on the extraordinary growth of the church under the guidance and power of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, it is evident according to Luke’s narrative in the Book of Acts²² that churches grew and expanded in the first century CE (Trites 1988:162).

Secondly, the growth of the church is also captured in Acts by the use of the verb ‘grow’ (αὐξάνω). This is often associated with the impact and spread of the Word of God in the personal and corporate life of the church. For instance, in Acts 6:7, the Word of God grew when division was managed in the church by the apostles and the seven deacons. In Acts 12:24, Luke says that ‘the word of God continued to increase and spread’ when Herod Agrippa was struck dead because of pride (Acts 12:23). Then Acts 19:17 shows how ‘the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified’ when Paul and his fellow workers triumphed over a Jewish exorcist in Ephesus and fear seized the people, many repenting and confessing their sins and ‘the word of the Lord was growing mightily and

²² Acts 2:43–47; 5:14; 6:7; 9:31; 12:24; 16:5; 19:20.

prevailing' (Acts 19:20) (Trites 1988:162-3). From these passages, the growth of the church is associated with the spread of the Word of God.²³

Thirdly, when defending his ministry in Corinth, Paul shows that he expected believers to grow in their faith but beyond that he wanted to see the gospel message preached to the regions beyond:

As your faith continues to grow, our sphere of activity among you will greatly expand, so that we can preach the gospel in the regions beyond you. For we do not want to boast about work already done in someone else's territory (2 Cor. 10:15-16 NIV, italics mine).

The aforementioned passages clearly show that Paul did not only talk about church growth but actually expected the churches to grow both in their faith in Christ and in their evangelization of the regions beyond. This is made possible when the Word of God grows in their midst. Therefore, quality growth takes place when God's Word is being obeyed and the faith of members built up. This equips believers for the task of evangelizing the unsaved and unreached peoples outside the church.

The story of church growth, whether in Paul's letters or Acts, is a discourse on how men and women obeyed God and went about spreading the gospel which had transformed their personal lives.²⁴ Both ordinary and prominent people in the church were used by God to preach and plant churches. For instance, ordinary members of the church planted churches in Damascus, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Antioch, and Rome.²⁵ They did not wait for the apostles in Jerusalem. On the contrary, even those who were scattered because of persecution in Jerusalem 'went about preaching and planting new churches' (Acts 8:4; 11:19-30). According to Luke, Paul was prominent in the expansion of the early church (Acts 13-28).

²³ Acts 9:31; 12:24; 16:5; 19:20; 28:31.

²⁴ Acts 8:4; 11:19-30; 13:1-51; 26:10.

²⁵ Acts 9:10; 11:19; 28:13-14.

1.6 Church Growth Strategy: Did Paul have a Strategy?

The next question here is did Paul have any church growth strategy? Kane argues that Paul's use of strategy to plant and grow new churches depends on one's understanding or definition of the term strategy.²⁶ If one understood strategy as a 'deliberate, well-formulated, duly executed plan of action based on human observation and experience, then Paul had little or no strategy' (Kane 1976:73). Similarly, Allen argues that, 'It is quite impossible to maintain that St. Paul deliberately planned his journeys beforehand, selected certain strategic points at which to establish his churches and then actually carried out his designs' (Allen 1991:10). However, Kane was also quick to add that 'if we take the word strategy to mean a flexible *modus operandi* developed under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and subjected to his direction and control, then Paul did have a strategy' (Kane 1976:73). The view that Paul 'had comparatively little opportunity to base his strategy on observation and experience' (Hesselgrave 2000:28) has been persuasively challenged by Schnabel (2008:31-2) on the grounds that we do not know whether Paul used a different approach in his early years compared to his later years of missionary preaching. Moreover, Luke, in the book of Acts, only reported extensively on Paul's missionary work 'in Pisidian Antioch (CE 46/47), Corinth (CE 50/51), and Ephesus (CE 53/55) but nothing is said about Paul's work in Arabia, Syria and Cilicia in the twelve years between CE 32/33-34' (Schnabel 2008:31; Olson 2003:55).

²⁶ For further study on Paul's missionary strategies see Terry, John Mark and J. D. Payne, *Developing a Strategy for Missions: A Biblical, Historical, and Cultural Introduction*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013); Allen, Roland, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or ours?*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991); Grassi, Joseph A. *A World to Win: The Missionary Methods of Paul the Apostle*, (Maryknoll, NY: Maryknoll Publications, 1965).

The fact that the Pauline churches were organic in nature does not mean that they were not organized and structured. Churches planted by Paul would have had a common and simple structure, which included: clear order and purpose for meeting (1 Cor. 11:18, 23; 12:4; 16:2),²⁷ authorized leadership (1 Tim. 3:1-16; Tit. 1:4–10);²⁸ patterns for giving and use of money (1 Cor. 16:2); and order in the discipline of a sinful person in the fellowship (1 Cor. 5:1–13) (Bruce 1990:258). Schnabel, like Kane, concluded that ‘despite two thousand years of missions history, missionaries still do not operate on the basis of ‘a deliberate, well-formulated, duly executed plan of action based on human observation and experience’ which guarantees success in every instance’ (Schnabel 2008:32; Kane 1976:73). But this does not deny the fact that missionaries throughout the centuries have had intentional and strategic plans in their evangelization efforts among the unsaved and unreached peoples (Terry & Payne 2013:73-127). But how do we know Paul had strategies in his church growth practice? This is discernible in the following areas: (1) Paul’s prayer and wish for God’s guidance, (2) Paul’s circumcision of Timothy and not Titus, (3) Paul’s pattern for urban missions, and (4) Paul’s use of images and metaphors.

1.6.1 Paul’s Wish and Prayer for God’s Guidance

Church growth is the product of the Holy Spirit’s work in the life of believers (Rom. 15:19; 2 Cor. 12:12).²⁹ The manifestation of the Holy Spirit was essentially an indispensable part of Paul’s church growth strategy (2 Cor. 2:12) (cf. Ott and Wilson 2010:50). God’s guidance to Paul and his co-workers came in various ways: first, by opening a door for ministry (1 Cor. 16:5-9; 2 Cor. 2:12-13), by hardship (1 Cor. 16:4-9; Acts 16:6), by heavenly vision (Acts 16:7) among others. Secondly, the nuances of

²⁷ Acts 20:7, 20 cf. 11:27–34, 14:1–40.

²⁸ Acts 14:23; 20:17.

²⁹ Cf. Heb. 2:4; Acts 1:8; 2:1-47; 10:44-48.

God's direction in Paul's mission is also evident in his decision to change his travel plans (1 Cor. 16:5-9; 2 Cor. 1:15-17; Acts 16:9-15). Thirdly, it is significant to observe that Paul expected God's guidance in his prayer and wishes for God's will or God's permission which he clearly expressed in his letters. For example, to the believers in Rome Paul says, 'I pray that ... *by God's will* the way may be opened for me to come to you' (Rom. 1:10-11). To Corinthian believers, 'I hope to spend some time with you, *if the Lord permits*' (1 Cor. 16:17) and to the believers in Philippi he expressed his confidence only in the Lord, 'I am *confident in the Lord* that I myself (Paul) will come soon' (Phil. 2:24),³⁰ and even his ministry was not by human wisdom or persuasion but a demonstration of God's power (1 Cor. 2:4).

From the above passages, Paul is seen expressing his desires and plans to travel in his prayers. Therefore, it may not be fair to think of Paul as one without plans for his churches. On the contrary, the passages above highlight the fact that Paul's plans and strategies were embedded in his prayer. This goes to support the fact that Paul had plans but subjected them to God's guidance because even the act of submission was a strategy in Paul's missionary enterprise. This also facilitated the growth of the early church.

1.6.2 Paul's Circumcision Policy

Paul's decision to circumcise Timothy (Acts 16:1-5) and not to circumcise Titus (Gal. 2:3-5) is a matter of strategy not theology. This is because in the preceding chapter (Acts 15:1-29; cf. 21:25), Luke reported how Paul was one of the delegates to the council in Jerusalem which deliberated and decided that Gentile believers should not be required to keep the Law or be circumcised before becoming Christians (Acts 15:19-23). Then why would Paul, despite the apostolic council decision and decree still ask

³⁰ Insertion mine.
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Timothy to be circumcised? But more interestingly, the same Paul in Galatians 2:3-5 testified how he resisted the pressures and refused Titus to be circumcised. We also have in Paul's letters extensive arguments on the fact that circumcision or no circumcision is nothing but Christ is all and in all (Gal. 5:6, 15; 6:15).³¹ Then, why should he order Timothy to be circumcised? This study argues that Paul did it in the interest of the gospel of Christ. He did not want the gospel of Christ, Timothy's ministry, as well as his mission among the Jews to be hindered in any way. This supports the idea that Paul had strategies in his struggles to reach both the Jews and Gentiles. In his defence of the gospel, he refused to circumcise Titus and, for the sake of the same gospel, he circumcised Timothy, depending on the context. Similarly, Sproul argues that Paul's decision was 'based not on theology or ethics but on strategy' (Sproul 2010:285). It was culturally relevant to circumcise Timothy but there was no need to circumcise Titus or else they would be guilty of robbing the gospel of Christ of its power (1 Cor. 2:1-13).

1.6.3 Paul's Pattern of Urban Mission

As we shall see later, Paul's use of strategy could also be observed through his approach to urban ministry.³² Broadly speaking, Paul reached out to both the leading commercial and religious cities of his time (Bosch 1991:129-30) so that he could claim that he had fully preached the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum (Rom. 15:19-23; 2 Cor. 10:16). Bird observes that 'in terms of pattern, Paul appeared to consciously work in areas that were under Roman control and usually had a Jewish community of some form' (Bird 2012:20). Paul's decision to preach the gospel of salvation to the Jews first then to the Gentiles indicates some level of planning or predetermined strategic pattern

³¹ 1 Cor. 7:18-20; Rom. 2:25-29; Col. 3:11.

³² We shall examine this further in Chapters Three and Seven.

which signifies that he had some element of strategy (Rom. 1:16, 2:10).³³ Paul, in his missionary work, first entered the synagogues whenever he visited a city (Acts 2:20; 13:5, 14). This was strategic because in the synagogues, Paul met the Jews and God-fearers who accepted a monotheistic faith and Hebrew Scriptures. These were strategic considerations because by them Paul built on what they already knew and believed about Yahweh, and from among them those who believed in his preaching were organized into a nucleus of Christ's followers that would evangelize others (Acts 13:26). However, when the Jews resisted Paul because of jealousy, Paul turned to the Gentiles,³⁴ yet he continued to explore ways of reaching out to them.³⁵

1.6.4 Paul's Use of Images and Metaphors

Sproul remarks that 'Paul was nobody's fool. He knew the most ancient stratagem of warfare' (Sproul 2010:374).³⁶ Some have observed that whereas Jesus and other apostles, like James, illustrated their teachings with outdoor nature, this was not the case with Paul. Paul lived in the world of people-groups, as did Jesus, a world that was full of conflicts, pain, poverty and constant struggles for freedom from slavery and deliverance from the painful guilt of sin (1 Cor. 9:16). To help address these internal and external struggles within believers, Paul frequently used military symbols in his writing (Eph. 6:13-18). Paul's illustrations, metaphors, similes and figures of speech were more centred on people's actions and emotional responses to life in society. Therefore, Paul writes on the 'pangs of childbirth and the devotion of motherhood, the diligence of a hard-working farmer and the discipline of an athlete in achieving goals'

³³ cf. Acts 13:45-52.

³⁴ Acts 13:45-52; 18:6; 19:9; 22:21; 26:20; 28:28.

³⁵ Dunn (2009:544) and Moynagh (2012:16) agree that Paul was 'committed to pioneer evangelism, to pursue his mission only in virgin territory' (Dunn 2009:544). Using the imagery of ancient agricultural, Paul referred to himself as a farmer who plants the seed of the gospel in a new area while Apollos waters (1 Cor 3:6).

³⁶ Cf. Harry Sidebottom, *Ancient Warfare: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: OUP, 2004). E. L. Wheeler, 'Methodological limits and the mirage of Roman Strategy' in *Journal of Military History*, 57, (1993), 15-16.

(Merriam 2004:101). Paul's letters are filled with many metaphors and symbols. Paul's use of symbols and images like that of warfare and soldiers to communicate in his letters could imply that he somewhat had at least at the back of his mind some element of a planned strategy (2 Tim. 2:3-4; Rom. 3:4; Eph. 6:11-17).

Moreover, Luke's account in Acts portrayed Paul as being in the company of soldiers either as a free man or in custody (Act 23:10; 22:24ff; 21:30-36; 28:16). It is most probable that this contributed to his understanding of a soldier in real-life situations. Furthermore, if we agree that Paul was a Hellenistic Jew and grew up in a context in which victory and defeat in warfare was prominent, and that he was trained in the context of the Jewish sacred texts and an expert interpreter of Hebrew Scriptures, then anyone familiar with the OT should also be aware that a large portion of the OT contains narratives on how the people of Israel should engage in battles trusting God and paying attention to strategy (Exod. 17:8-16; Deut. 20:10-20). However, although there is no evidence to show that this impacted Paul's understanding of warfare, it is also hard to deny the fact that when Paul makes reference to war, warfare, soldiers or battles, he does so bearing in mind some strategic concerns which he could have applied to training and equipping his congregations on how to be strong and endure hardship as good soldiers of Christ (2 Tim. 2:4; Eph. 6:10-17). Similarly, there are some interesting words used by Paul and other biblical writers that may only be understood in the context of ancient warfare. For example, words like guard (φρονέω in Greek),³⁷ conqueror, victory or overcome (νικάω in Greek) with military and warfare.

Therefore, I posit that the occurrences of military-related metaphors in Paul's writing were not a mere coincidence. On the contrary, he used them to drive home his teachings

³⁷ 1 Cor. 16:13; Acts 16:23; 22:20; 28:16.

and to encourage his followers to endure persecutions. However, although patterns of approaches are traceable in Paul's missionary practice, one cannot make hard rules on Pauline church growth strategies because Paul was also flexible in his approach. He was willing to accommodate all things in different contexts in order to win some for Christ (1 Cor. 9:18-23). This shows that Paul already had a predetermined plan of action, in this case, to adapt and contextualize the gospel as he travelled from one city to another. This is his prime strategy. Therefore, to be fair to Paul, whether the strategy was given by the guidance of the Holy Spirit or by forsaking his rights and privileges in order to win the unsaved, it is difficult to read Paul carefully and deny the fact that he was a man of effective strategies. In the coming chapters, I shall identify and examine some of his church growth approaches.

1.7 Definition of Terms

1.7.1 Church Planting

Church planting is used in this study in a broad sense to refer to the process of forming churches through evangelization of the unsaved and mobilization of believers into a community of Christ-followers who are committed to mature into the fullness of Christ and become Christ's witnesses in their locale. The term church planting is not mentioned in the Bible but the notion and nuance of the terms are not absent. The term church planting captures the idea and reality of church formation, church maturation and church expansion. I agree with Greg Livingstone's definition that church planting refers to 'the whole process of evangelizing, discipling, training, and organizing a group of believers to a level of development permitting to function as a viable church independent of the agent(s) who brought it into being' (Livingstone 1993:73). Church planting, then, 'focuses on three main activities: proclaiming the gospel to those who are unsaved; discipling those who accept the gospel; and mentoring qualified men to

serve as elders' (Livingstone 1993:73). The last two activities are preferably accomplished in a church setting; hence, the need for church planting in facilitating church growth.

1.7.2 Church Growth

'Church growth' is used in this study in a general sense to mean the process of church development that recognizes its nature, function, structure, health and multiplication. The four broad areas of growth assumed in this research include character maturity, organic unity among members of the church, church mission to the community and numerical growth (cf. Larsson 1988:7, Pointer 1984:21, Mead 1993:12-13). The long-range goal of church growth is the discipling of Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (all peoples) (McGavran and Wagner 1990: xv).

The contemporary church growth movement and the principles espoused by Donald McGavran have raised various tensions and excitement in the Christendom. The founder of the church growth movement, Donald McGavran, noticed this tension even in the early days of the movement and wrote his wife a letter on 8 September 1961, saying, 'it is clear that emphasizing the growth of the churches divides the camp. It is really a divisive topic. How strange when all are presumably disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.'³⁸ According to Costas, the term 'growth' suggests mobility and change; it indicates a dynamic reality (Costas 1983:96). This shows that growth brings about 'increase, expansion, development, and multiplication or reproduction ... Growth also suggests relativity, contextuality, and variety' (Costas 1983:96). This also shows that growth is complex and might include: biological, sociological, psychological, intellectual, cultural, economic, and institutional elements. Furthermore, Costas

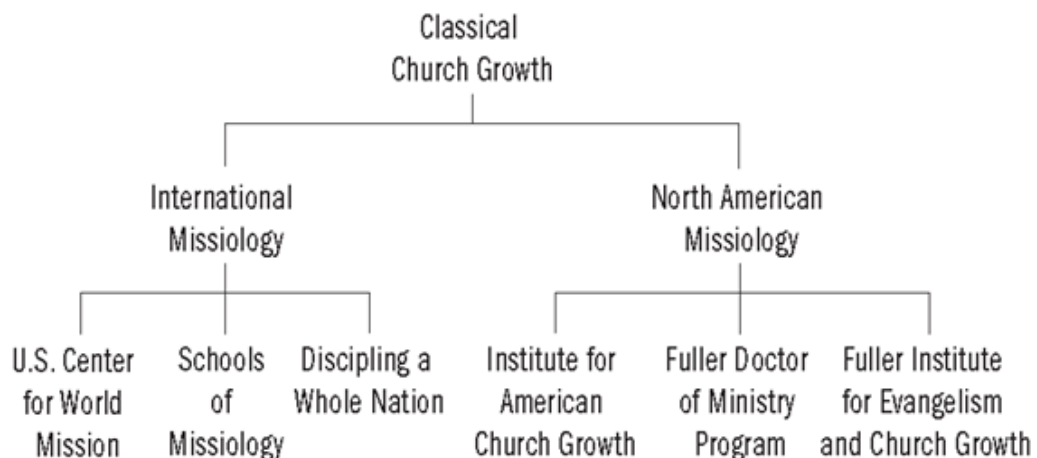
³⁸ See Donald A. McGavran's letter to Mary McGavran, 8 September 1961, from Costa Rica. Collection 178:81-1, Billy Graham Center Archives.

observes different kind of qualities in growth, namely: positive and negative, healthy and unhealthy (Costas 1983:96). Concerning church growth, some scholars are not comfortable with numerical growth (Goodhew 2016:5, Young 1977:72). There is no doubt that the Christian life is not just about numbers, but can we learn from the decline or rise in the numbers of church membership? One influential definition presented by Goodhew sees ‘growth in the Christian life as a three-fold balance, entailing growth in personal holiness, growth in societal transformation and the numerical growth of church congregations’ (Goodhew 2016:5). Although Goodhew agrees with the above definition, his volume further asks hard questions on ‘the pursuit of the numerical growth of the church’ (Goodhew 2016:5).

The church growth movement defines church growth, first, in terms of numerical growth and the planting of new churches. Towns observes that ‘the heart of church growth is to plant churches that will carry out both evangelism and edification’ (Towns 2004:38). Secondly, they define church growth based on informed data gathered through applied research methods of both science and theology. Thus, they argue that the church growth movement is a ‘Bible-based ministry that is data-driven in strategy’ (McIntosh 2004:39). The movement recognizes firstly, the internal growth of the church, which focuses on the quality of the church in the following areas: the Word of God, prayer, fellowship, spiritual maturity and missional discipleship (cf. Towns 2004:44, Moynagh 2012: 329-446). Secondly, there is external expansion growth or numerical or quantity growth. This is measured by attendance, membership, offerings, baptisms, and enrolment (Towns 2004:44).

The contemporary church growth movement has its origins in McGavran (1897-1990) but his notion of church growth was influenced by the Dutch missiologist Gisbertus

Voetius (1589-1679) and J. Waskom Pickett (1890-1981). Voetius' influence is discernible in his belief that 'the first goal of missions is the conversion of the heathen; the second, the planting of churches, and the highest, the glory of God' (Verkyl 1978:21, McIntosh 2004:9). McIntosh observes that these three goals comprise a condensed version of today's church growth movement (McIntosh 2004:9). McGavran described the influence of Pickett in his life and thoughts thus, 'I lit my candle at Pickett's fire' (Hunter 1992:159; McGavran 1970:125-7). Even the concept of 'people movement' espoused by McGavran is traced back to Pickett's 'mass movement' which McGavran might have picked when working in India as a missionary (McGavran 1970:125-7). Other influences on McGavran include William Carey, Roland Allen and Kenneth Scott Latourette (McIntosh 2004:9-11). The movement spreads its ideology through training church and mission leaders in colleges and seminaries in America, especially in the US Center for World Mission, School of Missiology, Institute for American Church Growth, and Fuller Doctor of Ministry Program. The training programme continues to grow and develop. The diagram below shows some of the training programmes initiated by the movement to spread their views.³⁹



³⁹ The charts are taken from Gary L. McIntosh, 'Why Church Growth can't be ignored' in Gary L. McIntosh, ed., *Evaluating the Church Growth Movement: Five Views*, (Grand Rapids, MI.: Zondervan 2004), p. 19.

However, church and mission leaders cannot ignore the impact and contribution of the church growth movement in the advancement of the gospel, church and its mission in America and beyond (Wagner 1979:270-87). Both the critics and advocates of the church growth movement recognize its contribution to world evangelization in various ways.

- i. It clarifies the mission of the church and the focus on church missionary activities in the responsive areas (McQuilkin 1973:61).
- ii. It provides a 'strategy and set of priorities for mission' (Shenk 1973:103).
- iii. It provides a militant, optimistic, and forward-looking approach to the missionary enterprise (Costas 1974:124).
- iv. It makes the church aware of the peoplehood and its human diversity as a tool in world evangelization (Shenk 1983:89).
- v. Russell observes two theological contributions of the church growth movement which include: (1) contribution in theological clarification that church growth does not just happen, the church must be intentional and purposeful. (2) They help the church to clarify and develop church understanding of church leadership qualities necessary to catalyze and mobilize Christians (Russell 1995:18).
- vi. It makes the church aware of networks, receptivity, indigenous forms, new units, and people groups (McIntosh 2004:9)
- vii. It makes the church aware that the spread of the gospel is faster through linguistic and indigenous cultural form than foreign language and culture (Hunter 1999:2)
- viii. It makes the church aware that apostolic ministry is more effective when we target people groups than when we target geo-political areas (Hunter 1999:2).

- ix. It helps churches to carry out a Bible-based and data-driven ministry (Towns 2004:33-4).

There are some features of church growth movement discernible in CAPRO church growth endeavours as we shall see in Chapter Three.

1.7.3 Church Growth Strategy

In a general sense, church growth strategy in this study refers to an organized plan or policy of action (written or unwritten) that is followed by missionaries or churches to carry out the task of evangelization and to consolidate the impact of the gospel in the lives of individual believers or the established church in a particular context. It is a thoughtful plan of action that leads to church planting and church growth by the power of the Holy Spirit (cf. Rheenen 1996:138-140; Schnabel 2004:500; Nieman & Pretorius 2004:164). When considering the differences between strategy and methods, Nieman and Pretorius in their conclusion observe that ‘most of the literature does not distinguish between strategy and methods of executing the strategy’ (Nieman & Pretorius 2004:164). Therefore, an organization might develop strategies but has in mind methods or vice versa.

1.8 Conclusion

This section has simply introduced the subject of study, stated the problem and question which it hopes to address, the proposition on which it is based and the purpose for embarking on this work. The chapter also outlined the methodology and the areas which this study covers. Moreover, it showed that Paul did not only think about church growth but also had strategic plans on how to plant and grow quality churches which resulted in quantity growth. CAPRO and Paul’s strategies are identified and discussed in the later

chapters. In the next chapter I examine CAPRO church growth context by looking at the Nigerian historical, political and religious background.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: COMPARING CAPRO'S CONTEXT WITH THE CONTEXT OF PAUL'S CHURCH GROWTH STRATEGY

2.1 Introduction

The growth of Pauline churches in the First Century CE and the recent surge of Christianity in Nigeria have remained a puzzle and continue to fascinate missions and church growth scholars. In recent years this has spawned a new generation of literature exploring the subject from different angles.¹ This study contributes to this ongoing debate by comparing CAPRO and Pauline church growth strategies. Therefore, it is the goal of this chapter to examine CAPRO and Paul's church growth background. By these, this research hopes to situate CAPRO and Paul's church growth strategies in their socio-historical and geo-political milieu. The question is, what are the background factors that contributed to the growth of CAPRO and Pauline churches, and how are they similar or different? This study recognizes that religion and social transformation do not take place in a vacuum. Both religious and social changes take place in a politically oriented domain. Religion and religious organizations do not remain the same in a rapidly changing society. As they seek to address changes in society they are forced to change.

Therefore, this study is aware that the story of any community, including CAPRO mission and Pauline mission, should be understood within the framework of their

¹ James G. Crossley, *Why Christianity Happened: A Socio-historical Account of Christian Origins, 26-50AD*, (London: SPCK, 2006); Jack T. Sanders, *Charisma, Converts, Competitors: Societal and Sociological Factors in the Success of Early Christianity*, (London: SCM, 2000); Rodney Stark, *Cities of God: The Real Story of how Christianity became an Urban Movement and Conquered Rome*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2007); Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Michael F. Bird and James G. Crossley, *How Did Christianity Begin? A Believer and Non-Believer examine the Evidence* (London: SPCK, 2008).

unique historical, political and religious context (Prozesky 1995).² In this chapter we shall critically consider the historical, political, ethno-religious and salient antecedents that led to the formation of CAPRO mission in Nigeria. Having examined CAPRO context, this chapter looks at Paul's church growth context by examining the contributions of Jewish, Greeks, Romans and Paul's personal experiences in shaping his church growth strategies in the Greco-Roman context. Finally, the chapter identified some comparative insights from CAPRO and Pauline contexts.

2.2 Historical Context of the CAPRO Church Growth Strategies

J. Allan Cash, an inveterate photographer, after his voyage around Africa, described the continent as 'the continent of sunshine, warmth and colour' (Cash 1955:9). The geographical area known as Nigeria today was occupied by different ethnic groups which belonged together within one political and cultural state and shared common historical, political, social and religious affinity. Therefore, any reconstruction of Nigerian history has to take on board the various ethnic historical traditions which have created huge divisions and conflicts. The question is whether ethnic or regional identity is more important than national identity. This became even more difficult after the amalgamation exercise of 1914 which brought the North and South together to form one nation, known as Nigeria.³ The country which today comprises 36 states and one Federal Capital Territory is located in West Africa, sharing borders with Niger Republic in the North, Chad and Cameroon in the East, the Republic of Benin in the West and the Atlantic Ocean in the South. Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the eighth most populous country in the world with an approximate population of 183.5

² Prozesky, Martin 'Introduction' in Prozesky, Martin and De Gruchy, John *Living faiths in South Africa* (London: C. Hurst, 1995).

³ Steven Pierce, review of *A History of Nigeria*, (review no. 812) in <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/812> Date accessed: 18 August, 2016.

million.⁴ The vegetation of the 356,000 square miles country includes grove swamps, tropical forests, savannahs, and desert shrub, which are the result of local climate and weather, and soil (cf. Falk 1997:339).



Fig.2.1 Geo-Political Map of Nigeria

The significance and relevance of history is captured in the words of Fafunwa, the Nigerian historian who compared history with the function of human memory: ‘memory is to an individual what history is to nations’ (Fafunwa 1974:1).⁵ Nations learn from their past and discern the present and plan for the future through history. What are the historical factors that contribute to the emergence of indigenous mission such as CAPRO in Nigeria? How did Nigeria historical, socio-political and religious situation impact on the emergence of indigenous mission such as CAPRO?

2.2.1 The Colonial Context

⁴ UN population estimate 1 July 2015, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/nigeria-population/> Access 10/11/15.

⁵ A. B. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), 1.

The Nigerian historical, political, religious and ethnic contexts have been variously studied and shown to be contributing factors in the rise and growth of Christianity in Nigeria. For instance, during the colonial era, some descriptive anthropological and historical studies were conducted. Prominent among them include the works of Lugard (1920),⁶ Burdon (1909),⁷ Temple (1918 and 1919),⁸ Meek (1925 and 1931)⁹ and Hogben (1930).¹⁰ Similar works that provide basic anthropological information in the form of ethnographic surveys of Africa include Forde (1950); Gunn (1953; 1956);¹¹ Gunn & Conant (1960) and Blench (1998, 2000, 2001, 2003).¹² For local histories, chronicles and more detailed histories of individual politics see Smith (1950, 1978, 1997), Arnett (1960),¹³ Ajayi (1965),¹⁴ Ayandele (1966),¹⁵ Last (1967, 1970, 1979),¹⁶ and Carland (1985),¹⁷ Isichei (1983),¹⁸ and Sanneh (1983, 1989, 1996, 2003)¹⁹

⁶ F. D. Lugard, *Report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912-1919* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920). Lugard, *Colonial Reports-Annual No 1315: Nigeria Report for 1925* (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925), 21-22.

⁷ See Burdon's *Northern Nigeria, Historical Notes on Certain Emirates and Tribes* (London, Waterlow & Sons, 1909).

⁸ Olive Temple, *The Native Races and their Rulers* (Cape Town: Argus, 1918); *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria* (Cape Town: Argus, 1922).

⁹ Charles K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*. 2 v. (London: OUP, 1925). Charles K. Meek, *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*. 2 v. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner, 1931).

¹⁰ See Hogben's *The Muhammadan Emirates of Nigeria* (1930), revised and updated by Hogben and Kirk-Greene in *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, (London: OUP, 1966).

¹¹ H. D. Gunn, *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria* (London: IAI, 1953). H. D. Gunn, H.D, *Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria* (London: IAI, 1956).

¹² R. M. Blench, 'The status of the languages of Central Nigeria', in M. Brenzinger, ed., *Endangered Languages in Africa* (Köln: Köppe Verlag, 1958), 187-206; *Revising Plateau*, in Ekkehard Wolff & O. Gensler, eds., *Proceedings of 2nd WOCAL* (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 2000), 159-174; 'Transitions in Izere nominal morphology and implications for the analysis of Plateau languages', in A. Meißner & A. Storch, eds., *Nominal classification in African languages* (Frankfurter Afrikanische Blätter, 2000 — referred to as 2000b), 12:7-28; 'Why reconstructing comparative Ron is so problematic', in H. Ekkehard Wolff (ed.), *Topics in Chadic Linguistics. Papers from the 1st Biennial International Colloquium on the Chadic Language Family* (Leipzig, 5-8 July 2001) (Köln: Rudiger Köppe. 2001), 21-42; 'Is there a boundary between Plateau and Jukunoid?' (Paper presented at the workshop on Jukunoid languages, Vienna, 18-21 November 2005).

¹³E. J. Arnett, 'A Hausa Chronicle', *Journal of the Royal African Society* 9 (1910).

M. G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau, 1800-1950* (London: IAI/OUP, 1960).

¹⁴ J. F. A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891* (London: Longman, 1865).

¹⁵ Emmanuel Ayankanmi Ayandele, *Missionary impact on modern Nigeria, 1842-1914* (London, Longman, 1966).

¹⁶ M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (London: Longman, 1977); 'Some Economic Aspects of Conversion in Hausaland (Nigeria)' in N. Levtzion, *Conversion to Islam* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979).

¹⁷ John M. Carland, *The Colonial Office and Nigeria* (London: Macmillan, 1985).

¹⁸ Elizabeth Allo Isichei, *A History of Nigeria* (London: Longman, 1983).

¹⁹ Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983); *Translating the Message* (Marryknoll, NY: Orbis Books 1989); *Piety and Power: Muslims and Christians in West Africa*

are widely known. Other significant works include Last's *The Sokoto Caliphate* (1967) and M.G. Smith's trilogy *Government in Zazzau* (1950), *The Affairs of Daura* (1978), and *Government in Kano* (1997). Equally significant are the scholarly works of local historians who engage in reconstructing and decolonizing the historical narratives of the chronicles and development of their people. The number of these historical studies is on the increase contributing immensely to the development of Nigeria historiography. For instance, the Berom chiefship written by Nyam & Jacobs (2004),²⁰ Dung (2005),²¹ Umar (2006),²² James (1997),²³ or the past and present Emirs of Zazzau presented by Dalhatu & Hassan (2000) and Dalhatu (2002). More so the efforts of Greene (1971) and Osaghae (1998) might be seen as repository sources on the secession of Biafra and Nigeria's civil war²⁴ and the insightful works on the Yoruba people²⁵ among several others which are referred to in this study.

When the colonial administration ruled to create the Federal Republic of Nigeria, it did not consider the traditional socio-political, ethno-religious and historical affinity of the people. It was a challenging exercise from the beginning when the European powers in

(Marryknoll, NY: Orbis Books 1996); *Whose Religion is Christianity?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2003).

²⁰ C. C. Jacobs, & S. D. Nyam, *An Evaluation of the Gbong Gwom Institution from 1935-2004* (Jos: Berom Historical Publications, 2004). J. G. Nengel, 'Subjugation of the Polities of Jos-Plateau and Central Nigerian Highlands to Colonial Domination 1898-1930', *Journal of Central Nigerian Studies*, 2001.

²¹ S. D. Nyam (ed.). *The Berom Digest* (Jos: Berom Historical Publications 2004). Fwatshak, S.U. "The Origin of the Chadic-Speaking Groups in the Central Nigerian Area: A Re-Assessment of the Bornoan Tradition." A. A. Idrees and Y. A. Ochefu (eds.), *Studies in the History of Central Nigeria*, v. 1. (Lagos: CSS Bookshop), pp. 51-69.

²² Muhammad Sani Umar, *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

²³ James, Ibrahim 1997. *The Ham: Its people, their political and cultural history* (Jos: Jos University Press).

²⁴ See the works of Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. *Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria*, 2 v. (Ibadan, Nigeria: Oxford University Press, 1971). Closely related to this is Eghosa who examine the same subject but began from Nigerian independence and provides highlight of what followed next in Nigeria. See Osaghae, Eghosa E. *Crippled Giant Nigeria Since Independence* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998).

²⁵ Robert Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yoruba 3rd* (London: Methuen, 1988); Law, Robin: *The Oyo Empire, c. 1600 – c. 1836* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977). Stephen Adebajji Akintoye, *A History of the Yoruba People* (Dakar: Amalion Publishing, 2010). Bolaji E. Idowu, "Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief" (New York, NY: Wazobia, 1994). Lange, *Ancient Kingdoms of West Africa* (Roll Verlag, Dettelbach 2004).

the late nineteenth century decided to group people from different languages, cultures, beliefs, histories and social patterns together as a sovereign political nation under the rule of mega ethnic groups that were themselves politically ambitious in their quest for power in their respective regions.²⁶

Therefore, the Nigerian historical narrative is viewed here as the synthesis of histories of various people groups, chiefdoms, kingdoms and regions knitted together to form the colonial histories that historians refer to as ‘earlier societies’ in the modern Nigerian territory (Falola and Heaton 2008:18). The geopolitical land known as Nigeria today is traditionally occupied by highly diverse ethnic and political kingdoms, different independent states, chiefdoms or empires which in modern-day Nigeria are grouped into mega ethnic groups like the Yoruba, Benin, Igbo, Hausa, and Kanuri. These people groups trace their history to the origins of their states long before 1500 CE. Michael Crowder’s *The Story of Nigeria* (1962) and Elizabeth Isichei’s *History of Nigeria* (1983) identify and narrate some of these regional political histories as well as the biographies of some great men, as supported by archaeological and social anthropological findings.²⁷ These people groups evolved their socio-cultural, agricultural techniques, arts and craftsmanship, including leather work, iron work and pottery, and were engaged in all kinds of trade between the groups. Some of these chiefdoms, kingdoms or empires also evolved into either centralized or decentralized states settling in villages or groups of villages.

Prominent among these pre-colonial states which had centralized political and spiritual leadership as kings include the Northeastern kingdom of Kanem-Bornu, the Hausa

²⁶ See Appendix 1.

²⁷ Michael Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962); Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Nigeria* (London: Longman, 1983).

kingdoms of Katsina, Kano, Zaria and Gobir, the Yoruba kingdoms of Ife, Oyo and Ijebu in the Southwest, the Southern kingdom of Benin as well as the Igbo societies in the East. The central part, also known as the middle belt of Nigeria, had a complex intermingling of distinct ethnic and political kingdoms. These sophisticated and influential city states and chiefdoms developed extensive trading networks which extend northwards across the Sahara before the coming of Europeans. Falola and Heaton, for example, examine some of these groups between 900 BCE and 1500 CE, in the context of, among other things, slavery and slave trade in 1500-1800. This theme was central to the political and economic transformation and further highlights the problem of slavery, slave-raiding, and the trafficking of people within Nigeria and beyond during this period. They demonstrate the connection between the challenges faced in the area of political, economic, cultural, and social developments and the challenges encountered in the history of Nigeria today (Falola and Heaton 2008:16-40).

The abolition of the slave trade in the nineteenth century led to a rapid expansion of agricultural trade between Africa and Europe. Lagos was made a British colony in 1861 for the expansion of British trade, missions, and political influence. Later in the late nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, Lagos became a centre for most of the educated West African elite who led Nigerian nationalism and played prominent roles in the development of Pan-Africanism. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, Britain expanded its rule in the region and a protectorate was declared over Northern Nigeria in the 1900s but the political and cultural traditions of the people were not changed due to the indirect rule system of administration.

The geo-political area called Nigeria today was conquered by Britain, apart from the section of Cameroon that was formerly controlled by Germany. After the amalgamation

in 1914, a legislative council with a limited African representation was created in 1922. The British authority established the federal system of government in 1947 under a new Nigerian constitution which created three regions, Eastern, Western and Northern. This was part of the effort to appease and solve ethnic and religious tensions that were already brewing between the major ethnic groups, namely Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa and Fulani. It was also part of the effort to reconcile the different regional mega ethnic groups and minorities and the religious tensions and to accommodate the interests of the various political ethnic groups in the country. This has been difficult until today especially following recent years of incessant killing and destruction by Boko Haram and other rebel groups.

The British Empire and European powers had settlements around West African ports in the 1700s but there was not much effort to establish colonies. In 1776, Adam Smith observed that the African societies were better established and more populous than those of the Americas, thus creating a more formidable barrier to European expansion (Richardson 2004:4-68).²⁸ For instance, in 1860 the chief of Bonny, recognizing the risk associated with British expansion, explained why he declined to sign the British treaty. According to him, they ‘induce the Chiefs to sign a treaty whose meaning they did not understand, and then seize upon the country’ (Isichei 1983:362).²⁹ However, the struggle to intervene and eradicate slave trade activity and replace it with other legitimate trade gradually got Britain interested and involved in the affairs of the area known as Nigeria today. In 1807 the Houses of Parliament in London passed legislation

²⁸ David Richardson, "Background to annexation: Anglo-African credit relations in the Bight of Biafra, 1700–1891"; in Pétre-Grenouilleau, *From Slave Trade to Empire* (2004), 47–68. Richardson (2004) also quoted Smith: ‘Though the Europeans possess many considerable settlements both upon the coast of Africa and in the East Indies, they have not yet established in either of those countries such numerous and thriving colonies as those in the islands and continent of America.’ See Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776, v. 2, 112.

²⁹ Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, (London: Longman, 1983), p. 362.

prohibiting British subjects from participating in the slave trade. Although this trade was not limited to Britain, the Act was intended to stop all forms of slave trafficking coming from the ports of West Africa. British direct intervention started in the Lagos area in 1851 when the British Foreign Secretary endorsed Lord Palmerston to carry out a direct assault on Lagos on 26 December 1851. The bombardments forced King Kosoko to flee and his rival Akitoye was installed to end the slave trade and to enable legitimate commerce to thrive and help promote British interests in the area.

Britain eventually annexed Lagos in 1861 and later established the Oil River Protectorate in 1884 but did not fully occupy the area until 1885, after other European powers acknowledged Britain's power over the area during the Berlin Conference. In 1897 the Royal Niger Company began the practical process of handing over Nigeria to Crown rule and direct control by the British government (Read 1985:50).³⁰ From 1886 to 1899 Nigeria was ruled by the Royal Niger Company, which had been authorized to rule by charter, and governed by George Taubman Goldie. The Royal Niger Company handover of the Southern and Northern Nigeria Protectorates to Crown rule took place in 1900.

The colonial period in Nigeria formally started in 1900 and lasted until 1960 when Nigeria gained its independence. Successive British rulers imposed Crown Colony government upon the people through an autocratic and bureaucratic approach to leadership. Having adopted indirect rule, in 1906 the British administration merged the Southern colonies into the Southern protectorate and new colony of Southern Nigeria. Eight years later the Colony of Southern Nigeria was combined with the Northern

³⁰ In May 1897, Herbert J. Read observed in his *Memorandum on British possessions in West Africa*, 'inconvenient and unscientific boundaries' between Lagos Colony, the Niger Coast Protectorate, and the Royal Niger Company. He then went on to suggest that they be merged. See Carland, *The Colonial Office and Nigeria*, 1985, p. 50.

Nigeria Protectorate to form the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria in 1914 (Carland 1985:1-2).³¹ The territory's administration and its military power was under the control of London as well as Nigeria (Carland 1985:48).³² The amalgamation of different ethnic and religious groups into one federation created internal tension which persists in Nigeria to the present day (Carland 1985:90).³³

In his political ambition, Lugard always had the desire to merge the Southern protectorates with the North. In August 1911 the Colonial Office approved Lugard to be the champion of amalgamation. Therefore, Lugard was transferred back to Nigeria in 1912 after a six-year term as the Governor of Hong Kong (Metz 1994:34).³⁴ His proposal to the Colonial Office suggests that the merger would not affect the administration of the provinces but they would be under the strong authoritarian leadership of the Governor-General. Although his proposal was approved, he was not permitted to pass laws without the approval of the Colonial Office. With this setting Lugard set in motion the process of amalgamating the South and North into one Colony and Protectorate, which he completed a day before World War I. Although the three regions were expected to have significant regional autonomy, between 1900 and 1906 Lugard consolidated his political control over the areas through military conquest and initiated the use of British currency as a substitute for barter in the Protectorate (Hermann 2011; Swindell 1994:149-62).³⁵

³¹John M. Carland, *The Colonial Office and Nigeria* (London: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 1–2. "Crown Colony Government in Nigeria and elsewhere in the British Empire was autocratic government. Officials at the Colonial Office and colonial governors in the field never pretended otherwise. In fact, autocratic, bureaucratic rule was the true legacy of British colonial government in Africa."

³²John M Carland *The Colonial Office and Nigeria*, (London: Macmillan, 1985), p. 48.

³³Ibid, p. 90.

³⁴Helen Chapin Metz, *Nigeria: A Country Study*, (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 34.

³⁵Robin Hermann, "Empire Builders and Mushroom Gentlemen: The Meaning of Money in Colonial Nigeria", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 44.3, 2011. Ken Swindell, "The Commercial Development of the North: Company and Government Relations, 1900–1906", *Paideuma* 40, 1994, pp. 149–162.

Subsequent to this, that same year, the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF or WAFF), under the leadership of Colonel Frederick Lugard, was created by the British government. Although the military officers were British, Lugard recruited 2,600 troops mostly of Hausa and Yoruba descents. The operation of these forces is still not known because of a confidentiality policy. However, Aseigbu remarked that ‘Right from the start Lugard adopted a policy of keeping the entire force predominantly Hausa, with Yorubas as the next preferred ethnic group to recruit into the force. In the middle of 1898, Lugard reported to the Colonial Office that there were already 2600 native soldiers (made up of Hausa and Yorubas in equal proportions) in the force’ (Aseigbu 1984: xxv). Meanwhile more recruitment efforts were continuing in Yorubaland and Northern Nigeria.³⁶ Nigeria’s armed forces were the oldest formalized military unit in West Africa and have since gone through a lot of reforms that might be discernible in its nomenclature in each period. Kirk-Greene (1964) observes that their pedigree is thus traced through the Hausa Militia in 1864 to the formation of the Nigerian Army in 1963 (Kirk-Greene 1964:129).³⁷

Two significant things happened in the year 1898 that further contributed to the establishment of British control in Nigeria. Firstly, the British guidelines for the administration of the Nigerian colony were established by the Niger Committee under the leadership of the Earl of Selborne. Secondly, at the Anglo-French Convention of 1898, the British concluded border arrangements between Nigeria and French territories

³⁶Asiegbu laments that ‘Adequate historical information and knowledge about the organization and exploits of the WAFF, the military activities and experiences of some of the remarkable personalities and individual soldiers and officials who belonged to it, have unfortunately been lacking in our own time thanks to the strict official policy of secrecy and silence which the British government imposed right from the start on all officers serving in, or retired from, that force.’ Asiegbu, *Nigeria and its British Invaders*, (New York: NOK Publishers International, 1984), pp. xxv–xxvii.

³⁷ A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, ‘A Preliminary Note on New Sources for Nigerian Military History’ in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3, 1 (December 1964), pp. 129-147.

in West Africa (Carland 1985: 3-4, 50-52).³⁸ The administration of the colonial offices was primarily by the British upper middle class. They were predominantly university-educated men whose parents were well to do or in respected professions in Britain (Carland 1985: 19-22)³⁹. The first five heads of the Nigeria Department (1898–1914) were Reginald Antrobus, William Mercer, William Baillie Hamilton, Sydney Olivier, and Charles Strachey (Carland 1985:31). The seven men who governed Northern Nigeria, Southern Nigeria, and Lagos through 1914 were Henry McCallum, William MacGregor, Walter Egerton, Ralph Moor, Percy Girouard, Hesketh Bell, and Frederick Lugard. ‘Most of these came from military backgrounds. All were knighted’ (Carland 1985: 35–7).⁴⁰

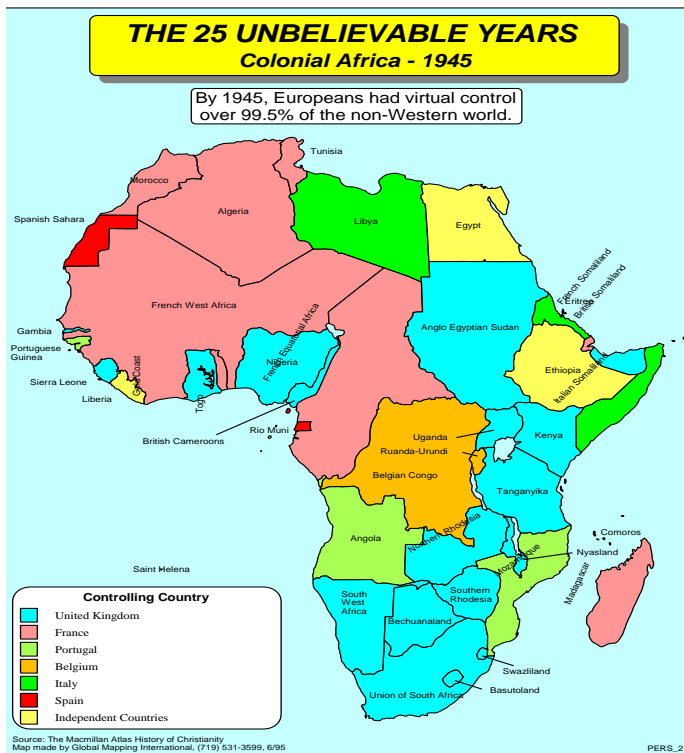


Fig. 2.2 Years of Colonial Rule in Africa

³⁸Carland, *The Colonial Office and Nigeria*, pp. 3–4, 50–52.

³⁹Carland observes that ‘Those in the upper middle class were in higher-income groups or in important professional, commercial, or industrial positions. / These definitions place Colonial Office permanent officials primarily in the upper middle class. This can be seen by looking at Table 1.2 Three of these men — William Baillie Hamilton, Dougal Malcolm, and Charles Strachey — also had connections with the nobility and landed gentry. Nine had fathers in prestigious occupations — the Church, the Bar, and the highest ranks of the Civil Service and the armed forces; and the remaining five had fathers in the important professional, commercial, or industrial positions.’ Carland, *The Colonial Office and Nigeria*, pp. 19–22.

⁴⁰Carland, *The Colonial Office and Nigeria*, pp. 35–37.

When Walter Egerton arrived Nigeria in 1908 he had a six-point mission (Carland 1985:104-9). Before his arrival, on 29 November 1907 he received a telegram from the Colonial Office outlining the British priorities in Nigeria. Apart from supervising and improving the Lagos harbour and the extension of telegraph networks, Egerton was charged to do the following:

- i. To pacify the tensions in the country;
- ii. To establish government in the newly conquered districts;
- iii. To improve and extend native footpaths throughout the country;
- iv. To construct properly graded roads in the more populated districts;
- v. To clear the numerous rivers in the country and make them suitable for launch and canoe traffic;
- vi. To extend the railways.

Between 1895 and 1900, new railway lines were built from Lagos to Ibadan, which were formally commissioned in March 1901. In 1905-07 the railway line was extended by 62 miles to Oshogbo, and later to Zungeru and Minna between 1908 and 1911 and further up North from Baro through Minna to Kano in 1907-11. Labourers for these projects were conscripted and forced to work or risk being fined or jailed (Carland 1985:135-53, 79-84). The train services enabled the transportation of goods and people on a larger scale from the hinterland to the ports for onward movement to Europe. In the 1950s a new constitution was made, leading to the formation of political parties and elections of representatives. Nigeria was at this time very divided but the various factions were constituted into three regions based on ethnic affiliation, namely Eastern, Western, Northern and Lagos in 1954. These regions gained full autonomy in 1959; Nigerian independence was on 1 October 1960 and it became a republic in 1963 with B. N. Azikiwe as the first Nigerian President. Therefore, historically, Nigeria evolved

from loose independent ethnic kingdoms and empires and amalgamated into one Nigeria under British rule. This highlights the conflict that followed combining with the nationalist movement until Nigeria gained her independence in 1960.⁴¹

2.2.1.1 Benefits of Colonial Rule in Africa

There are two identifiable poles in the **discourse of the benefits of colonialism in Africa**. On the one hand, there is an extremely negative viewpoint and, on another hand, there exists an extremely positive viewpoint of the subject matter (cf. Mapuva & Chari 2010:22; Souare 2007).⁴² For the purpose of this study, my arguments centre on both poles, acknowledging both the negative and positive impacts of colonialism on the African continent. It is undeniable that the colonial era endangered Africa and Africans in several ways but it also irrefutable that some of the actions undertaken by the colonial masters were also beneficial to the continent. In fact, it can be argued that African leaders have committed more grievous atrocities in the bid to govern their own citizenry than were committed by colonial masters during their rule. It is not too much to say that colonialism contributed at least to the rise of Africans above their traditional level. However, following this line of discourse, some writers do not see anything good about colonial rule in Africa. They argue that the economic programmes in the colonies were designed for the interest of the colonizing power and that the terms of trade were generally unequal and hideously unfavourable to the colonies (Fadeyiye 2005:144).⁴³ Other scholars argue in favour of colonialism by identifying the benefits of colonial rule in Africa as a whole and in Nigeria in particular (Ake 2008:38).⁴⁴ They posit colonial

⁴¹ Although this study recognizes that it is difficult to neatly separate colonial conquest from missionary adventure in Africa, in this study the aspect of advent of missionaries and their contribution to church growth endeavours in Nigeria are discussed under religious context.

⁴² Souare, I.K. "Can the G-8 and IFIs Help Africa?" *International Secretariat, Amnesty International, London*, 2007.

⁴³ Fadeyiye, J.O. *A Social Studies Textbook for Colleges and Universities*, v. 2, (Ibadan: Akin- Johnson Press and Publishers, 2005).

⁴⁴ Ake, C. *A Political Economy of Africa* (Lagos: Longman Nigeria, 2008).

rule as a factor that assisted the continent in the development of Western education; modern health services; modern transportation; modern market or business; modern communication; modern agriculture; as well as in economic and modern scientific knowledge, all of which directly or indirectly contribute to the growth of the economy and help connect African countries to other parts of the globe (Adeyeri et al. 2012:55-6; Fadeiye 2005:243). The process of educational policy formation in Nigeria can be traced back to the country's colonial era where British education policies were adopted without necessarily being adapted to the ethnic and socio-economic context of the people. The colonial system of education, though commendable, was severely limited since it failed to include national considerations in the process of developing the policies that came to shape the country's educational system. The policies and curricula were foreign to Nigerians and unsuitable for a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious people. This led to situations of tension and discontent between education providers and the people. The country still suffers a great need for inclusivity in the development of its education policies, nevertheless; this gap presents CAPRO with an opportunity to establish and run context-adapted mission schools (primary and secondary) where such institutions are yet to be established.

Regarding the link between the socio-economic crises and pre-independent policies, Agbor et al. presented empirical evidence in his argument showing that an understanding of colonial powers may help explain the causes of differentiation in the rapid or slow economic growth rate of former colonies (Agbor et al 2010:1).⁴⁵ This refers to the fact that in spite of the cessation of colonialism in most African countries,

⁴⁵ Agbor, Julius A., Fedderke, J. W., & Viegi, N. 'How does Colonial Origin matter for Economic Performance in sub-Saharan Africa' Working paper no. 176. University of Cape Town, 2010; Njoh, A. J. 'The Impact of Colonial Heritage on Development in Africa' *Social Indicators Research*, 52,161e178, 2000. Agbor, Julius A. 'How does colonial origin matter for economic performance in sub-Saharan Africa?' Working paper // *World Institute for Development Economics Research*, No. 2011, 27 (WIDER, Helsinki, 2011).

the economies of such countries have remained somewhat dependent on the former colonial powers (Yunusa 2009:57).⁴⁶ While many African countries have received a flag of political independence, many are yet to receive the economic freedom that they direly need. Instead of providing this economic freedom, the newly elected political classes came into power without a real sense of national interest and without development programmes that aim to benefit the people. As a result, post-independent political classes on the continent have continued to struggle for the personal or regional gain at the expense of national interests. The tendencies of exploitation and lifeless bureaucracy in Nigeria may have been inherited from the colonial masters, but it is unclear why African political leaders have failed to strip off the garments that hinder progress. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the question of economic exploitation in the context of colonial rule has been a subject of rigorous debate seeing as one of the motivations of colonialism has been established as the greedy quest for the untapped resources of the colonies (Adeyeri and Adjuwon 2012:4).⁴⁷

To ensure an effective and appropriate developmental process there must be a clear departure from the past motivations, approaches and orientations of colonial explorers and exploiters which are still very much present in Nigeria today (Rodney 2005).⁴⁸ Therefore, at this point I would rather see the advantage of the colonial rule over the present Nigerian political stalemate. It is important to highlight that the colonial era promoted inter-group social, economic and political relationships through the provision

⁴⁶ Yunusa, K.S “The Political Economy of Nigeria and the Continuing Agenda of Recolonization: A Challenge for Critical Knowledge Production”, *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 3, 3 (September 2009).

⁴⁷ Olusegun Adeyeri and Kehinde David Adejuwon, ‘The Implications of British colonial Economic Policies on Nigeria’s Development’ *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Science* [IJARMSS] 1, 2, (August 2012).

⁴⁸ W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Abuja: Panaf Publishing, 2005). G Brown, ‘Crisis, Colonial Failure, and Subaltern Suffering’, *speech to joint session of U.S. Congress, March 4:2009*; J Mapuva, and Chari, F, “Colonialism no longer an excuse for Africa’s Failure”, *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12, 5 (2010).

of roads, rails and ports. Furthermore, with regards to dependency, underdevelopment, and poverty alleviation, I posit that benefits are discernible in the fact that colonial rule incorporated Nigerian peasants and small scale producers in the global market, thereby bringing such merchants out of poverty (Adeyeri et al 2012:7-13; Nnoli 1981:85).⁴⁹ However it is also true that the incorporation of African subsistent or semi-subsistent producers was a system of subjugation for the purpose of transferring raw materials to the global market for the benefit of colonial producers. As a result, some scholars would rather assert that the British economic policy in Nigeria had at its core, the development of Britain and underdevelopment of Nigeria (Falola, et al, 2007; Chikendu 2004:42; Babawale 2007).⁵⁰ Some have gone further to argue that the amalgamation policy effected in the country was designed primarily for control and wealth transfer rather than for the benefit of the people (Tamuno 1980:395).⁵¹ Aderibigbe (2007:166) in his summaries suggests that the British colonial economic ideas were aimed at exploiting the mineral and agricultural resources of the African countries. He further notes that the West African pattern of trade is organized to favour Western powers. The colonialists had no intentional programme of transforming their colonies into industrial nations and they always want to have full control of the export trade of their colonies.⁵²

2.2.2 Political Context

⁴⁹ Nnoli, O “A Short History of Nigeria Underdevelopment”, in Nnoli, O (ed.), *Path to Nigeria Development* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1981).

⁵⁰ Chikendu, P.N *Imperialism and Nationalism* (Enugu: Academic Publishing Company, 2004); Falola, T *History of Nigeria 3: Nigeria in the Twentieth Century* (Lagos: Longman, 2007); T. Babawale, *Nigeria in the Crisis of Governance and Development: A Retrospective and Prospective Analysis of Selected Issues and Events*, v. 2 (Lagos: Political and Administrative Resource Center (PARC), 2007).

⁵¹ Tamuno T.N “British Colonial Administration in Nigeria in the Twentieth Century” in Ikime Obaro (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980). Aghahowa, J.O and Ukpebor E.E.M “The British Colonial Economic Policies and Nigeria Underdevelopment”, *The Nigerian Journal of Politics and Public Policy*, 3, 1&2, (December, 1999).

⁵² Aderibigbe, S *Basic Approach to Government* (Lagos: Joja Educational Research and Publishers Ltd, 2006); Shokpeka, S. A and Nwaokocha, O. A “British Colonial Economic Policy in Nigeria, the Example of Benin Province 1914 – 1954”, *Journal of Human Ecology*, 28, 1, (2009); Todaro, M.P *Economics for Developing World* (London: Longman, 1979).

Briggs observes that 'severe conflicts within and between regions marked the early years of independence and politics in Nigeria' (Briggs 1990:756). Jaja Wachuku, the first black Speaker of the Nigerian Parliament, took the place of Sir Frederick Metcalfe of Great Britain from 1959-1960. Wachuku received Nigeria's Instrument of Independence, also known as the Freedom Charter, from Princess Alexandra of Kent, the Queen's representative at the Nigerian independence ceremonies. At independence, Nigeria was given exclusive powers in defence, foreign relations, and commercial and fiscal policy. However, the organization of political parties immediately revealed the tensions that existed between the three geo-political regions, represented by the three mega ethnic groups in the country. For example, during this period, the NPC (Nigerian People's Congress) was predominantly Hausa and tended to be for Muslims and dominated by people from the Northern region. Secondly, the NCNC (National Convention of Nigerian Citizens) was seen as a party for Igbo people, tending to be more Christian and dominated by people from the South-Eastern Region. Thirdly, the AG (Action Group) was predominantly Yoruba from the South-West, who were also perceived to be Christians, as well as Muslims from South-Western Nigeria. The first post-independence National Government was constituted through an alliance between the NCNC and the NPC with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a Northerner, as the first Nigerian Prime Minister while Chief Obafemi Awolowo and his South-Western group formed the opposition.

In 1966 the political crisis escalated until a South-Eastern person staged a coup that led to the death of the Prime Minister, A. Tafawa Balewa, and two regional prime ministers and ended the nascent civil rule. But a counter-coup was staged by the Northern officers that same year and after due consultation, Lt. Col Yakubu Gowon was made the Head of State. Gowon tried to develop and build peace between the South and North through

the NYSC but to no avail. The conflict between the South and North continued to rage, particularly between the Igbo people in the South-East and the Hausa-Fulani people in the North. The conflict reached its peak in 1967 when the South-East declared its secession from Nigeria by breaking away to form the republic of Biafra. This precipitated a civil war that lasted until 1970. In 1975 General Gowon was overthrown by another coup and a new regime was formed. The new regime facilitated the restoration of the civilian rule in 1975 that brought Shehu Shagari into power as the President of Nigeria and he was re-elected in 1983 before being overthrown by Major General Muhammadu Buhari. Buhari did not last long either; Major General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida overthrew his regime in 1985. These coups and counter-coups and conflicts complicated Nigerian politics and encouraged all sorts of corrupt practices and tendencies that gradually led to the collapse of the economy. It is was in the midst of these political and economic deadlock that CAPRO mission was born in 1975 with the message of love and hope in Northern Nigeria. According to Chinua Achebe:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership ... There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmarks of true leadership (Achebe 1983:1).⁵³

Table 2.1 Names and Dates of Nigerian Leaders⁵⁴

Nigerian Leaders In History	Administration	Date of Leadership	Designation
Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe	Civilian	1 Oct 1960 - 16 Jan 1963	President of the Republic
Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Civilian	30 Aug 1960 - 15 Jan 1966	Prime Minister
Johnson Umurakwe Ironsi	Military	16 Jan 1966 - 29 Jul 1966	Heads of the Military Government
Yakubu Gowon	Military	1 Aug 1966 - 29 Jul 1975	Heads of the Military Government
Murtala Muhammed Ramat	Military	29 Jul 1975 - 13 Feb 1976	Heads of the Military Government
Olusegun Obasanjo	Military	14 Feb 1976 -	Heads of the Military Government

⁵³ Chinua Achebe *The Trouble with Nigeria* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1983).

⁵⁴ <http://www.crawfordsworld.com/rob/apcg/Nigeria/unit4NigeriaTimeline.htm>.

		1 Oct 1979	Government
Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari	Civilian	1 Oct 1979 - 31 Dec 1983	President of the Republic
Muhammadu Buhari	Military	31 Dec 1983 - 27 Aug 1985	Head of the Federal Military Government
Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida	Military	27 Aug 1985 - 4 Jan 1993	Chairman of the Armed Forces Ruling Council Chairman of the National Defence and Security Council
Ernest Adekunle Oladeinde Shonekan	Civilian	26 Aug 1993 - 17 Nov 1993	Head of the Interim National Government
Sani Abacha	Military	17 Nov 1993 - 8 Jun 1998	Chairman of the Provisional Ruling Council
Abdulsalam Abubakar	Military	9 Jun 1998 - 29 May 1999	Chairman of the Provisional Ruling Council
Olusegun Obasanjo	Civilian	29 May 1999 - 29 May 2007	President of the Republic
Umaru Musa Yar'Adua	Civilian	29 May 2007 - 5 May 2010.	President of the Republic
Goodluck Jonathan	Civilian	9 Feb 2010 - 29 May 2015. Acting for Yar'Adua to 5 May 2010	President of the Republic
Muhammadu Buhari	Civilian	29 May 2015	President of the Republic

The table above presents the names of the past Nigerian leaders, showing whether they were civilian or military rulers. From the table, it is clear that Nigeria after independence has been under military rule longer than democratic rule. The political leadership challenge of the nation has had its toll on the church as we shall see later in this study.

2.2.2.1 Socio-Political Context: Nationalism and the Emergence of Indigenous Mission in Nigeria

Nationalism is a political ideology or philosophy that focuses on patriotism and the welfare of the nation or ethnic state. It functions as a pressure group for people who share a common history, religion, language, or ethnic background and are loyal to the country (Biggs 1990:738). Hobsbawm and Kertzer observe that nationalism, 'can take

the state or any other form of political organization or it can leave it alone. If it becomes political, it has no special affinity for ethnically labelled politics' (Hobsbawm & Kertzer 1992:4).⁵⁵

The nationalist movement in Nigeria was founded by Herbert Macaulay in 1920 and was later joined by many prominent Nigerians such as Nnamdi Ezikiwe in 1936. Many of the proponents of nationalism were pan-African as a result of a pan-Nigerian pressure movement against colonialism (Uche 1989:23-4).⁵⁶ It was a process of asserting and promoting the socio-cultural affinity of the people to the land (Herb and Kaplan 2008:1184).⁵⁷ In Nigeria it was the union of various peoples living in the British administered Nigeria, though diverse in background, who were encouraged to unite as one people to resist the Europeanization of colonial rule (cf. Falola Aderinto 2010:256). In 1944 the Nigerian National Council was formed in response to the colonial administration's refusal to consider nationalist demands. With Herbert Macaulay as President and Nnamdi Azikiwe as Secretary General, the membership of the group was open to all concerned Nigerians. Their goal was self-governance so they would not support colonial rule. Between 1946 and 1950 the colonial administration began to yield to the pressure of decolonization by the nationalists.

In 1947 constitutional revisions were made which were immediately followed by large-scale reforms implemented to incorporate the nationals in the civil service into higher levels, democratize the local legislatures, and expand social services. In 1953 the London Conference yielded a constitution for an independent Nigeria and called for the creation of a federation with a strong centralized government and regional

⁵⁵ See E. J. Hobsbawm; David J. Kertzer, 'Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today', *Anthropology Today*, 8, 1, (Feb., 1992), 3-8.

⁵⁶ Luke Uka Uche. *Mass media, people, and politics in Nigeria* (Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 23.

⁵⁷ Guntram H. Herb, David H. Kaplan. *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), p. 1184.

administration led by Nigerian-born premiers and ministers. However, this process witnessed all sorts of regional conflict in the political environment. Therefore, the goal of this movement was in part achieved when Nigeria received independence on 1st October 1960 (Motyl 2001:372).⁵⁸

The nationalist movement is one area of Nigerian socio-political history that functions to provide socio-political and ethno-religious insights into the dialogue of the tension of relationships that existed between the state and church and the colonial missionaries and nationalists. In essence, the creation of most African nation-states with their attendant modern geo-political construct was simply a European political agenda (Chatterjee 1986).⁵⁹ This makes the reconstruction of national history more challenging and de-regionalizing politics very difficult. This is due to (1) the desire and struggle to overcome the negative colonial heritage among African societies, (2) the artificial nation-state boundaries created by the colonial administration. This created unforeseen conflicts of interest among some people groups that were either divided for administrative purposes or subjected easily under people or geo-political regions of variant affinities. (3) The daunting empirical challenge for national historiographies is also a big issue. The impact of arbitrary borders itself created conflict with natural ethnic local communities' boundaries.⁶⁰ This is because even the so-called Nigerian historiographies are closely linked to narratives of nation-states that can only be fully comprehended through the histories of the various pre-colonial kingdoms and empires

⁵⁸ Alexander J. Motyl, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, v. 2. (London: Academic Press, 2001).

⁵⁹ See Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London, 1986). Chatterjee argues that even nationalism and the challenge it presents was a European political category.

⁶⁰ Dike's monograph was the first to be widely considered to be a work of academic African history. See K. O. Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta* (Oxford, OUP, 1956). Michael Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*. (London: Longman, 1983).

such as the Yoruba, Benin, Hausa and Kanem-Bornu.⁶¹ Falola and Heaton survey the nuances of the various histories of the ancient states and empires, and how they came together as the Federal Republic of Nigeria. However, this was not without difficulties. For example, in their narrative on the emergence of the Hausa, they described the seven ancestral Hausa states, the seven grandsons of Bayajidda and Queen of Daura as the *Hausa Bakwai*, meaning the ‘*Hausa seven*’: Daura, Biram, Katsina, Zaria, Kano, Rano, and Gobir. However, they wrongly referred to the seven illegitimate sons of Bawo who founded the Zamfara, Kwara, Kebbi, Nupe, Ilorin, Gwari and Yauri states as *Hausa banza* (‘useless’ Hausa) instead of *banza bakwai* (‘the useless or illegitimate seven’) (see Falola & Heaton 2008:28-37). How did nationalism affect the political, cultural and religious life of the Nigerian citizenry? Did nationalism facilitate the advent of the indigenous church and mission movement in Nigeria?

2.2.2.2 The Impact of Nationalism in Nigeria: A Missionary Perspective

Nationalism in Nigeria took different forms. Whether it was in the form of patriotic feelings, principles, or an extreme form of loyalty marked by a feeling of superiority over the other, or simply the advocacy of political independence for a particular country, it no doubt impacted Nigerian politics and church growth both positively and negatively. By the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the struggles of the nationalists against missionaries continued to gain momentum. Ayandele refers to this struggle as ‘nationalist’s bitterness against white missionaries’ (Ayandele 1966:241). The nationalist struggle took place in different phases. Firstly, the educated Africans who were involved in trade businesses struggled to free themselves from any form of dependence on European commercial firms in the Lagos area.⁶² At

⁶¹ Steven Pierce, review of *A History of Nigeria*, (review no. 812) <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/812>.

⁶² C.O. 147/133, Enclosure in Denton to Chamberlain, 4 June 1898.

this time of agitation, professionals like Randle and Herbert Macaulay rejected and resisted any kind of racial discrimination found in the civil service. Where their voices were not heard or appreciated, they would resign and start their own enterprises.

However, the nationalists and colonialists worked together to open up Nigerian society and Africans to the global market. One of the socio-political legacies of colonialism is the long-term process of opening up the various people groups to trade with the outside world which was both beneficial on the one hand and problematic on the other. In the beginning, these groups initially were engaged more in exporting human beings, agricultural goods or minerals while leather goods and textiles among others were limited to trade with the Europeans. Some have identified the political transformations that evolved by a colonial, slavery and nationalist mentality which intensify ethnic conflict, and a class syndrome, fostering corruption and separating governing elites from grassroots and traditional checks and balances in their exercise of power. This further highlights the complexities embedded in the nation's historical, political, social and economic development process. Consequently, this suggests that to be a Nigerian implies that one is an inheritor of some of the aforementioned multi-stranded complexities associated with Nigeria's struggle for nationhood. It also means that one should be prepared to overcome adversity, exploitation, corruption and incessant conflict between and among different ethnic, political, social and cultural categories.

Secondly, the interference in indigenous customs and cultural institutions by Western administrators and missionaries was also resisted. The people saw Western missionaries as imperialists who were seeking to destroy or supplant Nigerian cultural heritage. The press reported that the people believed European missionaries had an imperialist goal.

They aimed at exploiting and dominating Africans (*Lagos Weekly Record*, 1910).⁶³ This was so because as missionaries sought to convert the people from traditional religion to Christianity they became victims of condemning almost all African traditional practices by referring to them as heathen and evil practices that must be stopped. Many white missionaries at this time could not separate the gospel message from their personal cultural, emotional and social life. Warneck referred to this as European civilization and Christianity 'hang together as cause and effect, as root and branches' (Warneck 1883:6).⁶⁴ The missionaries did not contextualize the gospel or Christianity into Nigerian ways of worship, architecture, art and customs. Therefore, the church was alien to the host culture. There were even instances where converts were required to drink tea, and wear white man's clothes before they were considered genuine or loyal believers (Ajayi 1965:32). Followers were taught to abhor African customs and cultural institutions, taught to pray, sing psalms, wear European clothes, and adopt European mannerisms. This made some educated Africans who had been to school in England think of England as their home country instead of Nigeria. Bowen captured this identity crisis which nationalists perceived to have been created by the Western missionaries thus:

The general impression is that in order to civilize and Christianize the African, he must be foreignized. Hence, one's native name, dress, and food must be changed in order that he may be ranked among the civilized portion of the community. It is too common when a native is admitted into the Christian church, to change his native name, which is not only euphonious, but historical and full of meaning, for a foreign one--English, American, German, or French. The idea is that all foreign names are necessarily Christian and all native names necessarily heathen (Bowen 1896: 127).⁶⁵

Therefore, the nationals were taught to value and revere European and American names, customs and food. The question here is what is the difference between conversion to

⁶³ See *Lagos Weekly Record*, 8 June 1901 and 26 Sept. 1901; *Lagos Standard*, 27 Dec. 1902.

⁶⁴ G. Warneck, *Modern Missions and Culture: Their Mutual Relations*. Translated by T. Smith, Gemmill, 1883, p. 6.

⁶⁵ J. W. E. Bowen (ed.), *Africa and the American Negro...* Addresses and Proceedings of the Congress on Africa held under the auspices of the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa of Gammon Theological Seminary in connection with The Cotton States and International Exposition December 13-15, 1895 (Atlanta, GA: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1896).

Christianity and enslavement? Earlier, slaves were given their master's ethnic name and when the missionaries came to Africa they were doing similar things, forcing their names on their converts and treating them as if they were their slaves. Bowen, in his report, went on to observe that, 'What is true of names is equally true of dress. The missionary teacher has a foreign dress, therefore his converts to be Christians, must be in the garb of the foreigner' (Bowen 1896:127). He lamented that Christians were not distinguished by their moral conduct and allegiance to Christ but by mere outward show of European-American dress. Indigenous believers' modes of thought and 'peculiarities of language and manner which ought to differentiate one race from another, are suppressed' (Bowen 1896:127) or destroyed. So followers of missionaries were identified by 'the stove-pipe hat, the feathered bonnet, the high-heeled shoes, the gloved hands, and all these under the burning tropical heat, make a man a Christian gentleman. The impression of the convert is that in order to be a true Christian, he must do exactly what the foreign teacher does' (Bowen 1896: 127). This has now been generally recognized as a wrong approach to cross-cultural missions.

I would rather agree with Bowen's remark that the missionaries failed to realize that 'every race has a peculiar contribution to make to the sum total of spiritual and moral life. Christianity has not reached its highest achievement until all the races of mankind have brought in their contribution to the foot of the cross' (Bowen 1896: 127).

Therefore:

None of the European languages is poetic enough, none is as euphonious, and none touches the tender chords of the soul, and makes them vibrate in harmony with the music of heaven and the great heart of God, as the native language, spoken to a native. If God is to be seen, felt, and interpreted, let this be done by the eyes, the ears, and the understanding of the native (Bowen 1896:126).

Thirdly, the African elite preferred European names and saw African names as pagan and uncivilized. 'It was the fashion among educated Africans to look for high-sounding

or polysyllabic names such as James Penson Lablo Davies and Joseph Pythagoras Haastrup, or the alliterative James Johnson or Jonathan John Thomas or Richard Beales Blaze' (Ayandele 1966:257, Cust 1894:25).⁶⁶ However, many years later, people in the nationalist movement dropped their European names and reverted to their African names. For instance, David B. Vincent became Mojola Agbebi, Rev. J. H. Samuel was known as Adegboyega Edun, and Joseph Pythagoras Haastrup was known as Ademuyiwa Haastrup.

Some indigenous Christians even went further to opine that it was part of Christian transformational experiences to adopt European language and to consider their local languages as inferior and unholy. To some missionaries, the adoption of European customs and names was external evidence of inward change from paganism to Christianity. The people's identity was in crisis so that even the gospel and Christianity were no longer making sense. They felt they had lost their meaningful names and adopted meaningless names and customs. Hence, the pressures for change continued to build momentum in the Lagos area. Ayandele observes that this group of Christians 'became deluded with the idea that the less African they were the more Christian they became' (Ayandele 1966:243).

In defence of the above, some missionaries (1) justified the practice on the basis of providing help to prevent the bearers from being captured as slaves or becoming victims of traditional sacrifices in the villages, (2) maintained that African names are difficult to pronounce and could be avoided by encouraging indigenous church members to bear Western names, while others opined (3) that it was a way of promoting unity across the different ethnic groups in the church. Despite the fact that none of the above reasons is

⁶⁶ Cf. R. N. Cust, *Essay on Prevailing Methods of the Evangelisation of the Non-Christian World*, (London: Luzac, 1894).

cogent enough to warrant a change of names, nevertheless, Adolphus Mann even contended that converts who rejected European names were guilty of ‘Anglophobia’ and ‘anti-English monomania’.⁶⁷ This line of argument hindered the missionaries from appreciating the good side of African culture, including forms of civilization, moral laws, value systems and ways of governance and methods of building relationships. They simply condemned and denounced the people’s cultural heritage.

Ayandele observed that ‘in spite of criticism of their denationalizing methods by African missionaries like Blyden and James Johnson, the white missionaries did not stop their Europeanizing method of evangelization until their last years in Africa’ (Ayandele 1966:245). Therefore, the educated elite resisted these denationalization efforts and began to find pride in their cultural heritage. They also summoned courage to challenge some of the Western customs advocated by some missionaries. They argued that the advancement of European civilization against the African worldview in the manner that it was advocated ‘threatens to extinguish us as a race’⁶⁸ and contributed to the anti-Government, anti-missionary and in some cases anti-moral tone of the Lagos press.⁶⁹

The campaign against European missionaries at this time became more severe because the nationalists perceived the white man’s political invasion and economic exploitation as part of the missionaries’ enterprise in Nigeria. The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* reported ‘We felt like strangers in our own country’ (*Sierra Leone Weekly News* 1892; Ayandele 1966:258).⁷⁰ This was so because by losing their African names, the Africans felt they were losing the most valued knowledge associated with the circumstances of

⁶⁷ C.M.S G3/A2/02, Mann to Lang, 28 Sept 1883.

⁶⁸ C.M.S G3/A9/03, Memo of private interview, 3 July 1914.

⁶⁹ C.M.S G3/A2/0015, Jones to Manley, 27 January 1914.

⁷⁰ *Sierra Leone Weekly News* 12 November 1892.

birth. The awareness of the link between the child and the extended family and things that happened prior and during the birth of the child are essentially captured in the naming process and coded in the name given to a child. The class and race discrimination found among both missionaries and colonial administrators projected the superiority of the whites and inferiority of the Africans, which was unacceptable to some missionaries and the learned class.

For instance, there were cases of disparity in civil service conditions; some salaries could not be justified other than on the basis of race. There were cases where untrained people were placed over trained and experienced Africans for the same reasons. Even in the church, the case of James Kirk, who although a ‘vulgar’ and a dismissed agent of the American Mission in Sierra Leone,⁷¹ was made a leader over Bishop Samuel Crowther, Henry Johnson and D.C. Crowther in the Niger Mission between 1878 and 1882. All these factored into what triggered the radical revolution among Nigerian nationalists. Although CMS later discovered the ‘unchristian’ lifestyle of J. H. Ashcroft and James Kirk and dismissed them because of their high-headedness in treating Africans, this was after the harm had been done.⁷² There were also cases of language domination as presented above. For instance, the Lagos Government in 1881 passed the Educational Bill declaring that education from the lowest to the highest level must be in the English language before a government could receive a grant. This was opposed by both cultural nationalists and missionaries (*Lagos Times*, 1882).⁷³ Some of the press in Lagos perceived the bill also as a subtle way of promoting and enforcing white man’s culture on African soil, which some referred to as cultural imperialism. According to Clarke, ‘if the ulterior object of the education bill to promote the conquest of West

⁷¹ CMS G3/A2/01, Henry Johnson to Hutchinson, 31 March 1881.

⁷² CMS CA3/L1, Lang to Bishop Crowther, 30 Dec 1881 and Lang to Wood, 11 November 1881. Cf. J. F. Ajay, *op. cit.*, pp. 572-276.

⁷³ *Lagos Times*, 9 August 1882.

Africa by England ... through English language ... We shall not sit tamely to witness the murder, death and burial of one of those important distinguishing national and racial marks that God has given to us' (Clarke 1863:11-12).⁷⁴

Nationalism also led to the starting of new churches that were independent of white control. These efforts produced 14 African independent churches by 1917 but also impacted the church negatively by causing division and confusion among young believers. Significantly though, it facilitated handing over Protestant churches to an African leadership team. Therefore, by 1900, Anglican, Wesleyan and Baptist churches in Abeokuta, Ijebu Ode, Ago-Iwoye and Ibadan districts had an African majority on their councils and committees. In 1904 the first Native Pastorate was created among the Igbo, in the Onitsha district (Ayandele 1966:241). The nationalist movement also led to an extraordinary growth of the churches in Southern Nigeria, which were sponsored more by Nigerians themselves. Ayandele, in his study, observes that the growth of the church between 1892 and 1914 quadrupled even in the areas that were considered difficult by the missionaries when European influence became less upon the people.⁷⁵ The implication of this phenomenal growth is connected to the white missionaries' decision of 'devolution of power on the converts' such that although European missionaries were increasing in number their prestige and value among the indigenous believers were no longer high as it was before. 'The days of the all-powerful, paternal and patronizing missionaries were over' (Ayandele 1966:241).

The Christian nationalists were aware of the differences between becoming a Christian and becoming a European. Therefore, they advocated for the establishment of African

⁷⁴ S. Clarke, *Sketches of the Colony of Sierra Leone and its Inhabitants* (London: T. Richards, 1883), pp. 11-12, Ayandele op.cit, p. 257.

⁷⁵ J. Du Plessis, *Thrice through the Dark Continent*, (London: Longmans, Green, 1917), pp. 52-53.

churches that would be based upon the Bible alone although some of these churches were syncretized by embracing Africa traditions more than the Bible. Blyden contends that ‘the Christ we worship must be an African... The Christ revealed in the Bible is far more African than anything else’ (Blyden 1908:32). Since many Africans could not reconcile the Christ described in the Bible and the Christian practice by the white missionaries, this raises the tension that made educated elites conclude that ‘all the pictures drawn by Europeans to represent Christ are false to us’ (Blyden 1908:32).

2.2.2.3 Critique of the Nationalist Movement in Nigeria

Nigerian history is not limited to the inadequate global economic inequality or European exploration, domination and exploitation. One wonders whether this so-called educated elite who posed as nationalists really lived up to expectations. For example, Johnson and Blyden who were among the leaders of this movement might be said to have only offered lip service because they were not ready to face up to the price of putting their conviction into practice. For instance, Johnson in all his agitations and protests against Western Christianity did not wear African clothes nor did he reject his English name given to him by a German missionary. Similarly, Blyden did not really associate himself with African customs. He continued to enjoy European civilization to its fullness. For example, his source of knowledge was from Western literature. He was among those who considered the English language as the most precious in the world (*West Africa*, 12 Oct. 1901). Above all, there is no evidence that he studied or spoke any African language (Ayandele 1966:254).

However, unlike Johnson and Blyden, D. B. Vincent was practically a nationalist in every way. He was a native Baptist leader who in 1891 refused to work under a European Christian mission although he was a high-profile personality and was

promised high positions by Bishop Tugwell.⁷⁶ He considered it as a ‘curse’ to rely on foreign mission aid. He would rather be poor but independent than depend on the foreign Christian mission aid for missions in Africa. In 1894 Vincent decided to drop his European name in favour of his African name, Mojola Agbebi. In the same manner, he cast off his European clothes and put on his Yoruba *agbada* clothes in the cold weather in Europe and America. He encouraged Liberian Negro settlers to disperse into the rural interior so they could be assimilated into African culture (*Lagos Standard*, 7 Dec. 1904 as cited by Ayandele 1966:255). In 1900, Vincent accepted to betroth his daughter, Ibronke, in an African traditional way (*The Wasp*, 17 April 1900).

His attempt to evangelize the African through the chiefs and to instruct his converts in the Ekiti area and Niger Delta region not to use foreign songs in worship for seven years was commendable. Nevertheless, his extreme views, especially in his presentation in the Senate House, University of London, during the Universal Races Congress in 1911 are unacceptable. For example, Ayandele observed that in his speech, Vincent defended African traditional institutions and customs including the secret societies, human sacrifices and cannibalism (Spiller 1911: 341-8).⁷⁷ He also collected African gods for studies (see *West Africa*, 1903: 211-4).⁷⁸ His famous speech, which was widely circulated in 1902, maintained that Africans must make distinctions between ‘essentials’ and ‘non-essentials’ of Christian faith:

Prayer-books and hymn-books, harmonium dedication, pew construction, surplice choir, the white man’s style, the white man’s name, the white man’s dress, are so many non-essentials, so many props and crutches affecting the religious manhood of the Christian African. Among the great essentials of religion are that the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached unto them.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Roberson Collection, Extracts, W. A. Amakri to C. Robertson, 27 July 1955.

⁷⁷ G. Spiller (ed.), *Inter-Racial Problems* (London: Citadel Press, 1911), 341-348.

⁷⁸ *West Africa News Paper*, 22 August 1903, 211-214.

⁷⁹ *Report of Proceedings of the African Church organisations for Lagos and Yorubaland, 1901-1908* (Liverpool, 1910), 91.

Although the nationalist movement was seeking to solve African problems, the movement itself was not flawless. On the contrary, the movement introduced a new sphere of influence in the Nigerian social and political life. For example, the campaigns of the nationalist positioned them as advocates of a new religion and society, which placed them higher than tribal priests and chiefs. This also was counter-cultural in the African search for selfhood. The introduction of a new sphere of influence in African society diminished the authority and respect of many chiefs in their society, while the nationalists enjoyed the patronage and created a new socio-cultural and political tension among the people. The nationalists are then looked upon for political guidance and support by the masses in their regions. Therefore, in assessing the achievements of the nationalist movement, Ayandele lamented that ‘at best, then, rehabilitation of Nigerian institutions and cultures could not be more than a tinkering; the forms were rehabilitated but not the substance, the shell but not the kernel’ (Ayandele 1966:256).

There are two historical facts that are significant here, especially relating to the growth of the church across North Africa. Firstly, in the first five centuries, and after a millennium of theological difficulties and setbacks by the advent of Islam, the church flowered again and became fruitful all over sub-Saharan Africa. Secondly, there was a resurgence of spiritual life in Western Europe in the sixteenth century, which inspired interest in missions and brought into existence missionary agencies that facilitated the advance of the gospel to the sub-Saharan Africans (Falk 1997:473). The missions and their missionaries broke barriers of disease, illiteracy, and communication. Their evangelical efforts rooted the gospel in the African soil and the church grew exponentially. History shows that many missionaries and mission agencies, alongside African counterparts, responded to the call to service in Africa under harsh and unfavourable climatic, hygienic, geographic, economic, linguistic, and socio-political

conditions. Today, African Christianity is growing to assume its place in the world-wide Christian fellowship and is actively involved in the dialogue against the challenges faced by Christian mission globally.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the continent of Africa was invaded and colonized by European powers. Armies moved in to secure “peace” for European settlers; farmers came in to grow large plantations of coffee and tobacco; Hunters moved in to kill big game; while missionaries came to preach the gospel of Christ to save souls, including run schools and providing health care service. Although missionaries arrived Africa and worked closely with colonialist and even shared the same European cultural values and attitude in many respects, nevertheless, they had a distinct ideological approach (Dixon 2012:86). Dixon observes that the religious ideal of the missionaries affected their dealings with Africans in many ways far different from other Europeans whose quest was power, economy, and commerce. For most missionaries, translation, printing, and literacy education all had one simple goal, which was to provide the Bible and Christian songs in the language of the people. However, the Roman Catholic mission learned the native languages but did less translation and printing of texts in people’s language because Latin was their universal language for Scripture and liturgy (Dixon 2012:88).

Therefore, I posit that missionaries were far more than agents of colonialism as suggested by the nationalists. At the very least, many of them sympathized with Africans under colonial oppression and helped in resisting many negative policies and practices advocated by merchants and politicians. This in many ways provided the space and rationale for the growth of nationalism. There was also a political dimension in the literacy programme of the missionaries. For instance, the missionaries probably knew

that when natives learned how to read and write and could interpret the Bible for themselves, they would one day become self-governed by taking charge of their national affairs. This might not be deliberate in some cases but was central in the church planting and church growth strategy of the Protestant missionaries, especially in Northern Nigeria. The missionaries, right from the beginning, were not only concerned about converting people to Christianity and organizing churches but were also at the forefront of the anti-slavery movement. The other essential missionary activities at this period included medical work and vocational training. Through these approaches, the missionaries earned access, acceptance, and opportunities to preach the gospel of Christ to many people. Therefore, missionaries at this time were not mere agents of colonialism or social reformers but were among the most evangelical Christians and most of them saw that their primary task was to convert Africans to Christianity (Dixon 2012:86-7).⁸⁰

The missionary ideology of salvation, freedom, and liberty in Christ created a believing community with a counter-culture, which was in opposition to the traditional approach to the issues of life as traditionally understood by Africans. As agents of change among the people, the oppositional elements that led the missionaries to fight against slavery and in some cases against colonialism served as an uncomfortable paradox when their converts reacted against them on the matter of interpretation. Therefore, the resilient spirit that struggled against the ills of colonialism and slavery was also seen in the struggles of their converts. Moreover, ‘when the missionaries themselves sometimes acted as oppressors, the texts they had brought authorized resistance’ from the nationals which might have been one of the factors that contribute to the rise of nationalism in some areas (Dixon 2012:89). The most recent example is the conservative stance of the

⁸⁰ See David N. Dixon, 'The Second Text: Missionary Publishing and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress' *IBMR* 36, 2, April 2012, p. 86-87.

African church leaders to the global controversy in the Anglican Church over the matter of homosexuality. This demonstrates, firstly, that the biblical texts which the missionaries brought to Africa gave them a worldview that is authorized by their own reading of the Bible. Essentially, the position of the African church leaders questions the interpretation of those who claim to have brought the text to Africa. Secondly, it demonstrates the fact that the church in Africa and indeed in Nigeria is growing in the areas of self-governing, self-evangelizing, and self-theologizing which might be said to have fulfilled Henry Venn's dream.

In Nigeria, although its various schisms might be described as spiritual, indigenous, independent, tribal, charismatic and Pentecostal, which Barrett's research refers to as a 'phenomenon of independency' seems to mark the growth of the church (Barrett 1968:278).⁸¹ These proliferations of indigenous churches provide a different atmosphere of fellowship for different interest groups affected the growth of the church in Nigeria both positively and negatively. I shall examine some of these contributions by critically examining CAPRO mission strategies and compare them with Paul's mission strategies in the later chapters of this study.

2.2.3 The Nigerian Ethno-Religious Context

Nigeria religious context is broadly divided into three main categories: African traditional religion is found in all parts of Nigeria, Islamic religion is predominant in the core northern states, and Christianity is predominant in the South and Central Nigeria. Therefore, in Nigeria, it is normal to hear Christians declaring 'in Jesus' name' and Muslims saying 'if *Allah* wills it' (الله شاء إن - *in sha Allah*) (cf. Falola and Genova

⁸¹ David Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 278.

2009: xxix).⁸² Before the emergence of British rule in 1885 the people in the Southern and Central part of Nigeria were mostly traditional religionists while the people in the North were Muslims. Islam contacted Northern Nigeria through the commercial trade relations with the Arabs. At this time Islam won the allegiance of a portion of the Northern Nigeria population, especially the ruling classes. Falk observes that the Northern autocratic Emirs preferred contacts with the Mediterranean and with Islam and resisted the penetration of Christianity and Western civilization when missionaries reached Nigeria. Consequently, modern education with its influences penetrated the Northern areas only a little (Falk 1997:340). This probably formed the backdrop for incessant conflict in most parts of Nigeria. This is not limited to Nigerian society. But since independence in 1960, Nigeria has gone through tremendous changes shaped by different interest groups, political instability, religious intolerance, rapid population growth, tribalism, economic turbulence and corrupt governance.

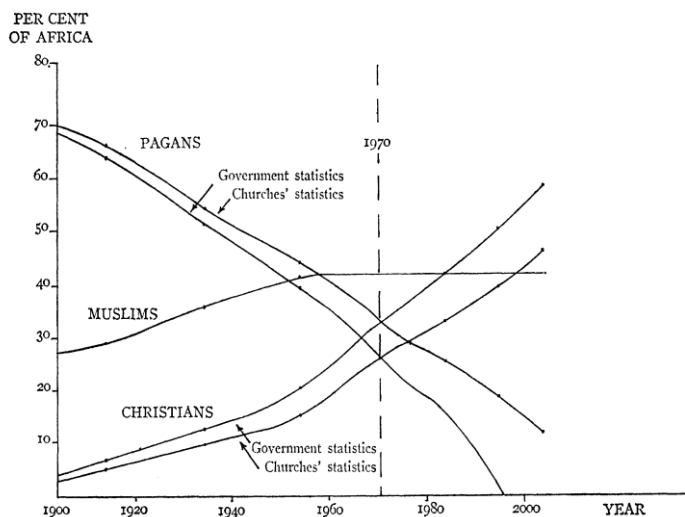


Fig. 2.3 Percentage of Religious Affiliation in Africa between 1900 and 2000

2.2.3.1 African Traditional Religions: Alive or Dead?

The traditional African religion has continued to present itself as an unavoidable challenge to both African Christianity and Islam. Bolaji Idowu states, ‘African

⁸²Toyin Falola, Ann Genova, *Historical Dictionary of Nigeria* (Scarecrow Press, 2009).

Traditional Religion is a living religion ... It is a contemporary, living reality' (Idowu 1967:1). Mbiti (1969) observed two years later that 'Africans are notoriously religious'. Even the most exposed modern educated mind still discovers that African traditional thought is still the source of the basic worldview about God, the spirit world, worship of the spirits, sacrifices, man and his environment. Before the arrival of Islam, colonialism and Christianity, African religion was lived as an absolute truth and undisputed belief.

Scholars and theologians have divided the spirit world of an African into four broad categories: (1) belief in the Supreme Being (God), (2) belief in the lesser divinities/god, (3) belief in the ordinary spirits, and (4) belief in the ancestors. For Byang Kato (1975) the spiritual world of an African includes the belief (1) that the whole world is full of spirits; (2) that the abodes of spirits are numerous, such as the silk cotton tree, baobab tree, sycamore tree, mountains, rivers, forests, and burial grounds; (3) that the spirits are classified into two categories, the bad ones and the good ones; (4) in reincarnation; (5) in and practice of exorcism or spirit possession; (6) in life after death, future reward and future punishment; (7) that evil spirits are always associated with Satan (Kato 1975:36-41). Mbiti contends that the African worldview as perceived by many is that spirits and the living-dead or the spirits of the ancestors are densely populated in the spirit world (Mbiti 1969:75). The spirit world is the most pervasive worldview. Contained within it are the spirits, the ancestors and the Supreme Being or God (Ikenga-Metuh, 1987:103-79).⁸³ The table below presents some differences and similarities between African Traditional Religion and Christianity.⁸⁴

⁸³ Cf. Richard J. Gehman, *African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 2005). E. Bolaji Idowu, 'The Study of Religion with Special Reference to African Traditional Religion', *ORITA*, I (1) 1967:1; John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: SPCK, 1969); Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (London: Heinemann, 1958); Renato Berger, 'Is Traditional Religion Still Relevant?' *ORITA*, III (6) 1969:15; Vincent Mulago, 'Traditional African Religion and Christianity in Africa', in J.K. Olupona (ed.), *African Traditional Religions in Contemporary Society* (New York: Paragon House, 1991). Yusufu Turaki *African Traditional Religions*

Object	African Traditional Religion	Christianity
God	African Traditional Religionists have an understanding of a creator God, but God is distant from man. Man can make covenants with God	In Christianity God is close to the human race throughout history and today reaches down in love to draw humans toward himself through faith in Christ Jesus. God is a covenant maker and keeper. He empowers human to do the same
Spirit	Believes in many forms of spirits, negative and positive, can possess the living or dead. Can give man/woman privileged knowledge	The Holy Spirit comes into the lives of all believers, to teach, convict and judge. He is the sign of being 'sons of God' and the source of power and comfort.
Eternal Rest of the Soul	Believes in reincarnation of human soul	Humans have one life on earth after death and resurrection would be judgment, and then everlasting rest or punishment of the soul
Evangelization	ATR is unique and differs from one group or community to another. No group is motivated to teach or convert another	It is evangelistic by nature, commissioned by Christ to preach and make disciples of all nations or ethnic groups
Mediator	Ancestors are worshipped and serve as mediators between the material world and the spirit world. They are like lesser gods that communicate with their descendants on earth	Christ is the mediator who intercedes for believers before God. He was tempted in every way so that he can be faithful and compassionate mediator
Sin	Sin is mostly concerned with transgression of morals or community norms and punishment is in degrees	Sin is against and in rebellion to God. All sins are equal and all have sinned
Forgiveness	Sacrifices are to appease, or ask favours of the spirits, especially when a wrong is committed	God's will is revealed in the Bible that all people need forgiveness and salvation through the sacrificial death and life of his son, Jesus Christ

Table 2.2 Comparing African Traditional Religion and Christianity

Therefore, due to the growing exposure to modernity and technology many young people do not fancy some aspect of African traditions any more. Vincent Mulago, like many scholars, contends that to the observer ATR is collapsing or even disappearing.

System as Basis of Understanding Christian Spiritual Warfare, <https://www.lausanne.org/content/west-african-case-study>. Accessed 29 December 2016.

⁸⁴See the differences between African Traditional Religion and Christianity.

<http://religioninfrica.com/difference-between-african-traditional-religion-and-christianity>. Accessed 29 December 2016.

But there is no generational problem. ATR has its place and plays its role in the lives of most African regardless of the foreign religions they adopt. This is more evident when people are in a period of ill health or spiritual crisis (Mulago 1991:128).

2.2.3.2 The Advent and Advance of Islam in Nigeria

Many studies on Northern Nigeria have tended to concentrate on the Caliphate and Islam, with the rest of the region consigned to insignificance. Moreover, on the theme of religion, greater emphasis has been on Islamic conquests and conflicts in Northern Nigeria and even when Christianity is considered in the works of Crampton,⁸⁵ Rubingh,⁸⁶ Boer,⁸⁷ and Gilliland,⁸⁸ their studies concentrate more on the efforts and experiences of Western missionaries and their visible fruits with limited mention of the indigenous mission movement in Nigeria (Kukah 2003: xii). This section critically examines the Islamic context in Nigeria and how it provides a setting for CAPRO church growth strategies. I shall briefly consider the historical background to Islamic expansion in Nigeria and the impact of European colonialism and how Hausa-Fulani hegemony worked to promote Islam in Northern Nigeria. This is to contribute significantly to the debate on the indigenous mission movement in Nigeria.

Oloyede argues that individuals may have reasons for belonging to a particular religious group rather than others but in Islam, ‘the fundamental issue is that all Islamic organizations were formed with a view to propagate Islam, helping the deprived, gaining religious knowledge and insight and thus making believers become better

⁸⁵ Edmund Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, (Bukuru: ACTS, 2004).

⁸⁶ Eugene Rubingh, *Sons of Tiv: A Study of the Rise of the Church among the Tiv of Central Nigeria*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1969).

⁸⁷ John H. Boer, *Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context: A Case Study of the Sudan United Mission*, Amsterdam Studies in Theology, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1979). John H. Boer, ‘The Politic-Colonial Context of Missions in Northern Nigeria’, *A paper read at the Conference on Christians in Politics* (Jos, Nigeria, July 15, 1983).

⁸⁸ Dean S. Gilliland, *African Religion meets Islam: Religious change in Northern Nigeria* (Boston: University Press of America, 1986).

Muslims' (Oloyede 2014:3).⁸⁹ How did Islam spread in Nigeria? The advent of Islam to Nigeria is not different from the way it came to West Africa and other parts of Africa, namely: (1) by trans-Sahara trade and migration; (2) by *jihad* and use of Islamic preachers (3) by colonial and Caliphate hegemony.

2.2.3.2.1 Islamic Advance through Trans-Sahara Trade and Migration

The socio-economic connection between the African and Arab world is by the commercial trade links through Northern Africa. The Berbers of North Africa travelled through the Sahara Desert, which was a major but permeable barrier between Northern and Western Africa. They had four main trade routes through the desert to western Africa:

1. Morocco (Fez) to Marrakesh through Sijilmasa, Taghaza, Taodeni, Walata, Ghana, Jenne, Timbuktu, and Mali.
2. Sijilmasa through Ghat, Takedda, Gao to Timbuktu.
3. Tunisia through Ghadames, Ghat Agades, Katsina to Kano.
4. Tripoli through Murzuk in Fezzan, Bilma to Kanem-Bornu Empire.

These commercial relationships influenced commerce as horses, camels and donkeys were traded for commodities such as gold, salt, hides and skins, kola nuts, ostrich feathers and European products like guns, gunpowder as well as slaves. But with the introduction of the transatlantic trade, the influence of the Trans-Sahara on the kingdoms and empire of Africa was reduced, although the impact of the transatlantic trade was more on the kingdoms and empires that were located in the coastal areas. Through these trade links Islam spread to the Mali kingdom, Ghana kingdom, Songhay

⁸⁹ Is-haq O. Oloyede, *Islam in Nigeria: A Century of National Islamic Societies*, A Keynote Address Presented at the International Conference of Islam in Nigeria (COIN) to mark the 30th Anniversary of the Islamic Welfare Foundation(IWF) on Monday, (November 24, 2014) at the University of Ilorin.

Empire, Borno Empire and Hausa city states like Kano and Katsina. The Islamization of the Northern part can partly be said to have Arab connections. Arabs were very much involved in the Northern part of Nigeria socially, politically, religiously, and economically. Therefore, the impact of trans-Saharan trade on Nigeria is generally agreed to be in the area of commerce, religion and politics. By these the Arabic language and tradition reached Nigerian through Bornu and spread to other parts of the country.

Islam reached West Africa in the eighth century through trade and commerce from Northern Africa (Fafunwa 1974:53).⁹⁰ Fafunwa narrated that Islam was first embraced in the area of Northern Nigeria by one Kanem ruler, Umme Jilmi (1085-1097), who was introduced to the Islamic faith through the teaching of Hamed Muhammed Mani, an Islamic scholar. Later, Jilmi's son, Dunama I (1097-1150) also accepted Islam and went on the *hajj* or pilgrimage, learning and practising Islam. Similar factors facilitated the spread of Islam to the Hausaland. Oloyede states that 'forty Wangarawa traders are thought to be responsible for introducing Islam to Kano during the reign of Ali Yaji (1349-1385)' (Oloyede 2014:4). The coming of Islam into Hausaland, between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries exerted a profound influence over the people (Isichei 1997:234). Closely linked to the commerce is the mass migration of the Fulani people group from Senegambia eastward that became a significant factor in the socio-political and Islamic development of Hausa land upon which the British colonial era founded her hegemony in Northern Nigeria. In the fifteenth century, Islam reached Katsina through Al-Maghili, a famous scholar. Some scholars from Sankore University, Timbuktu, visited Katsina, bringing Islamic literature with them (Fafunwa 1974:54). Therefore, Muslim preachers used trade and the influx of people through migration into the Yoruba

⁹⁰A. B. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), 53.

Kingdom to evangelize the people. These Muslim migrants befriended their hosts, intermarried and introduced Islam.⁹¹

2.2.3.2.2 Islamic Advance through Colonial Rule and Hausa-Fulani Hegemony

The combination of the British rule and the Sokoto Caliphate expansionism forged a new Northern Nigeria in two ways. On the one hand, they insulated the North from the missionary advance and Christian influences. On the other hand, they empowered the Sokoto aristocrats to expand and deepen the influence of Islam as well as the forced domination of Hausa-Fulani language and culture on the other ethnic groups in the region through an indirect rule policy. This was a big challenge for both the missionary advance to Northern Nigeria and non-Muslim people groups in the region. This significantly contributed to the spread of Islam in Nigeria. The British colonial administration structured the Northern region into different Native Authorities (NA), namely: (1) Muslim emirates (2) pagan communities under the rule of a Muslim emir, and (3) independent pagan communities (NAK: JosProf c.213).⁹² This structure was later retained in the memorandum of Native Administration Policy on 15 March 1934 but varied slightly: (1) Muslims governing Muslims, (2) Muslims governing pagans (3) pagans governing pagans (NAK Zarprof 1554v.1). This policy clearly supports the fact that Northern Nigeria was never entirely Islamic and neither is it today. But these political structures were not upheld because the independent pagan communities were not free to rule their affairs. The native authority from Kano and Sokoto were still imposing an Islamic system on the pagan groups (NAK: Zarprof 1554v.1). This made it

⁹¹ See 'Islam', accessed from www.yorupedia.com/subjects/yoruba-religions/islam on 26 November 2013.

⁹² See NAK: JosProf c.213, Native Authority (NA) in the Northern Provinces in a Report of a Conference held at Government House, Kaduna on Monday 12 September 1927.

difficult for a pagan village head to enforce any rule that may be acceptable to their cultural practices (NAK: JosProf 3/1935).

Therefore, the alliance of Lugard's 'indirect rule' and the Northern Caliphate's vision of capturing the Central and the entire Northern region for Islam began to make significant progress through the help of the colonial administration. Nevertheless, this approach was opposed and resisted by many non-Muslim Nigerians. Similar opposition was made by Southerners against Islamic domination in the country but to no avail (cf. Levin 1997:137). The formation of Anglo-Fulani hegemony facilitated the emergence of the Hausa-Fulani hegemony in the north which was not altered by the Western modern democratic policies and political ambitions. Hence, the desire and determination by the Hausa-Fulani to advance Islam and its worldview in Nigeria especially among the ethnic groups in the Central and Northern states as perceived by most ordinary Muslim in the region. When writing on the pre-colonial situation of central Nigeria, Gunn remarks that in the past, 'indigenous life was little influenced by Islam until after the area was first administered' (Gunn 1956:48). When reporting on the situation in the North before the independence, he added that 'Muslims lived with pagans in a condition of social symbiosis that no attempt was made to convert the hill peoples' (Gunn 1956:48).



Fig. 2.4 Map of Nigeria showing Central States

Therefore, I agree with Turaki that the British imposition of indirect rule helped to institutionalize an inferiority status and complex among the non-Muslim people of Central and Northern Nigeria.⁹³ Moreover, beyond promoting the status of the Northern emirs and giving them a free hand to dominate and subjugate the non-Muslim groups in the Northern region, the British indirect rule had a devastating impact on the common people's attitude to the colonial masters. For instance, it was the hope for freedom from the oppression of Hausa-Fulani that made the tribal people to gallantly fight in support of the British and wrongly assume that the victory of the British over their oppressors might end their suffering. But things did not turn out the way they expected. The words of a song composed by a Northern musician captured the conclusion of the common people in the region at this time: 'there is no difference between the British and the Emirs, both are oppressors' (Tahir 1977:330).⁹⁴

⁹³ Cf. Yusuf Turaki, *Socio-Political Role and Status of Non-Muslim Groups of Northern Nigeria: Analysis of a Colonial Legacy* (Ph.D. Thesis, Boston, 1982).

⁹⁴ Cf. G. Lethem, *History of Islamic Political Propaganda in Northern Nigeria* (London, Waterlow, 1925); M. F. Smith, *Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Muslim Hausa* (London, 1955), 62-82; and F. Lugard, *Reports* 1903, 3.

How did Islamic situation in Northern Nigeria influence CAPRO church growth strategies? Historically, although CAPRO interest in Muslim evangelization has developed rapidly to assume global implication, the understanding of the organization's call and ministry to the Muslim began in the northern city of Zaria.⁹⁵ Therefore, I posit that the experiences of the founders of CAPRO in Northern Nigeria significantly shaped their desire and determination to reach the Muslims with the love of God through preaching the gospel of Christ and planting churches among them.

2.2.3.2.3 Islam Advance through Jihad and Teaching

Although trans-Sahara trade and migration were used to advance the course of Islam in Northern Nigeria the milestone in the expansion was when Uthman dan Fodio, a Fulani Islamic teacher, waged *jihad* for six years (1804-10). His goal was to purify Islam, eradicate idol worship, and purge Islam of all sorts of distortions and heresies. He centred his preaching and teaching on the Qur'an and Sunnah, encouraging Muslims to return to orthodox Islam. Scholars agree that this *jihad* did not only have a religious undercurrent, but also political undertones to unify the Hausa member states under one government, the Sokoto Caliphate, which was governed by the *shari'ah*, Islamic law (cf. Oloyede 2014:4). This set the stage for British colonial indirect rule without changing the socio-political structure of the Caliphate, including the Islamic legal system introduced by the jihadists.⁹⁶

Scholars have also observed that the socio-political and economic condition of the Hausa people gave rise to the *jihad*. The jihadists used political oppression of the *talakawa* (peasants) suffering under the Hausa ruling class who were not at this stage

⁹⁵ See Chapters Three and Four for the history and development of CAPRO strategies.

⁹⁶ African Studies Centre, 'Islam in Nigeria'. Accessed from www.ascleiden.nl/?q=content/webdossiers/islam-nigeria 27 November 2013.

Muslim, as the social basis to rally support from the poor masses who were seeking freedom and hoping things would change for the better (Gibb 1969:173-261). Therefore, the rural Hausa masses joined the *jihad* campaign in large numbers to show their opposition to the Hausa ruling class. But when they overthrew the Hausa rulers, the jihadists established the Fulani dynasty which incorporates the Hausa into the Sokoto Islamic Caliphate. This set the stage for the Hausa-Fulani dynasty (Turaki 1993: 231). The Hausa Muslims carried out the jihadist mission alongside the Fulani soldiers. The fall of Zazzau and Bauchi areas was due to the Hausa Muslim fighters. The *jihad* facilitated the integration of the Hausa and the Fulani people groups and further contributed to the bonding of Hausa-Fulani hegemony against the non-Muslim ethnic groups such as Gbagyi, Hausa from Zaria, Argungu and Maradi (Niger Republic) who later intermarried, inter-mingled and eventually became assimilated (Turaki 1993:231; Crampton 2004:123). The Maguzawa people, however, are the remnant of the Hausa people who did not accept Islam, while the Bororo Fulani group refused to be assimilated into Hausa culture (Turaki 1993:238ff.).

Consequently the above the growing tension between Islam and Christianity in Nigeria has created an atmosphere of rivalry and mutual suspicion between these two dominant religions. In about six years (2010-16) the Islamic terrorist organization, Boko Haram, has evolved into the most deadly jihadist group in Nigeria. Boko Haram who are known by the members as *Islamic State West Africa Province, ISWAP* (الإسلامية غرب الولاية - أفريقيا - Arabic) or *Group of the People of Sunnah for Preaching and Jihad* (أهل السنة جماعة) (الدعوة والجهاد - Arabic).⁹⁷ This group was responsible for attacking several towns and cities in the Northeast of Nigeria, especially Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Taraba, Bauchi and

⁹⁷ See 'Boko Haram Changes Name To "West African Province" Of The Islamic State', *Daily Times of Nigeria*. 23 April 2015. Retrieved 21 July 2015; 'Is Islamic State shaping Boko Haram media?' BBC, 4 March 2015. Retrieved 24 September 2015.

plateau States (see Fig. 2 below). The most widely-reported attack of Boko Haram was when they attacked a school at Chibok and kidnapped 276 secondary schoolgirls, in April 2014.⁹⁸ The organization initially directed its attacks against Christians, security and government agencies but later expanded them to include critical Muslim clerics, traditional leaders, suspected collaborators, UN offices, bars, health workers and schools.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ See BBC News report on ‘Who are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamist group?’ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13809501>, 24 November 2016, accessed 04/6/17. Paden, John. *Faith and Politics in Nigeria: Nigeria as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 2008); Adamu, H.A. (1986), ‘The North and Nigerian Unity’, *Daily Times*, Nigeria; A. Adebayo, *Principles and Practice of Public Administration in Nigeria* (Lagos: Spectrum Books, 1977); Achi, V.E. ‘Rapprochement: A Christian Response to Religious Conflicts in Democratic Nigeria’, *Journal of Christian Religious Education*, 591 (2007), pp. 27-35. Al Jazeera. 2010. “Nigeria killings caught on video.” February 10th. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2010/02/20102102505798741.html>>; BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation). 2014. “Nigeria abductions: timeline of events.” 4 June 2017; Amnesty International. “Nigeria: gruesome footage implicates military in war crimes.” Access 4 June 2017 <<http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/nigeria-gruesome-footage-implicates-military-war-crimes-2014-08-05>>; Dockins, Pamela. 2014. “Army, Boko Haram working together in parts of Nigeria?” *Voice of America*, April 5th. <<http://www.voanews.com/content/army-boko-haramworking-together-in-parts-of-nigeria/1887128.html>> Access 4 June 2017. Ayandele, E.A., *External Influence on African Society: Africans in their 19th and 20th Centuries* (edited by Jose, C. and Godfrey, E.) (Ibadan: University Press, 1996).

⁹⁹ Boko Haram’s insurgency in Nigeria has generated scholarly discussions on different aspects including context, schools, gender, health, politics and security. See Iyekekpolo, Wisdom Oghosa ‘Boko Haram: understanding the context,’ 2016, *Third World Quarterly*, 37, 12 (2016); 2211-2228. Khan, Aslam, Hamidu, Ishaku ‘Boko Haram and Turmoil in Northern Nigeria,’ *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, 19, 1 p. 22. Loewenberg, Sam ‘Famine fears in northeast Nigeria as Boko Haram fight rages’ *The Lancet*, 28 January-3 February 2017, 389 (10067), pp. 352-352. Langer, Arnim; Godefroidt, Amélie; Meuleman, Bart ‘Killing people, dividing a nation? Analyzing student perceptions of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria’ *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2017, Vol.40 (5), pp. 419-438. Onapajo, Hakeem ‘Has Nigeria Defeated Boko Haram? An Appraisal of the Counter-Terrorism Approach under the Buhari Administration’ *Strategic Analysis*, Jan-Feb 2017, 41 (1), pp .61-73. Bappah, Habibu Yaya ‘Nigeria’s military failure against the Boko Haram insurgency,’ *African Security Review*, 10 March 2016, pp.1-13. Aghedo, Iro; Osumah, Oarhe ‘Insurgency in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of Niger Delta and Boko Haram Uprisings,’ *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 2015, 50 (2), pp. 208-222. Weeraratne, Suranjan ‘Theorizing the Expansion of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria,’ *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20 March 2015, pp. 1-25. Nwankpa, Michael, ‘Dialoguing and negotiating with terrorists: any prospect for Boko Haram?’ *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 25 June 2016, pp. 1-19.



Fig. 2. 1 Map of Boko Haram affected



Fig. 2.6 Kidnapped Chibok Girls in Boko

The Hausa word *boko haram* means ‘Western education is forbidden’ or ‘Westernization is sacrilege’. Boko Haram is connected to the Islamic sectarian movement, founded in 2002 by Muhammed Yusuf, known in Arabic as Jamā‘at Ahl al-Sunna lil-Da‘awah wa al-Jihād ‘Association of the People of the Sunnah for Preaching and Jihad’. Since 2009 Boko Haram’s quest to impose *shari’ah* in Nigeria has involved wanton destruction of lives and property. Closely connected to the religious motif of Boko Haram movement is the ideology of Westernization through education which they argue has brought a negative impact on Islamic values and has fostered corruption and poverty by making a few people rich and many people poor. The link between Boko Haram and other global terrorist networks such as al-Qaeda and al-Shabaab has strengthened their advance against Nigeria security operatives. Today, Boko Haram is one of the ten most lethal groups worldwide (see the table below).¹⁰⁰

Rank	Terrorist/Rebel Group	Killed	Injured
1	Boko Haram	2,924	268
2	Islamic State (IS)	1,459	517
3	al-Shabaab	1,136	671

¹⁰⁰ Table Political Violence in the first half of 2014: the ten most lethal groups, <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/391/html>. Accessed 12 June 2016.

4	al-Huthi Rebels	584	163
5	al-Qaeda Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)	509	184
6	Taliban	384	278
7	Jabhat al-Nusrah	298	252
8	Donetsk People's Republic (DPR)	295	0
9	Islamic Front	247	68
10	Seleke	229	107

Table 2.3 Top Ten Global Terrorist Networks

The question which remains to be answered is whether or not Muslims would abjure the judicial (*sharia*) and the politics associated with it to accept a lifestyle that ‘nobody ought to be compelled in matters of religion either by law or force.’¹⁰¹ Therefore, Islam came to and was rooted in Northern Nigeria before Christianity and advanced through trade, migration, colonial indirect rule policy and jihad.

2.2.3.3 The Advent and Growth of Christianity in Nigeria

This section discusses the advent of Christian missions in Nigeria, the beginning of the indigenous churches and the factors that contributed to the emergence of CAPRO. In this section I do not intend to give a detailed history of missionary activities in Nigeria, since many church historians have adequately done so.¹⁰² The story of how Christianity reached Nigeria and established a church began with the return of slaves from America and Britain to Freetown, and particularly when Ajayi Crowther returned to Nigeria. However, before then, one of the first failed attempts to reach Nigeria with the gospel

¹⁰¹ John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1990), 56-60. Agbibo, Daniel Egiegba. “Boko-Haram and the Global Jihad: ‘Do Not Think Jihad is Over. Rather Jihad Has Just Begun.’” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 68(4) 2014:400–17. Stuart Elden. “The Geopolitics of Boko Haram and Nigeria’s ‘War on Terror’.” *Geographical Journal* 80(4) 2014:414–16.

¹⁰² See F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Mission in Nigeria 1841-1891; The Making of a New Elite*, (London: Longman, 1965); Ayandele, *Missionary impact on modern Nigeria* (London: Longman, 1966); Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, (Bukuru: ACTS 1975).

was between 1472 and 1621 when the king of Portugal sent some pioneering missionaries to the kingdom of Benin and the Warri area. The spread of Christianity was largely determined by the physical geography and the receptivity of the people. The people in the South of the Niger and Benue rivers came into contact with Christianity, Western education, and commercial developments along the Guinea coast. Preparation for the introduction of Christianity in Nigeria took place during the first Niger expedition from 1841 to 1885 when Britain proclaimed the Protectorate. This period opened the way for larger expansion that came with the establishment of churches in the Southern regions. This extended Christianity to regions which the gospel had not reached, and gradually expanded Christian ministry to the Northern Nigeria regions, and the church witnessed significant expansion after 1885 (Falk 1997:340).

The Nigerian mission experience in this period was predominantly Anglican through the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Having been established with its headquarters in London, they used their influence to establish a mission station in 1845 at Badagry (Ajayi 1965: xiv).¹⁰³ This was followed by Henry Townsend reaching the Egba at Abeokuta in 1846 and David Hinderer to Ibadan in 1852 (Hastings 1994:342-3). Although Methodist churches were growing in Sierra Leone, their first mission station in Badagry was in 1842 with a limited penetration into Nigeria. In the East, the Church of Scotland founded a mission station at Calabar in 1846 and grew significantly in the area. CMS reached out to the Awka area and started a teachers' training college at Egbu (Owerri) in 1910. The Igbo Bible was translated in 1910; the bookshops at Onitsha and

¹⁰³ The lasting impact of missionaries' activity in West Africa, apart from Warri, was minimal. The principal studies on Warri and Benin have been made by A. F. C. Ryder, 'Missionary Activity in the Kingdom of Warri to the Early Nineteenth Century', *JHN* 1 (1960), 1-26, 'The Benin Mission', *JHM* 2 (1961), 231-59, and Benin and The Europeans 1485-1897. (1969), T. Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspectives*, 2nd ed., (1975), 171-89. On the early seventeenth-century Sierra Leone there is a great deal of material available in English, mostly due to the work of P.E.H. Hair. See his survey article, 'Jesuit Documents on the Guinea of Cape Verde and the Cape Verde Islands 1585-1617 in English Translation', *HIA* 16 (1989). F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Mission in Nigeria 1841-1891; The Making of a New Elite*, (London: Longman, 1965).

Egbu began in 1896 and 1923 respectively. In 1922 the Diocese on the Niger was created to cover the Niger Delta area. Bishop Lasbrey finally constituted the clergy in 1931.

However, other mission agencies such as the Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Catholics also impacted Nigeria before the end of the nineteenth century. But the contribution of each mission varied in its significance, as did the number of men, material, and length of service.¹⁰⁴ The growth of Christianity in Nigeria today is not unconnected to these initial labours of missionaries from Europe and America. By the 1970s Nigeria had more than 50 missionary agencies, operating in different regions of Nigeria and establishing churches (cf. Galadima & Turaki 2001:92).¹⁰⁵ The table and map below show the most important pioneering mission agencies in Nigeria and where their mission stations, especially in the Northern part of Nigeria, were situated.

Mission Agency or Denomination	Year
Wesleyan Methodist	1842
Scottish Presbyterian	1842
Church Missionary Society	1844
Southern Baptist Foreign Mission	1850
Roman Catholic Mission	1961
Sudan Interior Mission	1893
Sudan United Mission	1904
United Missionary Society	1905

¹⁰⁴Rotimi Williams Omotoye, A Critical Examination of the Activities of Pentecostal Churches in National Development in Nigeria, Centro Studi Sulle Nuove Religioni, CESNUR, <http://www.cesnur.org/2010/omotoye.htm>. Accessed 12/12/2016.

¹⁰⁵Bulus Y. Galadima and Yusufu Turaki, 'Christianity in Nigeria Part I, *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* 20.1, 2001.

Seventh Day Adventist	1914
Qua Iboe Mission	1932
Assembly of God	1939
African Church Movements	1888-1925.

Table 2.4 Pioneering Missions in Nigeria 1842-1925



Fig. 2.7 Early Mission Stations in Northern Nigeria

Ajayi (1965) in *Christian Missions in Nigeria*,¹⁰⁶ instead of discussing Nigerian mission history, or the emergence of church denomination, and/or examining how the church evolved its indigenous liturgical and doctrinal stance among Nigerian peoples, he concentrated on the contribution of Christian missions to the formation of new elites in Nigeria through the manipulation of the church's mission, commerce, and politics for personal gain. This also highlights the key role of Christian mission in the socio-political evolution of Nigeria and the engagement of Christian mission in political

¹⁰⁶ J. F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* Ibadan History Series, (London: Longman, 1965). Cf. Peter Beyerhaus, *Review of Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* by J. F. Ade Ajayi, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 1, Fasc 2 (1968), pp. 157-160.

activities. This helps to show the interaction of Christian mission with the indigenous population in the European mission in Africa. In his study, Ajayi shows how European evangelical Christianity somewhat affected its spiritual foundations by joining the humanitarian anti-slave movements for the welfare of church members, which made many people perceive the church as an agent of Western civilization which was received with mixed feelings. This by implication demonstrates that the established Christian denominations are the reflection of the socio-political interaction between the indigenous populace and their 'European enterprise' (Beyerhaus 1968:157). Although at the pioneering stage, the missionaries were interested in the indigenous people but not without meddling into 'the politics of the chiefs, traders and consuls of their time' (Beyerhaus 1968:158).

2.2.3.3.1 The Evangelization of Northern Nigeria

As stated earlier, the dominant religion in Northern part of Nigeria before the advent of Islam and Christianity was African traditional religion. Although Islam predated Christianity and was advanced in the North for many centuries, it coexisted peacefully with ATR. It was propagated largely by force through the use of sword and fire of *jihad* against the unbelievers between 1804 and 1831. Although Christian missionaries were aware that Islam was advancing in Yorubaland and that the evangelization of Igbos in the Eastern part of Nigeria was not yet accomplished, the evangelization of the geopolitical Northern Muslims was their priority or required urgency. Missionaries insisted on reaching out to the Muslim people in the Sokoto Caliphate. They saw Islam in the Caliphate as a real challenge and decided to engage the area.¹⁰⁷ By 1855, T. J. Bowen of Southern Baptist Mission made attempts to pioneer a mission station in Ilorin.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ CMS G3/A2/014, Tugwell to Baylis, 21 Feb 1910.

¹⁰⁸ T. J. Bowen, *Adventure and Missionary Labours 1849-1856*, (Charleston, SC: Southern Baptist Publication Society 1857), pp. 188ff.

Samuel Ajayi Crowther was also relentless in his search for ways to advance the gospel North of the Niger River. He made efforts and built different networks of friendship and to see Northern Nigeria evangelized in 1857. For instance, he tactfully, patiently and personally built relationships with the Emir through which he established mission stations in Lokoja, Egga and Kipo Hill. His relationship with the Emir of Bida, Ilorin and Gwandu, and Sultan of Sokoto helped him to persuade them to at least receive a copy of Arabic Bible from CMS.¹⁰⁹ During this period, Wesleyan and other church missionary societies had a strong desire to see the North evangelized. By 1880 they were reaching out to the Kanuri in the Northeast through the support of W. Allakurah Sharpe, who was a Kanuri Wesleyan agent from the Bornu area.¹¹⁰

Walter Miller pioneered the work among the Hausa people in 1905 at Zaria, evangelizing them through medical work. In 1926 a team of recruits came from Cambridge University to evangelize the Hausa people. The Wusasa hospital was built in 1930 under the supervision of Dr. Norman Cook. A different team from the Cambridge University missionary party was sent to work in Kabwir among the Ngas people in the present-day Plateau State in 1907. They were largely self-supporting and in 1915 the first converts were baptized. However, the work was handed over to the Sudan United Mission (SUM) in January 1930. The Nupe work started in Bida in 1903 as well and later extended to Katcha in 1909. The first Nupe man was ordained for ministry in 1935 amidst difficulties. The work among the Bassa began in earnest when Miss K E Ritsert and Miss Christine Matthews were transferred from Lokoja to Kpata in 1931 to start medical work among the people. By 1936 there were about 8,000 worshippers in the district.

¹⁰⁹ C.M.S CA3/04 Annual Report for 1878 by Bishop Crowther.

¹¹⁰ M. M. A, W. A Sharpe to John Milum, 8 Sept 1879.

2.2.3.3.2 The Role of Western Missions and Denominational Missions in the Development of CAPRO Strategy

As observed earlier, CAPRO did not emerge from a vacuum. On the contrary, CAPRO draws a level of inspiration from the dedication, devotion and perseverance of the early missionaries. This truth is gleaned right from the CAPRO School of Missions where courses like mission history and mission strategy are taught. There are five helpful approaches identified and encouraged at this level, especially as drawn from the work of European and American independent faith Mission agencies like SIM, SUM, Baptist Mission, and Church Missionary Society among others. The five methods of engaging the community included:

- i. Missionaries and church evangelists were the vanguards of Christian witness. They evangelized the people by preaching the gospel of hope against despair; faith against fear and freedom against bondage. The light of the gospel, ‘made the darkness of fear disappeared and brought a new life of joy and freedom to the people’ (Hildebrandt 1990:13). During this period the missionaries simply preached ‘faith in one God, rejection of idols, and reliance upon the word of God and prayer’ (Harold Fuller 1980:22).
- ii. Missionaries were committed to social development. The preaching and acceptance of the gospel transformed the private and public lives of the people and their communities. The way people saw themselves and interpreted their surroundings drastically changed; their approach to farming and agriculture changed, their view on health and hygiene was transformed and more importantly their desire for one another was to show them the love of God, demonstrated through good deeds. As the people’s agricultural skills improved, they produced higher yields, more food and a better life.

- iii. Missionaries established health care centres and hospitals in their efforts to combat diseases and sicknesses like malaria and leprosy among the people they evangelized. This effort helped to improve the health and living conditions of the people. Through better health care child mortality rate reduced and many people lived better lives and became more useful to their families and the society at large.
- iv. Missionaries made attempts to translate and produce written alphabets and documents for many spoken languages. This facilitated for the first time the process of record-keeping in the national language. In some cases, the missionaries went a step further to provide the people with books to read in their language and the peak of this experience is the translation and availability of the Bibles in some local Nigerian languages. This was significant because it promoted church growth by serving as a guide for Christian living.
- v. Missionaries provided education and schools to the communities they evangelized. Learning to read and write was part of the discipleship process which prepared those who attended to read their Bible for themselves and for others. Scholars observed a close relationship between linguistic work in the mission field and the establishment of schools to teach reading, writing and other skills (Hildebrandt 1990:194). Therefore, both the educational system and other rapid developments in Africa owe a great debt to the missionaries and churches. This is significant because education, which was provided mostly by Christian missionaries, in various ways became ‘the nurturing ground for nationalism in Nigeria, creating political consciousness, resistance and democracy’ (cf. Suh 1985:9).¹¹¹ The light of the gospel and the enlightenment through reading, writing and maths, and the learning of skills such as tailoring,

¹¹¹ See David Kwang-Sun Suh, ‘American Missionaries and a Hundred Years of Korean Protestantism’ in *International Review of Mission* 74, 293 (1985), 9.

gradually empowered the people and the communities that welcomed the missionaries and their gospel message. Fuller aptly remarked that nationalism ‘frequently arose from the education which missions brought, and sometimes resulted in a backlash against the foreign missionary’ (Fuller 1980:23).

In the case of Northern Nigeria, Sonia F. Graham’s works shed more light on the early struggles of mission and government policies on education. Graham¹¹² showed why Western education was not well received in the North which led to its slow and uncertain future in the Northern emirates. The 1963 census figures and 1966 school enrolment figures in the North show different percentages of primary school enrolment. For instance, comparing school attendance in the emirate areas to the other areas in the region, she discovered that the emirates had a very low enrolment with Sokoto having 3.71 per cent, Ilorin 41.95, Zuru 7.25, and Kabba 91.1.

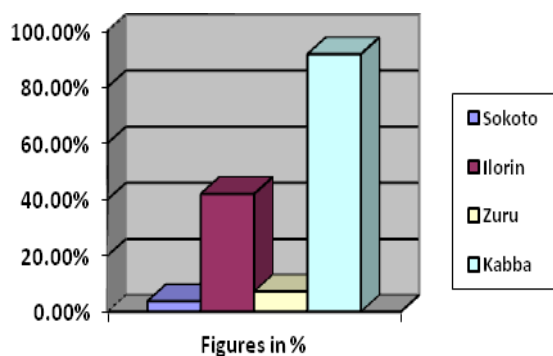


Fig. 2.8 Level of Education in Northern Nigeria by 1966

The chart above shows that the reception of Western education in North-Western Nigeria between 1963 and 1966 was very low in the Sokoto Emirate which recorded only 3.71 per cent. The non-Emirate areas of Zuru, Ilorin and Kabba had 7.25 per cent,

¹¹² A.R. Allen, ‘Review of Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919 with Special Reference to the Work of Hanns Vischer by Sonia F. Graham and Hanns Vischer,’ *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 1, Fasc. 2 (1968), pp. 160-164.

41.95 per cent and 91.17 per cent respectively. It is not improbable that the situation in the Emirate was so because the area was predominantly a Muslim area which prefers Qur'anic schools to Western education. Even more difficult, as some Northern educationists observed, was that part of the problem of education in the region was the attempt to graft Western education onto the Qur'anic school system (Allen 1968:161). This further supports the point that the atmosphere of distrust existed between the British administration and the Caliphate (see Graham 1966:18-19). Although most of the people in the Caliphate would have liked access to education, it was difficult since the traditional and religious leaders did not readily welcome Western education. Graham also identified, illustrated and presented clearly some of the themes found throughout the Nigerian educational scene. This includes the principle of education for pupils to be useful in the society and to earn a living (Graham 1966:23). But the Northern region perceived Western education as a way to convert Muslims; as Graham aptly states, 'Missionaries were evangelists first and educationists second, or they were untrue to their calling' (Graham 1966:29).

Therefore, missionaries were both the providers of education and the preachers of the gospel. This was not welcome in Northern Nigeria. Graham laments that 'The South and the Middle Belt had missions and have many schools. The North had no missions and has few schools. Therefore, if the North had missions it would have had many schools' (Graham 1968:162). But the Western mode of education was not welcome in the Caliphate. Miller wrote in 1963 that their missionaries' endeavours in Northern Nigeria are 'feared to have elements which excite the suspicious of the Muslim rulers' (Graham 1966:32). This was so even when the *talakawa* (peasants) were indifferent to Islam but more open to British rule with the hope that British administration would liberate them from the Fulani oppression.

However, the political current in Africa involving assertive nationalism, religious dominance, continued tribalism and racial separation did not leave churches and missions untouched but caused anguish and concern in many churches. In Nigeria, it resulted in the government taking over mission schools which affected the quality of administration of the schools especially in the north and it also affected the literacy and education approach as a means for evangelization.

Having evaluated the impact of the nationalist, colonialist and Western missionaries, this study posits that the missionaries may have had their weakness and mistakes in the delivery of the gospel message; nevertheless, they were instrumental in the socio-political, historical, education, health and religious development in Nigeria. But this raises the next questions. How did the Nigerian historical, political and religious context facilitate the emergence and growth of indigenous Christian mission, such as CAPRO, in Nigeria? And how did this affect the development of their missionary strategies? In the next section of this chapter I shall examine the emergence and growth of indigenous mission agencies in Nigeria in the context of CAPRO Mission and its church growth strategies.

2.3 The Emergence of CAPRO Mission: An Examination of Salient Antecedents

The last section examined the Nigeria historical, socio-political, and ethno-religious context. It demonstrated how contextual realities function to affect the growth of the church in Nigeria and contribute to the rise and growth of indigenous mission in Nigeria. This section explores the context further to identify some of the salient antecedents that significantly facilitate the emergence of CAPRO mission. This section argues that (1) the rise of African indigenous churches, (2) the independent faith

mission movement, and (3) the Nigerian revival movement impacted the emergence of CAPRO. How did these antecedents affect the development and growth of CAPRO mission in Nigeria?

2.3.1 The Rise of Indigenous Churches

The emergence of African-initiated churches in Nigeria is, on the one hand, a link to the early missionaries' desire to see African indigenous churches assume their responsibility and, on the other hand, the burning desire in the hearts of African Christians to reform Western missions and make Christianity more relevant to the African day-to-day life experiences. Historically, the idea of indigenous church planting began in the nineteenth century especially when the Western missionary societies were overtly seeking for expansion, but through the colonial paternalistic domination over the people being evangelized, on the pretext that the indigenes were not civilized. Therefore, missionaries compelled indigenous believers to conform into the Western mode of expressing Christianity. This gradually led to an unhealthy situation where churches planted by Western missionaries depended on them for everything.

In response to this paternalist pattern of church planting, Henry Venn, Secretary of the Christian Mission Society 1841-72, and Rufus Anderson, a Congregationalist serving on the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1796-1880), developed an indigenous initiative which brought about a radical shift in Protestant cross-cultural missions (Hastings 1994:293-5). Venn's fundamental focus was limited to training and equipping indigenous church leaders in the Anglican-related churches. But his native agency principle in mission shaped indigenous church leadership development in Africa

(Robert 2008:246).¹¹³ In the same way, Shenk (1983) noted his desire to see local church leadership mature to replace the missionary in all areas of mission work by training a body of native teachers to take pastoral charge of the work in their countries (cf. Shenk 1983:31).¹¹⁴ Venn charged the teachers to train leaders because upon them ‘the hopes of an African church are fixed’ (Shenk 1983:31).¹¹⁵

Therefore, this dream was fulfilled when Venn persuaded the powers that be to make Samuel Ajayi Crowther a bishop in 1864. At this time, Crowther had demonstrated outstanding leadership qualities and had published accounts of his works and travels in the Yoruba land to produce the Yoruba grammar, dictionary, and translation of some parts of the Bible into Yoruba language (Ajayi 1965:207; Hastings 1994:343).¹¹⁶ Ajayi captures Crowther’s struggles in this area:

The manuscripts of nearly all the remaining books of the Pentateuch which I would have prepared for the press this quarter were destroyed. My collections of words and proverbs in Yoruba, of eleven years’ constant observations since the publication of the last edition of my Yoruba vocabulary, were also completely destroyed. The loss of those is greater to me than anything else, in as much as it cannot be recovered with money nor can I easily recall to memory all the collections I had made during my travels at Rabba and through the Yoruba country, in which places I kept my ears open to every word to catch what I had not secured, with which I had expected to enrich and enlarge my Yoruba vocabulary this year. Now all are gone like a dream (Ajayi 1969:128).

The above quotation highlights the reality of missionary experiences and the hazards associated with planting and growing churches in the Nigerian context. Therefore, although the impact of this in CAPRO is not clear it may not be ignored because, firstly, most of the founding members of CAPRO were active members of churches established by Western missionaries such as Anglicans, Methodists, and Baptists; secondly, testimonies like the account of Crowther are used by CAPRO to inspire and challenge

¹¹³ Dana L. Robert, *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2008).

¹¹⁴ Wilbert Shenk, *Henry Venn: Missionary Statesman* (Ibadan: Day Star Press, 1983), p. 31.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ J. Ajayi *Christian Mission in Nigeria 1841-1891* (London: Longman, 1965), p. 207; Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 343.

young missionary candidates to endure hardship in their church planting and church growth efforts. But, whereas Ajayi (1965) shows how Venn installed Crowther as the first African bishop to demonstrate his commitment to indigenous self-governing strategy, Ajayi failed to notice Crowther's inability to provide effective supervision in his mission. Some have argued that Crowther was not a vanguard of cultural and personal indigenization of the Nigerian church as Ajayi would suggest (Ajayi 1965; Beyerhaus 1968:159). But Crowther's response to the situation in Onitsha, Southeast Nigeria, in 1877, reveals his perspective on the relationship between culture and the gospel. Crowther opines that it is delightful for worship and hymns to be in the language of the people as much as in English or Latin (Kalu 1996:71; Beyerhaus 1968: 159-60).¹¹⁷

How did this movement influence the rise and growth of CAPRO mission in Nigeria? Firstly, CAPRO mission has a strong desire to evangelize and raise indigenous churches. This principle is not unconnected to the earlier proponents of indigenous church mission such as Henry Venn (1796-1873), Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) and Roland Allen (1868-1947).¹¹⁸ Furthermore, the awareness of the challenges faced by the early missionaries helps to reduce unnecessary tension between the CAPRO missionaries and their established churches. Every church planting team is encouraged to show how to hand over church leadership to the indigenes. Therefore, the potential areas of conflict between church planters and the indigenous churches include the issues of polygamy, ancestor worship and use of culturally appropriate symbols and traditional mode of music after the hand-over. The church-planters are rather advised to deal with

¹¹⁷ Ogbu Kalu, *The embattled Gods: Christianization of Igboland, 1841-1991*, (Lagos: Minaj, 1996).

¹¹⁸ See Roland Allen's works in *Missionary methods: St. Paul's or ours: a study of the church in the four provinces* (London: R. Scott, 1912); *Missionary principles* (London: R. Scott, 1913); *The spontaneous expansion of the church: and the causes which hinder it* (London: World Dominion Press, 1927). Shenk, Wilbert R. "Henry Venn's legacy". *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research*. 1 (2): (1977)16-19.

each socio-cultural case cautiously and based on their context. This understanding helps the churches to grow.

Secondly, the principles of self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating and self-theologizing approaches are also connected to indigenous church mission. Closely linked to this is the principle of cross-cultural communication in CAPRO. Their determination to preach in the language of the listener, the amount of attention given to the context, and the desire to translate the Bible into the language of the people served as catalysts for CAPRO mission in Nigeria and beyond. Therefore, this movement contributes to CAPRO in the area of encouraging local evangelists to go and establish culturally appropriate churches from one ethnic group to another. However, these positive strengths and principles are not without challenges and weaknesses. One of the weaknesses of the indigenous movement is the challenge of *syncretism* which is the mix of traditional practices or philosophies with the gospel message (Nicholls 1992:382).¹¹⁹

2.3.2 Faith Mission Movements

Another background antecedent that significantly influenced CAPRO mission is the faith mission movement. The term ‘faith missions’ was not coined by the proponents of this principle but their commitment to faith in God for supply and support made others use this term to describe them. They called themselves ‘interdenominational missions’ (Fiedler 1994:11). Tangelder refers to them as ‘non-denominational missionaries going to where established churches could not or would not’ go.¹²⁰ One of the proponents of

¹¹⁹ Syncretism here is an attempt to reconcile different religion into one belief system. See Bruce J. Nicholls, *The Gospel in Indian Culture*, M. Ezra Sargunam (ed.), *Mission Mandate*, (Kilpauk, Madras: Mission India 2000).

¹²⁰ In *The Story of Faith Missions*, Klaus Fiedler provides ‘thorough history of the theology, practice, and continuing impact of faith missions around the world, and the most comprehensive study available on faith missions in Africa.’ See Johan D. Tangelder, *Reformed Reflections: The Story of Faith Missions* <http://www.reformedreflections.ca/missions/faith-missions-1.html> July, 2001. Accessed 20/1/2017.

this idea was Hudson Taylor who summed up his financial principle as, ‘God’s work done in God’s way will never lack God’s supplies’ (Guinness 1900:480).¹²¹ Drawing from Taylor’s faith statement, the basic idea of a faith mission is understood in the context of a direct and personal responsibility to God; individuals trust God independently for support and supply to accomplish God’s mission in the world today (Fiedler 1994:25). In the classical¹²² mission era, Gossner Mission and the Pilgermission St Christchona in 1836 and 1840 respectively were precursors of the faith mission movement.

The Gossner Mission, founded by Johannes Evangelista Gossner, felt that as an independent mission, its work should be subjected to God alone. He significantly influenced the early faith mission founders and leaders. For instance, Bingham of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), a pioneer of one of the faith mission societies, captured this influence in his remark that ‘Gossner and Harms were the fathers of the “Faith Mission” movement which really emanated from Germany’ (1914:293).¹²³ St Chrischona consciously employed only ‘craftsmen as missionaries’. These ‘craftsmen missionaries were not ordained but were missionaries in their own right’ (Fiedler 1994:22). This was a significant shift in the development of cross-cultural mission at this time because most classical mission agencies employed unordained missionaries to serve only as assistants to the ordained missionaries in the mission field. In the faith mission movement, however, the ‘unordained missionaries were accorded equal rights

¹²¹ M. Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, v.2 (London, Morgan and Scott, 1900).

¹²² Kenneth Scott Latourette referred to the period 1800-1914 as ‘the Great Century’ of world missions beginning with William Carey. Missionary work at this time is known as ‘classical mission’; all the missionary enterprise before 1793 look more like forerunners, and are known as the ‘pre-classical’ missions. No one can minimize the crucial importance of the classical missions for the church worldwide. See Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Church Expansion of Christianity* v. 3, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1976), p. 281. Andrew F. Walls, ‘Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church’, in *Evangelical Quarterly* 88:2 (1988), pp. 141-155.

¹²³ *The Missionary Witness*, (October 1914), p. 293.

with those who were ordained’ (Fiedler 1994:22). This influenced CAPRO’s perspective concerning a missionary’s ordination. Like Famunore, Ozodo observed that in CAPRO ‘we believe in the priesthood of all believers and make it our priority to encourage our missionaries to draw closer to God and use their spiritual gifts in ministry instead of ordination’ (Ozodo interview, 2012).

Sauer (2011:148) noted that in Germany there were already many older classical mission societies including the Basel Mission (1815), Berlin Mission (1824), Rhenish Mission (1828), North German Mission (1836), and Gossner Mission (1836).¹²⁴ But Warneck went further to add ten more missionary societies in the 1880s though not all of them were faith mission societies.¹²⁵ Others were classical mission societies with a link to a particular denominational view.¹²⁶ Although classical mission societies were the dominant mission movement in Germany in the nineteenth century, in about 1900 there was a growing interest in the interdenominational faith mission movement. A good number of faith mission societies had been established because of the direct influence of Hudson Taylor’s principles on the church.¹²⁷ See the list in the table below.

Faith Missions	Year of Founding	Mission Agencies Reaching Muslims
	1846	Chrischona's Brethren House, Jerusalem
	1852	Jerusalem Society
	1860	Schneller's Orphanage, Jerusalem
	1881	Hermannsburg Mission in Persia
Neukirchen Mission	1882	NM in Java and East Africa

¹²⁴Lexikon zur Weltmission, 1975, p. 112.

¹²⁵ Gustav Warneck, ‘Die neuen deutschen Missionsunternehmungen’ in *AMZ* 1901, pp. 180-187.

¹²⁶Klaus Fiedler, ‘German Mission Boards and Societies’ in *EDWM*, pp. 387f.

¹²⁷ Klaus Fiedler, ‘Der deutsche Beitrag zu den interdenominationalen Missionen [The German contribution to the Interdenominational Faith Mission Movement]’, in Hans Kasdorf/Klaus W. Muller (eds.) *Bilanz und Plan. Mission an der Schwelle zum Dritten Jahrtausend*. Festschrift George W. Peters, (Geburtstag. Bad Liebenzell: VLM 1988), pp. 184-199.

German China Alliance Mission	1889	
	1893-95	Persia Mission of Faber
	1895	Prayer Union (Lepsius)
	1896	Deutsche Orient-Mission
Chrischona Branch of CIM	1895/97	
German CIM - Kiel Mission	1896-99	
	1896	Armenian Help Agency (Lepsius)
	1896	Deutscher Hilfsbund (Lohmann)
German CIM, Hamburg, (Liebenzell China Mission)	1899	
(Women's Missionary Union)	1899	
Sudan-Pionier-Mission	1900	Sudan-Pioneer-Mission
	1900	Amirkhanianz, Eisenach
	1904	Carmel Mission, Palestine
	1908	Christian Mission to the Blind in the Orient (Christoffel)

Table 2.5 German Faith Missions and Mission Agencies among Muslims by 1900 adapted from Christof Sauer, *Reaching the Unreached Sudan Belt: Guinness, Kumm and the Sudan-Pioneer-Mission*, 2001, pp. 145-148.

Earlier influences of faith mission are linked to the London Missionary Society (LMS) which was formed in England by the evangelical Anglicans and a variety of nonconformists in 1795.¹²⁸ The table below shows that the movement was an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon until the late twentieth century when the movement gained a footing in the majority world through the indigenous work of the Indonesian Missionary Fellowship, established at Batu in 1961; the African Enterprise at Pietermaritzburg/Nairobi in 1962; the Indian Evangelical Mission, founded at Bangalore in 1965; the Calvary Ministries (CAPRO) established at Zaria in 1975; and the Japan Antioch Mission in 1977 (Fiedler 2006:160).¹²⁹

Other Mission ¹³⁰	Leader	Place	Year
Livingstone Inland Mission	F. Guinness	London	1873
Christian and Missionary Alliance	B. Simpson	New York	1882-91
Evangelical Alliance Mission	F. Franson	Chicago	1890

¹²⁸ John Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society: A Jubilee Memorial*, (London: Fisher, 1844).

¹²⁹ Klaus Fiedler, 'Faith Mission' in Karl Muller, Theo Sundermeier, Steven B. Bevans, Richard H. Bliese (eds.) *Dictionary of Mission: Theology, History, Perspectives* (Eugene, Or.: Wipf & Stock, 2006).

¹³⁰ Fiedler, *Dictionary of World Mission*, (Eugene, Or.: Wipf & Stock, 2006), pp. 158-161.

Africa Inland Mission	J. Scott	Philadelphia	1895
Sudan Interior Mission	Rowland Bingham	Toronto	1893-1900
Sudan United Mission	L. and Karl Kum	Sheffield	1904
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade	C. T. and P. Studd	London	1913
Wycliffe Bible Translators			1935
Christian Literature Crusade			1942
Christian Nationals Evangelism Commission			1943
Trans-World Radio			1952
Indonesian Missionary Fellowship		Batu	1961
African Enterprise		Pietermaritzburg/Nairobi	1962
Indian Evangelical Mission		Bangalore	1965
Calvary Ministries (CAPRO)	Bayo Famunore	Zaria	1975
Japan Antioch Mission			1977

Table 2.6 Anglo-Saxon Faith Mission Movements

Faith mission theologians and missiologists see revival as the driving force of faith missions (Fiedler 1994:112). They perceive successions and patterns of revival as a means to understand worldwide mission advancement and church growth. In Nigeria, particularly in the Northern region, the preceding faith mission agencies like the Sudan¹³¹ Interior Mission (SIM)¹³² and the Sudan United Mission (SUM)¹³³ contributed

¹³¹ By Sudan here I mean more than the country of Sudan although it is included. The Sudan Belt in those days represents the whole area covering Senegal to the borders of Ethiopia. See Fiedler, *Story of Faith Mission* (Oxford: Regnum Lynx, 1994), 71.

¹³² Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) was co-founded in Nigeria by Walter Gowans, Thomas Kent and Rowland Bingham on 3 December 1893. In 1900, Bingham with Albert Taylor and A.J. Moline made a second attempt but could only reach the West Coast of Africa and the mission failed again because of malaria and dysentery. Although unable to go back to Africa, Bingham relentlessly mobilized and sent another set of missionaries. In 1901, four men, Albert F. Taylor, Charles H. Robinson, Ebenezer A. Anthony and A. W. Banfield sailed from Liverpool to Nigeria to start the first SIM station at Pategi, 225 miles (364 km) inland, among the Nupe people group in Kwara State, central Nigeria in 1902. By the time Bingham died, SIM had grown into one of the largest independent missions in Africa with 400 missionaries and hundreds of churches established in different parts of Africa. In 1956, SIM churches in Nigeria were indigenized and the national church was renamed as the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA), which was later changed to the Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA). See Jim Mason, *Literature Outreach in Nigeria: A History of SIM Literature Work 1901 – 1980* (Breslau: ON, Denison Print, 2009). <http://www.sim.org/index.php/content/sim-history>. Accessed 21/1/17.

¹³³ Sudan United Mission (SUM) was pioneered by Karl Kumm (1874-1930). In 1904, Kumm arrived in Wase, Plateau State in Central Nigeria but his mission was unfruitful until they moved to the Langtang area among the Tarok people in 1909, and the Jukun in Wukari area in 1906 from which the mission grew and established branches in different parts of Northern Nigeria. The impact and growth of SUM today is evident through the work of SUM affiliated churches in Nigeria such as the Lutheran Churches, Christian

to the rise of indigenous faith mission organizations like CAPRO mission. The map below shows some of the faith mission organizations established in Africa by 1915.

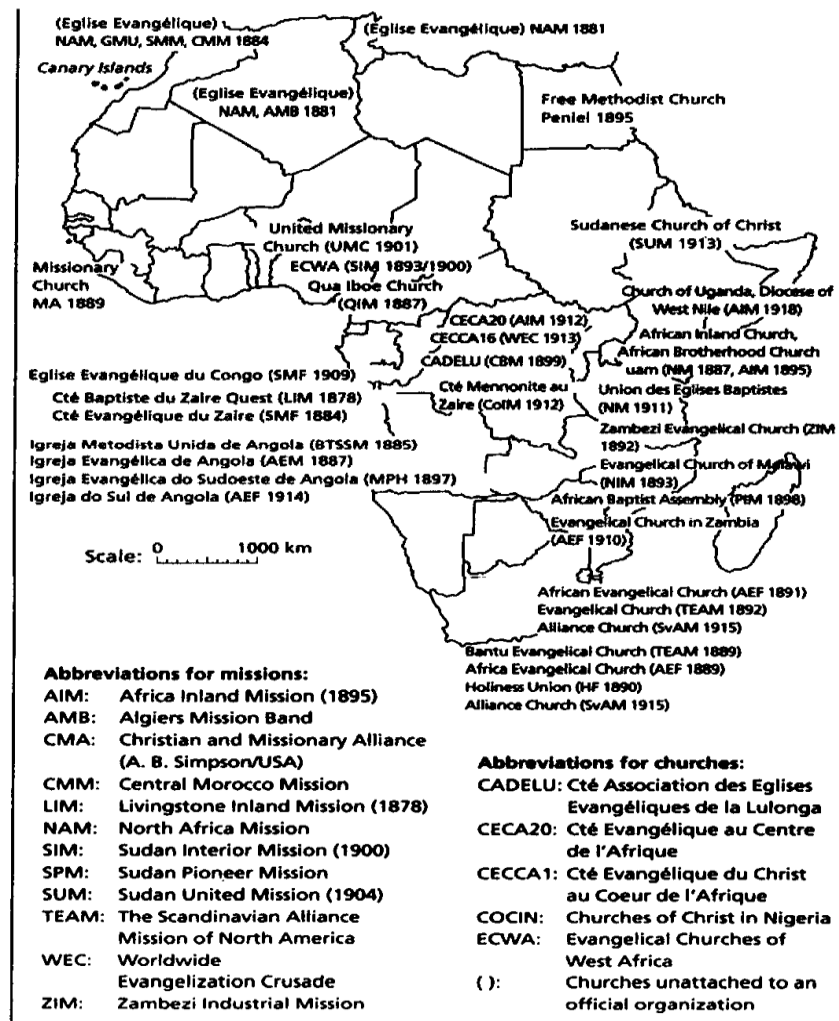


Fig. 2.9 African Churches pioneered by Faith Mission before 1918(Adapted from Fiedler 1994:81-82)

However, Yusufu Turaki laments that ‘communication and exchange or fellowship across denominations was almost non-existent. Christian identity was formed across along denominational lines and thus could not easily unite all Christians’ (Turaki

Reformed Churches, NKST, the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN), as well as the Sudanese Church of Christ in the Nuba Mountains in Sudan. There is much written about the life and mission of Karl Kumm and the emergence of Sudan United Mission. See: Maxwell, J. Lowry. *Half a Century of Grace: A Jubilee History of the Sudan United Mission* (London: Sudan United Mission, 1954). Guinness, H. Grattan. *Lucy Guinness Kumm: Her Life Story* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1907). Guinness, Michele. *The Guinness Legend*. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989). Kumm, H. Karl W. *African Missionary Heroes and Heroines* (New York: Macmillan, 1917). Kumm, H. Karl W *From Hausaland to Egypt, through the Sudan* (London: Constable, 1910). Kumm, H. Karl W *Khont-hon-Nofer, the Lands of Ethiopia*. (London: Marshall Brothers, 1910). Kumm, H. Karl W. and Lucy Evangeline Guinness Kumm. *The Sudan: A Short Compendium of Facts and Figures about the Land of Darkness* (London: Marshall Bros, 1907).

1993:158). In any case, scholars have identified the following influences of the faith mission movement which many CAPRO leaders would agree are shared features, including but not limited to the following: (1) interdenominational, (2) independent, and (3) specialized missions, meeting the felt needs of unreached peoples (cf. Jenkins 2013:50).¹³⁴

2.3.2.1 Implications for CAPRO Mission

How did the faith mission movement contribute to the rise and growth of CAPRO mission in Nigeria? This movement influenced the organization in many ways. Firstly, the CAPRO principle and practice of *personal trust in God for support and supply* in life and ministry draws inspiration from the faith mission movement. This by implication focuses on missionaries' personal faith relationship with Christ Jesus, obedience, love, sacrifice and burning desire to see the unreached peoples reached with the gospel. This is vigorously pursued with the goal of raising indigenous leaders from within the local church. Anonymous observers wonder how CAPRO produces these kinds of committed men and women. According to one, 'I wonder how you cope in the mission field without money and other necessities.'¹³⁵ Famunore sums up his response to this saying, 'most people who know CAPRO lifestyle think of our missionaries as crazy people because of our simplicity and doggedness in devotion to Christ and sacrificial living. I think our understanding of Christ's discipleship makes this possible' (Famunore interview 2012).

¹³⁴Dalton Jenkins, *Kingdom People Living by Kingdom Principles: A Holistic Approach to the Call of Mission* (Bloomington, IN: WestBow Press, 2013).

¹³⁵ In an interview conversation with an anonymous pastor, who went on to conclude that only God can send out such men and women from their comfort zone to mission field for many years without much support.

This is consistent with Bosch's reflection on faith missions when he referred to their core principle as a radicalized voluntary principle of missions. Their emphasis on trusting God for life and ministry is not only a challenge but also a source of encouragement for many young people who answer God's call 'without any financial guarantees, simply trusting that the Lord of mission would provide' (Bosch 2011:340).¹³⁶ The life and ministry of J. Hudson Taylor as well as the China Inland Mission illustrate the prototype and good example of the application of faith and voluntary principles which are also cherished principles enshrined in CAPRO's pillars and core values.¹³⁷ But this radical response to missions raises different questions in the minds of different people. Whereas some view it as selfless obedience to God's call and celebrate mission practitioners as heroes and models to emulate; others see it as foolishness in the name of Christ. But none of these views deters the young missionary recruit who is always consumed with passion to preach the gospel among the unreached peoples of the world. Therefore, each missionary is encouraged to be committed to the uncompromising stance of living by faith, trusting God for all support and supplies in life and ministry is sufficient evidence to show how CAPRO emergence was influenced by this movement.

Secondly, CAPRO mission is also built on the strength of *volunteerism* which mobilizes missionaries from different churches and church-related organizations. CAPRO mission in Nigeria is organized on the same principle of voluntary contribution which in many ways depended more on the willingness and availability of the members contributing their time, talents and treasures to support the organization.

¹³⁶ See also Andrew Walls, 'Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church' in *The Evangelical Quarterly* 88, 188, pp. 141-155.

¹³⁷ These are discussed in the next chapter.

Thirdly, *women's and single missionaries' participation* in pioneering missions and church leadership is another feature of the faith mission movement that is found in CAPRO. Women's roles in mission were more than being a missionary wife or mother of missionary children. Women were active participants in the mission by signing to go as missionaries by faith like their male counterparts. In CAPRO today, women are encouraged to do all that the men could do: preaching, teaching, health, and training. The table and chart below highlight some features of faith mission that are engrained in CAPRO's mission principles and practice. The diagrams show that hundreds of both single and married women are engaging in all sort of ministry in the CAPRO mission fields.

Year	Trained Staff	Trained Male	Trained Female	Untrained Staff	Married Staff	Single Staff
2008	512	246	266	76	No data	No data
2009	522	249	273	87	373	119
2010	547	259	288	81	382	119
2011	577	268	309	66	406	171

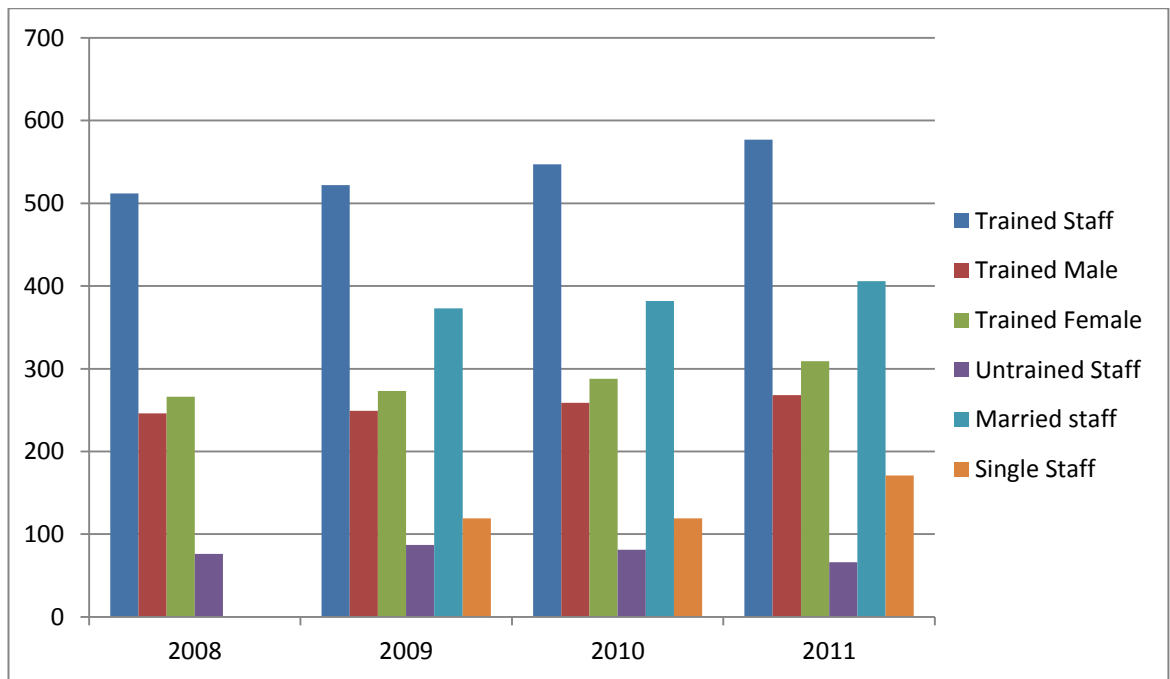


Fig. 2.10 Table and Chart showing the Distribution of Trained Male and Female Missionaries in CAPRO (2008-2011).

The table and chart above show that the number of trained missionaries in CAPRO between 2008 and 2011 was higher than that of the untrained missionaries. Apart from professional and life-management skill training, all CAPRO missionaries are required to go through CAPRO School of Missions for cross-cultural missions training before joining the full-time staff. But some members see long formal training in missions as a waste of time while sinners are perishing. This is similar to the case of faith mission movement. Bosch (2011) observes that there were many who did not see the need for educational, theological, psychological and anthropological preparation, but some of them like C. T. Studd and the popular ‘Cambridge Seven’ team were privileged to be well educated (Bosch 2011:340-41). This is significant to CAPRO because most of the CAPRO leaders’ idea of missions was based on their relationship with WEC International¹³⁸ which trained some of these leaders, including Bayo Famunore, Amos Aderonmu, Niyi Gbade, and Timothy Olonade. This training relationship significantly

¹³⁸ Worldwide Evangelisation for Christ (WEC) International is one of the Faith Mission Societies founded by Charles T. Studd in 1913, in the Belgian Congo.

shaped CAPRO's understanding of mission theories and practices, especially in the areas of mission training, mission research, media and mission, as well as the practice of living by faith.

Similarly, the above diagram also shows that CAPRO, like other faith mission agencies, is open to all sorts of *women's ministry*. This is discernible in the number of women represented in the table and chart above. The figures and chart above shows that CAPRO has more female missionaries than males. For example, in 2008 there were 266 trained female missionaries as opposed to the 246 male missionaries. Similarly, the number of female missionaries was also higher in 2010 and 2011 numbering 288 and 309 respectively. Conversely, male missionaries were 259 and 268 in 2010 and 2011 respectively. The same trend is observed in the case of CAPRO *single missionaries* found in the mission fields. In 2009 and 2011, CAPRO had 373 and 406 married missionaries respectively. In the same period, CAPRO had in the mission field 149 trained single missionaries in 2009 and 171 in 2011. By 1900, there were over 1,200 single women missionaries and forty-one women mission related societies in America alone (Anderson 1988:102). Therefore, the Faith Mission Movement impacted the emergence and growth of CAPRO mission strategy.

2.3.3 CAPRO Mission as a Product of a Revival Movement

Bayo Famonure, the founding leader of CAPRO mission, refers to CAPRO as a product of the 1970s revival movement in Nigeria (Famonure interview 2012). However, CAPRO mission is not the first product of a revival movement in church history. Mission scholars agree that there is a connection between church revival, reawakening, and the thrust of mission worldwide. Although much has been written about revival and its purpose in the church, the link between revival and world mission is often

overlooked, especially in Africa. This section seeks to suggest that every revival movement has its mission side of the story (Davey 2011:102).¹³⁹ This research examines first the impact of revival movement in the various epochs of worldwide mission, giving a brief survey of revival waves in Nigeria before the 1970s, and the influence of revival movements on the emergence of CAPRO mission in Nigeria. (1) The epoch of the coastlands missions (1792-1910), (2) the epoch of inland missions (1865-1980), (3) the epoch of unreached peoples mission (1934 to date).¹⁴⁰

Although there were many revival sparks in Nigeria, the evangelical revival which led to the formation of CAPRO was the movement among students in the 1960s and 1970s. This gave rise to many new indigenous Pentecostal churches in Nigeria such as the Church of God Mission International in 1972 founded by Idahosa. Others include the Deeper Life Bible Church in 1975 by William F. Kumuyi and Living Faith Outreach Worldwide in 1986 by David Oyedepo et al.

In Southern Nigeria, colleges and universities became prayer and Bible study training centres where bands of soul-winning evangelists were equipped for every kind of

¹³⁹ Bob Davey, *The Power To Save* (EP Books, 2011).

¹⁴⁰ Smith in *The First Great Awakening: Redefining Religion in British America, 1725–1775* observes that the First Great Awakening did not ensconce ‘the religion of the new birth as a permanent fixture’ of American Christianity as much as establishing fractious sectarianism as its essential character (2015:8ff). Gerald H. Anderson ‘American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission: 1886-1986’ in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* v.12, 1988, pp. 98-118. Hence the use of the term ‘great’ in this work represents an acceptable historiographical tradition. Julie R. Nelson, ‘Second Great Awakening’ in Junius P. Rodriguez (ed.), *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, v. 2, (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 1997). Robert William Fogel, *The Fourth Great Awakening and the Future of Egalitarianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). Robeck in *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival* observes that ‘the Azusa Street Mission and Revival tells the story of the small racially-inclusive group that gathered in Los Angeles in 1906 and changed the world of Christianity’. See Cecil M. Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2006), p. 325. McClymond in *The Blackwell Companion to Religion in America* noted that during the 1940s, scholars at Harvard and the University of Chicago declared that religious revivals were disappearing. William Warren Sweet went further to say that even the ‘best pulpits no longer mentioned the older doctrine of conversion’ (2010:315). See William Warren Sweet, *Revivalism in America* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1944), xii-xiv. See also Michael McClymond, ‘Revivals’ in Philip Goff (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Religion in America* (Chichester: Blackwells, 2010).

Christian ministry. In these schools, teachers became change agents and were seen as role models for young believers. They prayerfully guarded and guided both the intellectual and spiritual experiences of the students on the campuses. Those affected by the revival on campus longed for intimacy with God and were seen engaged in personal prayer, Bible studies, and evangelism. Christian Student Fellowship Unions were committed to evangelism by sending out teams of Christians to the student hostels, streets and public squares to pray for people, preach, and teach the gospel of Christ (cf. Crawford 1913:9 and McGavran 1982:190).¹⁴¹ But more significantly, this led to the birth of indigenous charismatic churches and mission organizations like CAPRO, which became the first indigenous charismatic faith mission organization to be committed to the evangelization of Northern Nigeria.

2.3.3.1 Implications for CAPRO Mission

How did revival movements in Nigeria contribute to the rise and growth of CAPRO mission in Nigeria? Apart from the parallels identified above, there are other features of the revival movement found in CAPRO. For instance, firstly the renewal was marked by a burning desire for personal intimacy with God, compassion for the lost or sinners, a dedicated prayer and a Bible study lifestyle. Secondly, the 1970s revival was stronger in the universities and colleges. Consequently, most of the people who joined CAPRO at this time were young and educated. Thirdly, the *eschatological motif* of this renewal movement is discernible in CAPRO's *end time* mission emphasis. Even the annual conference of CAPRO Nigeria is tagged: 'Last Days Gathering'. In this conference, believers are gathered in thousands and are exhorted to focus their priority on God's Kingdom, holy living and world evangelization rather than personal and denominational interests. CAPRO is eschatologically driven in both theology and practice, emphasizing

¹⁴¹ Mary K. Crawford, 'The Shantung Revival' in *Classic Books for Today Journal*, No. 165, 1993.
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the urgency of the end of time and the challenge of the unsaved or unreached peoples. This helps believers to adopt a simple and sacrificial discipleship lifestyle, as well as going to the mission field. They also consecrate their lives and career to God as heralds and ambassadors of the gospel among the nations. Anderson rightly observes that these young recruits were motivated by ‘duty, compassion, confidence, optimism, evangelical revivalism, and pre-millennialism urgency’ (Anderson 1988:98). Therefore, drawing from the eschatological motif and the organization’s apostolic principle, CAPRO missionaries tend to hold the view that they are God’s chosen community or workers, or soldiers to usher in the glorious and peaceful Kingdom of God from one territory to another (Ozodo interview; cf. Moorhead 1984:73).

2.3.4 The Emergence of CAPRO Mission

The term CAPRO¹⁴² is an acronym for ‘Calvary Production’ which later evolved and was incorporated as ‘Calvary Ministries’ to reflect the different ministries in the organization. We have seen that CAPRO mission is a product of an indigenous church movement, an independent faith mission movement, and the 1970s revival movement in Nigeria. But how did CAPRO start? Following the 1970s revival, CAPRO became the first charismatic indigenous, faith and interdenominational mission organization to be established to facilitate the evangelization of Northern Nigeria. It was during the same period that the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)¹⁴³ was introduced in 1973 to foster unity after the deadly Nigerian civil war. Young graduates from the South who

¹⁴² For convenience in this study I shall use CAPRO in place of Calvary Ministries.

¹⁴³ NYSC is a national political scheme established by General Yakubu Gowon administration to foster peace and integration after the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970). Whether this scheme is fulfilling its purpose or not is not within the purview of this study. However, Obadare has argued that ‘unless youth service is linked to other political and social processes of national transformation, sporadic outbreaks of patriotism and/or general tourism and sight-seeing - as some participants might cynically see service in other parts of the country - would remain its major achievement, and the transformative potential for the youth and for society would remain a mirage’. See Ebenezer Obadare, ‘Statism, Youth and Civic Imagination: A Critical Study of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Programme in Nigeria’, *Center for Social Development (CSD)*, (Washington, D.C.: Global Service Institute, 2005).

had been impacted by the revival were among those posted to the Northern part of Nigeria to do their NYSC. Therefore, although the proponents of CAPRO were Nigerian youth, one significant thing missing was the absence of Northern Nigerian believers.

When they reached the towns and cities of their NYSC assignments, they were surprised to see people, villages, towns and cities without the gospel or a church. They organized themselves and started a prayer meeting and evangelism. Famonure states, ‘our zeal for God made us look like we were crazy people’ (personal interview 2012). Olabode T. Ogunleye was a member of the 1974 Nigerian Youth Corps (NYSC) in Zaria and a roommate of Bayo Famonure at Soba Zaria Government Secondary School. When reflecting on CAPRO, Ogunleye remembered what God told them in Habakkuk 1:5 saying, ‘no one ever imagined that CAPRO would become what it is today. I still recall the word of God that formed the pivot of the vision the first night we met’ (Ogunleye in an interview). He added that ‘God would not reveal the totality of the vision, but wants us to follow him step by step. This has been the experience of CAPRO for all these years.’¹⁴⁴ Right from the NYSC orientation camp, those affected by the revival were already influencing their peers by forming the first set of Nigerian Christian Corps’ Fellowship at Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) campus, Zaria, where the NYSC orientation camp took place. The leaders of this Christian Corps’ Fellowship included Niyi Beecroft, Bayo Famonure, and Gbola Durojaiye. Famonure also recalls that their national NYSC year facilitated their evangelism efforts to different towns and cities in Northern Nigeria. ‘We carried out evangelistic outreaches to Zaria, Sokoto, Maiduguri etc.’ (Famonure interview 2012).

¹⁴⁴ An interview with Dr. Olabode T. Ogunleye a member of CAPRO USA chapter who serves as the Chief Medical Physicist at the Austin Cancer Centers, Austin, Texas, USA.

In the same zeal, on 25 December 1974, the team organized an open-air evangelistic crusade in front of the Emir of Zauzau's palace in Zaria city.¹⁴⁵ However, when the Muslims saw the positive response of their people to the gospel message they became furious and quickly organized a riot by throwing stones at the participants and dispersing the people. But Famunore did not accept this as a failure. On the contrary, he felt God was leading him to call Christians to pray and evangelize the Northern Muslims. The first meeting which evolved into what is known as CAPRO today took place on 25 April 1975 in Soba Zaria to discuss the prospect of starting an organization to evangelize the Muslims and ATR communities in Northern Nigeria and West Africa (Famunore, interview). After his Youth Service Corps, Famunore decided to stay back in the North and worked with NIFES¹⁴⁶ as a travelling secretary while seeking clarity of vision on CAPRO work. At this time, the team was made up of young people and students who organized evangelistic meetings and prayer retreats from city to city in the North distributing tracts, organizing open-air meetings and using music and drama to preach the gospel. As the vision evolved, Amos Aderonmu, a onetime International Director of CAPRO, agreed to come to the North to join the CAPRO team and worked closely with Famunore in the early years of the ministry and eventually became the first full-time missionary of CAPRO in 1975.

CAPRO missions in Northern Nigeria grew from itinerant evangelism to sedentary church planting. Although CAPRO did not start with the intention of planting and growing churches, it eventually became one of the largest indigenous mission-planting

¹⁴⁵ The organizers of the crusade were Bayo Famunore, Gbola Durojaiye, Niyi Beecroft, Emeka Onukaogu and Peter Ozodo.

¹⁴⁶ The Nigeria Fellowship of Evangelical Students (NIFES) is an indigenous, non-governmental interdenominational organization of evangelical Christian students in Nigeria tertiary institutions. It was established in 1968 at Ilorin as an offshoot of International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES) which was formed in 1947 with the aim of helping to create strong, self-supporting, autonomous, evangelical student ministries in all the countries of the world. In Nigeria, NIFES reaches out to students through small group Bible studies, evangelism, prayer meetings special discipleship and leadership training events. See <http://www.nifes.org.ng/about-nifes/nifes-history>. Accessed 10/2/17.

churches in Africa and beyond. Reflecting on the beginning of CAPRO, Ogunleye observes that ‘we organized crusades acting drama and showing films supplied by T. L. Osborn¹⁴⁷ at various parts of Northern Nigeria and God began to solidify the vision, so much that at the end of the NYSC service year, a number of us decided to stay back to continue in the mission in the North’ (Ogunleye, interview). He added that ‘students were mobilized to be involved in evangelism until it became obvious that God was leading CAPRO into sending out missionaries’ (Ogunleye, interview). Unlike Famunore, who stayed back in the North, others such as Ogunleye went back to Lagos to further their studies in the University of Lagos. Although they went back to the South, their heart was still on the task of evangelizing the North. So the idea of starting CAPRO mission support chapters with the aim of mobilizing Christians in the South for the evangelization of the North was developed and started in Lagos and Jos, to raise prayer and material support for CAPRO work.¹⁴⁸

In 1979, the name Calvary Production (CAPRO) was changed to reflect the diverse nature of CAPRO operations and the new emphasis on reaching the ethno-linguistic people groups in Nigeria and West Africa. In the 1980s, more emphasis was made on recruiting full-time cross-cultural missionaries who would live, evangelize and plant churches among identified unreached people groups. The first ethno-linguistic people groups to engage with the aim to plant churches were the Maguzawa and Gbagyi people

¹⁴⁷ Osborn was an American travelling evangelist who influenced CAPRO in many ways in her nascent stage. For example, firstly, his crusade and literature evangelism pattern was adopted by CAPRO team at the beginning of the organization but later discovered that public crusade was not effective among the Muslims in Northern Nigeria. Secondly, his zeal, humility, simple and sacrificial living among the Nigerians was also encouraged among the team. Thirdly, his emphasis on the priesthood of all believers and the practical manifestation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the church today are traceable in CAPRO’s mission DNA.

¹⁴⁸ An interview with Dr. Olabode T. Ogunleye a member of CAPRO USA chapter who serves as the Chief Medical Physicist at the Austin Cancer Centers, Austin, Texas, USA.; see <http://www.capromissions.org/intl.html> accessed 10/2/17.

groups found in Kaduna, Katsina and Kano States of Northern Nigeria. The table below shows the people groups CAPRO engaged for church planting between 1985 and 1994.

NAME OF FIELDS	DATE	PIONEER & FIELD LEADER
Gbagyi	1985	Victoria Hassan
Mumuye	1986	Ezekiel Gigin
Dukawa	1986	Jacob Israel Wade
Maguzawa		Raymond Hassan
Hausa	1991	Joseph Okaroh
Nupe	1991	Sam Owen
Kamuku	1991	John Danlamin
Zabarmawa	1991	Peter Omowole
Achipawa	1998	Reuben Namiji Achison
Kuti -Pere	1992	David Abam
Isawa	1993/reopened 1997	Paul George
Kyangawa	1994	Ali Okpo
Boko	1996	Ephraim Nnaji
Kanuri	1991	Meshach James, Dondo Iolamen (1992)
Wula	1996	Freeman Okoro
Fulani	1990	Selzing Zwalde
Bolewa	1992	Yomi Ojo
Shuwa Arabs	1994	Robert Simon

Table 2.7 CAPRO Fields 1986-1994

Soon after, several other unreached peoples were engaged in Northern Nigeria and other parts of Africa. In the 1980s, foreign fields were also pioneered in Niger Republic, Senegal and Guinea, West Africa, for the same purpose of planting churches among the

unreached people groups and mobilizing the church. Today, CAPRO works in over thirty-four countries engaging over sixty unreached ethnic groups. In recent years, CAPRO has extended outreach to the Malgreb and Arab world and some underground churches of Muslim-background believers (MBB) are being planted.

Therefore, Famunore and Ozodo remarked that although CAPRO started with only one full-time evangelist in 1975 working in Northern Nigeria, today the organization has over 800 missionaries and volunteers working in different parts of the world (personal interviews with Famonure and Ozodo 2012). In Northern Nigeria alone, CAPRO has over 300 missionaries reaching out to various ethnic groups, both adherents of Islamic and ATR. Kadon, the former national director of CAPRO Nigeria, reports that CAPRO in Northern Nigeria has planted and is growing over 78 indigenous churches among 32 ethno-linguistic people groups (Kadon *Congress Report* 2012). Today, the church is making significant impact among the Islamic communities even in places that did not have church presence before. The indigenous church evangelists are trained and sent out to plant more churches in the region (Kadon 2012:3).

Earlier, this growth was witnessed and succinctly captured in the words of the former International Director, Pade Tokum, during his presentation at the CAPRO leadership and strategy conference in 2003: 'we have grown in size and in scope. One obvious reason for us to praise God is that we have even established a fairly strong presence in the Francophone West Africa region' (Tokum 2003:1). Today, CAPRO has expanded and established work in most of the countries in Africa and some parts of the Arab world, Asia, Europe and America. But how did this growth and expansion happen? What is CAPRO's perspective of church growth and what are the strategies employed by CAPRO mission to plant and grow churches? These questions will be examined in

the next chapter but let us first look at how contextual realities might have contributed to the growth of Pauline churches

2.4 Background to Pauline Church Growth Strategies: Jewish and Greco-Roman

Paul in his letter to the Galatians affirms that ‘when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those under the law, that we might receive adoption to sonship’ (Gal. 4:4-5 NIV). The phrase ‘the fullness of time’ denotes God’s time and season and suggest that Christ’s life and mission; consequently, Paul’s mission was not accomplished in a vacuum but at a specific time, culture and space (cf. Mark 1:15; Acts 1:7; Eph. 1:10). For Paul, the world was uniquely prepared by God and the time reached for the coming of Christ and the birth of the church.¹⁴⁹ How did this impact on the growth of the early church such that by 312CE one out of ten people in the Roman Empire identified with Christianity despite imperial opposition?

F.F. Bruce affirms that the hand of God is traceable throughout world history, ‘but surely at no period is this truth more manifest than in the period of transition from pre-Christian to post-Christian times, from BC to AD’ (Bruce 1993:32). Today, some historians who would rather believe that there is an external power responsible for the thriving and rapid growth of the church in the first century.¹⁵⁰ Bruce, in his argument, added that no Spirit-taught student of secular history can fail to observe the marvellous way in which God prepared the world for the spread of the gospel and it is equally instructive to know that this state of preparation was used when in the fullness of time

¹⁴⁹ My focus is limited to Paul, and the period between 30-64 CE.

¹⁵⁰ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Church Expansion of Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986); Michael Green *Evangelism in the Early Church*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton 1970); Earle E. Cairns, *Christianity Through the Centuries* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1996); Chester G. Starr *A History of the Ancient World*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

the followers of Christ began to carry out his commission and preach the gospel to every creature (Bruce 1933:30-31). World events that appear to us like accidents may as well have been ordained by God (Acts 17:26; cf. Rom. 8:28). This is also consistent with Paul's argument in Romans 13 when he suggests that even political leaders are God's servants to serve him as rulers in their places of power (Rom. 13:1-6). For instance, Prophet Jeremiah declares that God 'decides who will rule the earth' from one generation to another (Jer. 27:5-6).

In this section, I want to situate Paul's church growth strategy in its historical and socio-political context. If the prophets, like John the Baptist, were specially sent by God to prepare the way for the coming of Christ (Mk 1:3; Mt 3:3; Lk 3:4; Jn 1:23), how did historical, religious, and socio-political factors strategically contribute to the rapid expansion of the early church in the Greco-Roman world? If John the Baptist prepared the way by creating awareness and raising the consciousness of people to expect the coming of the Messiah, what are the factors that contribute to the rapid growth of the Pauline churches? To answer these questions I shall look at (1) the Jewish contributions, (2) the Greek contributions, (3) the contribution of Roman political and legal systems, and (4) Paul's pre-conversion experiences.

2.4.1 Jewish Contribution to Pauline Church Growth

By the first century, the Jews were numerous and had spread throughout the Roman Empire and beyond (Trombley 2006:309). The diaspora Jews at this time were those Jews who lived in different Gentile cities and villages in the empire. The population of the Jews and their strategic spread contributed to the growth of the early church in many ways. Although it is difficult to ascertain the population of the Jews in the diaspora, what one gleans from the accounts of Philo, Josephus and New Testament documents,

as well as from numerous references to Jewish people by Greek and Roman writers or historians at this time, reveal that the spread of the Jews was of great number. For instance, most of these writers painted a picture of a visible Jewish presence throughout the Mediterranean world.¹⁵¹ Similarly, Josephus sums it up: ‘This people (the Jews) have already made their way into every city, and it is not easy to find any place in the habitable world which has not received this nation and in which it has not made its power felt’.¹⁵² Apart from the fact that Paul was a Jew, the Jewish people contributed immensely to the growth of the early Christianity in the following areas: (1) messianic hope and monotheism, (2) holy Scriptures, and (3) synagogues.

2.4.1.1 Monotheism and Messianic Hope

Monotheistic belief and messianic hope are inseparably linked to Judaism. Jews in diaspora continue to practise and teach their religion which created the awareness on the concept of Jewish monotheism, the belief and worship of one God who is be absolutely and exclusively worshipped. The concept of monotheism has continued to govern both the religious and non-religious scholarship¹⁵³ with extensive volumes of literature in the area (Ferguson 2003:608).¹⁵⁴ For a Jew, monotheism governs every aspect of life. Therefore, to a Jew, everything finds its meaning in the fact that there is only one God.

James F. McGrath in his recent study on monotheism focused on the issue of the

¹⁵¹ See Philo, *Embassy* 214, 245, 281-83; *Against Flaccus* 43, 45-46; Moses 2. 232; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.133; 14. 115; 17.300; Josephus, *JW* 7.43; 7.445.

¹⁵² Josephus, *Ant.* 14.115, cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 2.85.5; Cassius Dio, *History* 57.18.5a.

¹⁵³ For the concept of monotheism in the Hellenistic period see Michael Mach, 'Concepts of Jewish Monotheism during the Hellenistic Period', in Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, Gladys S. Lewis (eds.), *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference of the Historical Origin of the Worship of Jesus*, (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

¹⁵⁴ It is helpful to mention the following: Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 2nd ed., (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993); James D. G. Dunn, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus: The New Testament Evidence* (London: SPCK, 2010); James F. McGrath, *The Only True God: Early Christian Monotheism in its Jewish Context* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Eric Osborn, *The Emergence of Christian Theology* (Cambridge, CUP, 1993); Henry Formby, *Monotheism: The Primitive Religion of the City of Rome: A Historical Investigation*, 2010; Mark S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts*, (Oxford: OUP, 2001).

separation of Judaism and Christianity. He contends that none of the varied Christological portraits found in any New Testament writings departed from Jewish monotheistic ideas of the same period and that identifying monotheism as the divisive issue in the first century is anachronistic (McGrath 2009:2). McGrath maintains that Paul's Christology might have been within the accepted bounds of Jewish monotheistic faith since he mentions no controversy and never seeks to defend it against detractors as he does with his views on the Law (McGrath 2009: 52). Therefore, the general awareness of monotheism as practised by the Jews helped to prepare people's hearts for the coming of Christ as Messiah and by implication the spread of the gospel in the first century.

Closely related to monotheism is the expectation of the Messiah. By the first century, every ordinary Jew anticipated the coming of the Messiah. This Messianic hope became intense under Roman rule and wherever a Jewish community was found in the empire. This also prepared the minds of people for the coming of Jesus and consequently for the emergence of the church. Kaiser contends that the matter of understanding 'the Messiah in the Old Testament could be a defining moment for evangelical scholarship and ultimately for the church's view of the way we regard Scripture' (Kaiser 1999:102). Therefore, the idea of messianic hope in Judaism contributed to the preparation for the coming of Christ and Paul's preaching about Christ as the Messiah (Acts 17:3).

2.4.1.2 Holy Scriptures

Jesus and the early apostles, including Paul, were all students of the Jewish Scriptures, the Torah (Holtz 1984:12). At this time the Jewish holy writings were available not only

in Hebrew but also in Greek.¹⁵⁵ It is accepted that Jesus and his disciples used the content of the Torah to enrich their lives and ministries. Jesus' birth, life and ministry were understood and interpreted through the Old Testament Scriptures. The Gospel writers rooted Jesus Christ's story in the same Scriptures. For instance, Matthew states, 'The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham' (Matt. 1:1). There are also many instances where Jesus used direct quotations from the OT Scripture to support or defend his teaching and actions, especially during his temptation (Matt. 4:1-11), in mission declaration (Luke 4:18-19; Isa. 61:1-2; cf. 19:10); and prophecy about his death (Isa. 53:3-10). Moreover, the practice of reciting the Shema (Deut. 6:4-9) was established among the Jews at the time of Jesus through to the beginning of the early church. Its significance can be deduced in the number of times it was to be said in a day. It was probably the practice of Jesus too as we saw in his regular participation in the synagogue (Mark 12:39; 13:9; Luke 11:43; 10:17).

Jesus' teaching was based upon the OT (the Torah) as God's Word. In his life and ministry Jesus occasionally applied OT prophecies to himself (Lk. 4:18). He made it clear to the Jews that he came to fulfil the Law (Matt. 5:17-20). The apostle Paul also employed the OT in his preaching and writing, especially in the books of Romans and Galatians (Rom. 4, 9, 11; Gal. 3). Wright observed that 'the Old Testament itself clearly intends us to see Israel's history, not as an end in itself or for the sake of Israel alone, but rather for the sake of the rest of the nations of humanity' (Wright 1992:36). The early church used the Septuagint, that is, the text and versions of the Greek Old Testament, in their teachings and meditations rather than the Hebrew Old Testament

¹⁵⁵ Christopher J. H. Wright, *Knowing Jesus through the Old Testament*, (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Academic, 1992). Cf. R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission*, (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2000). G. K. Beale, D. A. Carson (ed.), *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, (Grand Rapids, MI.: Baker, 2007).

(Aland 1985:108). This made the Scripture available for Greek-speakers as well. Consequently, the Old Testament was part of Paul's pre-conversion preparations as a Pharisee and significantly shape his view of Christ, the church and God's plan for all nations.

2.4.1.3 Synagogues

Another area of Jewish contribution is the establishment of synagogues. Jesus and the apostles used the synagogues for various reasons especially to engage with the Jewish communities as centres for preaching and teaching the gospel as they travelled from city to city.¹⁵⁶ The synagogues were like missionary bases or hospitality centres for travelling evangelists in the first century. The Jews had instituted synagogue worship during the Babylonian captivity when it was no longer permitted to worship in the temple. Their regular worship activities included singing and reading from Scripture. The Jewish synagogues became preaching centres in most of the cities Paul evangelised, except for Gentile centres of Athens or Lystra. The question, however, is whether or not the early church intentionally used the synagogue as a mission strategy. Following Luke's narrative in Acts, Paul is portrayed as one who always began his mission outreach in any city by preaching in the synagogue (Acts 9:20–22; 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:1–3) (Reasoner 1993:718).

Jesus and his early disciples used the synagogues both as places of worship and as places to stay and begin their missionary campaign. By the time of Christ, there were synagogues all over Israel and in many cities of the Roman world which made it easier for the travelling missionary, like the apostle Paul, to find a place and people of common interest to share their faith. This helped greatly in the expansion of the early

¹⁵⁶ Mk 1:39; 6:2; Mt 4:23; 13:54; Lk 4:15, 16, 44; Jn 6:59.

church. For instance, this was the case in Damascus (Acts 9:2); Salamis (Acts 13:5); Antioch in Pisidia (Acts 13:14); Iconium (Acts 14:1); Thessalonica (Acts 17:1); Berea (Acts 17:10); Athens (Acts 17:17); Corinth (Acts 18:4); and Ephesus (Acts 18:19; 19:8). Therefore, the presence of the synagogues as a place of worship in most of the Jewish communities in the Roman Empire contributed to the spread of the gospel and helped Paul to meet with Jewish believers during prayer, worship and the teaching of Torah.

2.4.2 Contribution of Greek Hellenization to Early Church Growth

Apart from the Jewish and Romans influences, Hellenization also facilitated the growth of the early church. Hellenization was the process of appropriating Greek culture or a transfer of cultural values from one generation of Greeks to another. Alexander the Great conquered the known world and his successor enforced Greek language, culture and philosophies on others. The impact of Greek Hellenization was felt more in the urban areas, especially in the cities of Alexandria and Athens (Henaut 1994:100; Green, 1970:18). Unlike Adolf von Harnack¹⁵⁷ who saw Hellenism as a movement and spoke of it as growing from a small group of people into a universal power that penetrated foreign nations, my focus in this section is to identify how Greek language, culture and philosophy facilitated the growth of Pauline churches (Rowe 1994:69-106). Due to the impact of Hellenization most ancient historians and biblical scholars would concur that, though the first century was under the rule of the Romans, the culture and philosophy of life were more Greek (McCain 1996:68-69). The question here is how did Greek Hellenization strategically facilitate the preaching and growth of Pauline churches? For the purpose of this study I shall briefly consider the following: language and culture, education and philosophy.

¹⁵⁷ See William V. Rowe 'Adolf Harnack and Concept of Hellenization', 1994, 64-98. Cf. Adolf von Harnack, *What is Christianity?* Repr. (San Diego CA: Book Tree, 2006). Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1961); M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians*, (London: SCM, 1980).

2.4.2.1 Greek Language as a Means of Communication

Firstly, the Greek language was widely spoken and served as an effective means of communicating the gospel message among many peoples in the first century. Jeffers observes that ‘the *lingua franca* of earliest Roman Christianity was the Greek of the common classes’ (Jeffers 1998:130). He added that surviving documents are all composed in Greek, as are of the burial inscriptions of its adherents (Jeffers 1998: 130; Leon 1995:240-41). It is not improbable that the early missionaries used Greek to preach, translate and transmit the gospel message from one community to another. The writing of the Septuagint is sufficient evidence to the extent of Greek usage even among the Jews in Alexandria. Ferguson notes that since language played a significant role in preserving Jewish corporate identity, it became necessary for the Hebrew Scriptures to be translated into Greek (the Septuagint), making the Old Testament available to Greek-speakers and beginning the conceptual translation of biblical thought into the Greek view of reality (Ferguson 2003: 617). However, some scholars do not agree with the idea that Greek was the common and dominant language during the advent of Christianity and may rather argue in favour of bilingualism (Schelle 2005:139 cf. R. Schmitt 1980:198-205),¹⁵⁸ or even trilingualism (MacLeod 1999:161, Gundry 1994:43, cf. McCain 1996:68).

Although there were different languages spoken at this time, Greek was widely used in the Greco-Roman societies for official transactions. Greek language was used by the early church especially by Paul to preach, teach and write (Graham 1999:210-20). Other

¹⁵⁸ Greek was significantly an international language in the Roman Empire in the first century. See the works of Gerard Mussies, 'Greek as the Vehicle of Early Christianity' *NTS* 29 (1983), 356-69. Josephus himself is an interesting example because he wrote in Greek in order to include Romans as his readers (Josephus *J.W.* 1.3; cf Cicero, *Arch.* 23). For differences between bilinguality and bilingualism see Josiane F. Hamers and Michel H. A. Blanc, *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 25-49.

writers like Philo, though a Jew, in his works referred to Greek as 'our language' (Philo, *Prelim. Studies*, 44). A common language provided more than direct intelligibility whereby people shared certain common ideas, ways of thinking, ways of education, and manner of perception because of the influence of Greek philosophy, literature, and religion. This common frame of reference must have assisted the task of preaching and teaching the gospel of Christ (cf. Ferguson 2003:617).

2.4.2.2 Greek Education and Philosophy

The nature of Hellenism affected every part of society, including education. Yamauchi observed that 'there is hardly any aspect of higher culture in the Empire which was not decisively influenced by the Greeks: art, architecture, literature, drama, medicine, philosophy and religion were all deeply affected by the Greeks' (Yamauchi 1993:386, Philo *Legatio ad Gaium* 147). The impact of this is evident in Paul's writing. For example, Yamauchi observes that although Paul eschewed the extravagant displays of Greek oratory (1 Cor. 2:1-4) yet in his letters he employed such rhetorical devices like: 'chiasmus (1 Cor. 3:17), litotes (Rom. 1:28), alliteration (2 Cor. 6:3), climax (Rom. 8:29-30), oxymoron (2 Cor. 6:9) and paronomasia (2 Cor. 3:2), and he meets his sophistic opponents (in 2 Cor. 10-13) by using their techniques and procedures' (Yamauchi 1993:386).

Moreover, it is worth noting at this point that almost all the three citations of ancient classical literature in the New Testament were made by the apostle Paul. Particularly in the case of his speech before the Stoics and Epicureans at Athens he referred to Aratus' *Phaenomena* 5 in Acts 17:28 saying, 'we are also his offspring'. While in his argument in 1 Corinthians 15:33 Paul quoted from Menander's play *Thais*, 'Bad company is the ruin of good character'; and in Titus 1:12 he cited Epimenedes' *De Oraculis*, 'the

Cretans, are always liars, vicious brutes, and lazy gluttons' (Yamauchi 1993:386). There is no evidence that Paul read or quoted directly from these sources; they were probably common sayings. But they demonstrate the influence of Greek education and philosophy on early Christian thought and practice. Ferguson referred to Nock's summary of his work arguing that 'the success of Christianity is the success of an institution which united the sacramentalism and the philosophy of the time' (Nock 1933:21; quoted in Ferguson 203:619). Paul also employed Greco-Roman imagery in his writings to communicate salient spiritual truths. For instance, he uses games (Phil. 2:16); legal terminology (Gal. 3:15; 4:1-2; Rom. 7:1); slave trade (1 Cor. 7:22; Rom. 7:14); warfare (2 Cor. 10:3-6; Eph. 6:10-18) to illustrate his message. However, one must be careful not to portray Paul's teaching as totally dependent on the above metaphors. I would rather posit that it is more consistent to say at this point that early Christianity learned more from the Old Testament and its Jewish background. Therefore, despite the aforementioned contributions the central features of Christianity were not affected adversely, which underpins why the church suffered severe persecutions (Ferguson 2003:3).

2.4.3 Contribution of the Roman Empire to Early Church Growth

The Roman Empire also contributed to the shaping of the context of the first century which contributed to the expansion of the early church. For example, Roman political systems provided the means for rapid missionary witness. Following New Testament records, the early Christians did not only live and practise their faith within the Roman political system but also employed the system for Christian witness. Scholars have identified five major areas of Roman rule which help in preparing the stages for the coming of Christ and the growth of early Christianity (McCain 1996:66-7).

Firstly, the Roman laws at this time protected and encouraged religious freedom. The freedom and protection enjoyed by Christianity in its early stage contributed to its rapid spread. During this period, Roman laws divided religious groups into two categories. (1) *religio licita*, groups recognized and protected by the state; (2) *religio illicita*, religious sects that were not recognized or protected by the Roman government. Judaism was tolerated by Roman law and as long as Christianity was regarded as one of the many Jewish sects, it did not attract particular attention (cf. Bruce 1933:31). However, things later changed because of the conflict between Christianity and Judaism. Before then, Christianity had grown and made an appreciable impact in the Empire. Similarly, the Roman government developed a simple yet sophisticated judicial system (Rupprecht 1993:549). This legal system sometimes provided citizens, like Paul, the chance for fair hearing and treatment under the law. Roman government policy as found in Trajan's response to Pliny (111-113 CE) gives us some insight into the attitude of the government at this time, half a century later:

You have adopted the proper course, my dear Secundus, in your examination of the cases of those who were accused to you as Christians, for indeed nothing can be laid down as a general ruling involving something like a set form of procedure. They are not to be sought out; but if they are accused and convicted of any crime they must be punished-yet on this condition, that whoever denies being a Christian, and makes the fact plain by his action, that is, by worshipping our gods, shall obtain pardon on his repentance, however suspicious his past conduct may be. (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.97).

This quotation highlights how Christians were perceived and perhaps treated in the Empire. Although Christians were hunted out the legal system and in many cases the citizenship's rights made it possible for believers, like Paul and some of his co-workers, to move about preaching the gospel from one city to another (Rupprecht 1993:549). Although citizenship did not stop preachers like Paul from facing opposition and persecution, Luke reported instances when Paul appealed to his rights of citizenship to stand before Caesar which reduced the pressure and opposition against him and Christianity (Acts 22:25-9).

Secondly, the Empire facilitated the expansion of the church by providing good communication and transportation networks by road and sea, which linked different cities and towns and connected urban to rural centres. For instance, Paul's missionary activities at Derbe, Iconium and Pisidian Antioch were on the main Roman way that linked Antioch of Syria and Tarsus to Apamea Laodicea and Ephesus.¹⁵⁹ Troas too was important for sea traffic through the Dardenelles between the Aegean and Black Sea and between Asia and Macedonia by land (Acts 20:5-6; 16:11; 2 Cor. 2:12; cf. Ignatius, *Polycarp* 8; Ferguson 2003:87-88). Kreitzer in his study observes that one of the significant contributions to civilization by the Roman Empire was 'the establishment of an elaborate and comprehensive network of travel and communications' (Kreitzer 1993:945; Casson 1994:65).

The map below shows Paul's extensive missionary journeys. Earlier movement by road or sea was dangerous and risky because of the incessant attack by pirates who captured travellers and took them to slave markets for sale.¹⁶⁰ Even in the days of Paul, Luke demonstrated that there were still potential dangers for anyone embarking on a sea journey because travelling at this time was still generally unsafe, gruelling and dangerous (Acts 27:41-28:1, Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 27, 2; in Ferguson 2003:88). These elaborate road and sea transportation networks did not only help in government administration and trade links but also offered the early church great opportunities for expansion by transporting the gospel message and evangelists from one place to another in the Empire.

¹⁵⁹ Acts 13:14, 51; 14:20-21; 15:41-16:1.

¹⁶⁰ Homer *Odyssey* 3, 72-74; 9, 252-255; Thucydides 1, 5, 1, cf. Theophrastus *Char.* 25, 2.



Fig. 2. 2 Map of Paul's Missionary Journeys

Thirdly, the Roman peace, popularly known as *pax romana*, provided the stable environment for the spread of the gospel. According to Epictetus, 'Caesar has obtained for us a profound peace. There are neither wars nor battles, nor great robberies nor piracies but we may travel at all hours, and sail from east to west' (*Discourse* 3.13.9). This shows that the Roman government through the supremacy of the military brought peace and maintained the peace that was unparalleled. This peace helped people, including missionaries and evangelists of the gospel, to move from one place to another preaching and planting new churches (cf. Hubbard 2010:230). However, this does not intend to suggest that Christianity thrived in an atmosphere that was without conflict. On the contrary, the persecutions encountered by the church also served to strengthen the believers' faith in Christ. Therefore, they counted it a privilege to suffer with Christ for the gospel's sake (Acts 5:41; cf. Rom 5:8).

2.4.4 Paul's Pre-Conversion Experience

Another area of preparation worthy of note in Paul's life and ministry is the impact of his pre-conversion experiences. The Book of Acts and the testimonies of Paul in his letters give us insights into the kind of man he was in Roman society. According to

Paul's testimony in Luke's account, 'I am a Jew, born in Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city, Jerusalem, educated at the feet of Gamaliel according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God as all of you are this day' (Acts 22:3). Up to the time of his first missionary journey, Paul was known as Saul. Saul was his Jewish name, given to him by his Jewish parents. Both Paul and Luke were silent about Paul's parents except that his father was of the tribe of Benjamin and a Pharisee living in Tarsus (Phil. 3:5) and presumably a Roman citizen if Paul was one from birth (Acts 23:6). As part of his training, Paul was born in Tarsus and brought up in the holy city of Jerusalem, perhaps for the purpose of his education where he studied at the feet of Gamaliel. He was skilled in tent-making also (Acts 22:3; 18:3). Neyrey (1996) argues that in terms of the highly stratified society of Paul's world, Luke portrays him in the company of the elite of his time, in the role of a Roman citizen trained for public duties (Neyrey 1996: 251).

Paul's pre-conversion background especially in his education, Roman citizenship, and his Jewish background (Phil. 3:5) all worked together to facilitate his Christian witness and missionary journeys in the first century in the following ways. First, Paul's advanced Pharisaical education undoubtedly supported his social significance in both Jewish and other Greco-Roman societies. Trained at the feet of a respected teacher, Gamaliel (Acts 22:3 cf. 5:34), even kings noted his learning (Acts 26:24) which mostly provided him with capacities and platforms to engage with all sorts of people in his mission. Philosophers were interested in his line of debate (Acts 17:19-32). Paul was skilful in the use of quotations from Greek poets (Acts 17:28), the Jewish learned society could not refute the depth of his wisdom nor deter his devotion to Christ, and his contemporaries attested to his high intellectual capability. For instance, Peter noted the sophistication of Paul's writing (2 Pet. 3:15-16). Porcius Festus the governor of Judea

acknowledged Paul's much learning in the presence of King Agrippa (Acts 26:24-32). Therefore, Paul's level of education, citizenship and Jewishness prepared him to engage with the Jewish, Greek, Roman and other categories of people in his church growth endeavours.

Secondly, Paul's Roman citizenship also facilitated his witness in Greco-Roman urban societies. For example, Luke reported three instances of Paul appealing to his rights as a Roman citizen during his missionary journeys. (1) In Philippi he protested as a citizen because he was beaten without being given a proper and fair trial (Acts 16:37). (2) In Jerusalem, he invoked his Roman citizenship rights in order to be spared scourging by the military tribune (Acts 22:25-29). (3) The most momentous invoking of Paul's privileges as a Roman citizen came during his trial before the procurator of Judaea when he 'appealed to Caesar', which means that his case has to be transferred from the provincial court to the supreme tribunal in Rome (Acts 25:10f). Roman citizenship was originally confined to freeborn natives of the city of Rome, but as Roman control of Italy and the Mediterranean lands extended, the citizenship was conferred on a number of other people who were not Roman by birth, including certain selected provincials (Bruce 2005:37).¹⁶¹ Jeffers (1999:198-199) identified some of the privileges and obligations of Roman citizens as follows: (1) A Roman citizen was highly esteemed in the first-century; (2) Roman citizenship also exempted one from many taxes; (3) Roman citizens had the full protection offered by Roman laws; and (4) Roman citizens could not be interrogated using torture nor be executed without trial.

2.5 Comparative Insights from CAPRO and Pauline Church Growth Contexts

¹⁶¹ Crossan and Reed have addressed the issue of Paul and politics, more specifically Paul's relationship to the Roman imperial powers and how it affects his mission in the Empire. See John Dominic Crossan and Jonathan L. Reed, *In Search of Paul: How Jesus's Apostle Opposed Rome's Empire with God's Kingdom* (San Francisco, CA: Harper SanFrancisco, 2004).

Comparing Paul's context and CAPRO is a difficult task because they are different in geography, culture, beliefs, space and time. However, there are some social realities parallels that are common to both Pauline and CAPRO contexts which are worth highlighting here. These include issues on colonialism, poverty, persecution against Christianity.¹⁶² I argue that although Paul and CAPRO carried out their ministries in the context of social inequalities where slavery and poverty were rampant there contextual reality are far removed in time, space and influence.

2.5.1 Colonialism

Both CAPRO and Pauline contexts include colonialism. Colonialism is a process of exploiting and occupying another country through the adoption of policies and practices that fully or partially subjugate settlers under socio-political and or economic control. This involves the establishment and maintenance of foreign rule over a set of people for the purpose of getting maximum economic and political benefit by the colonizing power (Fadeye, 2005:161). Colonial rule is often achieved through aggressive military actions whereby the foreign power takes control and dominates the political, social, economic and cultural life of the people (Aderibigbe 2006:164). This implies a formal process of achieving and maintaining political control over a people and their land involving territorial annexation and loss of sovereignty (Akorede 2010:158; Akpan, 2003:40).¹⁶³ This is very significant, because in an asymmetrical way, the context of CAPRO was a colony of Britain while Paul's mission context were colonies of the Roman Empire.¹⁶⁴ These territories were all subject to domination by a foreign political power and

¹⁶² Craffert observed three NT interpretive turns of ethnocentrism in the area of denial, avoidance and celebration. See Pieter F. Craffert, 'On New Testament Interpretation and Ethnocentrism' in Mark G. Brett (ed.) *Ethnicity and the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 451.

¹⁶³ Akorede, E.I. "Colonial Experience in Africa: How it Affects the Formation of a United States of Africa", *International Journal of Issues on African Development*, Vol.2, NO 4, 2010; Akpan, N.E. "Colonial Administration in Nigeria" in Osuntokun, A. et al. (eds.) *Issues in Nigeria Government and Politics* (Ibadan: Rex Charles Publications, 2003).

¹⁶⁴ For a detailed study on the Greco-Roman context of Paul church growth strategy see the section of Paul's church growth context.

economic extortion. Their process of annexation is also similar, although not the same, including economic motivations, the use of a military and monopolistic approach and the engagement of a primarily political orientation. The political setting of Paul's life and mission to the Gentiles was directly under the leadership Emperor Caesar in Rome (Acts 24:11). Before the Romans, the Jewish people in Palestine were subjugated for thousands of years under the rule of the Egyptians, Syrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. At the time of Paul's missionary journeys, the Jews of Palestine were answerable to the Emperor in Rome. Therefore, both CAPRO and Paul planted and grew churches in the territories that have experienced military occupation. Whereas Paul's church growth context was still under the domination of the Romans, CAPRO church growth practices were carried out after Nigeria obtained its independence from Britain in 1960. However, it is not unlikely that 'colonial mind-set' influenced the way CAPRO and Paul thought about leadership, authority and power but radically adopted Christ's servant attitude instead of the traditional worldview of their contemporaries.

2.5.2 Poverty

Another significant parallel between CAPRO and Paul's church growth contexts is the problem of poverty. In these two ministry contexts, the poor are not only suffering but are exploited by the rich. In Nigeria, the rich are becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer because of corruption and injustice.¹⁶⁵ This is similar to Paul's

¹⁶⁵ Many scholars agree that although Nigeria is richly endowed with natural and quality human resources yet it is lagging behind and underdeveloped because of the scale of corruption. See Michael M. Ogbeidi, 'Political Leadership and Corruption in Nigeria Since 1960: A Socio-economic Analysis', *Journal of Nigeria Studies* 1.2 (Fall 2012); F. Adekeye, '30 Most Corrupt Public Institutions in Nigeria', *Newswatch*, 22 December 2003; A. Gboyega, *Corruption and Democratization in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Agba Areo Publishers, 1996); A. Heidenheimer, and M. Johnston, M. (eds.), *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts*. London: Transaction Publishers, 1993); *The Transparency International Corruption Index*, 1998, 2001, 2002 and 2003; Tignor, L. R. (1993). "Political Corruption in Nigeria before Independence," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 31, 2 (June). Wraith, R. and Simpkins, E. *Corruption in Developing Countries* (New York: Norton, 1963); Achebe, C. (1984). *The Trouble with Nigeria* (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers); Okonkwo, R. (2007). *Corruption in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective* (1947-

context. Philo, in his *De Specialibus Legibus*, demonstrated that tax collectors in the ancient Greco-Roman world tortured their poor debtors to the extent of taking away their wives, children, parents, and even whole families by force. Apart from the Jews and before the emergence of Christianity, the practice of charity and care for the poor were almost absent in the life and structure of most of Greco-Roman society. As the Greek historian Polybius (203-120 BCE) observes, in the Roman way, ‘no one ever thinks of giving any of his private property to anyone if he can help it’ (*Histories*, 32.12).¹⁶⁶ Similarly, in the Greek civilization, ‘the poor had little place in the normal Greek character’ (Tarn 1974:110; Longenecker 2012:60).¹⁶⁷ McGuckin (2004:359) depicts poverty in the Greco-Roman world as a curse from the gods, or the activity of malevolent demons. Therefore, the poor were not worthy of ‘attention, solace, or compassion,’ and that beggars were good-for-nothings who did little other than lie and cheat (cf. Moore 2008:57, Shalom 2011: 120).

Likewise, the economic situation of the people in Northern Nigeria could be said to be parallel to the poor conditions described above. For example, the former Nigerian Central Bank Governor, Chuckwuma Soludo, described the persistent level of poverty in Nigeria as a ‘Northern phenomenon’.¹⁶⁸ As one travels through most of the Northern states, cities and villages, the challenge of poverty is evident especially among the unreached people groups where CAPRO is working: Dukkawa, Kamuku, Mumuye,

2002). In African Unchained. Retrieved from <http://africaunchained.blogspot.com/2007/09/corruption-in-nigeriahistorical.html>.

¹⁶⁶ For a comparison of the Jewish Babylonian rabbis and Palestinian rabbis in their relationship with the poor, see Richard Kalmin, *Jewish Babylonia between Persia and Roman Palestine*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.3.

¹⁶⁷ W.W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (New York: Plume, 1974), p.110.

¹⁶⁸ See ‘Nigeria: Declare State of Emergency on Poverty in the North - Soludo,’ *Daily Trust*, 20 July 2008, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200807280568.html>. Access 9/4/15. Abdullahi Y. Bello ‘Poverty in Northern Nigeria: Full Disclosure’ <http://nigeriavillagesquare.com/forum/main-square/21688-poverty-northern-nigeria-full-disclosure.html>, Access 01/04/2015.

Hausa, Shuwa Arab, and Kanuri.¹⁶⁹ In these areas, many people have become beggars on the street and elsewhere in the urban and rural areas. For instance, based on the Kano State Government census in 2003, there are approximately 1.5 million beggars in Kano state. This figure may or may not include able-bodied and healthy men and women who stand at the junctions and roundabouts begging for help. This situation is so sad and bad that one can see people with serious health problems brought to the street for begging or Down's Syndrome patients carried in wheelbarrows around the city asking for help because they cannot afford to eat or pay their medical bills. Significantly, the aforementioned figures also refer to the battalions of young *almajirai* ('begging disciples') of kindergarten and primary school age, most of whom sleep openly in residential areas and roam the cities of the North barefooted, begging for alms. They are often seen around cafeterias waiting for leftovers. Most of these children in Kano are students of the over 26,000 Qur'anic schools-cum-hostels dotted around all the nooks and crannies of Kano state (Jaafar online 2008). But today CAPRO's holistic approach to missions is transforming these communities, especially the places where CAPRO missionaries¹⁷⁰ are found providing healthcare, literacy, agricultural and economic empowerment services among the people groups such as the Hausa, Kamuku, and Dukkawa. Therefore, although the poverty situation in Nigeria may be similar to some Greco-Roman societies, CAPRO response to poverty is not the same as Pauline and the impact of their ministry in the context differ significantly.

¹⁶⁹ For more studies on poverty see World Bank. World Development Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty, (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2000). Kankwenda, M., *Poverty Eradication: where Africa stands* (London: UNDP, 2002). Tarbo, N.N. *Poverty of the mind* (Abuja: McDaniel's Media Consult, 2005). Ogwumike, F. Basic Needs-oriented Approach to the measurement of poverty'. Nigeria Journal of Economics and Social Studies. v. 33, no. 2, 18, 1997. Portal, Rural poverty in Nigeria. From <http://en.www.ruralpovertyportal.org/web/guest>. Retrieved on 01/04/2015. Ra-ah International Development, Almajiri Project in Northern Nigeria. From <http://www.almajiriproject.in> Northern Nigeria.mht. Retrieved on 18/08/2015. United Nations, Indicators of poverty and hunger. Retrieved 2/4/2015.

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix 4 for information about some CAPRO mission fields in Northern Nigeria.

Although CAPRO Mercy Ministries Department seeks to alleviate poverty in some communities in Nigeria and beyond, the impact is not the same as the early church ministry through good deeds. Aristides, a second-century CE philosopher, described how Christian communities had intense economic benefits over others:

Kindliness is their nature. There is no falsehood among them. They love one another. They do not neglect widows. Orphans, they rescue from those who are cruel to them. Every one of them who has anything gives ungrudgingly to the one who has nothing. If they see a travelling stranger they bring him under their roof. They rejoice over him as a real brother, for they do not call one another brothers after the flesh, but they know they are brothers in the Spirit and in God. If one of them sees that one of their poor must leave this world, he provides for his burial as well as he can and if they hear that one of them is imprisoned or oppressed by their opponents for the sake of their Christ's name, all of them take care of all his needs. If possible they set him free. If anyone among them is poor or comes into want while they themselves have nothing to spare, they fast two or three days for him. In this way they can supply the poor man with the food he needs (Aristides, *Apology*, 15).

Similarly, Lucian of Samosata, who was not an admirer of Christianity, observed the way Christians cared for one another and the poor:

The earnestness with which the people of this religion (*Christianity*) help one another in their need is incredible. They spare themselves nothing to this end. Apparently their first law-maker (i.e. Moses) has put it into their heads that they all somehow ought to be regarded as brethren ... if any charlatan and trickster comes among them, he quickly acquires sudden wealth by imposing upon simple folk (Lucian, *Peregr.*13).

Caring for the poor was one of the important parts of Christian teaching. Jesus, in his ministry and teaching, demonstrated that caring for the poor and vulnerable form part of his condition for true discipleship (Matt. 19:21; Luke 19:8-9). This was a significant part of Christ's teaching (Matt. 22:37-40) and will be part of his judgment criteria (Matt. 25:35-40). Although the contextual realities of this time limit charitable responsibilities to family, race or social class, Jesus expanded the scope to include neighbours who might be from a different ethnic, or kinship or social status (Luke 10:25-37). Christ's broader view of charity and care for the poor was taken seriously by the early Christians, the apostle Paul and his congregations. For instance, Paul organized the collection of offerings among the Gentile believers for the poor in

Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16:1-4; Rom. 15:24-29; Gal. 2:10).¹⁷¹ When discussing the Christian care for the poor, Veyne observes the contrast and impact of Christianity in the Greco-Roman world. In today's world, Christianity demonstrates a new ethical religiosity by caring for the 'Old people's homes, orphanages, hospitals and so on' (Veyne 1990:31, 33; cf. Brown 2003: 6-7).

Therefore, holistic engagement helps the church missionary to effectively and genuinely show the goodness of the gospel and God's love through the ministry of CAPRO and Paul regardless of time and space. Following the poverty state of the unreached communities in Northern Nigeria, CAPRO socio-economic schemes are laudable means showing compassion among the people who are marginalized, abused, forced into slavery, child labour and illiteracy and so on.

2.5.3 Persecution and Suffering

Another parallel between CAPRO and Pauline church growth contexts is the persecution of Christians. The hostile attitude of non-Christians toward Paul and the gospel of Christ in the New Testament is similar to the violence against Christians in Northern Nigeria.¹⁷² Luke's account in the book of Acts and the persecution presented

¹⁷¹ Acts 11:27-30; 1 Tim. 5:3-16.

¹⁷² For more studies on the persistent religious insecurity and Boko Haram insurgence in Nigeria see BBC News report on 'Who are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamist group?' <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13809501>, 24 November 2016, accessed 4 June 2017. BBC 2014, 'Nigeria abductions: timeline of events', 4 June 2017; John Paden, *Faith and Politics in Nigeria: Nigeria as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 2008). A. P. Adegbo, 'Muslim, Christian Conflicts in Nigeria, 1900-2006: Implications for National Security', 2001; H. A. Adamu, 'The North and Nigerian Unity', *Daily Times*, Nigeria, 1986; A. Adebayo, *Principles and Practice of Public Administration in Nigeria* (Lagos: Spectrum, 1977); V. E. Achi, 'Rapprochement: A Christian Response to Religious Conflicts in Democratic Nigeria', *Journal of Christian Religious Education*, 2007, 591, 27-35; *Al Jazeera*. 2010. "Nigeria killings caught on video." February 10th. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2010/02/20102102505798741.html>; Amnesty International. "Nigeria: gruesome footage implicates military in war crimes." Accessed 4 June 2017 <http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/nigeria-gruesome-footage-implicates-military-war-crimes-2014-08->

by Paul in his letters support the fact that Paul and his co-workers were faced with all sorts of oppositions, persecutions, imprisonments and dangers from one place to other.

For example, Paul testified:

I have ... been in prison more frequently, been flogged more severely, and been exposed to death again and again. Five times I received from the Jews the forty lashes minus one. Three times I was beaten with rods ... in danger from bandits, in danger from my own countrymen, in danger from Gentiles; in danger in the city, in danger in the country, in danger at sea; and in danger from false brothers. I have laboured and toiled and have often gone without sleep; I have known hunger and thirst and have often gone without food; I have been cold and naked... (2 Cor. 11:23-28).¹⁷³

This section has also shown how socio-political activities carried out by politicians have encouraged nepotism, injustice, imperialism, corruption and ethnic chauvinism. As a result, Nigeria currently suffers tribal protectionism and rivalry as every region or group strives to protect its own people often utilising diverse acts of terror against innocent indigenes. The most recent examples of such cases have been attributable to several ethno-religious interest groups such as the Boko Haram terrorist group, the O' dua People Congress (OPC), the Bakassi Boys; the Egbesu Boys; the Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC), the Igbo People Congress (IPC), Arewa People's Congress (APC), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Ohanaeze N'digbo (see Daily Trust Newspaper, 20/8/2002, p. 16). Ethno-religious acts of violence perpetrated by such groups have taken the form of killings and assassinations; street riots, destruction of churches and Christian facilities, armed struggles; guerrilla warfare, as well as rapes and kidnappings. While, the incessant nature of such attacks have adversely affected the numerical growth of churches in the country, they have also positively impacted the quality of faith, prayer, and compassion among attending church members. Owing to these occurrences, it is clear that CAPRO

05); Pamela Dockins,, 'Army, Boko Haram working together in parts of Nigeria?' *Voice of America*, 5 April 2014 <<http://www.voanews.com/content/army-boko-haramworking-together-in-parts-of-nigeria/1887128.html>> Accessed 4 June 2017. E. A. Ayandele, *External Influence on African Society: Africans in their 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. C. Jose, E. Godfrey (Ibadan: University Press, 1996).

¹⁷³ cf. Acts 16:22-23; 19:23-41.

and indeed the Nigerian church as a whole, have suffered traumatic experiences, which have in some ways affected the numerical growth of churches located within Northern Nigeria. Most churches in the region have either become victims of terror or stewards of care to the victims of such insurgencies. Many churches in Northern Nigeria have been shut down and more members of the churches have migrated to the southern parts of the country for safety. Nevertheless, these insurgencies have created a new missions opportunity in the Southern regions as Muslims who emigrated from the North now have an unrestricted opportunity to hear the gospel through the ministry of CAPRO in partnership with churches in the South of the country.

Like Paul and his team, CAPRO church planters believe that churches can only be planted and grow when the missionaries are prepared and willing to suffer and sacrifice their lives for the sake of the gospel. Paul, in his argument, states, ‘for me to live is Christ, and to die is gain (Phil 1:21).’ The report of the Dukkawa team leader about the work in Marafa in 2012 shows how most CAPRO related churches are planted and grew despite persecution in northern Nigeria:

In Marafa, where our team has laboured for years without much fruit when fresh life began to sprout by few Christians being revived and sinners coming to faith in Christ. At this time persecution arose in the community against the church and the missionaries to the point that the few Christians began to backslide. It was as if the church was going to die out. In Marafa station especially, the Muslims began to mock and abuse them, saying that they do not have a good place of worship compared to their mosques. One time, they stood in front of our mission station and rained abuses on the missionaries. God heard their mockery and built for the Marafa church a solid structure that can seat more than 200 people in one service. This angered the Muslims and they incited a man to force his son who became a Christian to leave the church. The father threatened the son that if he refused to leave the church, one of them would no doubt face death. The case went to the village chief. The boy said he would rather die than become a Muslim (Ali Okpo, personal interview, August 2012).

From the above, although this is a limited case, one can see how persecution did not discourage believers from coming to church; rather the pressure of Islamic extremists made more people join the church in the village. Secondly, this persecution made the church in the community to grow stronger in prayer and in their obedience to the Word

of God. For instance, when the church began to fast and pray, organized prayer-walks and all-night prayer sessions, the missionaries began to see sinners coming to Christ and joining the church. Thirdly, in one of the evangelistic outreaches organized by the church, the village chief attended and boldly came out to repent and gave his life to Christ. This happened after the chief began to see someone appearing to him in a vision like the Jesus he saw in a film earlier. These experiences made him grow in his faith and become committed to preaching as well (Okpo, August 2012).

2.5.4 Political, Ethnic and Religious Wars

Unlike the Pauline context which was relatively peaceful, the Northern part of Nigeria has witnessed several political, ethnic and religious conflicts. There is a difference between ethnic conflict in the Pauline era and the situation CAPRO is facing in Northern Nigeria today. Whereas in the areas Paul evangelise the ethnic conflicts were most likely political but in Northern Nigeria it is not only political it is a direct assaults against Christianity in Nigeria. As discussed earlier, Boko Haram, which is an Islamic sect, has spearheaded several violent attacks in recent years against innocent people, especially in Christian dominated areas. This has led to grievous humanitarian disasters, human right abuses, public insecurity, population displacement, educational crisis, and destruction of churches almost with impunity. Although ethno-religious conflict is unavoidable in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious context like Nigeria, the situation has been exacerbated by the irresponsiveness of the government authority to such conflicts because it is pro-Islam. However, the complex nature of the conflict could be linked to the tensions before and after Nigerian independence in 1960. At this time, the military's ethnic, socio-political and professional biases hindered the progress of the security situation and complicated the conflicting situation in Nigeria. Therefore, scholars like Huntington (2001); Agwunobi (1992); Osaghae (1998:318) have highlighted the

connection between the historical developments of the military and the development of Nigeria as a country.¹⁷⁴ The negative impact of this politicised military include: (1) poor professional motivation, (2) selfish manipulation of the political class, (3) Nigerians losing confidence in the ability of the military to provide security, (4) military officers are enticed into political leadership, and (5) military officers are used by political leaders to promote and defend corruption (cf. Huntington 2001:11-18). Therefore, the politicization of the military has caused more internal discord, abuse and misuse of military force on some innocent Nigerians. To restore the confidence of the Nigerian populace, the government would need to engage a conflict management mechanism that is more preventive, addressing underlying factors than merely curative. Other necessities include the engagement of adequate security outfits that can cope with ethno-linguistic insurgences promptly; neutral platforms for dialogue between grieving parties; and ensuring integrity, justice and fairness in the administration of public affairs. In contrast, the Roman government in the era of Paul was known to be fair in treating their citizens and respected the rule of law.

Furthermore, one could argue that the political tension set up by the colonial rule generated the sort of regional political activist and activities that led to 1967-1970 civil war in Nigeria. Although the immediate cause of the war was the counter-coup d'état that led to the overthrowing of the military government of General Aguiyi Ironsi and saw the enthronement of Colonel Yakubu Gowon as the Head of Nigeria government, the war was precipitated by the ongoing pre-independence hatred and agitations between the mega ethnic groups in Nigeria, especially Igbos, Hausa and Yoruba people groups. The carnage of the Igbo massacre in Northern Nigeria in 1966 worsened the

¹⁷⁴ Jonathan C. Agwunobi, *The Nigerian Military in a Democratic Society* (Kaduna: Olabola Graphic Press, 1992); Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001; Eghosa E. Osaghae, *'Crippled Giant' Nigeria Since Independence* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), p. 318.

situation whereby Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu did not recognize Gowon as head of the Nigerian government and proceeded to declare the republic of Biafra. On the 6th July 1967, the Biafra civil war began and ended on January 13, 1970 during which time millions of lives were lost and properties were destroyed. How did the Biafra war contribute to the formation of CAPRO and growth of the church in Nigeria? The post-civil war activities led to the formation of CAPRO organization. Firstly, the impact of the civil war contributed to the great awakening experienced by Christians in the Northern part of Nigeria, and secondly, the formation of the National Youth Service Corp which is a one-year national service scheme aimed at fostering unity among young people in the country after the war. Both the revival waves in the higher institutions of learning in the South and the NYSC programme which took young graduates from the South to the North are the strategic undercurrents that underpin the birth of CAPRO mission. Furthermore, the war prepared and equipped journalists and social workers with intercultural skills which were useful for their work in other African countries. The war also led to the birth of the NGO Doctors without Borders, Médecins sans frontières and inspired poets, novelists and playwrights such as Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka (Falola and Ezekwem 2016).¹⁷⁵ Although the unforgettable scars of the are still on the bodies and minds of those who survived the ordeal in all parts of the country, Nigeria and Nigerians from this time became the spotlight of the international community

¹⁷⁵ Toyin Falola, Ogechukwu Ezekwem, ed., *Writing the Nigeria-Biafra War* (Suffolk: James Currey, 2016); Ugochukwu, Françoise *Torn Apart: The Nigerian Civil War and its Impact*. (London: Adonis & Abbey, 2010). Kirk - Green, A.H.M. *Crisis and Conflicts in Nigeria 1967 - 70*. Vol. I, January 1966 - July 1967 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); Madiebo, A. Alexander. *The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War* (Fourth Dimensions Publishers, 1980); Njoku, H.M. *A Tragedy Without Heroes: The Nigerian - Biafran War* (Fourth Dimensions Publishers, 1987); Obasanjo, Olusegun General. *My Command: An account of the Nigerian Civil War 1967 – 70*, (Heinemann Publications, 1980); Schwarz, Walter. *Nigeria*. (London, 1968); Imobighe, T.A. ' Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria: An Overview in T.A. Imobighe (ed.), *Civil Society and Ethnic Conflicts Management in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum, 2003), pp. 13-35; Akpotor, A. S. 'Warri Crises Survey Report: Urhobo Perspective' in T.A. Imobighe, C.U. Bassey and T.A. Asuni (eds.) *Conflict and Instability in the Niger-Delta: The Warri Case* (Ibadan: Spectrum, 2002), pp. 156-185.

(Uzokwe 2003:32-105).¹⁷⁶ Moreover, very significant to this study is the fact that the end of the war in 1970 ushered in an unprecedented religious revival which effectively affected the Southern institutions and led to the formation of CAPRO mission agency in 1975 as well as inspired individuals Christians and groups to begin some of the fastest growing independent indigenous Pentecostal churches in Nigeria.

How did historical and political development in Nigeria affect the growth of the church? The socio-political and ethno-religious development in Nigeria, as set up by the colonial masters and carried out by the inexperienced members of the Nigerian political class, did not only result in a bloody civil war but continued to generate incessant ethno-religious conflict which has affected church growth in Nigeria, especially in the North where we see: political disorder, incessant ethno-religious crisis, corruption and injustice among politicians, a weak economy, insufficient or lack of effective educational infrastructure, nepotism, terrorism, disregard of ethno-cultural diversity, poverty and imperialism. These, and many related vices have affected the healthy growth of the church in Nigeria. Although the devastating impact of the Nigerian civil war wasted resources, devastated the educational system, halted economic activities, lessened the numbers and increased ethnic prejudices in the Nigerian army, increased the awareness of the danger of ethnocentrism; damaged the image of Nigeria internationally and increased criminality in many parts of the country, it helped to awaken the Nigerian church to worldwide missions which resulted in starting CAPRO and many Christian organizations for the evangelization of Africa and beyond.

Consequently, Paul's and CAPRO's engagement with contexts shed more light on some shared realities which for both Paul and CAPRO resonate with the majority of people in

¹⁷⁶ Alfred Obiora Uzokwe, *Surviving in Biafra: The Story of the Nigerian Civil War: Over Two Million Died* (New York, iUniverse, 2003), pp. 32-105.

the myriad of societal, institutional, political, economic and cultural processes that shape their worldview. Paul and CAPRO shared the following contextual reality: (1) the poor marginalized people groups seek in vain to make their voices heard in the formulation of ideas; (2) Although there are laws and policies hostile to Christian faith, Christians in both CAPRO and Paul's eras transform and reform their societies so that the people found help and comfort in the message of the gospel of the Kingdom which both Paul and CAPRO preached; (3) Paul and CAPRO were faithful to the principle of contextualization as their churches were both established and thrived in the context of multi-ethnic and religious conflicts but employed adaptable strategies to plant self-propagating indigenous churches among different peoples. The approaches identified in this study include discipleship, church planting, ethnicity, people group focus and partnership. Therefore, although the contextual realities in the time of the apostle Paul and his team are different from CAPRO mission in Nigeria, it is evident that there are similarities in the area of the socio-economic status of people and hostility against the church. But these did not hinder the growth of the church in both the Pauline and CAPRO mission contexts. The contextualization approach enables the church to adapt and continue to grow in the community regardless of the changes in the context.

2.6 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has examined the historical background to CAPRO and Paul's church growth strategies. It shows how these contextual factors contributed to the advent of Christian missions and facilitated church growth in Nigeria. The geo-political structure of Nigeria is divided into South and North. In the South, the Yoruba and Igbos dominated the minority groups, while the Hausa and Fulani peoples in the North were subjugating the minority people groups and forcing their religious beliefs on them. This has caused incessant conflict and in some parts real war. Furthermore, the study has

demonstrated that although Islam predated Christianity in Nigeria, the church has continued to grow even in the Muslim-dominant region. This chapter also examined some salient factors that impacted on the rise and growth of CAPRO mission. It has identified and demonstrated that the rise of a Nigerian indigenous church movement, the independent faith mission movement, and the 1970s revival movement contributed immensely to the shaping of CAPRO mission and strategy. It has shown that there are shared features supporting the fact that CAPRO mission is a product of its background in many respects, particularly in its drive for individual personal faith relationships with God and reliance on the Holy Spirit for life and ministry, the interdenominational and independence character of the mission, the priority of the principle of personal trust in God for support and supply in life and ministry, the emphasis on cross-cultural creativity in planting indigenous self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches, the practice of synergy and partnership with churches and other mission agencies, and the emphasis on radical discipleship and eschatological motif for mobilizing as well as the holistic approach to mission pioneering. Therefore, it is impossible to ignore the influence of the Nigerian context, indigenous church principles, faith mission principles, and revival on the CAPRO mission and strategies. The context and historical antecedents of revival which led to the birth of CAPRO also inspire personal trust in God for support in reaching out to the unreached. The rise of the indigenous, non-denominational, independent faith mission movement contributed to shape CAPRO's church growth approach in the Nigerian context.

The second section of this chapter has shown the historical background to Paul's church growth approaches in the first-century. In particular, the study has identified and demonstrated that Judaism and Jews in the Diaspora, Greek Hellenization and the Roman political and legal system as well as Paul's personal pre-conversion experiences

facilitated the growth of his churches. Therefore, just as God sent his Son Jesus Christ to the world at the fullness of time in history (Gal. 4:4), at the right time in the history of the early church, God raised CAPRO and sent the Apostle Paul to the nations with the salvific message and enabled them to start and grow viable through vibrant churches from one context to another.

I shall now turn to the question of church growth strategy. It is my aim in the next chapter to identify and compare the strategies employed by CAPRO and Paul to plant new churches and facilitate church growth in Nigeria and in the Greco-Roman contexts respectively. How did CAPRO and Paul plant and grow churches; and how similar and or different are CAPRO church growth strategies to the Pauline strategy?

CHAPTER THREE

CHURCH GROWTH STRATEGIES: A COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF CAPRO AND PAULINE CHURCH PLANTING STRATEGIES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines CAPRO and Pauline church planting approaches for church growth. Paul's missionary and church growth skills and success are evident in the number of churches he established. As he evangelized and disciplined believers and trained leaders, one of his crowning achievements was in his practice of gathering new believers into churches (Acts 14:21–23; 15:41, 18:23) (cf. Fleming 1993:66). This chapter argues effective church planting leads to church growth and where the church is growing, it is more likely that new churches would be planted. However, before I examine Paul, this chapter shall first look at CAPRO's approach to church planting. It is significant at this point to note that before the emergence of CAPRO, missionary work in Nigeria was perceived to be largely the work of Europeans and Americans. Although there were indigenous denominational priests, evangelists and or pastors, it was not common to think of young Africans serving as full-time missionaries let alone forming a missionary society or organization as in the case of CAPRO with a worldwide mission vision beginning from Northern Nigeria. The emergence of CAPRO and its rapid growth challenged this traditional view of missions in Africa. It was a radical paradigm shift when young Nigerians, lay church members, without any theological training, suddenly felt called by God to sacrifice their career and became pioneers of an indigenous cross-cultural mission movement, sending out hundreds of missionaries to different parts of the world to reach the unreached peoples with the saving gospel of Christ.

This growth is not unconnected to the organization's desire to plant and grow churches according to the NT, particularly following Paul's pattern of church planting. But how valid and consistent is this claim? This chapter identifies and compares CAPRO and Paul's church planting strategies in their various contexts. However, before looking at the strategic categories use by CAPRO and Paul, this research shall first consider how CAPRO reads Paul's perspectives of the Church which might have influenced the kind of churches they seek to plant or grow among different ethno-linguistic people groups.

3.2 Understanding the Church: Four Perspectives of the ἐκκλησία

Scholars are divided on how Paul envisioned the church. On the one hand, Schnabel argues that Paul was committed to a multicultural church planting, where all social divisions are overcome (Schnabel 2008:404-13). On the other, McGavran argues that Paul built churches around homogeneous people groups where 'all the members have some characteristic in common' (McGavran 1990:69). We shall consider the case of homogeneous churches later in this study. A missionary's view of the church is crucial to the kind of churches he or she would plant which should consequently affect the nature of growth to be expected. A brief examination of Paul's perspective on the church is essential to this study because one of the struggles of CAPRO is in the area of understanding Paul's ecclesiology. Paul himself grappled with the idea of ἐκκλησία in his letters and, like other New Testament writers, described the church variously depending on the context. How does CAPRO church planting teams understand Paul's perception of the church? Their views of Paul's description and understanding of ἐκκλησία are categorized as follows:

- i. Ἐκκλησία as the body of Christ
- ii. Ἐκκλησία as God's field and building
- iii. Ἐκκλησία as a community of Christ's followers

iv. Ἐκκλησία as God's missional agency among the nations

3.2.1 Ἐκκλησία as the Body of Christ

Paul describes the church as the body of Christ. In his letters he developed the concept of the church beyond the idea of congregation or assembly of believers. He connected the ἐκκλησία with the body of Christ and went on to add that God has exalted Christ and 'has put all things under his feet and has made him the head over all things for the church, which is his body, the fullness of him who fills all in all' (Eph. 1:22-23). Paul later expanded his idea of the church to mean people who are united in Christ and with one another by the Holy Spirit with or without meeting together in one place. This implies that Paul developed the concept of ἐκκλησία beyond the metaphor of the physical body to the ontological reality of the church identity which is rooted in Christ.

Firstly, to the community of believers in Corinth, Rome and Ephesus, Paul describes the church as a mystical union between Christ and the believer wherein 'whoever is united with the Lord is one with him in spirit' (1 Cor. 6:17NIV);¹ and as a peaceful communion between Christ and the believers (Eph. 2:13-15); and as members of the body of Christ, believers are united in Christ for the well-being of all (1 Cor. 12:7, 12ff; Eph. 4:11-16). Fitzmyer (1988:70) observes that Paul uses σῶματου Χριστοῦ ('body of Christ') to describe different things including: (1) Christ's crucified body (Rom. 7:4), (2) Christ's eucharistic body (1 Cor. 10:16), and (3) the corporate identity of the church (1 Cor. 12:27-8).² Therefore, the church has no existence anywhere without Christ; and there is no less significant part or more important member, because each one is uniquely different but essentially significant and needed for healthy growth of the whole body, the church (1 Cor. 12:12-13). Consequently, the church is equipped to be more

¹ cf. Rom. 12:4-5; 1 Cor. 12:12-13; Eph. 5:29-32.

² cf. Col. 2:17 and Eph. 4:12.

missional in nature by actively participating in the sharing of Christ's love with others (Torrance 2003:30).

3.2.2 Ἐκκλησία as God's Field and Building

Another perception of Paul's ἐκκλησία is his reference to the church as the field and building of God (1 Cor. 3:9). Firstly, the analogy of building draws the attention of his readers to the fact that Christ is the foundation of the church and the task of building the church rests upon Christ (Matt. 16:18), and it is in progress (1 Cor. 3:11). However, to ensure progress, the builder must be part of Christ and totally dependent on God (1 Cor. 3:6-7). Secondly, when Paul speaks of the church as a 'building', the structure he envisions was God's original temple in Jerusalem. According to him, 'All of you surely know that you are God's temple and that his Spirit lives in you. Together you are God's holy temple, and God will destroy anyone who destroys his temple' (1 Cor. 3:16-17). When commenting on this passage, Thiselton states that 'only the Holy Spirit can consecrate the church to be God's holy Temple. Only from the Spirit's dwelling in the church does the church derive its fit status as a holy shrine for God's own presence' (Thiselton 2006:65). Therefore, to damage the church in any way through division or immorality is more than 'mere social sin' but a sacrilege against the Holy Spirit (cf. Thiselton 2006:65). The notion of spiritual temple worship was a widespread idea in first-century Judaism.³

Thirdly, Paul may have had in mind the statement of Jesus: 'I will build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it' (Mt. 16:18). For Jesus, there is no church anywhere except the one connected to Christ and is being built through the members of the His body (Rom. 12:5; 1 Cor. 12:27). This further reinforces the fact that the task of

³ cf. Jn 4:21-24; Eph. 2:19-22; 1 Pet. 2:5; 1QS 8.5-9; 9.6.

planting and building churches should be Christocentric not man-made as it is portrayed today (Robinson 2003:68). This shows that the church does not belong to the church planter or missionaries, clergy or the laity. The church, whether local or global, belongs to Christ. Jesus is the primary builder of His church, as he states, 'I will build my church' (Mt. 16:18). Therefore, Paul depended on God's power to plant new churches and to grow the existing ones (1 Cor. 1:24; 2:1-5; Rom. 15:18). Hence, Paul's description of the church as a building does not end with the building itself but extends to the builders. Paul encouraged those involved in building or coordinating groups that participate in the building of the church to be diligent in their work so that their work will not suffer loss (1 Cor. 3:10-15).⁴

Furthermore, Paul understood that only God can make the church grow (1 Cor. 3:5-9). In a same context, he pictured the church as a growing plant (1 Cor. 3:6-10) or a growing body (1 Cor. 12: 12-27; Eph. 4:16, Col. 2:19):

I did the planting, Apollos did the watering, but God kept everything growing. So neither the one who plants nor the one who waters is significant, but God, who keeps everything growing, is the one who matters. The one who plants and the one who waters have the same goal, and each will receive a reward for his own work. For we are God's co-workers. You are God's farmland and God's building. As an expert builder using the grace that God gave me, I laid the foundation, and someone else is building on it. But each person must be careful how he builds on it (1Cor 3:6-10 NIV).⁵

Paul uses the metaphors of architecture and agriculture to describe the church as a building or plant in the garden that needs to grow respectively.⁶ Moreover, Paul sees church planting as a process of building in partnership with God (1 Cor. 3:6-9) (cf. Schnabel 2008:152).⁷

3.2.3 Ἐκκλησία as a Community of Christ's Followers

⁴ See Paul's references to building believers in his letters, especially in 1 Cor. 8:1, 10; 10:23; 14:3-5; 12, 17, 26; 2 Cor. 10:8; 12:19; 13:10. Cf. Craig S. Keener, *1-2 Corinthians* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).

⁵ cf. Ps 104:14-17; Lk. 4: 27-32; cf. Mt. 13:24:32; Lk. 6:39-45.

⁶ This is consistent with what the ancient prophets told the people of God in Israel that they were God's plant and field (cf. Isa. 5:6; Jub. 1:16; CD 1.7). Hence, God promised to 'plant' and 'build' them (Jer. 1:10; 24:6; 31:28; 42:10). Cf. Sir. 49:7; 1QS 8.5-6; 11.8.

⁷ 1 Cor. 1:13; 2:4-5.

The church is primarily a community of people, not a place to meet. It is a movement that is not only an institution (Gibbs and Bolger 2005:90). Chester and Timmis observe that the church is not just a meeting to attend and not a place to enter; rather it is a believer's identity in Christ Jesus (Chester and Timmis 2008:8). Paul's organic idea of the church questions the view of the ἐκκλησία as merely an institution, a physical building, a programme of activities, or an organized agency. Advocates of these views would rather see the church as a mere routine of attending church events rather than being the church themselves, in union with Christ. Paul conceptualizes the church as a living organism. However, this should not be construed to mean that the church was a formless blob of living cells. Paul saw the church as having form and structure. It had design, order, and structure (1 Cor. 3:9, 10). He looked at himself as the master builder of that local church and others were to be involved with him in the building process (Fleming 1993:67-8).

However, the community of Christ's followers in the first century was both global and local in nature. Firstly, Paul understood and described the church as a global community by which believers are universally connected to one another through Christ (Eph. 5:25, 1 Cor. 12:13; Col. 1:17-18). This presents the church as a spiritual and global community that 'transcends any earthly institution or organization' (Flemming 1993:66). Secondly, Paul understood the church as a local community of believers in a specific location or place. This idea is applied to an actual gathering of people or to the group that gathers as a regularly constituted meeting (Banks 1998:30). These are local congregations that meet often in one geographically defined place. Therefore, these local churches were named after their host city, for example, the church in Thessalonica, Philippi or Corinth (See Acts 13:1; 1 Cor. 1:2; 1 Thess. 1:1) or addressed as provincial communities such as Galatia, Asia, Macedonia (1 Cor. 16:1, 9; 2 Cor. 8:1).

Bruce observed that ‘Paul seems to regularly envisage the Christian community in a city as representing the province to which that city belongs: the Philippian church in Macedonia (Phil. 4:15), the Corinthian church in Achaia (1 Cor. 16:15; 2 Cor. 1:1), the Ephesian church in Asia (1 Cor. 16:19; 2 Cor. 1:8; Rom. 16:5)’ (Bruce 1982:16). Earlier, Ryrie observed that ἐκκλησία is the Christian community that ‘not only embodies the principal divisions of Pauline ecclesiology, but also indicates the reason why this doctrine receives the attention it does by Paul’ (Ryrie 1958:62). Trites remarks that sharing among Christ’s followers in the first century ‘was voluntary, temporary, and spontaneous, but it speaks volumes of the kind of loving, caring for persons who had filled the ranks of the Christian fellowship’ (Trites 1988:172).

3.2.4 Ἐκκλησίας God’s Missional Agency among the Nations

If the above description of the church is consistent with the Pauline view of the ἐκκλησία then it implies that Paul might have understood the church to be a missional agency. Scholars today, as in the past, are divided on whether or not Paul expected his congregations to be missional like him. This study would rather posit that the organic nature of Pauline churches is not an end in itself but should be seen as the visible explanation and interpretation of the gospel message among the nations. It is the living evidence and witness to the transforming power of the gospel in any community (*Hunsberger 1999:7*). Luke’s narratives in the Book of Acts illustrate a bonding which was so evident in the early community of believers in Jerusalem and elsewhere. This unity facilitated the exponential growth of the early church. The church was united in worship (Acts 2:42-46; 5:12), in prayer (Acts 4:24), in caring for the needy (Acts 6:1-7), and in decision-making (Acts 15:25) as well as in preaching and teaching of the Word of God (Acts 2:42) (cf. Daman 2008, 145-6). Like Jesus, Paul maintains that the

manifestation of love among Christ's disciples should serve to attract unbelievers to Christ (1 Thess. 4:11-12; Eph. 4:1-6, cf. John 13:34-35). However, there were divisions or conflicts in the early church (Acts 6:1-7), between Paul and Barnabas (Acts 15:36-41) and among Paul's established churches (1 Cor. 1:10-13; 3:1-6). This was not a good example to the outsiders, which might have affected the growth of church temporarily. For Jesus, love among his followers is the evidence that they are his disciples (John 13:35).

The question, however, is did Paul envision his churches to be missional churches? Robert L. Plummer (Plummer 2006:5-40) has carefully reviewed some of the related literature in his recent studies. He surveyed the literature of scholars who argue or assume that Paul in his mission expected his congregations to be active in evangelization: Roland Allen, Adolf von Harnack, Peter T. O'Brien, I. Howard Marshall, Eckhard J. Schnabel, and G.K. Beale among others. Plummer observes that 'the overwhelming majority of scholars in the past century have assumed and argued that Paul expected his churches to engage in centrifugal (outward-directed) missionary work that was in continuity with his own missionary labors' (Plummer 2006:2). I argue that Paul envisioned his churches as missional agencies because of the following reasons.

Firstly, Paul's calling on his churches to be imitators of him in his discipleship process suggests that he envisioned his disciples to be part of those following his example in the area of evangelization of the unsaved too (2 Tim. 4:1-8).⁸ Secondly, Paul envisioned his churches as missional communities through their partnership in his missions (Phil. 1:4-5; 4:13-18) and in many instances he referred to some of his followers as co-workers

⁸ Rom. 10:13-17; 1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1.
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and fellow soldiers (Phil. 2:25; Rom. 16:3-21). Thirdly, Paul, in his description of the armour of God, referred to one piece of the armour as shoes, representing the readiness to preach the gospel of peace (Eph. 6:15). Since the armour of God was to be put on by every member of the church, it seems likely that Paul expected his followers to be engaged in witnessing Christ or spreading the gospel, thereby, serving as a missional community in both words and deeds (Col. 1:3-6). Fourthly, I postulate that Paul perceived the 'body' metaphor of the church to be beyond mere harmonious intimate living. Following Paul in both his accepted and disputed letters on his understanding of the church as a community and a building and body of Christ it is consistent to think of Paul perceiving the church to be the concrete, tangible, and visible presence of Christ's body in the world. Consequently, the local church is the visible evidence of the impact of the gospel in a specific community or context. For instance, Paul likened the believers in Corinth to a letter being read by everyone:

You yourselves are our letter, written on our hearts, known and read by everyone. You show that you are a letter from Christ, the result of our ministry, written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts (2 Cor. 3:2-3 NIV).

For Paul, every small or large community of believers in a locality is basically a missional agency that should show forth the love, grace and power of God. Although some have argued that a missional ecclesiology would include organizational forms, one should be careful not to see those organizational forms as absolutes which determine the missional nature of the church (Gelder 2007:186). Dietterich amidst diversity of interpretations encouraged Bible readers to be more missional in their hermeneutic (Dietterich 1998:222, Guder 1998:11). This is because in the case of Paul, the mission of the church is intrinsically and inseparably connected to the mission of God in the world as seen in the creation narrative (Gen. 1:26-31), Abraham's blessing (Gen. 12:1-3; cf. Gal. 3:15-29), the nation of Israel (Exod. 19:5-6), and Great Commission mandate (Mt. 28:19-20). Therefore, Meeks concludes that the first century

might have seen Pauline churches as ‘a Jewish sect, a club meeting in a household, an initiatory cult, a school. Yet it was more than the sum of those things, and different from the mere synthesis of their contradictory tendencies’ (Meeks 1986:120).⁹

In view of the Nigerians contribution to global Christianity, CAPRO is not unaware that dysfunctional churches, due to lack sound biblical and theological training, constitute a big challenge in the quality of church growth in Africa and beyond. Briscoe observes that 95% of the majority world Christian leaders do not have a theological education because they cannot afford the fees (Briscoe 2008:170).¹⁰ Although these churches have identity, doctrine and character concerns, missionaries are sent from these congregations to the mission field to plant churches. It is not improbable, therefore, that when missionaries are sent from dysfunctional congregations there would be adverse effects on the mission and the churches planted. Some of the identifiable problems include: (1) lack of understanding of Christian theology due to lack of sound knowledge of the biblical text and context; (2) prosperity gospel and merchandise of the gospel of Jesus Christ; (3) quest for power and success through occultism, Spiritism and metaphysics in ministry (4) Lack of leadership integrity, materialism, humanism and self-serving gospel; and (5) interpersonal relationship problems. For instance, it is not too much to say that many people thronging some Nigerian churches today have their faith on bishops or pastors, while some trust in the objects that came from the pastors’ body, such as clothes, bottle of water, or anointing oil.¹¹ This is a dangerous trend to the gospel of Christ and cross-cultural missions because these churches look more inward,

⁹ Wayne Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1986).

¹⁰ Stuart Briscoe, *Flowing Streams: Journeys of a Life Well Lived* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2008), p. 170.

¹¹ Where a minister pass his jacket around, to be touched by anyone who desire healing, some claim the placed these objects on their sick body were healed, got promoted, became pregnant without delay. David Oyedepo, *Understanding the Anointing*, (Dominion Publishing House, 1998, 2010 reprint), p.137, Enoch A. Adeboye, *Come up Higher With Prayer Points*, (Lagos: Printme Communications Company, 2013), p. 179; Victorson Abenson, *Moment of Truth: The Compelling Story of Pastor Tunde Bakare*, (Ibadan: Safari Books, 2014), pp. 262-267).

self-serving and have limited concerns for the unsaved, unreached peoples. This is why it is important to understand Paul's perspective on *ekklesia*, because it can be argued that sometimes the churches that CAPRO is planting are deviating quite considerably from his approach.

3.3 Paul and CAPRO Church Planting Strategy for Church Growth

Church planting is used in this study in a broad sense to refer to the process of forming churches through the evangelization of the unsaved and the mobilization of believers into a community of Christ-followers who are committed to mature into the fullness of Christ and become Christ's witnesses in their locale. The term 'church planting' is not mentioned in the Bible but the notion and nuance of the term are not absent. The term 'church planting' captures the idea and reality of church formation, church maturation and church expansion. I agree with Greg Livingstone's definition that church planting refers to 'the whole process of evangelizing, discipling, training, and organizing a group of believers to a level of development permitting to function as a viable church independent of the agent(s) who brought it into being' (Livingstone 1993:73). Church planting, then, 'focuses on three main activities: proclaiming the gospel to those who are unsaved; discipling those who accept the gospel; and mentoring qualified men to serve as elders' (Livingstone 1993:73). The last two activities are preferably accomplished in a church setting, hence, the need for church planting in facilitating church growth. Therefore, this section examines (i) how believers are organized into a local assembly of Christ followers, known as the church; and (ii) critically assesses CAPRO church planting efforts in Northern Nigeria.

3.3.1 Organizing New Believers into Local Congregations

The formation of Christ's congregation, the church, is a very important church planting process in CAPRO because it is seen as a mark of success, seeing the gospel

transforming people's lives. It is also important because through the local church fellowship, discipleship and leadership development take place. CAPRO, like Paul, plant and build churches by organizing new believers in Christ into local fellowships and congregations. Therefore, church planting is a process of establishing new churches through evangelism, discipleship, and the gathering of believers into a functioning congregation with the goal of multiplication (Ott and Wilson 2011: 8). In the case of Paul and his team, the term ἐκκλησία is sometimes used to denote a local organization of professed Christian believers. For instance, Paul writes, 'to the church of God which is in Corinth, to those who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called out with all those in every place who call on the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours' (1 Cor. 1:2). For Paul, the pathway to begin church planting is to recognize that a Christian community is a gifted community from God to the world (1 Cor. 12:1ff; Rom. 12:6-10; Eph. 4:10-16). According to Moynagh, when believers gather together to 'express their dependence on God through prayer, Bible study, sharing spiritual gifts and worship, mission communities reflect the reality that these new churches are gifts from him' (Moynagh 2012:382; Frost 2006:56-63).

Therefore, church planting is the product of proclaiming the gospel to non-Christians, leading them to true repentance and personal salvation by faith in Christ Jesus, who are then organized into a visible local community of Christ-worshippers actively involved in prayer, Bible study, witnessing and social concern in the world (Ponraj 1991:82-3). A church is said to have been planted when there is a 'duly constituted local body of Christ's believers who corporately engage in worship and witness, and who serve each other and reach out to the world around them in accordance with the word of God' (Hesselgrave 2001:17). Paul argues that the task of planting new churches is not for an individual, and the more corporate the better, whereby some are 'planting' while some

are ‘watering’ (1 Cor. 3:6-9). Drawing from Paul’s view of the church as the body of Christ, one may argue that every member of the body has a role to play in the growth of the body, which means all believers are called into active participation in the planting and building of the church by living productive lives through the help of the Holy Spirit (Ott and Wilson 2011: 9). This should result in the formation of new churches from one community to another, as enabled by the Holy Spirit. (Malphurs 1998:21; Moreau 2000:637-38). Payne identified six stages of church planting that are similar to CAPRO church planting stages: pre-entry stage, entry stage, gospel preaching stage, discipleship stage, church formation stage, and leadership development stage (Payne 2015: 53-54). At the organizing stage the church planter is required to teach the believers what and who a church is, when and why they meet, where they meet and what they do when they meet.¹²

3.3.2 CAPRO Church Planting Strategy for Church Growth in Northern Nigeria

Fundamentally, CAPRO conceptualizes church growth within the context of church planting. Famunore remarked that ‘the more churches are planted among the unreached peoples the more the church grows and the faster we finish the Great Commission’ (Famunore, Personal interview, 2012). But how does a church grow by church planting? Or how does church planting function as a church growth strategy in CAPRO? CAPRO believes that church growth is more manifest when new people are converted, new churches planted, new followers of Christ are made disciples, and new disciples are committed to Christ’s mission in and through the church. Although, church growth is variously understood in CAPRO, it is clearly captured in the context of church planting. Church planting is somewhat perceived to be synonymous to church growth in CAPRO. The significance of church planting is captured in the CAPRO guiding principles and

¹² J. D. Payne, *Apostolic Church Planting: Birthing New Churches from New Believers* (Downers Grove, IL, InterVarsity Press, 2015), p. 54.

practice. For example, CAPRO church planting manual states, ‘Christian mission is essentially church planting. When the Christ Jesus asked His followers to make disciples of all nations, they found that the most effective way to make disciples was in the context of a community, the church. Throughout its history therefore, Christianity has grown into other lands through the planting of churches’ (CCPM 2001:7). This is further elaborated in the words of Tokum:

Church planting is the bottom line of CAPRO work. As a Mission, our primary calling is not mobilisation, nor training, nor research, as much as all these are very vital to our calling. The usefulness of all these is gauged by how much they help us to reach the unreached; and the success of our reaching the unreached is concretised by the fruit of our church planting efforts (Tokum 2003:1).

Therefore, the orientation given to church planting teams is simple – to plant vibrant churches that will themselves grow to become witnesses and plant new churches in their communities and abroad. This is expected among church planting teams in Muslim communities as well as those working among other world religious groups. The organization expects that the churches planted by the missionary should grow and continue the work of missions in their region and beyond. Kadon remarked that ‘when this happen we see it as achievement and as the test of our success in the places we are working.’ (Joshua Kadon, Personal Interview, 2012).

Churches grow through church planting principally when the following take place: (1) when the church expands or advances to new areas, regions or fields or people groups; (2) when new converts join the church not by transfer of old members; (3) when more members actively participate in Christian witness, sharing their faith with unbelievers; and (4) when the church is engaging and influencing the socio-economic, cultural and political lives of the people. But how do CAPRO church planting teams carry out their work? Kadon identifies and highlights some of the major steps followed:

Our approach to church planting is to *identify* a people group, *survey or research* the people and prepare to enter by mobilising *prayer* and *financial support*. We then begin to contextualize by learning *culture and language*. We also get to start *pre-conversion teachings* where our

friendship conversation has reached that stage. The pre-conversion teachings may or may not lead to conversion. But those who genuinely give their lives to Christ are *baptized* and disciple making continue. The disciples are gathered together to form a local church that may later serve as a mission sending church in the future (Kadon & Leo 2003:2).

However, due to incessant hostilities, persecution and lack of sanctity of human life this region has remained largely unreached for centuries but CAPRO has remained committed and deliberate in focusing on the evangelization of Northern Nigeria. The leadership resolves that, although the organization is aware that converts to Christianity and missionaries working among the Muslims in Northern Nigeria stand the chance of being persecuted and killed, CAPRO is determined to bring light and the love of Christ to the people in this region. The task of evangelizing the Muslims is seen by CAPRO missionaries as an act of engaging in spiritual warfare. As soldiers of the cross, the church-planters perceive themselves to be God's strategic warriors to defeat and outsmart the prowess of Islam in this region. Therefore, accepting to be a missionary among the Muslims in CAPRO is accepting to give up one's life and resources for a severe battle. In most cases, evangelizing Muslims takes more time and material resources, demands intensive labour in prayer, requires patience in teaching; and preaching the gospel as well as signs and wonders. Although this is tough, CAPRO draw courage and motivation from the fact that it is rewarding to see the Kingdom of God advancing among the Muslim ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria and elsewhere. Consequently, every staff member is encouraged to pray and support the church planting effort which is seen as the only way to destroy the stronghold of Islam in the world and establish the supreme reign of Christ among all the unreached peoples in the area. When reflecting on Hudson Taylor, Olonade says, 'in the face of all sorts of intimidation, we believe God can use us to do it, if we are willing to believe Him' (Olonade 1995:49).

Another area of concern in the evangelization of Muslims in Northern Nigeria is the welfare of the converts, especially the task of discipling the Muslim background believers (MBB). Although many Muslims are interested in Christianity, the question of how they will survive after been rejected by their family members and friends hinders them from taking a decision to follow Jesus Christ as Lord and saviour. One of the ways to provide support for MBB is in the context of a local church fellowship (Garrison 2014:236-57).¹³ Hence, there is a need for more churches to be planted among the Muslims in Northern Nigeria. According to Aderonmu, ‘Church planting is the core of CAPRO ministry efforts among all unreached peoples. It is my heartbeat too.’¹⁴ By 2012 ‘we had church planting work in 27 out of the 32 countries we are working, and of these 27 countries we are engaged in church planting work among 65 previously unreached people groups and 40 of which are Islamic people groups’ (Aderonmu Congress Report, 2012: 9).

The above presentation shows that by 2012 the organization has pioneered work in 32 countries and 82.4 per cent of the work in these countries was directed toward church-planting endeavours. Moreover, the data shows that CAPRO was engaged in church planting among 65 previously unreached peoples: 61.5 per cent of these ethnic groups are majority Muslims. Furthermore, the 82.4 per cent countries and 61.5 per cent

¹³ Greg Livingstone in *Planting Churches in Muslim Cities: A Team Approach* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1993), advocates that church-planters should work closely and openly with former Muslims by connecting MBB to one another and encouraging them to integrate their faith into the family and society. See also David Garrison, *A Wind in the House of Islam* (Monument CO, WIGtake Resources, 2014), 236-257. Steve Holloway and Kitty Holloway, ‘The Perils of Pioneering: Responsible Logistics for Hostile Places’, in Kelly S. O'Donnell (ed.), *Doing Member Care Well: Perspectives and Practices from Around the World* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2002), 449. Yacoub Yousef Sara, *Reaching and Integrating Muslim Background Believers into the Existing Church in Palestine*, 2013. J. Christy Wilson, *The Christian Message to Islam* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1950). Rick Love, ‘Discipling All Muslim Peoples in the Twenty- First Century’, *International Journal of Frontier Missions*, vol. 17:4, (2000), 5. Phil Parshall, *Muslim Evangelism* (Waynesboro GA: Gabriel Publishing, 2003). Ray G. Register, Jr. *Dialogue and Interfaith Witness with Muslims* (Kingsport TN: Watson Lithographing Company, 1979). William J. Saal, *Reaching Muslims for Christ* (Chicago IL: Moody Press, 1993).

¹⁴ Aderonmu in his speech during 2012 Congress in Lagos.

Islamic groups illustrate the growth of the organization’s advance and the impact of its church growth strategies among the unreached people in Nigeria. These also support the organization’s passionate desire to see indigenous churches planted among people groups that do not have any church. This suggests the success of CAPRO church planting strategies in terms of sheer numbers. Aderonmu, having led the organization for eight years as the International Director, acknowledges the progress of CAPRO work and admonishes the staff and partners to believe God for greater things, saying, ‘I urge us as leaders to walk in the fear of the Lord and in humility... Let us watch unto prayer and serve the Lord faithfully and with sincerity of heart so we may receive the commendation, ‘well done thou good and faithful servant’ from Jesus’ (Aderonmu Congress report 2012:12). Aderonmu’s speech reinforces the *Parousia* motif which in many ways keeps the staff motivated to persevere in prayer and faith in preaching the word of God in a hostile and very difficult situation until the gospel transforms the people and the entire community for Christ.

In the year 2000, CAPRO national council mandated the research department to carry out a review of the organization’s church planting practices. The assessment was done on the first few mission fields pioneered by CAPRO. The evaluation of these fields became necessary because the leadership at this period wanted to discern God’s will on whether or not some of the churches planted by CAPRO were ready to be handed over to the indigenous leaders. The fields evaluated were Mumuye, Maguzawa, Gbagyi, Dukkawa and Kamuku. The table and chart below present the summary of the findings.

Field	Attendants	No. of Baptized Members	No. of Elders	No. of churches	No. of Indigenous Church Workers
Mumuye	254	95	12	13	25
Maguzawa	115	60	4	4	3

Gbagyi	235	87	11	4	6
Dukkawa	68	28	2	7	2
Kamuku	227	29	6	8	4
Total	899	299	35	36	40

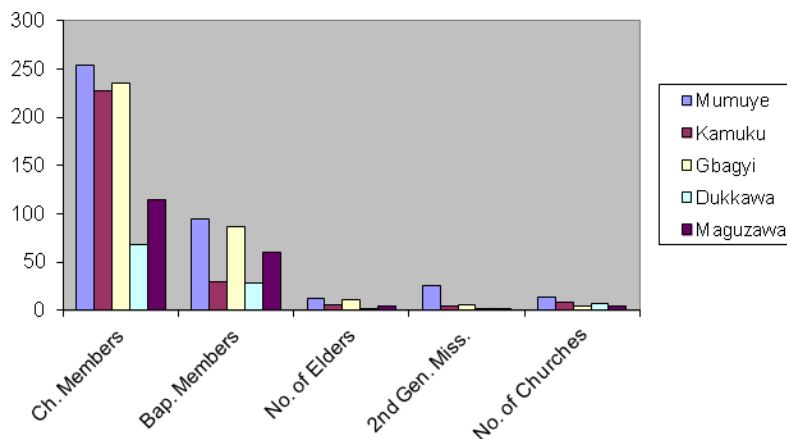


Fig 3.1 1996 Church Planting Assessment Summary Table and Chart

The table and chart show that the response of the Mumuye, Gbagyi and Kamuku people groups to CAPRO church planting strategies is 28.3%, 26.1% and 25.3% of 899 membership respectively. This is higher than Maguzawa and Dukkawa which has 12.8% and 7.6% respectively. Some opined that these high responses are due to differences in religious background: Islam or ATR. But if this is the case, then it should follow that the percentage of the Hausa Maguzawa people should be the lowest because the areas in Katsina and Kano are more Islamic than the Dukkawa people area. On the contrary, the table shows that the Hausa people are responding to the gospel because of the freedom and hope that the gospel and Christianity bring, as against the long-standing Islamic oppression and injustice in the area. The review indentified a combination of various factors that were critical to the organization's growth among these difficult people groups. These include: the faithful prayer of churches, incarnation preaching of the missionaries, community or social transformation schemes such as healthcare, primary schools education, and socio-economic empowerment. These

methods facilitated the process of engaging the communities with the gospel of Christ and also served as evidence of the new life in Christ.

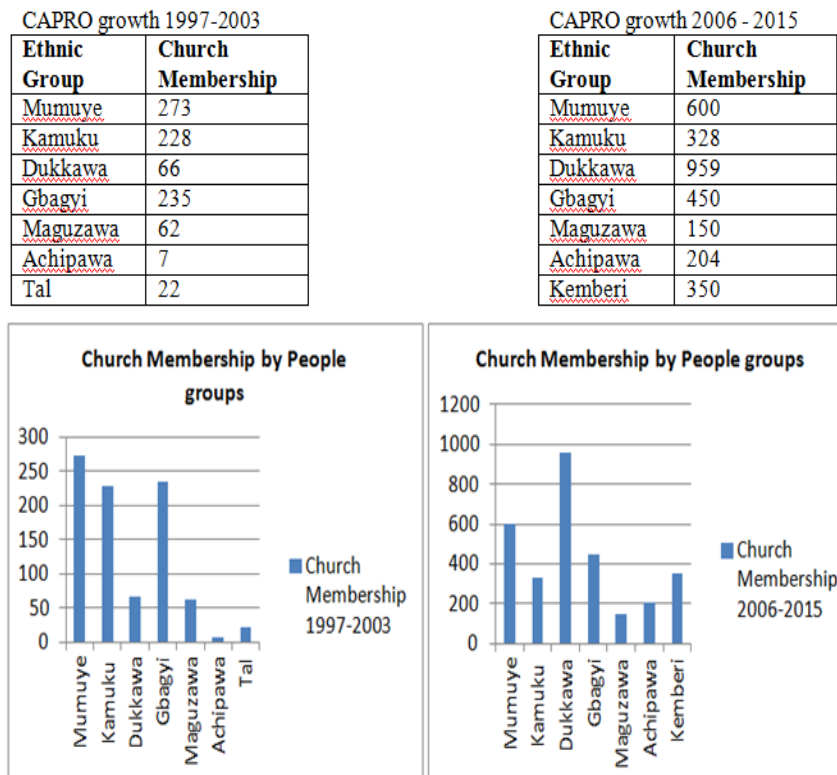


Fig. 3.2 Comparative Growth Charts and Tables of CAPRO Work in Northern Nigeria

Drawing from the comparative charts and tables above, it is evident that although all the churches show appreciable growth between 2003 and 2015, the growth of the church among the Dukkawa and Kemberi ethnic groups was phenomenal. The church-planters agreed that the growth of these churches is not unconnected with God answering prayer, the use of Bible translation materials, persevering cross-cultural preaching, discipleship of church members, and the equipping of the indigenous church workers.

In CAPRO, the zonal administration is very strategic in the church planting operation particularly in managing CAPRO work in the north. According to CAPRO leadership structure a zonal leader is both a member of the National Executive Committee and

National Council.¹⁵ In the map below, CAPRO zonal operation in Nigeria is divided into five zones with a liaison office in the Federal Capital, Abuja. The three Northern zones are shown in yellow, green, and blue: for Northwest (Minna), North-central (Kaduna), and Northeast (Gombe) respectively. These three zones are where CAPRO church planting efforts are concentrated. The region also has the highest concentration of unreached peoples in Nigeria and the highest concentration of Muslims. The two Southern zones, on the other hand, represent the areas that have the concentration of Christians and enjoy the benefits of Christian denominations and organizations. Due to economic reasons, almost every church denomination seeks to have a presence in cities such as Lagos and Port-Harcourt in the south. Moreover, Christianity in the South does not encounter severe persecution as do the Christians or the church in the North.

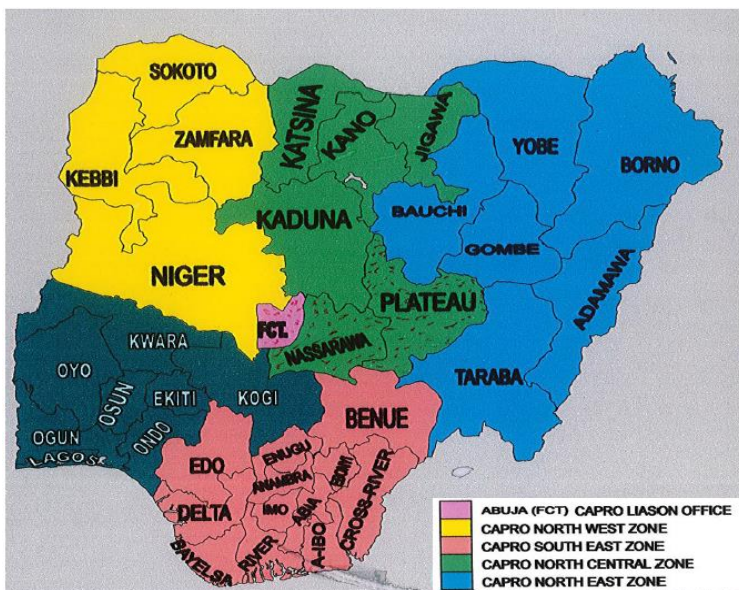


Fig. 3.3 Map of Nigeria's CAPRO Zones

Probably because of the fear of persecution it is also unfortunate that although the concentration of the unreached people groups in Nigeria is found in the North, the missionaries and mission agencies are concentrated in the South. But this is not the case with CAPRO mission which originated from the North with the mandate to evangelize

¹⁵ See Appendix 3 for CAPRO Organogram.
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the Islamic ethnic groups in Nigeria and beyond. Similar trends are observable in the table below, which shows the summary of CAPRO work according to zones. As at 2012, the organization had 109 churches planted in Nigeria and all the churches were located in the Northern region: 61 per cent of the 109 churches planted during this period were found in the Northwest zone among 45 per cent of the 23 ethnic groups being reached. While North-East and North-Central zones had 25 per cent and 15 per cent churches planted respectively. In the same vein, 38.1 per cent of the 23 ethnic groups engaged in this period were found in North-east and 17.3 per cent in the North-Central.

Table 3.1 furthermore supports the impact of CARO church growth through planting new churches in Northern Nigeria. As shown in the charts earlier, between 1975 and 1986, CAPRO was not involved in any definite church planting work. However, between 1986 and 1992 many churches were planted especially among the Maguzawa, Gbagyi, Mumuye, Dukkawa and Kamuku in Northern Nigeria. This is a significant growth, especially when one thinks of how challenging and difficult the contest is between Islam and Christianity in Northern Nigeria.

ZONES	Number of churches planted	People groups engaged
North-West Zone	66	10
North-East Zone	27	9
North-Central zone	16	4
Total	109	23

Table 3.1 Northern Zones Summary Table as at 2012

Whatever position one takes, it is difficult to deny the fact that the Christian presence is becoming overwhelmingly visible in Northern Nigeria compared to the 1970s and

1980s. Furthermore, given the fact that Christianity came to the north after many centuries of Islamic presence in Northern Nigeria and supported by colonial administration, the impact of Christianity in the region today is evidently transforming the religious landscape of the region significantly. For example, the above table shows that by 2012 CAPRO mission alone had planted 109 churches in Northern Nigeria. Comparatively, this is far greater than centuries ago.

3.4 Comparing CAPRO and Pauline Church Planting Strategies

3.4.1 Guidance and Empowerment of the Holy Spirit

The priority of the Holy Spirit leadership and the believers' prayer in the process of CAPRO church growth cannot be over-emphasized. According to Bayo Famunore, the founding leader of the organization, 'CAPRO was founded by the leading of the Holy Spirit and through fervent prayers. As young people then, we knew nothing and had nothing in our possession except to pray to God for help in every step' (Famunore Personal Interview, 2012). This is consistent with CAPRO core values which sought to project the leadership of the Holy Spirit and the priority of prayer in the ministry:

Calvary Ministries (CAPRO) was established under the direct instruction of the Holy Spirit ... The work of missions involves pulling down strongholds of the enemy; and we must be filled with the Holy Spirit to do so...Our first duty is prayer, and our work can only advance as we pray. Every inch of the ground must be taken through prayers (CCV 2002:11&37-38).

Whatever method of church growth one uses in CAPRO, it is expected that the method must be backed up with the power and presence of the Holy Spirit, the character and conduct of the missionary and the proficiency in the people's language. When a missionary ignores these it is believed that there will be less impact or the impact may not last long among the people. When looking at the factors that had helped to facilitate church growth in the mission field, almost all the respondents were of the view that prayer, evangelism, discipleship, miracles, language proficiency and planting of new churches had helped CAPRO churches to grow.

Concerning the role of the Holy Spirit's signs and wonders in CAPRO church growth strategy, Aderonmu narrated that the first church in the Islamic Maguzawa community was established and grew by the power of the Holy Spirit. The discipleship programme that was running at the Dandumi community was making progress through evangelism and literacy work. However, at some point, the evangelism and literacy work were no longer yielding the fruits of conversion. One day, a deaf and dumb man was prayed for by one of the disciples in the village and the man was healed and could hear and speak. This miracle amazed the whole community and its environs and some people were converted to Christianity because of that experience (Aderonmu, CAPRO Congress, 2012). Aderonmu went further to challenge all the members of the ministry during the CAPRO International Congress that, 'We should expect many of this kind of healings and miracles in our mission fields' (Aderonmu, CAPRO Congress, 2012).

Regarding prayer, Famonure recalled, 'We really prayed in the beginning. There was no way to move forward except through prayer' (Famunore. Personal Interview, 2012). In a different context, he asserts that the growth of the organization, although slow, has been sustained by prayer and the power of the Holy Spirit. 'God gave us the task that cannot be done without earnest and concerted prayer efforts' (Famunore Personal Interview, 2012). Drawing from Psalms 126: 5-6, he says, 'Those who sow in tears shall reap with shouts of joy...' The prayer ethos of the ministry suggests hard work, determination and faith in God. The necessity of prayer as it is advocated among staff and partners are driven by the desire for personal and corporate spiritual growth as well as progress in all aspects of CAPRO work. Festus Ndukwe, the editor of *Occupy*, holds similar views, but went further to ask this fundamental question:

How can we bring forth the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the maturing of believers, salvation of souls, release of labourers to God's vineyard, effectively apply Christ's victory on the cross, and

sustain rapid growth of the church... without trawling in prayers? (Ndukwe, Personal Interview, 2012).

Similarly, Paul argues that God through Christ called and commissioned him to be an apostle to the Gentiles (Gal 1:12, 16; Rom 1:5). Drawing from Luke's account in Acts 13 and 14, having been prayed for by the church in Antioch, Paul began his first church planting missionary journey together with Barnabas. Luke went further in the whole book of Acts to show that the Holy Spirit is the initiator, caller and commissioner of Barnabas and Paul (τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τὸν Βαρνάβαν καὶ τὸν Σαῦλον - Acts 13:2). The term Πνεῦμα has been translated variously to mean: wind, breath, ghost, spirit. In Acts, Luke shows his readers that the Holy Spirit was the power that sufficiently pervades the early church and gave the leaders authority, boldness and compassion to nurture the members unto maturity and to spread the gospel to the hinterland.¹⁶ Here, the Holy Spirit told the church in Antioch to separate Barnabas and Paul for a special service. In Acts, Luke in different contexts presents divine guidance through ecstatic visions¹⁷ (cf. Schnabel 2008: 12-14). The Holy Spirit directed the expansion of the church to places that human prejudices would not have allowed the apostle to reach, especially among the Gentiles. He commissioned Paul and Barnabas but also accompanied them on the mission. Hence, Luke describes their activities as 'what God did' (Acts 14:27; 15:4; cf. 21:9). Beyond organizing the mission to the Gentiles (Acts 13:1-3; 21:10-12), the Holy Spirit played a crucial role in directing the mission of Paul (Acts 16:6-10), accompanied their ministries among the Gentiles with miracles, signs and wonders (Acts 15:12) as well as affirming the events of the future (Acts 21:14). Dunn observes that the establishment of inclusive communities is interpreted as being the outworking of the Holy Spirit which is a model for the faith communities in Luke's time (Dunn 2003:1240).

¹⁶ Acts 4 31-33; 5:1-10; 6:10; 8:9-13; 13:9-11.

¹⁷ Acts 9:10; 10:3, 7, 10-16; 16:9f; 22:17f.

When examining the differences between Lucan and Pauline pneumatological orientation, Kärkkäinen observes that both of them knew the Holy Spirit as charismatic in ministry but Paul focussed more on the Spirit's soteriological dimension (Kärkkäinen 2002:32). For Paul, the fundamental mark of being in Christ is the gift of the Spirit that makes one a Christian, for 'if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Christ' (Rom. 8:9; cf. Gal. 4:6). In this pneumatological motif, we could see Paul using terms like πνευματικός (meaning 'spiritual man') and πνευματικά (spiritual things) to separate the cosmic things from the divine. The example of this is evident in his reference to spiritual law (Rom. 7:14); spiritual body after resurrection (1 Cor. 15:44); spiritual gifts (Rom. 1:11); spiritual blessing (Eph. 1:3); spiritual songs (Eph. 5:19); and spiritual understanding (Col. 1:9) and the matter of 'in Spirit' and 'in Christ' (Congar 1997 1:37-38; Kärkkäinen 2002:32).¹⁸

From his Antiochene experience, Luke reported two main spiritual disciplines that might have created the right atmosphere for spiritual leadership in the church at Antioch: corporate worship (λειτουργεω) and corporate prayer (προσευξάμενοι) (Act 13:2-3). Pervo notes that λειτουργεω, worship, is 'a term of secular origin that developed religious connotations' (Pervo 2009: 322. cf. Strathmann 1994:378-88).¹⁹

Besides worshipping God together, the church prayed together, προσευξάμενοι (Acts

¹⁸ Paul seeks a balance between not restricting the exercise of Spiritual gifts (1 Thess. 5:19-20) and the abuse of it in his efforts to plant and grow more churches in the first century CE (Rom. 12:3; 1 Cor. 2:12-14; 1 Thess. 5:19-22).

¹⁹ In antiquity, 'the verb Leitourgeo had as its original setting the public activities of the Greek city-state which would include support of and participation in its religious rituals' (Aristotle, *Politics* 1291A; 1335B; Julian, *Oration* 1:21D). However, in the Old Testament LXX, the verb and the noun, leitourgia, is used to mean service unto the Lord (Exo. 28:31; 39; Num. 1:50; 4:33; 18:6; Deut. 17:12; 18:7; 1 Sam. 2:11; Ezek. 40:46; 45:5). Luke most likely drew his concept of worship from the Old Testament (Luke 1:23, cf. Heb. 1:7; 8:2, 6; 9:21) Johnson & Harrington, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 221, cf. Machael Martin, *Thessalonians: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of Holy Scripture* NAC, (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1995), 419.

13:3).²⁰ The use of ‘having prayed together’ προσευξάμενοι appears five times in Acts (13:3; 1:24; 6:6; 14:23; 21:4-5) and three of these instances are linked to Paul and his companions. Luke portrays Paul in part as a man whose mission and vision was born out of prayer (Acts 13:1-3) and he continues to engage in prayer as his mission activities progress (Acts 9:10-11; 16:26; 20:36; 21:5) and of course we see the same in Paul’s letters. This further supports the positive impact of corporate or united prayer in Paul’s life and ministry.

Therefore, based on the above it is consistent to say, firstly, that in the early Christian movement, particularly in the church in Antioch, the Holy Spirit was active in calling and commissioning missionaries as well as creating a unique Christian identity by transforming a Jewish concentrated Christian movement to include Gentile believers. Secondly, the Spirit of God functioned to authenticate or legitimize the message of the gospel by confirming the ministry of Paul and his companions with miraculous signs and wonders, and by the addition of those that should be saved (Act 5:12; 14:3). This is critical in the church growth process. Therefore, the Holy Spirit plays an absolutely crucial role in Paul’s Christian experience by commissioning him and Barnabas to evangelize the Gentiles. For Paul, the Spirit is a very significant component of the believer’s life and ministry from beginning to end (Fee 1994:896-9 and Kärkkäinen 2002:34). So, in relation to the Holy Spirit, there is a very strong correspondence between CAPRO and Paul.

3.4.2 Passion for Evangelism

²⁰ According to Manila and Pilch, prayer is a relational act of ‘communication directed to persons perceived as somehow supporting, maintaining, and controlling the order of existence of the one praying ... And prayer is always social, that is rooted in the behaviours of some cultural group’ (Manila and Pilch 2006:386).

Paul and CAPRO mission both began as zealous bands of itinerant evangelists. Luke portrayed Paul as a traveller with a message (Acts 18:23-21:16), a man with a vision (Acts 26:19; cf. 16:9-10; 18:9) who on his journeys, together with his teams, went about: (1) preaching the gospel, (2) performing signs and wonders, healing sicknesses and diseases, (3) winning many converts, (4) making many disciples, (5) establishing churches, and (6) writing many letters to his churches by the power of the Holy Spirit. Luke narrated Paul's itinerant travels which are categorized into three main missionary journeys. Hubbard observes that accounts of the pioneer travelling evangelists were essentially part of church history. They were men and women 'who risked their lives, their livelihood, and their reputation telling other people the good news of the death and resurrection of Jesus' (Hubbard 2010:231). Keener referred to these travelling evangelists as 'the ecstatic wandering prophets' (Keener 2009:187, Theissen 1978:7) who served as missionaries of the early church. Therefore, both Paul and CAPRO in their mission moved from itinerant evangelists to planting and growing organized churches (Famunore, personal interview, 2012). The emphasis on evangelization may be found in almost all CAPRO documents. For instance, according to CAPRO core values, 'Our vision is specific, reaching the unreached in our world, and making disciples of the nations' (CCV 2002:29); and more straight to the point is the sixth pillar of the organization's ethos, which states, 'Evangelism is our passion. Our passion is to win souls wherever we are ... the most valuable gift we can offer those that we come across is the gospel' (CCV 2002:50). But the methods of evangelism in CAPRO are different from Paul's approach.

For instance, In the beginning, CAPRO teams also visited and evangelized students in colleges and universities, taught in churches, rented halls, cinema houses and hotels for evangelistic meetings popularly known as 'Sunday Jump' in Zaria city. Their

evangelistic efforts won many young people to Christ especially in the Northern cities and villages. It was during one of such outreaches that Niyi Gbade, who was a singer with one of the music groups in Zaria city, dedicated his life to Christ and became a member of the Calvary Singers. The impact and methods of these early efforts are captured in the testimonies of the participants. For instance, Ukwu Friday was one of the participants in the September outreach to Niger Republic from Nigeria. His report in 1979 demonstrates how CAPRO used different creative methods of evangelism:

We did some witnessing in the leprosarium and in houses. While in the church we had fellowship with them doing prayer meetings, Bible study, singing songs, and Sunday services. We also presented a drama for them to watch. The drama was an adapted form of the parable of the 'rich fool' in the Bible, the rich man being an Alhaji. Like St. Paul, we became all things to all men that we might at least win some to Christ. ... Four of our sisters taught in the Leprosarium primary school and witnessed to the women in the Centre. In addition to this, the sisters sometimes accompany the brothers to witness to the women folk in the villages of Kadarwa, Dandja, Bakarwa, Ungwar-mata and kurufi in Niger Republic (Ukwu Friday Report, 21st September 1979).

In a different context, another student participant, John G. Longkat, who despite the language barrier, experienced personal transformation like Ukwu Friday and also witnessed some conversions during his evangelistic outreach, testifies that:

On reaching Galmi on Tuesday 28/7/79, Wednesday 29th was the market day at Galmi. God led me first to an old man of about 70 years. The first difficulty I encountered was language though I speak Hausa (Kano type) but I find it difficult to communicate in Sokoto type of Hausa. But God help me the man understood my message.... On the whole, though only two people confessed Christ publicly I believe many heard the word of God and may be convicted of their sins one day. Furthermore my inner most experience has been my spiritual growth in God's word, and I was burdened to pray during this outreach seriously ... We thank God because even when we did not open our mouth to preach the gospel, yet the people testified that we are God's people. All the glory be unto our God (John G. Longkat, 23rd August 1979).

From the testimonies above some of the creative methods used by CAPRO at this period included personal witness, friendship evangelism, literature evangelism, film shows, crusades, prayer meetings, Bible study, singing, drama, literacy and health care.

But some staff members see the aforementioned procedures as constituting bureaucratic pressures because even evangelism takes the form of what is known as 'Pre-conversion teaching' or friendship evangelism. Having prayed and identified the people group

through research, the church planting team would identify seekers in the community and begin friendship building and ‘pre-conversion teaching’. This method of evangelism involves a systematic teaching of the gospel rather than preaching it. To explain the rationale behind this approach, CAPRO manual states: ‘The gospel requires change in the world view, beliefs, value systems and behaviours of the people. For such changes to occur, learning must take place. Learning requires teaching. Therefore, the gospel must be taught’ (CCPM 2001:45). The pre-conversion witnessing helps the church planting team to ascertain the commitment of those seeking to become Christians. When they are converted or confess Christ, they are baptized as soon as possible (Ozodo, personal interview 2012).

Although evangelism is a critical part of CAPRO church planting practice, language learning is required for every CAPRO church planter before any evangelism can take place. This is because act of evangelism is perceived as a creative personal witnessing by which missionaries share their personal salvation testimony. Therefore, it is expected that every member of the organization should have a clear conversion story and be ready to share it at any given opportunity. A personal testimony helps the people to identify with one’s struggles and the eventual transformation experience in Christ. When arguing in favour of personal and face-to-face evangelism, Engel and Dyrness state, ‘It is time to tone down the Christian public relations machinery that runs at fever pitch reporting the numbers allegedly reached through crusades, the electronic and print media, and intensify personal evangelism initiatives’ (Engel and Dyrness 2000:72; cf. Engel 1993:21-3). They added that ‘no matter how sophisticated our methods and media there is overwhelming evidence that people come to Christ initially and grow in the Spirit through face-to-face witness and involvement’ (Engel and Dyrness 2000:100). Successful evangelism in CAPRO’s view should result in the conversion of sinners

leading to church planting that engenders church growth. Ponraj states, 'Evangelism, church planting and church growth are inter-related... Planting new churches and the growth of the existing churches are the results of the evangelistic efforts' (Ponraj 1991:11).

However, evangelism in the context of church planting in CAPRO fields is a complex process involving more than just learning the language. Today, a church planter would need to first form a team, mobilize prayer and material support, carry out pre-entry surveys, submit a proposed plan of entry to the leadership for approval, and learn the language and culture before preaching and teaching the gospel message to the people. Many zonal leaders would maintain that although the process is long and could be frustrating, it has yielded dividends in many CAPRO fields. This approach may be likened to the Alpha Course in the United Kingdom. But the Alpha Course approach cannot readily fit into the rural context of Northern Nigeria, where most people cannot read or write. In most of the rural African communities, where CAPRO church planters are working, the story-telling approach has proven useful. By this approach, the gospel message and biblical stories are retold in the language and culturally relevant context using songs, proverbs, drama, and narrative or story-telling. This tends to make the gospel resonate effectively even in the illiterate societies. Many field leaders maintain that whether the community is open or closed, there should be pre-conversion teaching in people's homes or small groups which can lead to a decision and a commitment to follow Jesus. This has helped people make informed choices to commit themselves to Christ. The method of teaching adopted could be formal or informal. It depends on the responsiveness of the community in which the missionary is seeking to evangelize.

Once the church planting team is deployed to the field, whether it is an Islamic or African traditional religious community, the evangelistic activities of the church planters are expected to be centred around the heads of families, community leaders — opinion leaders who are referred to as ‘man of peace’ or ‘seed family’ in the community. But in CAPRO the concept of a person of peace is drawn from the accounts of the Matthew and Luke narrative about Jesus sending out his disciples (Matthew 10:5-16). The four main characteristics of a person of peace or seed families according to this account include:

- i. People who are open to welcome the missionary and the gospel message;
- ii. People who are willing to open their networks and connections in the community to meet with the missionary and discuss the gospel;
- iii. People available to guide the missionary in language and culture learning;
- iv. People eager to pass on the missionary stories or the Gospels to others by inviting them to hear the gospel.

The significance of this approach stems from the fact that when the person of peace is converted, the impact is immediately and simultaneously felt by people under his or her influence. Moreover, the organization believes that when these heads of families become Christians, they will naturally provide leadership for the church in their household or in the community. But there are cases where this did not work because the head of family could not continue in his Christian journey. On the contrary, it was the children’s education and healthcare services that provided a breakthrough and acceptance into the community and eventually led to the planting of churches.

Conversely, Paul relied more on the uncompromising power of the gospel message which he was convinced is able to save and unite the hearts of the believers in Christ.

Paul in 1 Corinthians 1:21 states that it pleased God through the foolishness of the *Kerygma* to save those who believe.²¹ Paul and his companions preached and taught the gospel in both public and private places and their ministry was accompanied with signs and wonders through the power of the Holy Spirit. Faith in the same gospel led to the formation of new churches from one city to another. The kerygma is the content of the gospel message proclaimed by the apostles (McDonald 2004:1-2). Although the style of the speeches in Acts is thoroughly Lucan, scholars recognize that Luke drew and incorporated relevant kerygmatic gospel traditions (Dunn 2009:89, Morgan-Wynne 2014:16).²² Paul's faith in the saving power of the gospel include the potency of the miraculous (1 Cor 2:4; 15:2; Rom 15:19).²³ Fitzmyer concludes that 'neither the narratives nor the speeches can be regarded as mere *creatio ex nihilo* on Luke's part' (Fitzmyer 1998:133, Soards 1994:12, Dunn 2009:192-254). On the signs and wonders, at Paphos, Barnabas and Paul encountered a Jewish sorcerer, a false prophet named Bar Jesus, also known as Elymas, an attendant of the proconsul, Sergius Paulus. Paul described him as 'a child of the devil', 'an enemy of righteousness', a man 'full of all kinds of deceit and trickery' (Acts 13:10). This encounter is similar to Simon the sorcerer in Acts 8:5-3.²⁴ Paul was led by the Holy Spirit to rebuke him and ordered him to be blind (Acts 13:10-11). When the proconsul saw the miracle he believed and was

²¹ James I. H. McDonald, *Kerygma and Didache: The Articulation and Structure of the Earliest Christian Message*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Eugen challenged the neglecting central kerygmatic core of the New Testament. Recognizing the diversity in identifying the nature of the kerygma unity he draws from C. H. Dodd seven-point outline of primitive preaching in Lucan's recorded sermons in Acts to detect the major NT preaching traditions. See Eugen E. Lemcio, 'The Unifying Kerygma of the New Testament' *JSNT* 33, (1988) 3-17.

²² Scholars have also seen parallels between speeches in Acts and ancient historiography (Thucydides, *History* 1.22.1). Van Unnik (1978) identifies ten characteristic features of Greco-Roman historians of which Marguerat concludes that Luke followed eight of the ten rules (Daniel Marguerat *The First Christian Historian: Writing the 'Acts of the Apostles'* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 16; *Martin Dibelius*, 'Style Criticism of the Book of Acts', in his *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* trans. Mary Ling. (London: SCM Press, 1956), 155; Henry Joel Cadbury *The Book of Acts in History* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 186-187, John E. Morgan-Wynne *Paul's Pisidian Antioch Speech: (Acts 13)*, (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2014), 1-13.

²³ Cf. 2 Cor 12:12 and 1 Thess 1:5.

²⁴ Bar-Jesus serving as a magician or sorcerer was acting contrary to Jewish religion (cf. Deut. 18:9-14; Lev. 19:31; 20:6,27; Exod. 7:11,22; 8:7,18,19; Isa. 8:19,20; Dan. 1:20; 2:1-13,27f; Gal. 5:19-21; Rev. 21:8; 22:15; Acts 8:9-13; 19:18-20; 13:4-12).

amazed at Barnabas' and Paul's teachings (Acts 13:12).²⁵ A third of the Book of Acts contains speeches from a variety of speakers including apostles, church leaders and non-believers. For instance, to the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts 13:16-41), to the Gentiles at Lystra (Acts 14:15-17), to the Athenians at the Areopagus (Acts 17:22-31), to Ephesian presbyters at Miletus (Acts 20:18-35), to the Jerusalem crowd at his arrest (Acts 22:1, 3-21), before the Governor Felix (Acts 24:10-21), before King Agrippa (Acts 26:2-23, 25-27, 29), and to fellow travellers aboard ship (Acts 27:21-26). The impact of these speeches resulted in bringing many people to faith in Christ and led to starting churches in some Roman cities; thereby facilitating effective church growth through church planting in Paul's missionary endeavours.

Therefore, though CAPRO evangelism zeal and emphasis are similar to Paul but they are different in approach. For instance, CAPRO members would first prayed, identified the people group through research, learn the language of the people, and build friendships before any evangelising the people through what is known as 'pre-conversion teaching'. Paul, on the other hand, did not learn language neither did he do 'pre-conversion teaching'. He tends to preach the gospel of God's love revealed in Christ Jesus to those who care to listen. The interested people are later followed up and disciplined in the context of a local church.

3.4.3 Urban Church Planting Approach

²⁵ Luke, in Acts, tends to show good versus evil, good people versus evil people. For example, in the case of Barnabas (Acts 4:36-37) versus Ananias and Saphira (Acts 5:1-12), Paul versus the sons of Sceva (Acts 19:11-20), and Barnabas and Paul versus Bar-Jesus in Paphos (Acts 13: 6-12). In antiquity, court astrologers and magicians were known for providing guidance and predictions, and even attempting to alter fate with their magic (Strabo, *Geography* 16. 2. 43; Pliny, *Natural History* 30. 11; Apuleius, *Apology* 90, Origen *Against Celsus* 1.26:4.33, Talbert 2005: 117-8). For example, Plutarch shows how Epicurean advisers to a ruler in Cilicia attempted to keep him from the belief in oracles (Plutarch *Obsolescence of Oracles* 45 D-F in Talbert 2005: 118). But in the case of Paul and Barnabas light prevail over darkness, good over evil. Paul's experience here also suggests that signs and miracles confirm and validate the gospel message. Therefore, the proconsul believed.

Another contrast between Paul and CAPRO is his focus on urban church planting while CAPRO efforts are centred on the rural communities, until recent years. Following Luke's record in the Book of Acts and the Paul's Letters it obvious that Paul and his team carried out their ministry almost exclusively in the urban areas. It is not improbable that Paul's mission strategy bypassed the rural communities but concentrated on significant cities of trade and culture in the Roman Empire so that from these urban centres the gospel might spread to the surrounding towns and villages (Verkuyl 1987:113). This is not the case with CAPRO church planting strategy, which is almost entirely base on rural and ethno-linguistic communities.

Paul's urban approach is strategic because the cities were also Roman economic and administrative centres. For instance, Paul often started his mission work in Roman administrative centres like Paphos in Cyprus (Barrett 1994:611), Antioch in Pisidia (van Elderen 1979:142); Lystra, (Hagner 1986:183), Troas (Borchert 1986:923), Philippi (Borchert 1989:345) and Thessalonica (Donfried 1985:345). These cities were also strategic because they were colonies connected through road networks. For example, connecting Paphos (Gwinn1989:284), Thessalonica (Donfried 1985:345), Athens (Madvig 1979:352) and Corinth (Madvig 1979:772). Another significant feature of urban centres in the Empire visited by Paul was that they were sea ports.²⁶ Another significant feature of these cities is their religious significance in the Empire. Just as Jerusalem was known as the spiritual capital of Israel, so were these cities dedicated to a particular god. For example, Perga was dedicated to the 'Queen of Perga', a modification of Artemis, (Judge 1986:767); Antioch in Pisidia to *Mên* (Van Ederen 1979:142),

²⁶ For more information about the strategic nature of Roman cities see: Salamis, Paphos (Gwinn 1989:284), Attalia (Banks & Meye 1979:363), Perga (Judge 1986:768), Troas, Neopolis (Vos 1986:502), Ephesus (Borchert 1982:115), and Cenchrea (Meye 1979:628). Madvig observed that Beroea was unique because it might not have fit into the above but was 'one of the most populous cities of Macedonia' (Madvig 1979:462).

Lystra to Zeus who is believed to be loosely connected with the 'Zeus' of Greece, but had some local peculiarities (Act 14:13) (Hagner 1986:193); Thessalonica to Cabirus (Donfried 1985:338); Ephesus to Artemis (Acts 19:35); (Borchet 1982:115); Athens to Athena (Madvig 1979:351) and Corinth to Aphrodite (Madvig 1979:772). Paul is portrayed in Acts as a good and dynamic communicator whom God used to evangelize these cities and plant viable churches despite all odds.

Paul's church planting approach was all-inclusive, therefore, engaging the urban centres offered him the opportunity to reach out to all categories of people groups found in the cities. He targeted all categories of peoples: Jews and Gentiles, male and female, rich and poor, pagans and religious groups. CAPRO missions and church planting approach is still evolving because it is not inclusive in approach. Church planters focus more on ethnic identification.²⁷ Paul, in his teachings and journeys, shows that he was open to preach and win anyone to Christ regardless of ethnicity, gender or status. On the one hand, Paul seeks to become all things to all men in order to win some for Christ (1Cor 9:19-23) while, on the other, he was determined to build churches that were without barriers or discrimination. A community where in Christ 'there is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female' because all are in Christ Jesus (Gal 3:23).

Another thing to note on Paul's mission in the urban area is that he took the gospel message to where the people are found. As discussed earlier in Chapter Four, when Paul arrived in a city he went straight to the synagogues.²⁸ This by implication suggests that Paul, in his missionary journeys, made it part of his strategy to go to the synagogues first, especially when he wanted to meet the Jewish people. On the contrary, whenever

²⁷ For more details see CAPRO and Pauline people group strategy in the next chapter.

²⁸ See Acts 9:20; 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:1-2, 10, 17; 18:4, 19, 26; 19:8.

he intended to meet with others such as the Greeks, pagans or philosophers he went to the public squares, marketplaces, or schools.

It is also significant to note here that Paul began most of his urban evangelistic activities in the Jewish synagogues or reference to the people's object of worship (Acts 17:23).²⁹ This is a sharp contrast to CAPRO evangelism approach to the Islamic communities in Northern Nigeria. As we have demonstrated earlier that it was the custom of Paul and his team to first go to the synagogue in most of the cities they evangelized.³⁰ Perhaps Paul was aware that, among the Jews, synagogues were places of prayer and learning, centres for schools, charity work, libraries and even hospitals (cf. Bird 2012:27). CAPRO's work does not have a clear pattern except that they targeted households as God gave them opportunities. One of the fundamental reasons for Paul's going to the synagogues was to fulfil the principle of preaching to the Jews first (Rom. 1:16). However, he also reached out to philosophers in Athens as much as pagans in Lystra. The synagogues were probably helpful and useful to Paul because of his Jewish descent and shared affinity. As a Pharisee, Paul knew the liturgical practices of the synagogue and exploited every available opportunity to preach there, as demonstrated in his mission to Antioch of Pisidia. When he was invited to greet the brethren he exhorted them and used their already existing knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, and monotheistic belief to explain the only true and living God, the righteousness and judgment of God, the promised Messiah and love of God for all nations. Paul, in his Letter to the Romans shows his ability to articulate theologically on why God raised the nation of Israel to be His ambassador to all the peoples on earth, who did not know Him (Rom. 9-11).

²⁹ See Jewish contribution to Paul's church growth strategies in chapter two and Paul's reference to the 'unknown god' in his debate with the philosophers in Athens, Acts 17:23.

³⁰ Acts 13:5;14-15; 14:1; 17:2, 10, 16-17; 18:4, 19; 28:17, 28.

Therefore, CAPRO's approach in Northern Nigeria is focused on the rural communities while Paul's outreach efforts were on the Greco-Roman political, economic and socio-cultural urban centres. Moreover, Paul began most of his urban evangelistic activities in the Jewish synagogues or reference to the people's object of worship (Acts 17:23).³¹ This is a sharp contrast to CAPRO's evangelism context which is Islamic and pagan communities.

3.4.4 Tent-Making Approach to Church Planting

Apart from the fact that Paul carried out his church planting practices in the company of other believers,³² he also employed tent-making as a means to evangelize and plant new churches in the cities where he lived and preached the gospel. Paul never used the term 'tent-making' but his references to working with his hands imply some type of handicraft (1 Cor. 4:12).³³ Thus, Luke's report is plausible (Smith 2009:523, Hock 1980:67). The meaning of σκηνοποιός is today debated but the term was simply used for a 'tent-maker', or a weaver of tent fabric. Sometimes it is said to mean 'leather worker' (Fitzmyer 1998:628). Hence, Smith notes that 'Paul was either a weaver or a leather worker (Smith 2009:523; Pervo 2009:452). How Paul acquired his tent-making skill is not clear. However, some have suggested that Jewish laws at this time directed young theological students, like Paul, to be taught a trade (*M. Pirke Aboth* 2:2; 4:7; cf. *SBK*, 2:745-6). But some have questioned this view and advocate that Paul might have learnt his tent-making trade from his father because this was a common practice among the Jews (*Tosephta Qiddushin* 1:11). Douglas noted that in New Testament times it was

³¹ See the Jewish contribution to Paul's church growth strategies in Chapter Two and Paul's reference to the 'unknown god' in his debate with the philosophers in Athens, Acts 17:23.

³² This is discussed in this chapter under sub-topic: Paul's partnership approach.

³³ Cf. Acts 20:34-35; 1 Cor. 9:6; 2 Cor. 11:27; 1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8.

the custom to teach every Jewish boy some trade. Jesus was a carpenter, and Paul was a tent-maker (Acts 18:1-3) (Douglas 1987:726).

The question, however, is why did Paul continue to insist on his tent-making even when he might have received more support from the churches? Or how did tent-making facilitate Paul's church growth strategy? Paul's writings and the Book of Acts show that Paul the apostle engaged in tent-making for two main reasons: it was a means (1) to make contact with people from different strata of society and (2) to model self-support and productivity among his followers.

Firstly, Paul's tent-making did not only provide him with a salient context for effective witness and church planting as presented in Acts 18:3-5, 26; Romans 16:3-4; 1 Corinthians 16:19; and 2 Timothy 4:19 (Witherington 1995:209; Siemens 1997:124; Hock 1980:32-34) but also served as a model of self-support for the churches he planted. He insisted on tent-making because it provided him with a credible neutral environment to build genuine relationships and share his faith in a very busy yet friendly business context. For Paul, the tent-making business was a means through which he engaged with professional and business colleagues, friends, neighbours and those who visited the tent-making workshop (cf. Meek 1983:29, Witherington 1995:209). For example, Paul met with Priscilla and Aquila who shared the same trade with him at Corinth (Acts 18:3-5). Through their working together, Paul won them to Christ, disciplined them and eventually recruited them to do ministry with him.

Secondly, through his tent-making, Paul demonstrated to his congregations that he was different from those who peddle the word of God for money (2 Cor. 2:17; 4:2; Acts 20:20, 27). Apart from seeking to be different from most ancient Sophists who went

about teaching for money, Paul wanted to stay free from any form of encumbrances through financial entanglements or alliances with some church patrons. He intentionally placed himself at a lower status, so that he could identify with the lower strata of society and reach them with the gospel (Witherington 1995:209). This is evident in Paul's conjecture of self-identification as 'slave of all' (1 Cor. 9:19).

Therefore, although many scholars agree that tent-making in Paul's missionary practice was an indispensable context for effective Christian witness (Meeks 1983:29; Siemens 1997:125), I will stretch it further by postulating that the function of tent-making in Paul's church growth strategies went beyond the context of witness to that of serving as a means through which Paul modelled self-support and economic sustainability among his churches. Paul did not support idleness (Acts 17:21; 2 Thess. 3:10-11; 1 Tim. 5:13) and wanted to be an example of hard work and integrity in Christian ministry. Paul made this point clear in his letter to the church in Thessalonica: 'Now we command you, brothers, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you keep away from any brother who is walking in idleness and not in accord with the tradition that you received from us' (2 Thess. 3:6). The tradition received from Paul and his team here included living a productive life through hard work. Paul testified that 'we were not idle when we were with you' (2 Thess. 3:7). Moreover, Paul encouraged them to imitate their example of hard work and productivity by not 'eating anyone's food without paying for it; nor be a burden to the church' (2Thess 3:8). Paul explained further that he was engaged in manual tent-making not because he did not have the right to receive support like other apostles but because he wanted the church to follow his example (2 Thess. 3:9).

In contrast, CAPRO generally sees tent-making two ways: (1) as a distraction in the mission field, and (2) as a professional cover to enter highly sensitive communities (see section 3.5)

3.4.5 Contextualized Gospel Message

CAPRO, like Paul and his teams, is mindful of the kind of churches being planted and built from one context to another. The task of planting culturally relevant churches or context appropriate churches is known as contextualization (cf. Brown 2006:128). In the past there are cases of missionaries imposing their culture and disparaging local culture in their effort to evangelize the people (Bevans and Schroeder 2004: 231, 386). But scholars like Andrew Walls (1996)³⁴, Lamin Sanneh (1983)³⁵ and Kwame Bediako (1995) among others have challenged this approach and argued in favour of prioritising the host culture, claiming that there is within the gospel itself a dynamic that is ‘infinitely translatable’. Bediako argues that translatability of the Gospel from culture to culture is an in-built nature of Christianity ‘capable of subverting any cultural possessiveness of the faith in the process of its transmission’ (Bediako 1995:110). He went on to show the translatability of the Gospel message and goes on to affirm its transculturality and universality, which should be taken seriously in both practical and pastoral engagement in missions (Bediako 1995:109). Sanneh, for his part, argues that ‘access to Jesus as Savior, Redeemer, and Judge was to be through the specificity of cultural self-understanding, and that cultural specificity is the ground of divine self-disclosure, with Jesus as the divine outpouring on the human scale (Sanneh 1990:31).

³⁴ Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of the Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books), 1996.

³⁵ Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989); *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (Maryknoll, N Y: Orbis Books, 1983). ‘The Horizontal and the Vertical in Mission: An African Perspective’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 7, 4, (October 1983), pp. 165-71.

However, the redeeming light of the gospel of Christ brings with it the divine disclosure of ‘the sin of human self-sufficiency’ (Sanneh 1990:32).

Similar to the above, Walls maintains that the relevance of the gospel message from one culture to another shows that the revelation of Christ is ‘culturally and infinitely translatable’ (Walls 1981:39-52).³⁶ The missionary should be aware that nationals themselves are not passive listeners rather they are actively engaging and participating in the change that is taking place through the gospel in their culture. Therefore, they should not be ignored in the translation process because they are the primary agents of evangelization and translation in the context (Bevans and Schroeder 2004: 231, 386).

There was a growing awareness and longing in the hearts of many Africans, especially converts to Christianity, to find a mode of worship that will be psychologically and sociologically satisfying in African contexts. Most African independent clergy perceive and criticize European missionaries for putting obstacles and unnecessary burdens on the converts by imposing Western customs and traditions in the African context but they too are still struggling on what should be the agreed approach to the various African contexts. David Barrett has argued in favour of independency of African Christianity over the ‘Europeanized’ Christian expression.³⁷ But this is not an easy task because the African churches that broke away from the European established churches have taken on board some African traditional modes of worship in their liturgy including drumming, dancing and other daily life experiences. Although these are helpful but one must be cautious and watch against a syncretistic tendency (cf. Ayegboyin & Ishola

³⁶ Andrew F. Walls, ‘The Gospel as Prisoner and Liberator of Culture’, *Faith and Thought*, 108 (1-2), (1981), pp. 39-52. See also *Missionalia*, 10, 3 (November 1982), pp. 93-105.

³⁷ Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, pp. 161-62.

1997:12).³⁸ This does not happen by accident; the church planter is required to study and be mindful of the contextual realities found among the people. Gilliland observed that although the term ‘contextualization’ is commonly associated with theology, the meaning of the term ‘context’ embraces the different human realities and experiences including socio-cultural histories, politics, economics and ideologies (Gilliland 2000:225). The emergence of the church in a context must reflect its architecture, worship, preaching, church governance, symbols and rituals (Dyrness 1989: 29). However, the contextualization process should recognize the role of the Holy Spirit in challenging, incorporating, and transforming elements of the culture in order to bring them under the lordship of Christ’ (Gilliland 2000:225).

Paul’s contextual approach is discernible when and where he gives up his rights and freedom in order to communicate the gospel with integrity: ‘I have become all things to all people so that by all possible means I might save some’ (1 Cor. 9:22). Darrell Whiteman captures contextualization as ‘an attempt to communicate the Gospel in word and deed and to establish the church in ways that make sense to people within their local cultural context, presenting Christianity in such a way that it meets people’s deepest needs and penetrates their worldview’ (Whiteman 1997:2-7).

By this, people are equipped to follow Christ in their context. The key here is the relationship between the gospel and culture. This is clearly demonstrated in Christ’s incarnation story as narrated by John the beloved (John 1:12-14), and Paul’s teaching in Philippians 2:5-13 where Christ is seen as God making himself understood in human context by becoming flesh and dwelling among humanity. The Λόγος which was in the beginning with God and was God became flesh amongst humanity (John 1:14). Today,

³⁸ Deji Ayegboyin & S. Ademola Ishola, *African Indigenous Churches: An Historical Perspective*, (Lagos: Greater Heights Publications, 1997).

contextualization is part of a wider theological debate in cross-cultural missions and the church growth movement. Nicholls observed that 'the shift from the issues of indigenization to those of contextualization is part of a much wider theological concern for understanding the function of the church in the world' (Nicholls 2003:22).

Whatever contextualization may entail, it certainly has to do with 'communication' which itself is a complex process (Hesselgrave, Rommen, 2000:180). Although there is much literature on the theory and practice of communication, in sharing the gospel contextually, David Hesselgrave and Edward Rommen capture it as:

The attempt to communicate the message of the person, works, Word, and will of God in a way that is faithful to God's revelation, especially as put forth in the teaching of Holy Scripture, and that is meaningful to respondents in their respective cultural and existential contexts' (Hesselgrave and Rommen 1989:200).

For example, in Acts 22:3 and 23:4, Paul begins his message by identifying with the religious Jews and in particular with the Pharisees by quoting OT prophecies. However, the same Paul, when he preached to the Greek philosophers at the Areopagus in Athens, used a different approach. He affirms that God created all nations from one man and calls all to seek him (Acts 17:26-27). In this case, he quoted relevant passages from two Greek poets (Acts 17:28) and avoided quoting Jewish literature. Therefore, Paul sought to make the gospel understood from one context to another.

Comparatively, whereas Paul's sermons before the Jewish audiences as in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:16-41) refer to the Hebrew Scriptures, the history of God's dealing with the nation of Israel and how God fulfilled his promise to Israel by bringing Jesus as the Saviour (Acts 14:13). However, Paul began preaching his good news to Gentiles by first presenting God as the only living and true God, the Creator of all things (Bruce 1954:277, Flemming 2005:68-69, Peterson 2009:409). By this, he focused his audience at Lystra (Acts 13:16-41) and Athens (Acts 17:22-31) on creation and natural theology

first. His speech to Greek philosophers in Athens marks Christianity's encounter with Greek philosophy and culture (Morgan-Wynne 2014:49).³⁹ Furthermore, his speeches to the Gentiles also contain some elements of ancient rhetoric which focused on persuading the audience as the case might be (Flemming2005:58). Therefore, for Paul, the good news may have the same core content, Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 15:1-11), but the presentation differs from one context to another but not without the power of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 2:4-5). This underscores the Pauline contextualization principle in ministry.

Contextualization is evident in Paul's writing, especially in his view of making the gospel message relevant to all categories of people by becoming all things to all people so that he could win them for Christ (1 Cor. 9:19-23). Although Paul paid attention to people's context this did not in any way affect the core content of the gospel⁴⁰ message (Gilliland 2000:226). Therefore, drawing from the above, it is consistent to say that Paul was sensitive to his audience's cultural framework and belief systems. The impact of Paul's contextualization in ministries and sermons are partly evident in the number of converts won for Christ in the cities where they lived and preached (Acts 13:12; 43, 48-49; 14:1, 21-23).

CAPRO, like Paul, perceives church planting in Paul's missionary enterprise as an approach to church growth which incorporates evangelism, tent-making, discipleship, partnership, good works or social development and contextualization. But many of these approaches are still evolving in CAPRO because staff members are at different levels of understanding these biblical themes. Like Paul and his communities, each CAPRO

³⁹ Paul's speeches in Pisidia and Lystra form part of the narrative which allows the readers to perceive the writer's worldview, purpose and theological motivation as God's commission narrative unfolds.

⁴⁰ 1 Cor. 15:1-5; 1:23; 2:2; Gal. 2:20; 5:24; 6:14.

member is expected to take evangelism seriously because it is one of the essential practices that lead to the planting of churches. Both Famonure and Ozodo opined strongly that all Christians who have experienced the new birth are responsible to reach the unreached for Christ in their generation (Famunore, personal interview, 27 August 2012). This is also evident in the organization's concept of the church as described in the church planting manual:

The church is a body made up of all people who, having repented from their sins and put their faith in Christ Jesus have been called out from the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God, with the primary purpose of glorifying God in their lives and propagating His Kingdom in all the earth (CCPM 2001:28).

Therefore, although the description of the church is more universal in nature, CAPRO's church planting strategy is more local church-based in emphasis. For CAPRO, a local church is a geographically limited and defined expression of the universal ἐκκλησία. Hence, it is believed that nobody can become part of any local church without first becoming part of the universal body of Christ. Consequently, it follows that every true member of a local church is automatically a member of the universal church. Likewise, Paul argues that 'in Christ we who are many are one body, and each member is connected to another' (Rom. 12:4-5). It is worth all the labour to make sure local churches are well established and do not limit or isolate themselves from the global goal of glorifying God and evangelizing all nations by planting and building more self-propagating churches (CCPM 2001:28).

Although it is not clear about Paul, we have seen in Chapters Two and Three that CAPRO mission did not start with church planting in mind, the later part of the organization's life was committed to the task of planting and growing new churches. However, they both sought to grow churches that would reach maturity and expand to new territories by gathering believers in a particular place into a church fellowship. Kostenberger and O'Brien observe that for Paul, 'conversion to Christ meant

incorporation into him, and thus membership within a Christian community’ (Kostenberger and O’Brien 2001:180). In the case of Paul, however, Wrede observed that ‘a transient proclamation of the gospel was not enough for Paul, as for him everything depended on well-founded communities’ (Wrede 2001:56). In his preaching and teaching, Paul used different analogies and metaphors to describe church-planting in his letters. For example: (1) ‘planting’ (1 Cor. 3:6-9; 9:7, 10, 11), (2) ‘laying foundations’ (Rom. 15:20; 1 Cor. 3:10), (3) ‘giving birth’ (1 Cor. 4:15; Phlm 10), (4) ‘betrothing’ (2 Cor. 11:2) and (5) ‘building’ (1 Cor. 3:6-9). In the Book of Acts, Luke narrated how Paul went about encouraging and strengthening new believers (Acts 14:22). Paul’s letters themselves were a means through which he sought to build believers to maturity in Christ (Rom. 1:1-15; 15:14-16).⁴¹ Therefore, it is erroneous to see Paul’s mission as simply evangelistic because beyond evangelism he saw himself as a builder (1 Cor. 3:9-10; 2 Cor. 10:8; 12:19; 13:10)⁴² and a father (1 Cor. 4:14-17).

In contrast to Paul, CAPRO’s contextualising efforts are observable in the areas of using indigenous songs for worship, indigenous language for preaching, adapting traditional music, proverbs, architecture, mode of communication and dressing.

3.5 Proclamation of the Gospel through Good Works

Another significant strategy in CAPRO church growth is the holistic mission approach popularly known in CAPRO as ‘Mercy Ministry Department’. This arm of CAPRO provides social development initiatives that improve the quality of life in the context of CAPRO mission work. The polarity of views about the relationship between evangelism and acts of mercy in missions including support in business, health care, engineering, education, farming and so on has been a subject for a long debate. Some argue that

⁴¹ Eph. 3:8-9; Col. 1:23-2:7.

⁴² Cf. 1 Cor. 2:6; 3:2; 4:15, 17; 9:7; 2 Cor. 11:28; 12:14; Gal. 4:19; 1 Thess. 2:7, 11.

evangelism has primacy over mercy, implying that mercy is a means to the end of evangelism. Therefore, good deeds must be directed towards bringing people to Christ. But some would rather see the two as an inseparable entity. They maintain that the word and deed of evangelism are inseparable. They exist in a 'symbiotic', interdependent relationship that is inextricably united. Some liberation theologians and the World Council of Churches tend to suggest that good works or acts of mercy make up the central biblical truth and the criterion of biblical faithfulness and evangelism. This also may be going too far. This is because the concern for the poor is not the only important aspect of Christian social concern or mission. We dare not become so preoccupied with it that everything else becomes secondary, nor should we make our concern for the poor so secondary that we only remember them in our spare time and money (Sider 1999:140). When proposing a 'single-end' model, Keller suggested that 'The proper model is not (1) to see mercy as the means to evangelism, or (2) to see mercy and evangelism as independent ends, but (3) to see both word and deed, evangelism and mercy, as means to the single end of spreading the gospel of the Kingdom (Keller 1997:112).

CAPRO and Pauline church planting processes were marked by good works and in some cases through tent-making. However, CAPRO's perspective and approach to tent-making in missions is different from the Pauline tent-making. Although it is unclear how Paul employed his tent-making skills in ministry, it is clear that he did not use tent-making on the scale of modern missions, like CAPRO. Unlike Paul, CAPRO today seeks to engage unreached peoples through established institutions such as trade or business, healthcare delivery, provision of clean water, food supply and schools. This also explains why some CAPRO staff stay longer in some fields but Paul did not have

to stay in a place long enough to set up schools or hospitals or learn the people's language before he preached the gospel.

The proclamation of the gospel of Christ Jesus was central in the mission of Paul and was also an essential task to planting and growing churches (Rom. 10:14-15). It was part of the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of Christ and, by extension, Paul's mission to heal the broken-hearted, heal the sick and free the captives (cf. Luke 4:17-19). Paul did not merely claim to be an apostle to the Gentiles and his gospel was not a personal view or human opinion (1 Thess. 2:13), but a powerful and life-transforming message (1 Cor. 15:14). Paul used every available opportunity to boldly preach the gospel in words and deeds (Acts 9:20, 29; 20:17, 38). He was aware and sensitive to cultural differences and, therefore, sought to communicate the gospel differently from one context to the other but not without the support of the Holy Spirit.

Therefore, holistic ministry should flow from the faithful application of the whole Bible by the whole church to the community (cf. Wright 2006:13). According to McGuckin:

Without the concrete, material acts of mercy, the spiritual ascent of prayer is made defective. The elect cannot simply worship God in the mind or the spirit: they must worship the Incarnate God in the flesh too: and worship him by making their physical resources available to his service as much as their intellectual and spiritual faculties' (McGuckin 2011: 203).

Acts of mercy are important parts of CAPRO's church growth strategy today. They are used in a general sense to mean charitable actions by the missionaries to alleviate the spiritual and physical suffering of the people in the mission field and persecuted believers in hostile nations. In order to facilitate the active participation of every member of the organization in responding to the welfare and physical needs of the people they are evangelizing, CAPRO started a department known as Mercy Ministries in 1991. The department has the following social action responsibilities: primary healthcare, relief and rural development.

From the parable of the Good Samaritan as told by Jesus (Luke 10:30-37), the priest and the Levite fail to show love unlike the Samaritan. He had compassion for the wounded man and showed mercy practically by action not by lip service or empty religious ritual, as in the case of the priest and Levite (Lk.10:36). Samkuty observes that ‘The Samaritan, who has no religious privilege before the eyes of the Jewish community, stands out in contrast to the Jewish religious leaders of his day as a representative of showing compassion and of keeping the law that transcends the socio-religious and ethnic boundaries’ (Samkuty 2006:110 and Hultgren 2000:98). Jesus had warned the Scribes and Pharisees elsewhere: ‘Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you tithe mint and dill and cumin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law: justice and mercy and faithfulness. These you ought to have done, without neglecting the others’ (Mt 23:23). Furthermore, the works of mercy as described by Jesus in Matthew 25:31-46 also demonstrate the significance of good works in ministry, especially in the area of feeding the hungry; giving drink to the thirsty; clothing the naked; sheltering the homeless; visiting the sick and those in prison. The way CAPRO responds to human suffering has facilitated a positive response and resulted in the growth of the church.

CAPRO Mercy Ministries Department is established to help improve the well-being of the people by addressing community social needs and guiding the organization on the best way to deal with the physical and material needs of the people in the mission field. They work with the indigenous people to provide literacy, healthcare, clean water, nutrition and economic empowerment. Consequently, these services have facilitated positive responses from the hostile communities. See the diagram and the explanation below.

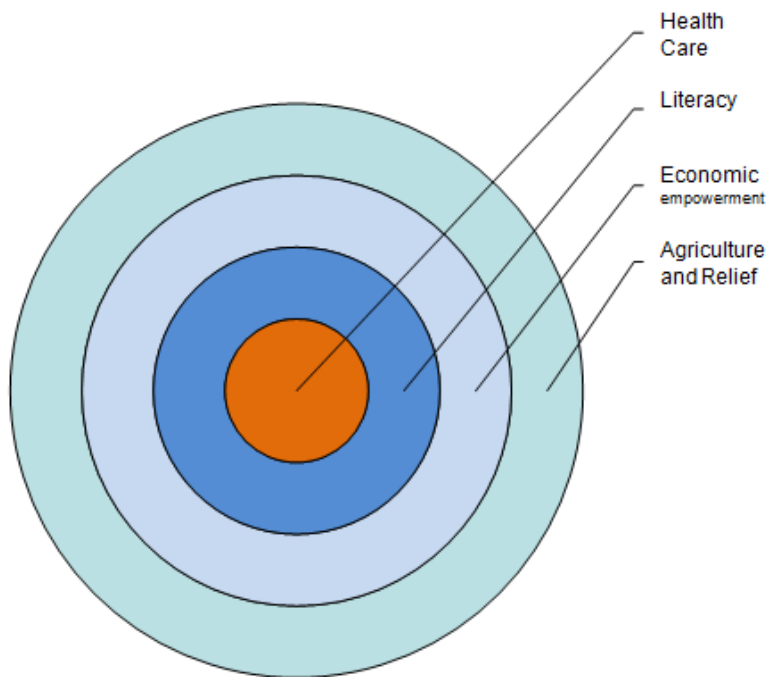


Fig.4.1Diagram of CAPRO's Sphere of Good Works Engagement

3.5.1 Healthcare Delivery

CAPRO Acts of Mercy activities have helped the mission to reach the poor and vulnerable in the following areas. Firstly, CAPRO missionaries who work in places that have critical health challenges but have no health centres or facilities. In such circumstances, the missionary doctors, nurses and other medical and para-medical personnel in CAPRO help to provide healthcare services as they evangelize them. Since 1993, CAPRO rural health programmes in partnership with Tearfund UK have saved many people from death by preventing and curing killer diseases and controlling epidemics. Apart from the significant health improvement in those areas, CAPRO School of Basic Health Care has trained many indigenous health workers, known as 'local health motivators' who are now working among their people in the area of hygiene. On the other hand, the relief and rehabilitation unit has impacted the lives of the unreached as well as missionaries by providing supports in clothing, shelter and disaster management support (Ozodo, personal interview, 2012).

3.5.2 Literacy

In CAPRO, all social care and development workers are vanguards of Christian witness, as they facilitate literacy and formal education among the people. When talking about CAPRO's work among the Maguzawa Muslims, Esin observed that the key strategy used in reaching the people was literacy and the dry-season discipleship training school. CAPRO has over six primary schools spread out in Northern Nigeria and a secondary school at Gana Ropp, Jos, to provide good education for both missionary children and the communities they are reaching. Among the Maguzawa people, for example, the discipleship training school started at Bango, also known as Ungwankanawa, was open to other agencies who were seeking to reach the Maguzawa people with the gospel. Today, through these training initiatives, many Maguzawa people have accepted Jesus as their personal Lord and Saviour, and many churches are planted in the region. For instance, in a year, an average of 20 pupils between grade five and above are baptized and go through a discipleship programme in the church. Moreover, most of the products of the schools contribute to the growth of the church in the area even after their university education. Therefore, the literacy programme has impacted the growth of the church in many ways, especially in the area of Bible study preparation and indigenous leadership management task. This has also helped the church to have a stronger influence on the society as well as advance the gospel to the frontiers. Therefore, good works and evangelism in CAPRO's mission fields are inseparably connected and contribute significantly to the organization's church quality and quantity growth strategy.

3.5.3 Economic Empowerment

The churches planted by CAPRO mission in Northern Nigeria are found mostly in the rural areas. The people are predominantly subsistence farmers. Therefore, missionaries

teach the local people how to use modern implements for higher yields as well as teach them how to use modern storage facilities for more profit. This awareness and training have improved the well-being of the people, alleviated poverty and facilitated the process of making the churches self-supporting in carrying out their mission responsibilities. For example, in Maguzawa field, the believers are from a Muslim background and very poor but through education, agriculture, and health services and the gospel most believers are testifying that they now enjoy a healthy lifestyle and have more time to preach the gospel without charge and support their indigenous missionary such as Kabiru Hassan. In Kwontakomawa village, the church built their place of worship and the house of the pastor without seeking for external aid. Although these church members have large families with a lot of financial and material needs, they still gather their meagre resources together to support the indigenous missionaries.

CAPRO's economic enhancement scheme in many ways has improved the lives of rural dwellers and the poor. Some indigenous believers are encouraged through this scheme, and some testified that (1) problems of food shortage and hunger during the month of August were greatly reduced. They were able to generate food during the dry season for their families, reducing the number of people depending on the church for help. (2) They are able to raise funds to purchase fertilizer for their dry-season farming. (3) The less privileged have been able to buy knitting and sewing machines for their wives, refund the loans and also make a lot of profit in the CAPRO microfinance service scheme (Kashimawo, Report presented to Council, October 2003). This improvement in the quality of life of church members has attracted many unbelievers to decide to follow Christ and join the church. Hence, the church is being equipped to be self-supporting. The danger, however, is that some church members, and even missionaries, are lured into full-time farming and have lost interest in the church and the work of mission.

Some missionaries no longer trust God for supply or have time to engage in church planting. This kind of attrition has caused serious interpersonal conflict in the mission field and affected the growth of the church adversely.

The above listed social works further highlight the contrast between CAPRO and Paul's church planting method. Paul's church planting approach did not have time or the persecution did not allow him to start up any school, clinic, or economic empowerment scheme.

3.6 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has shown that both Paul and CAPRO believe the Holy Spirit has an active role in the evangelization and growth of the church. Drawing from Paul's encounters in Acts, it is safe to say that his church planting approach was characterized by various signs and wonders including: judgment (Elymas, 13:6-12); healing (Acts 14:8-10; 19:11-12); the dead being raised (Acts 20:9-12); deliverance from demons (Acts 16:16-18; 19:11-12), and of the preservation of his own life (Acts 28:3-6). Although the impact of his ministry in many cities often experienced opposition it did not stop the Holy Spirit from saving those who should be saved or producing disciples who form a community of Christ followers, the church (Acts 14:19-33; 16:16-24). For Paul, the Holy Spirit initiates and guides the process of church planting. He convicts, converts and transforms sinners into saints through faith in Christ Jesus. Similar to Paul's submission to the leadership of the Holy Spirit is CAPRO desires to follow in steps with Christ's dependence on the Holy Spirit. However, although CAPRO has experienced some miraculous manifestation of the Spirit in calling, leading, and planting growing churches. it is unparalleled to Paul's life and ministry. Therefore, CAPRO has much to learn from Paul's approach and submission to the Holy Spirit. Moreover, although Paul

recorded great miracles in his life and ministry, none of them may be compared with the conversion of sinners and the formation of Christian communities in many places within a short time, which characterized his mission among the Gentiles (Rom. 15:19); and much more his personal experience of the transforming power of the Holy Spirit who made him, ‘the worst of all sinners’, to become the leading apostle to the Gentiles (1 Tim 1:15-16).

This chapter also shows how CAPRO and Paul are committed to holistic church growth by seeking to transform the whole person and the whole society through the preaching of the gospel and providing care for the needy. CAPRO mission holds tenaciously to spiritual intervention but also believes that church growth approaches should be evident in the pursuit of socio-economic development, social justice and freedom experienced by the people through the impact of the gospel. Unlike Paul, however, CAPRO understood holistic ministry to include healthcare delivery, agricultural and literacy development which must accompany a clear gospel message. This makes the good news and good deeds of the missionaries go hand in hand to show the mercies and love of God to the world. Although the Pauline approach did not have elaborate humanitarian institutions like schools, hospitals as found in CAPRO approach to church planting today, that does not mean Paul was less concerned about people’s socio-economic needs. For instance, among other things, he led the churches in the collection of relief for the poor Saints in Jerusalem as we see in the section of partnership with churches in Chapter Five.

Both Paul and CAPRO have a high view of the church but, as demonstrated in this chapter, Paul’s perspective of the church is more crystallised, inclusive and dynamic in nature. He also engaged in tent-making and urban church planting through which he

facilitated the spread of the gospel from one context to another. Conversely, CAPRO's ecclesiology is still evolving. CAPRO staff members come from different denominational backgrounds that sometimes lead to inconsistencies or conflicts in doctrine in their church planting process, especially in the areas of observing church sacraments such as baptism, administration of the Lord's Supper or even the order of worship and prayer. These conflicting concerns hinder the growth of the church and limit the impact of the gospel in the lives of people. Furthermore, although the organization encourages tent-making, especially among hostile people groups, it is unparalleled in the Pauline theory and praxis of tent-making. Similarly, whereas Paul engaged in urban church planting, CAPRO, until recent years, has focused more on rural communities among ethno-linguistic people groups. In the next chapter, this research shall focus on CAPRO and Paul's people groups' strategy for planting and growing self-propagating churches.

CHAPTER FOUR

Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη: COMPARING CAPRO'S PEOPLE GROUP APPROACH TO PAUL'S PERCEPTION OF ETHNICITY

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, this research has comparatively examined the contextual realities and church planting strategies of CAPRO and Paul in relation to their church growth strategies. Previously, the study has examined whether they perceived the importance of engaging with contextual realities in their church planting as a strategic part of the process for quality and quantity church growth. This chapter shall identify the perspectives on ethnicity and compare how people group thinking influenced CAPRO and Pauline church growth strategy. How does CAPRO's intentional focus on ethno-linguistic people groups facilitate church growth and how is this different from Paul's approach? Before looking at this question this research shall first look at the meaning of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (all nations or all the peoples) and how Paul understood the idea of people groups in his Judaic Greco-Roman society.

4.2 Evangelizing All People Groups: CAPRO's Understanding of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη

In the gospels, Jesus commissioned his disciples to go and make disciples of 'all people groups', πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (Matt. 28:19) and Paul in his defence of apostleship described himself as the apostle to πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (Rom. 15:16; Gal. 3:8; Rom. 1:5).¹ How did Paul's view of ethnicity or 'all people groups', πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, contribute to his church growth strategy in a multi-ethnic urban Greco-Roman society? Secondly, if in Matthew 28:19 making disciples of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, 'all nations' or 'all people groups' signifies the church's advance against the gates of hell and Christ's presence with his disciples,

¹ cf. Acts 17:26.

then our understanding of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in relation to church growth is a worthwhile venture (Matt. 16:18).

The Greek phrase πάντα τὰ ἔθνη has various shades of meaning but leans more towards ‘all the peoples or all the nations’ (cf. Matt. 24:14). The word πάντα (pl.) denotes ‘all’, ‘the whole’, or ‘every kind of’ in Greek. The term ἔθνη, the plural form of ἔθνος, has a broad range of meanings in antiquity but generally it is used to describe different groups of people or animals living together.² Liddell and Scott (2010/1819) have underscored the fact that ἔθνος in the Greco-Roman world meant different things, among which was a number of people living together, also known as a tribe, a nation, a people group, a caste, a guild, or a family. However, the Greek phrase πάντα τὰ ἔθνη also connotes ‘otherness’ which has tended to highlight an ethno-centric identification that sees other people as foreigners from one’s group (cf. Dulling 2008:805). Paul in 1 Corinthians 14:10 used the word to show different kinds (*gene*) of languages in the world (Dulling 2008:805). The ancient Mediterranean may not have had an ethnicity theory but the notion of self-identity, in-group and out-group identification was strongly present (Dulling 2008:810). Therefore, ἔθνη is ‘a group of people with cultural, linguistic, geographical, or political unity’ (Saldarini 1994:68-83; Hall 1997:34ff.).

4.3 Pauline Perspectives of People Groups and their Implications to his Church Growth Strategy

The question is how did Paul perceive the concept of ‘all people groups’ in his Judeo-Christian worldview and how did it affect his church growth strategies? When exploring the letters of Paul and Luke’s reports in Acts, the following became evident about

² This was also used to describe a ‘herd’ of insects in the sense of ‘swarm’ of ἔθνος μελισσῶν (*ethnos meilisōn*) denoting the race of bees. Thayer, Joseph Henry, *Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*, 1996.

Paul's view of ethnicity. People groups are connected (1) biologically, (2) linguistically, (3) sociologically, and (4) spiritually.

4.3.1 Ethnicity as People connected Biologically

Paul perceived people groups in the context of biological descent or kinship relationship (Rom.11:1, cf. Acts 13:26). When lamenting about the condition of the people of Israel, Paul referred to them as 'my kinship according to the flesh' (Rom. 9:3 cf. Gen. 2:23) (Esler 2003:11, Dulling 2005:129; Esler 2003:55, Jenkins 1997:165). In antiquity, people groups were understood in relation to familial lineage or kinship. Julius Caesar's royal tribute in honour of his aunt-kinswoman expressed both the ancestral and natural descent link to the royal lineage (Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 6.1, cf. Hodge 2007:19). This kind of relationship is also highlighted in the work of Cicero:

Now there are several levels in human society. Apart from mankind as a whole...there is the more restricted level of belonging to the same race the same tribe, and the same language: these join men together very closely. And even closer relationship is to belong to the same city... Even close are the ties among a group of relatives (Cicero *On Duties* 1.53-54).

The above shows the connection that existed between a people group and their ancestors, history, places, marriage and burial customs as well as religious rites. This helps to define the in-group in antiquity (Berry et al 2002:64-70). Ethnicity in ancient times served as a source of identity and 'in-group' differentiation from 'others'. Herodotus added that 'everyone without exception believes his own native customs, and the religion he was brought up in, to be the best; and that being so, it is unlikely that anyone but a madman would mock at such things' (Herodotus, *Histories* 3.37). Although household and other in-group connections are good, Philo observed that children of the same father form a 'more genuine kinship' in ancient cultures (Philo *On Rewards*, 57; *On the Virtues*, 207. Cf. Hodge 2007:19; Rawson, 2010:220).

Paul saw the Jews and the people of Israel as his kinsmen. He did not deny his identity as an Israelite (Phil. 3:3-11). Paul was in constant sorrow and anguish in his heart for his biological kinsmen, the people of Israel. In Romans, where he shows great concern for Israelites, Paul stated, ‘I have great sorrow and unceasing anguish in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brothers, *my kinsmen according to the flesh*’ (Rom. 9:2-5 *emphasis mine*).³ Paul used the term ἔθνη variously according to context to denote, for example, all nations of the earth including the Israelites (Rom. 4:17, 18; Gal. 3:8), or non-Jewish people (Rom. 11:13; 1 Cor. 12:2; Eph. 2:11), or non-Israelites (Rom. 1:5 13-14)⁴ and or non-Jewish Christians (Rom. 11:13; 15:27; 16:4).⁵

Similarly, Paul was conscious of his biological roots as he knew the tradition that the Jews were originally known as Israelites (Gk *Israelitai*) (Rom. 9:4; 11:1; 2 Cor 11:22) and were the descendants of Abraham. Paul’s Jewish heritage is also discernible in his self-identification in Philippians 3:4-7:

Paul, especially in the Book of Romans, described the Jews as people who were the descendants of Abraham, an adopted people with a special promise or circumcision (Rom. 9:4-5).⁶ However, Paul also described them as people who deserved to hear and believe the gospel of Christ as the Messiah in order to be saved (Rom. 1:18). Like the Gentile people groups, Paul’s universal gospel message was motivated by his understanding that the earth and all the people therein belong to God (Ps 24:1; 1 Cor. 10:26) and people exist for His purpose (Eph. 2:10).⁷ However, Paul recognized from

³ Rom 11:1; 16:7, 21; Act 13:26.

⁴ Rom. 15:10-11; Gal. 2:15.

⁵ Gal. 2:12, 14; Eph. 3:1 cf. Acts 15:19, 23.

⁶ Rom 2:25-29; 3:1; 4:9-12; 1 Cor. 7:19; Gal. 2:7-12; Col. 3:11; 4:11; Tit. 1:10.

⁷ 1 Cor. 15:45-50; 11:8-9; 1 Tim. 2:13; cf. Acts 17:26-28; Eph. 1:4, 9.

the OT text that the first man and woman, Adam and Eve, disobeyed God and subjected the whole creation to sin, curse and death;⁸ and only Christ is the answer (Acts 4:12; 1 Tim. 2:5, 14; 1 Cor. 3:11).

In this way, Paul saw the Jewish people as descended from Adam and subject to sin and God's judgment. However, they are justified and made righteous through Christ, the last Adam, if they accept him as the Messiah (Rom. 5:17-19).⁹ In this context, Paul argued against a negative status differentiation between Jews and Gentiles (Rom. 1:18; 3:20). All people groups needed redemption from sin, forgiveness and salvation through faith in Christ Jesus. Moreover, divine grace and human works were no longer compatible for a sinner who can now only be justified by faith in Jesus Christ (Schnabel 2010:218). This perspective of Jewishness made Paul sorrowful and he wished that his fellow Jews would be saved by accepting the gift of God in Christ as the Messiah (Rom. 9:1-5).

Therefore, for Paul, all people groups, whether Jews or Gentiles, needed forgiveness from God, to be reconciled and saved by faith in Christ Jesus (Rom. 3:9). This was an utmost necessity because all humanity had sinned and come up short of God's glory (Rom. 3:23). Paul argues that the gospel of Christ was not limited to a particular race, ethnic, gender, class, or people group. On the contrary, it is the power of God for the salvation of anyone who believes (Rom. 1:16-17; 16:19). For whosoever shall hear the gospel and believe shall be saved (Rom. 10:11-13). Hence, it is both Christ's commission (Mt. 28:19; Lk. 24:47; Mk 13:10) and Paul's ambition to preach the Gospel to all peoples (Acts 15:11; Rom. 15:19-20)¹⁰ (cf. Wilson 1973:36).

⁸ Rom. 5:12-19; 1:18-32; 3:9-18; 8:19-23.

⁹ Rom 9:1-8ff; 1 Cor. 15:20-23.

¹⁰ cf. Rev. 15:4.

Paul insisted that if the Jews claimed to be saved because of their biological connection with Abraham then they should also be aware that Abraham was called by God when he was a Gentile without God in the world, and he responded to God's call before he received the promise (Rom. 4:10-12). Paul even advanced his argument further by linking all humankind to the first Adam, the Jews included (Acts 17:26; Rom. 3:23; 1 Cor. 15:2). Therefore, Paul understood ἔθνη as people connected biologically but on the other hand had an uncompromising universal vision for the salvation of all peoples (Rom.1:5; 4:17; 15:19-20).

4.3.2 Ethnicity as People connected Linguistically

Apart from biological descent, people in Paul's milieu identified themselves through a common language. Luke's account in Acts 14 shows that Paul's missionary work in Iconium was so successful that a 'great number of both Jews and Greeks believed the Gospel' (Acts 14:1). But the unbelieving Jews persecuted Paul and Barnabas and they fled to the Lycaonian cities of Lystra and Derbe (Acts 14:6). While ministering in Lystra, when the people saw an impotent cripple healed: 'they lifted up their voices, saying in the *Lycaonian language* 'The gods have become like men and have come down to us' (Acts 14:11). The phrase '*Lycaonian language*' here shows clearly linguistic differences in the regions where Paul preached and also questions the view that Greek was universally spoken in the first century. Scholars have observed that Lycaonian language was different from the Phrygian language spoken in the Iconium area, which also supports ethno-linguistic diversity in Paul's milieu (Hays 2011:81). Language identity was extremely significant in the description of a people group and was one of the signs of integration and authority in the first century. For instance, Apollonius' perfect speech and clear accent in Attic Greek was noted by Philostratus (*Life* 1, 7). Therefore, he was referred to as a 'master of diction' (*Life* 1, 15).

Another passage that highlighted ethno-linguistic diversity in the New Testament era was Luke's account in Acts 2:5-6, which demonstrated that on the day of Pentecost, people from every nation under heaven were bewildered because '*each one heard their own language being spoken*' after Christ's disciples were filled with the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:1-6). Luke went further to observe that the utterly amazed crowd asked, 'Are not all these who are speaking Galileans?' (Acts 2:7). The reference to 'Galileans' here is revealing because it strengthens the evidence for dialectical differentiation which further shows socio-cultural and ethno-linguistic diversity at this time. Consequently, the bewildered crowd asked this important question that highlighted language differences:

Then how is it that each of us hears them in *our native language*? Parthians, Medes and Elamites; residents of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya near Cyrene; visitors from Rome (both Jews and converts to Judaism); Cretans and Arabs—we hear them declaring the wonders of God in our own tongues! (Acts 2:8-13 NIV emphasis mine).

The questions asked by the crowd in the above passage not only highlight the ethno-linguistic diversity in the Greco-Roman world but also question some traditionally held views, such as that Hellenization produced or made people conform to a universal language and culture in the first century. Secondly, it challenges the view that Jews in the Diaspora maintained their Jewishness in totality. From the above evidence, it seems that many Jews, including Paul, like other people groups, were multilingual: they learned the language of their host people in addition to the national or international Greek language of the time for trade (cf. Witherington 1998: 133-135, Bruce 1988:54).

The above shows clearly that there were ethno-linguistic diversities in the cities where the apostle Paul lived and carried out his missionary work. Therefore, Paul was not only

aware of but also felt obligated to reach peoples of diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds. According to him:

I am under obligation both to Greeks and to barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish (Rom. 1:14 NIV).
Here there is no Gentile or Jew, circumcised or uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave or free, but Christ is all, and is in all (Col. 3:11 NIV).

Kostas Vlassopoulos observed that language played such a significant role in the definitions of the identity of Greeks and barbarians (Vlassopoulos 2013:37). The root meaning of the word *barbarian* is simply one who is ignorant of the Greek language (Vlassopoulos 2013:37). The earlier use of the word in Greek literature may be found, among others, in Homer's description of the Carians as '*barbarophonoi*' (*Iliad*, 2.867; Vlassopoulos 2013: 37). Paul understood the differences in language and difficulties that existed between the Greeks, barbarians and Scythians. He knew how derogatory it was to be referred to as a barbarian. Commenting on 1 Corinthians 14:11, Wilson described a barbarian as 'someone whose speech gave the impression of being nothing more than a meaningless jumble of sounds like 'bar bar' (Wilson 1978:199). In antiquity, the Greeks perceived Greek language and culture as superior to others, whom they referred to as βάρβαροι (barbarians) or 'babblers, that is speakers in foreign languages, or εἰθνοί, people with inferior culture (Bowersock 1999:107-129).

Paul perceived language as a means of communication that should edify, not mystify, the hearers (1 Cor. 14:11) and that there was no superior or holy language or culture. All languages are created by God (Acts 17:26; Gen. 11:1-8) and people from all language backgrounds have equal access and status before God in Christ, for 'Christ is all and is in all' whether Jews, Greek or barbarian (Col. 3:11, cf. Jn 3:16). Paul maintained that there is no partiality in God (Rom. 2:11; cf. Acts 10:34-35). God sees

all humanity as his creatures, made in his image (Acts 17:26-27)¹¹ but all have sinned and are separated from him regardless of the language they speak (Rom. 3:23) and all could be saved through faith in Christ Jesus (Acts 4:12).

For Paul, in Christ there is no language discrimination whatsoever (Col. 3:11). Paul did not only seek to fulfil his Gentile mission by reaching out to people from different language backgrounds but saw the union of people from different languages in Christ as a way of demonstrating God's love and power to the world. It also showed that Christ has destroyed all socio-cultural and ethno-linguistic barriers, divisions, hostilities and discrimination that existed between Greeks, Jews, barbarians and Scythians (Rom. 1:14; Col. 3:11). Therefore, with this in mind, Paul was motivated and confessed that he owed it a duty to preach the gospel message to all peoples (Rom. 1:14-25; 1 Cor. 9:16). He did not see ethnic diversity as a barrier but as an opportunity to contextualize the Gospel message from one people group to another (1 Cor. 9:22-23). The aforementioned provides evidence that supports the fact that there were several vernacular languages spoken in some of the cities and villages Paul ministered and not unlikely within the churches themselves (Vlassopoulos 2013:36; Harris 1989:175-88). Therefore, it was his duty to preach Christ to all peoples and consequently, brought different ethnic and classes of people to the Christian faith (Rom. 1:5-6).

4.3.3 Ethnicity as People connected by Social Categorization

Paul in 1 Corinthians 1:26-29 suggests that a people group could also be a social category of male or female, rich or poor, the slaves or the free. Paul reminded the believers in Corinth:

¹¹ cf. Gen. 1:27; Ps. 24:1-2.
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Brothers and sisters, think of what you were when you were called. Not many of you were *wise* by human standards; not many were *influential*; not many were of *noble birth*. But God chose the *foolish* things of the world to shame the *wise*; God chose the *weak* things of the world to shame the *strong*. God chose the *lowly* things of this world and the *despised* things—and the things that are not—to nullify the things that are, so that no one may boast before him (1 Cor. 1:26-29 NIV, emphasis mine).

From the above passage, firstly, Paul identifies categories of social distinction in the Greco-Roman world at this time to include the rich, powerful, royal and influential groups which he otherwise described as: (1) the σοφοὶ ('wise') probably the educated group; (2) the δυνατοί ('powerful') the influential, wealthy, or city council members; (3) the people of εὐγενεῖς ('noble birth'), the elite, aristocrats, royal families who were probably in control of resources and made major decisions that affected the citizenry. The second group which Paul contrasted with the first group reveals the opposite social categories. These are the poor masses, people who by social standing were either poor, slaves, and/or uneducated. Paul referred to them as: (1) the μωρὰ ('foolish') people, those who did not have access or the privilege to attend school or learn how to read and write; (2) the ἀσθενῆ ('weak') people, who for some reasons did not have socio-economic and political power to influence anyone nor affect any decision made for or against them; (3) the ἐξουθενημένα ('despised') people, who were regarded as irrelevant and insignificant people; or (4) those who are considered as the 'things that are not' by the elite and the powerful in society (1 Cor 1:26-29).

It is evident also that this kind of social class differentiation was common in Paul's milieu. For instance, Plutarch, the philosopher, and Philo, the Jewish historian, were both writers within the first centuries CE. Plutarch confirmed these social class distinctions in one of his treatises. He observed that 'flatterers proclaim that Kings and wealthy persons and rulers are not only prosperous and blessed, but that they also rank first in understanding, technical skill, and every form of virtue' (Plutarch, *Moralia*,

58e). Similarly, when ancient orators and sophists described their lifestyle, they would rather focus on their wealth, honour, popularity and authority. Winter referred to Philo's description as:

Men of mark and wealth, holding leading position, praised on all hands, recipients of honours, portly, healthy and robust, revelling in luxurious and riotous living, knowing nothing of labour, conversant with pleasures, which carry the sweets of life to the all-welcoming soul by every channel of sense (Winter 2008:309).

On the other hand, Philo as quoted by Winter, described the category of the masses of the poor, despised, weak, foolish and less privileged as:

Almost without exception obscure people, looked down upon, of mean estate, destitute of the necessities of life, not enjoying the privileges of subject peoples or even of slaves, filthy, sallow, reduced to skeletons, with a hungry look from want of food, the prey of disease, in training for dying (Winter 2008:309).

The above shows the reality of social categorization in Paul's milieu and Paul expressed his view about gender and slavery by concluding that 'there is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3:28).

4.3.4 Ethnicity as People connected Spiritually

However, beyond the natural biological descent of people groups from Adam or Abraham, Paul took the idea of people groups further in his interpretation of God's promise to Abraham. He tended to expand the spiritual dimension of this promise which opened up direct access to God for all people groups in Christ and created a new counter-community that embraced all people groups by faith in Christ Jesus. Paul argues that people of all nations could become children of God by faith in Christ (Gal. 3:6, 14, 26-28; Eph. 2:11-13). For Paul, if Jewish people felt their relationship with God was rooted in the Abrahamic covenant then he wanted them to know that the Gentile connection with God and Abraham was through Christ himself. Therefore, Gentiles who by faith are in Christ are now 'sons of God' (Gal. 3:26), and have common ancestry

with Christ in God who is their Father and co-heirs with Christ (Rom. 8:29; Gal. 3:29). Hence, Christ is the firstborn among many brothers (Rom. 8:17).

Buell and Hodge concluded that 'for Paul, being a Gentile in Christ means being one who has secured a place within the larger network of Israel' (Buell and Hodge 2004:247). However, they would not accept any interpretation suggesting that ethnic particularities are erased but rather should be perceived as a form of 'ethnic reasoning' among Pauline congregations (Buell and Hodge 2004:247; Williams 1997:105). This dynamic ethnic reasoning is marked by baptism which encapsulates the fluidity of adoption rite that 'gains the spirit that imbues the recipient with a new, permanent nature' in Christ (Buell and Hodge 2004:245). Paul, therefore, exhorted the community of Christ's followers in Rome that they should beware of those who caused division (Rom. 16:17). Paul maintained that it was God's intention to justify all people groups through Christ. Christ's followers are thus diverse but are required to accept and serve one another in love (Rom. 12:3-16; 13:8-10) and mutually respect one another's unique customs which are not contrary to Christ's teachings (Rom.14:1-15:2) and be more like Christ in pursuing reconciliation (Rom. 15:8-12) (Keener 2003:210). For how could Jewish believers fellowship with their Gentile counterparts without sharing with them in the Lord's Supper feast, prayer and standing together in worship (Gal. 2:11-12)?

This is the group of people who is bonded spiritually especially in the light of the church, a family of God with one Lord, one God, one Father, one faith, and one baptism (Eph. 4:4-6). People in this case are connected spiritually, hence, the need for all forms of ethno-linguistic and socio-cultural prejudices, class and gender discrimination are to be denounced (Eph. 2:13-22).

4.4 Paul's Perception of All Peoples (*Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*) 'in Christ' and its Implications for his Church Growth Strategies

Paul's argument in Galatians highlights the uniqueness of people groups 'in Christ':

So in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith, for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise (Gal. 3:26-29 NIV).

Although Paul's emphasis above was ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ('in Christ' - Gal. 2:26, 28), which he expressed variously as: εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε ('baptized into Christ' - Gal. 3:27), Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε ('clothed with Christ' - Gal. 3:27), and being of Christ (Χριστοῦ - Gal. 3:29)' (Longenecker 1990:151). The use of 'all' (πάντες) in this case may be referring to all the different people groups mentioned in verse 28, which included Jews and Gentiles, slaves and freemen, male and female: all are brought into Christ and are children of God by faith. A similar understanding is seen in his argument in 1 Corinthians, 'For in one Spirit we were all baptized into one body — Jews or Greeks, slaves or free — and all were made to drink of one Spirit. For the body is not one member but many' (1 Cor. 12:14-15). Therefore, for Paul, the gospel of Christ was intended to abolish all animosities and hostilities against others and unite all people groups in one fellowship that is inspired by the Holy Spirit.¹² Therefore, Paul intentionally sought to reach out to all categories of peoples in his missionary campaigns. How did Paul achieve this?

Paul in 1 Corinthians 9:19-22 showed us how he struggled to engage with different people groups in order to reach them with the gospel and win some for Christ: 'I have become all things to all men so that by all possible means I might save some. I do all this for the sake of the Gospel' (1 Cor. 9:22-23). The groups he identified in this

¹² cf. Gal. 3:28; Eph. 2:12-17; Col. 3:11.

passage included: (1) the Jews, (2) those under the Law, (3) those outside the Law and (4) the weak. However, he went further to sum up his mission strategy as becoming ‘all things’ to ‘all people’, that he might win some for Christ (1 Cor. 9:19-23). If this is considered as Paul’s strategic approach to the expansion of the church to the hinterland, it may as well suggest that it was his vision to see that people of all languages, cultures, religious background, sexes, social strata and geo-political spheres hear and respond to the gospel of Christ. According to Lee, ‘Paul uses kinship language to identify both Jewish and non-Jewish Christ believers as members of one community defined in terms of likeness to Christ’ (Lee 2009:141).

However, one wonders whether or not Jewish and non-Jewish Christ-believers alike should forfeit their people group identity before they can be affirmed as belonging to Christ’s community. When addressing the status problem in Corinth (1 Cor. 7:17-24), Paul repeatedly told believers to ‘remain in the situation they were in when God called them’ (1 Cor. 7:20) (Keener 2005:66; Fee 1991:309). I prefer Mitternacht and Campbell’s view on the believer’s status change. According to Mitternacht, ‘Oneness in Christ is not the same as collapsing differences into sameness. It implies equality of righteousness for Jews and gentiles. Together but distinct, Jews and Gentiles constitute the people of God’ (Mitternacht 2002:410). Campbell takes it further by insisting that ‘the message of Paul’s Gospel is that through Christ the hostility against those who are different is overcome, enabling differences to be accepted and celebrated in anticipation of the coming Kingdom of God’ (Campbell 2006:175). While Esler argues that Christian identity is not a substitute for previous Jewish and Gentile identities, he strongly posited that, ‘belief in Christ was made additional to, not in substitution for, Israelite law and identity’ (Esler 2003:276).

Moreover, in Christ, all people groups could now approach God and become worthy on the same basis by bowing before the cross and surrender their lives to God's Son, the Lord Jesus Christ. So Paul could say, 'For there is no difference between Jew and Gentile — the same Lord is Lord of all and richly blesses all who call on him' (Rom. 10:12; Gal. 3:28). Therefore, corporately in Jesus Christ, all men and women who believe both Jew and Gentile in Christ make up: one new body (Eph. 2:16), one new family (Eph. 2:19), one new building (Eph. 2:20-22), one new temple (Eph. 2:21), and one new fellowship (Eph. 1:22).

One of the significant contributions of Paul's focus on all people groups, πάντατὰ ἔθνη is not just the fact that he was seeking to defend his apostleship to, of and for the Gentile (Rom. 15:19-21; 1 Cor. 15:10; 2 Cor. 11:23), but his clear theological stance on the salvation of the Gentiles by faith and grace alone apart from keeping Jewish law, and thereby establishing equality between all people groups, both Jews and Gentiles in the salvific plan of God (cf. Chae 1996:300). Although for some this is a 'lasting contribution to the Gentile world, even to this day' (Chae 1996:301), I posit further that this contribution set the stage for a massive and exponential church growth strategy in the first century and beyond. This is more so because it motivated Paul to reach all kinds of people and indebted him to preach the gospel where it has not been preached both among the Jews and Gentiles. This facilitated church growth in the first century.

Therefore, Paul's understanding of πάντατὰ ἔθνη influenced his ministry's goal, strategy and theology. Consequently, Paul's Gospel to all peoples is that all believers are equal and righteous 'in Christ' and through Christ the wall of hostility or enmity against others is destroyed and overcome. The believers, therefore, are empowered by the Holy Spirit to celebrate and express unity in diversity in the ἐκκλησία as they anticipate the

glorious consummation of the Kingdom of God in heaven, when all nations and all tribes and all peoples and all tongues shall stand before the throne of God in worship (Rev. 7:9-12).

4.5 CAPRO's Focus on Ethno-Linguistic People Group

The term Unreached People Group is used to describe a culturally and linguistically distinct group of people that do not yet have indigenous church among the people. Where it has one, such a church is not viable enough to carry on the work of spreading the gospel among its own people, without outside assistance (Winter and Koch 1999:69). It is widely accepted that Unreached People Group describes people or a region of the earth that may not have heard or responded to the gospel of Christ. However, the term is used in *Operation World* strictly to describe the measure of exposure of a people group to the gospel, not the measure of the response (Johnstone, Mandryk and Johnstone 2001:961). But how does CAPRO perceive the evangelization of 'all people groups' or 'all nations' – πάντα τὰ ἔθνη? To answer this question I shall look at the following: (1) CAPRO's ethno-linguistic and people group approach, (2) people group survey and missiological research approach and (3) CAPRO's indigenous church growth approach.

4.5.1 CAPRO's Focus on Ethno-Linguistic Unreached People Group

Olonade, former CAPRO multimedia and mobilization director, observes that CAPRO does not discriminate against any people group. Firstly, it is the organization's vision to engage the Muslim communities with the gospel. Secondly, CAPRO also recognizes that there is no language, tribe, race, or colour that is superior to another. 'Our mission priority is to share God's love with all peoples' (Olonade 1995:49). But how does this work in CAPRO's approach to church planting? The organization sees the narrative on

Babel in the Book of Genesis 11 as a demonstration of God's strategy to reach humanity. It was because of love that God confused human language and dispersing human races in the whole earth. To some extent this helps people groups to recognize and seek God's love through the lens of their cultural beliefs. This Bible passage also forms the basis and explains why CAPRO's church planting orientation essentially focuses on ethno-linguistic groups of people instead of defining their church planting scope based on a geo-political identification.

Furthermore, CAPRO adopted the ethno-linguistic approach because research revealed that people groups share affinity in language and culture, which could be negative or positive. For instance, CAPRO research shown that Southern Nigerian Christians who were working and trading in the Northern cities and towns only gathered their tribal people together on Sunday to worship, and only tried to extend their denomination from the South to the North without any plan to evangelize the Northern indigenes who are mostly Muslims. Furthermore, the surveys conducted by CAPRO research between 1990 and 1993 reveal that there were about 70 denominations in Maiduguri town alone, including COCIN, Baptist, Anglican, Roman Catholic, Deeper Life but that only a few of these churches were interested in evangelizing the indigenous people such as the Kanuri, Shuwa Arab, Kotoko, Buduma people, and that no church was interested in using the Kanuri language, which has millions of speakers, to preach or teach during Sunday service. The same could be said of most Christians in Kano, Sokoto, and Katsina areas. This was a great concern to CAPRO and one of the ways the organization responded to this problem was to focus on the unreached ethno-linguistic peoples groups, helping to engage and deal with every ethnic group according to their culture, and aiming to fulfil Christ's commission to make disciples of all nations (all ethnic groups).

Consequently, CAPRO church growth approach does not emphasize region, country or territorial expansion of the work, but instead it emphasizes ethno-linguistic people groups. The organization targets and engages unevangelized or unreached ethno-linguistic people groups. For example, the Maguzawa, Gbagyi, Mumuye or Dukawa people groups in Northern Nigeria were part of the unreached or least reached ethnic groups identified and engaged for church planting. According to Ozodo, ‘God called CAPRO to reach ethno-linguistic peoples and CAPRO should judge her success, faithfulness in the light of how many people groups she has reached with the gospel’ (Ozodo, personal interview, 2012). Johnstone, Mandryk and Johnstone (2001) define a people group as ‘a significantly large sociological grouping of individuals perceiving themselves to have a common affinity. From the viewpoint of world evangelization, this is the largest possible group within which the gospel can be spread without encountering barriers of understanding or acceptance’ (Johnstone, Mandryk and Johnstone 2001:961; cf. Ntalaja 1987:44). Jennings argues that ‘there can be no church and mission without human beings, and there can be no human beings who are not shaped, conditioned, self-defined, animated and limited by their cultures. Nor can there be any church and mission that will not instinctively influence and benefit their host culture’ (Jennings 2012:58).

In Nigeria, before the emergence of CAPRO research, there were many unknown, unreached and or least-reached people groups but there was no information about who and where they are located. But after CAPRO research teams surveyed Northern Nigeria between 1989 and 2006, many of these unknown, unreached and inaccessible people groups were identified for prayers and for churches to send out church planting teams to reach them with the gospel. The majority people groups in the North are

Muslims. For example, the Fulani, Hausa and Kanuri are still not reached though being engaged. There are still over 60 ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria that have not had the opportunity to hear the gospel of Christ.

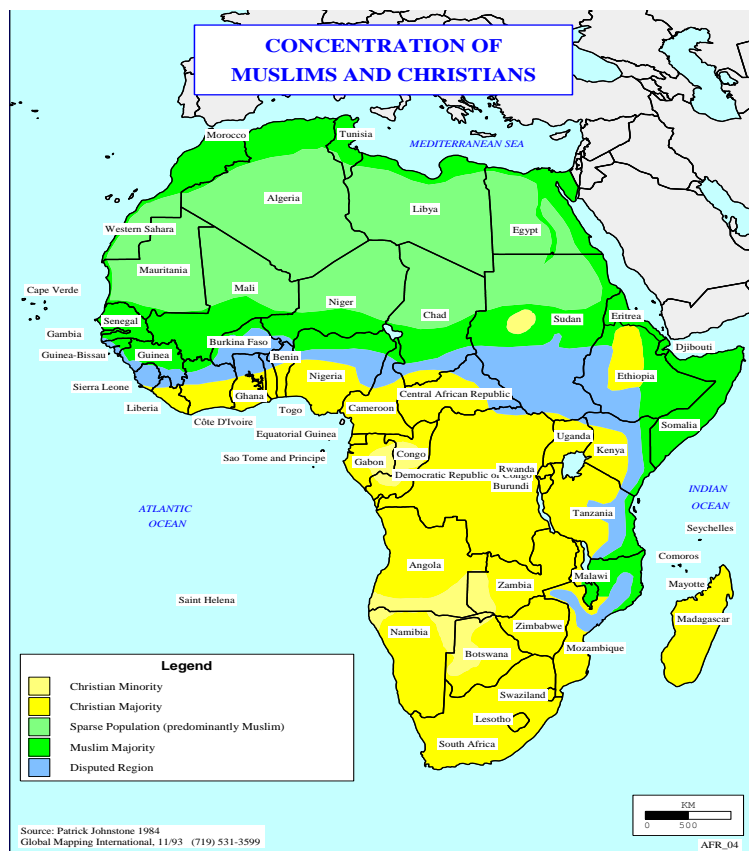


Fig. 3.4 Map of Africa showing the Concentration of Muslims and Christians

It is agreed that Africa is one of the last frontiers where major religions are contesting and clashing. Over the centuries, Islam has spread from the Middle East to North Africa and the rest of Africa. Muslims claim to have 26.7 per cent of the population in Africa and are growing at a rate of 4.5 per cent per year through large families and forced conversions. Sanneh’s table below supports the spread of Islam in Africa and also shows how rapidly Christianity is growing in the same continent.

Year	1900	1985	2000	2025
Population	107.8 Million	520 Million	784 Million	1.3 Billion
Muslims	34.5 Million	216 Million	315 Million	519 Million

Christians	8.7 Million	270.5 Million	346.5 Million	600 Million
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Table 3.2 Comparative Resurgence in Africa¹³

CAPRO continues to pray and explore ways of sharing Christ’s love among these groups as well as challenging other church organizations to do the same. In the New Testament, an apostle was like a missionary who was involved in the planting of new churches among different people groups that did not have a viable church (Rom. 15:20). Such people are called unreached people groups. The term unreached people group is used to describe a culturally and linguistically distinct group of people that do not yet have a culturally relevant church among them. Where it has one, such a church is not strong enough to carry on the work of evangelizing the people without outside assistance (Winter & Koch 1999:69). It is widely accepted that the concept of unreached people group is used to describe people groups and regions that have not heard and or responded to the gospel of Christ.

However, the term ‘unreached people’ is used in *Operation World* strictly to demonstrate the measure of exposure of a people group to the gospel, not the measure of the response (Johnstone, Mandryk and Johnstone 2001:961). In Nigeria alone, it is estimated that there could be as many as 150 unreached priority ethnic groups without the gospel, most of which are found in Northern Nigeria. Since such groups already have their own entrenched religious identities, it is to be expected that bringing the gospel of Christ to them would not be easy. Therefore, thoughtful strategies are required, as identified above, before any viable or vibrant church can be started and thrive among them.

¹³ Adapted from Lamin Sanneh 2008:277.

Seeking to respond to the need of the Unreached People Groups in Northern Nigeria, CAPRO began its first church planting among the Gbagyi, Maguzawa, Mumuye and Dukkawa people groups. Raymond Hassan and his wife Helen pioneered the work at Bango station among the Maguzawa people group in 1986. Work among the Gbagyi people was established through the efforts of a female missionary, Victoria Hassan, who went to Rumana Gbagyi village in 1985, after her mission to the Gambia. Other church planting teams were Ezekiel Gigin and his wife, Joy Gigin, who took the gospel message to Shavon among the Mumuye people in 1986. Jacob (Israel) Wade was sent to work among the Dukkawa people in the same year. Other ethnic groups being reached by CAPRO are presented on the table below according to their zones.

Unreached peoples in North East	Unreached peoples in North West	Unreached peoples in North Central
Bolewa Buti-Ningi Fulani Gerawa Kanuri Miyawa Mumuye Pere Kotoko Shuwa Arab	Achipawa Bauchi Boko Dukkawa Ingwai Kambari Kamuku Kyangawa Nupe Zabarmawa	Bassa Gbagyi Hausa 1 Tal Jara

Table 3.3 Unreached Ethno-Linguistic People Groups in Northern Nigeria

However, this people group approach does not in any way exclude the urban church planting approach. A church planting team in consultation with CAPRO regional leadership might engage a city where there is a concentration of a particular block of an unreached people group. For instance, the Hausa ethnic group in the Northern cities like Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Zaria, Gusau, or the Kanuri people in Maiduguri, are classified as unreached core Islamic cities in Nigeria. For strategic reasons, church planting teams could be sent to such Islamic centres for witnessing. The team goes to explore places and people in their region and evangelize them accordingly. Yemi Ojo, who was the

pioneering missionary among the Bolewa people of the Northeast, suggested that when targeting the people groups more resources should be directed towards responsive areas. According to him, 'we should put more efforts and personnel where people are open to hear the preaching of the gospel... The best labour for unresponsive people is prayer' (Ojo 2003:1-2).

But this research is of the view that in the incarnation mission strategy, prayer is not enough; people and other resources are required. The task of the missionary is not primarily to proclaim the message of the gospel but to trust God to do his transformational activities in the lives of people. Therefore, even though wise stewardship is needed at each step of the church growth process, to think of mission resource deployment and management in terms of responsiveness might be misleading. The International Director's report in 2014 shows that the three preceding years CAPRO missionaries planted 137 churches among the Muslims and 40 churches among the ATR people groups. During this same period, CAPRO had 3,775 conversions and 3,046 converts were baptized in their church planting.

4.5.2 People Groups Survey and Missiological Research Approach

As CAPRO seeks to plant and grow more churches, a whole section of its work is designated to research and ethnography. This research department deals with surveys, investigations, evaluations and management of up-to-date, accurate information on the state of the people groups and the assessment of the state of the church in world missions. Where did this idea come from and how did this begin? As CAPRO's vision for missions evolved with many unanswered questions, CAPRO sent Famonure, the vision leader, and Aderonmu, the first full-time staff member, to WEC mission headquarters, Bulstrode, UK, in 1981. One of the lessons they learned from WEC

during this visit was the role of research information in the formulation of mission strategies, after which they returned to Nigeria with the question of how research could be a strategic tool in CAPRO's missionary endeavour. To explore this question further, the organization sent Niyi Gbade, later to understudy the WEC research centre in the UK, to explore ways of doing the same in CAPRO Nigeria. When Gbade returned to Nigeria, the research office was set up to collect, collate, store and disseminate information on unreached people groups in Nigeria and beyond. From 1989-2000 a more systematic research approach known as 'unreached people group survey' led by Patience Ahmed (1989-1995) and Bawa Leo (1996-2004) refocused CAPRO research to meet the organization's needs in terms of ethno-linguistic strategy.

At this time, research teams were sent out to conduct an on-the-spot survey of ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria with the aim of finding those who had been by-passed or ignored by the Nigerian church in the evangelization process. The survey involved going to where the people are and gather information on language, geography, culture, religion and the state of Christian witness among the people. This information, which was often made available in the form of magazine articles, booklets and books enabled churches and mission agencies to understand where the greatest needs for evangelism lay as well as how to develop the most effective strategy for outreach. Research is what CAPRO must do before sending out missionary teams for church planting. Also, research information is used to mobilize the churches to adopt the unreached people groups in Nigeria for prayer and church planting.

The task of disseminating the information was a joint effort between the research office and media office of CAPRO. Today, the task of mission research in CAPRO has been

expanded to include church planting and growth assessment. For instance, the strategic goals of mission research for 2011-2020 are stated as:

To engage in a broad scope of research that produces fully utilized information and gives direction to the ministry; to carry out research to cover all areas of CAPRO; carry out growth surveys assessment of CAPRO work every four years; carry out assessment of church growth in the field every four years; disseminate research information by developing a CAPRO central database, prayer cards, missiological review (StatCon Goals 2012:3).

The significance of mission research in CAPRO is demonstrated by setting up a whole department and designated staff for research information management and strategy development. Beyond the guidance received from WEC International, the CAPRO research team drew their inspiration from the Bible, especially from the lives of Moses, Joshua, Jesus and Paul. Both Moses and Joshua sent out research teams during their leadership when they desired to advance the purpose of God among the people of Israel (Num. 13:17-20; Josh. 2:1-24). For instance, Moses sent out the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel to the land of Canaan to survey the land and its people:

Go up this way, southward, and go up into the mountain. And see the land, what it is, and the people that live in it, whether it is strong or weak, few or many. And see what the land is that they live in, whether it is good or bad; and what cities they dwell in, whether in tents or in strongholds; and what the land is, whether fat or lean, whether there is wood in it or not. And be of good courage, and bring of the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of first ripe grapes (Num. 13:17-20 cf. Josh. 2:1-24).

From the above Bible passage, research information is vital for effective planning, strategic advance and resource management. The passage also shows that espionage inspired the faith of some and challenged the faith others. Therefore, the benefit of research in CAPRO is diverse. Firstly, research information helps the missionary to communicate cross-culturally and manages performance in the field. Søggaard observes that research information ‘sharpen the vision, provide information on the audience, make receptor-oriented communication possible, help evaluate media products and programmes, assist in strategy development, direct goal-setting, provide guide to planning, test the effectiveness of ministry, and reveal the necessity of seeking the direction of God’ (Søggaard 1993:83). Søggaard added that in the interest of

accountability and good stewardship, ‘we should have no theological problems in viewing research as a legitimate tool of communication’ (Søgaard 1993:77). Moon (2012:220) observes that although empirical research may be limited, it is a useful ‘counterbalance to the activism common in many missionary contexts’ and CAPRO is no exception. In measuring and enforcing healthy indigenous church growth: listening, loving, serving, and building communities could become church-start but we need more research-based evidence to be sure.

CAPRO understood that the church growth process requires effective communication; therefore, the organization needs a good information system that will provide data to facilitate the process of communicating the gospel message from one context to another. Since church planting and church growth hinges more on effective communication, research then become a necessary tool. The impact of research on the progress of CAPRO work is variously manifested:

- i. It makes the ethno-linguistic approach to church planting in CAPRO possible by carrying out the initial survey of the unreached people groups;
- ii. It helps the organization to spend resources and deploys staff wisely through field evaluation scheme;
- iii. It provides up-to-date relevant data that serve as a mobilizing and recruitment tool.

Patience Ahmed, the former CAPRO Research Secretary, observes that ‘in Nigeria, our way of understanding unreached people group is in terms of ethno-linguistic peoples. This makes the task of evangelization manageable and understandable’ (Ahmed 1997:2). In Nigeria and most parts of Africa, this is made possible through CAPRO research office. Therefore, mission research in and through CAPRO has facilitated both

quality and quantity church growth by focusing CAPRO and other mission agencies on the need to engage the harvest field based on language affinity.

4.5.3 Indigenous Church Evangelist Approach

One of the goals for sending out church planting teams is to see indigenous churches established and from there indigenous church workers are raised to go and evangelize their people and beyond. Therefore, CAPRO committed to learning the host language in order to effectively translate and transmit the gospel message in a culturally appropriate way. For CAPRO, this early attention to the culture and language of the people prepares the church planting team to effectively preach and plant relevant churches among any people group. Having planted the church, the organization facilitates its growth by being (1) committed to the indigenous church planting process, and (2) committed to hand over churches to indigenous church workers.

4.5.3.1 Commitment to Language and Culture Learning

Closely associated with the ethno-linguistic focus, which we will look at in more detail below, is the task of language and culture learning. For CAPRO, to have a desire to plant a church is not enough one must show commitment in learning the language of the host people. A church-planter's attitude to language and culture learning is essential to CAPRO's approach to evangelization. Therefore, all the leaders believe that language and culture learning should be one of the earliest steps in preparing to evangelize, plant and grow a church. The zonal and field leaders see language and culture as the means through which the gospel message is translated and transmitted to the people group. When the gospel is communicated in the language of the people, the possibility of misunderstanding the message is minimized and the missionary is more accepted among the host people. Being fluent in the language and familiar with the culture and belief system of the people also increase the chances of effective witness, Bible translation,

and the understanding of theological terms and nuances in the host language (CCPM 2001:38-40). Therefore, CAPRO staff members are encouraged to spend their first few years learning language. This is closely supervised by the appropriate field, zonal or regional leader. It is also necessary because it is required of every missionary in CAPRO to learn the language of the host community before preaching. No church-planter is allowed to engage in any serious evangelistic work until they demonstrate proficiency in language and able to discern cultural clues in their domain (CCPM 2001:38). The organization therefore insists that the missionary's attitude to learning language and culture of the target people group could be one of the determinant factors for the growth or lack of growth in the work of CAPRO among the unreached people.

However, despite this level of understanding some missionaries neglect the task of language learning and still use interpreters in the field. These missionaries are either suspended or withdrawn from being part of the church planting team. When inquiring into why some people still neglect or ignore the task of language learning, despite such emphasis by the organization, three things stood out: (1) lack of effective supervision by the field leaders and zonal directors; (2) frequent transfer of those who have acquired new language discourages others; (3) laziness, and (4) lack of language learning helpers.

In any case, the leadership insist that knowing the language of the people is not enough for effective Bible translation. The missionary may need more time and resources to learn the Bible and the original languages, especially Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic. Bruce has stressed the importance of the Greek language in the understanding of the New Testament text. He argues that sound evangelical theology must rest upon the revelation of God's word as contained in the records of the Holy Scriptures. For any theologian to be sound in his theology, he or she needs to do exegesis and exposition

from the original text (Bruce 1956:5). CAPRO is lacking in this area and would need to broaden its emphasis on language learning to include language skills that would aid biblical understanding.

4.5.3.2 Commitment to Indigenous Church Planting

The hallmark of CAPRO mission is the determination to establish culturally appropriate churches and hand them over to the indigenous church leaders. Church planting efforts must be culturally appropriate in every context and must allow the indigenes to engage with the process right from the beginning. How indigenous are CAPRO churches? Firstly, CAPRO's determination to plant more churches in Northern Nigeria led to the increase of church planting teams in the region. CAPRO work in Nigeria has the largest number of missionaries working in the church planting situations, especially in Northern Nigeria. For example, whereas in Nigeria, 87 per cent of the 238 trained missionaries in 2012 were engaged in church planting in Northern Nigeria, only 12 per cent of them were located in the South for church mobilization and disciple-making.

Secondly, their determination to plant culturally relevant churches is one of the reasons why the role of indigenous church planters and evangelists is integrated into the overall church growth strategy of the organization. In the beginning, CAPRO took more than a decade before any church planting fruitful but in recent years the organization is witnessing people movement in some mission fields. For instance, between 2013 and 2015, CAPRO Nigeria successfully planted 38 churches. How did this happen? The former Nigerian leader remarks that, 'our church planting efforts are succeeding remarkably. In some of our mission stations we have handed over the running of the church to the indigenous leaders' (Kadon 2012:3). He added that 'it is significant to recognize that our missionaries did not do the work alone. God in his mercy raised

strong teams of committed indigenous believers who work alongside them in this challenging task of reaching the unreached' (Kadon 2012:3). So far, dozens of churches in four people groups were handed over to the indigenes, especially in Mumuye, North East, Gbagyi and Maguzawa in the North Central, and Dukkawa in the Northwest. These were the first cross-cultural church planting efforts of CAPRO in 1985 and 1986. Other churches handed over recently include the work among the Kamuku, Kemberi and the Bassa people in the North-West.

The handing over of churches to local leadership is a landmark event as these indigenes now take responsibility to not only consolidate the work but take up new areas for pioneering work. A station was said to have single-handedly raised about a million Naira to support the church planting work in their area. CAPRO's goal in its church planting policy is to plant indigenous churches that are self-sustaining, self-governing and self-propagating. Usually, these churches do not bear denominational names but are named after the localities where the churches exist, for example, the 'Church in Rumana', the 'Church in Yamma', just like the church in Antioch (Acts 13:1-4) and the church in Ephesus in the New Testament.

Boards of elders are appointed to oversee the churches. The churches in each people group operate differently but are encouraged to maintain vision and focus building the members and evangelising the remaining unreached communities. It is also expected that each people group would select from all the churches to constitute an Indigenous Church Planting Team (ICPT) known as 'Apostolic team'. Their role is that of establishing new churches in areas that have no church and hand them over to local elders. For example, in the work among the Dukkawa people, 15 members were drawn from its different churches to constitute the Indigenous Church Planting Team. Since

the work was handed over, the Indigenous Church Planting Team that was constituted to carry on the work in their local communities are already planting churches and baptizing their own converts. CAPRO believes this is a New Testament church growth pattern. Okpo remarks that CAPRO in essence hands over the churches to Jesus who is the owner and the builder of his Church in any place and time.

Right from the beginning of the work, the church planters are encouraged to incorporate into their church-planting strategy a clear procedure of handing over to the indigenous believers. Among other things, they are required to show (1) how the church would be planted and grow among the people, (2) how the team would raise indigenous church leadership that is culturally appropriate and (3) how the team would motivate the local church to be missional by mobilizing and sending out more missionaries and local evangelists to evangelize the remaining unreached peoples in the region and beyond. The table and chart below shows that the CAPRO mission work grew from no church by 1985 to 54 churches in 2003 but doubled in 2015 with 117 churches planted (see the table and chart 3.8). This substantiates the view that indigenous believers are the best people to reach their people because they have the language and understand the culture. Whenever the missionaries help them to fully understand the gospel message and the work of the Holy Spirit in their lives, the impact is phenomenal. Therefore, the church planting team is warned always to be careful not to remove or transplant converts from one culture to another. This is because when the converts practice their faith among their people they grow strong and serve as light and salt in their community, drawing more people to the faith in Christ.

DESCRIPTIONS	1997-2003	2006 - 2015
Number of Churches	54	117
Church Membership	953	3041
Number of Men	242	685

Number of Women	230	660
Number of Children	256	1313
Indigenous Workers	37	61
Number of Churches Handover	19	29

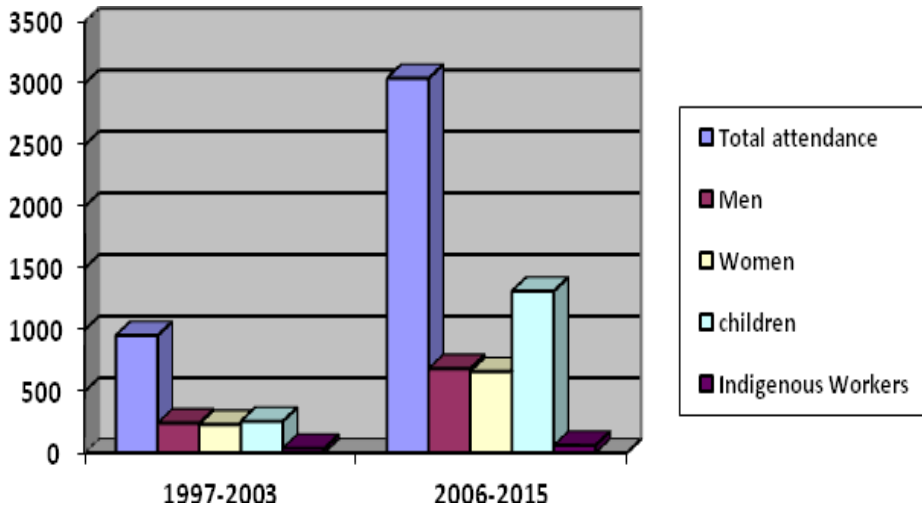


Fig. 3.5 Table and Chart Comparing CAPRO Church Growth in 1997-2003 and 2006-2015

Similarly, the commitment of the organization to handing over churches is discernible in the table above. The table shows that as the churches were growing so was the number of indigenous church workers as well as the number of churches handed over. For instance, by 2003, there were 37 indigenous church workers manning nineteen churches but in 2015 the number almost doubled with 61 indigenous church workers. By implication, CAPRO church planting teams were planting self-propagating and self-governing churches. The figures presented above show that men were 25.3 per cent of 953 in 2003 and 23 per cent of 3,041 attendances in 2015. The women, on the other hand, were 24.1 per cent of 953 in 2003 and 22 per cent of 3,041 in 2015. This is probably due to the fact that women are not always free to change their faith without the support of their men counterparts. On the contrary, when a man, the head of the family, accepts the gospel or Christ, it is easy for him to convince his wife and children but not so easy when it is a woman. Therefore, there may be more women secret disciples than men in most predominantly Muslim communities. From the same table above, in 2015,

the children attendance was 44.1 per cent of 3041. The number of children and youth attracted to Christianity and the church is much higher than adults probably because of their curiosity and openness to change. It also significantly suggests that the churches have more potential to grow through the ministry of the children to their parents by helping them to read Bible stories or sing Christian songs to their parents at home. This has drawn many families to church. This children and youth are themselves indigenous evangelists if properly trained and equipped.

4.6 Homogeneous versus Heterogeneous: Comparing CAPRO and Pauline People Group Approach

Having examined CAPRO and Pauline perception of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, this section draws from the theories of homogeneous and heterogeneous peoples to glean comparative insights from CAPRO and Paul's approach to people groups. This is essential because it is one thing to affirm that the gospel speaks to all people groups with equal relevance, but differences arise when these people are formed into churches. There has been a long debate about the use of the so-called 'homogenous unit principle' in church planting, and in this section we shall explore this debate briefly and its implication to CAPRO and Pauline people group approach. Churches can be very culturally homogeneous when members are all from a single people group. Though this makes communication among this group easy it could be seen as a denial of the gospel, which seeks to reconcile people across cultural and social boundaries.

McGavran founded the modern church growth movement in America but it was his missionary experiences in India and writings that form the seedbed for the church

growth movement (Wagner 1981: x-xi).¹⁴ The church growth movement and theory were part of the significant development of the twentieth century church and mission strategy. Due to the limitations of space and scope, this study cannot deal exhaustively on the observable issues concerning the church growth movement. It is the aim of this section to highlight one of the fundamental principles of the church growth movement, the principle of the homogeneous unit (McGavran 1955:23; 1970:227). Peter Wagner, who was an enthusiast and one time leader of the movement, identified four areas where the church growth movement succeeded (1) written correspondence with church leaders, (2) prolific publications,¹⁵ (3) personal speaking engagements, and (4) education through Fuller Seminary and its Church Growth Studies (Wagner 1986:23-24).¹⁶ Apart from the principle of numerical growth and receptivity, the hallmark of McGavran's church growth principle is the homogeneity principle. Advocates of the contemporary church growth movement argue that people become Christians more where they have least or no change to make in social, race or culture (McGavran 1955:23). By implication, the composition of a people group may facilitate the growth of the church or hinder it. The two broad categories of people groups considered and compared in this study are as follows: (1) homogeneous people group, (2) heterogeneous people group.

¹⁴ Donald McGavran, *The Bridges of God* (New York: Friendship Press, 1955); Donald McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 3rd ed., rev. and ed. Wagner (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990); Donald McGavran with Win Arn, *How to Grow a Church: Conversations about Church Growth* (Glendale, CA: G/L Publications, 1973); C. Peter Wagner, *Church Growth and the Whole Gospel: A Biblical Mandate* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1981); Thom S. Rainer, *The Book of Church Growth: History, Theology, and Principles* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1993).

¹⁵ McGavran, *The Bridges of God* (New York: Friendship Press, 1955); McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 3d ed., rev. and ed. Wagner (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990); McGavran with Win Arn, *How to Grow a Church: Conversations about Church Growth* (Glendale, CA: G/L Publications, 1973).

¹⁶ Peter Wagner, "The Church Growth Movement after Thirty Years," in *Church Growth: State of the Art*, ed. Wagner (London: Tyndale House, 1986), 23-24.

A homogeneous people group is a group of people that shares the same religious, social, professional, gender, cultural, language, life experiences and common history. It is where members of the group feel belong and see non-members as ‘others’ or outgroup (Rankin and Stetzer 2010:99)¹⁷. McGavran’s principles of the homogeneous people group and receptivity of the gospel argue that people are attracted to join certain churches because of their friends or family members and that the gospel spread among this group of people without any social, cultural or language barrier (Hemphill 1996:96).¹⁸ Similarly, a homogeneous ethnic group consists of people who share the same culture, language and historical background. It is a monolithic monolingual in-group. The difference between ethno-linguistic homogeneous groups and other categories is their emphasis on common language. McGavran, in his book, *Bridges of God* (1955), highlighted how the church could fulfil its mission mandate through sociological networks by demonstrating how the gospel spread easily through social and ethnic lineages. Studies in different disciplines such as education, psychology, sociology and business still debate whether or not homogeneous or heterogeneous composition make stronger teams and attract more new membership (Schneider 2004).¹⁹ These people groups ‘tend to reside in common geographic areas, but even if they are widespread, their ethnicity represents stronger ties than relationships with other near neighbours’ (Rankin and Stetzer 2010:100).

¹⁷ Jerry Rankin, Ed Stetzer, *Spiritual Warfare and Missions: The Battle for God's Glory among the Nations* (Nashville: TN: B&H Publishing Group, 2010).

¹⁸ Ken Hemphill, *Revitalizing the Sunday Morning Dinosaur: A Sunday School Growth Strategy for the 21st Century* (Nashville: TN: B&H Publishing Group, 1996), p. 96.

¹⁹ David J. Schneider in *The Psychology of Stereotyping* (New York: Guilford Press, 2004) studied the tendency of outgroup homogeneity. He noted that people ‘tend to stereotype members of outgroups more than members of in-groups.’ They also tend to see members of outgroups as more similar to one another than they members of their own group and all look alike facially (2004:251-255). However, this is not that simple because Bothwell, Brigham and Malpass works shows that white and black people do have difficulty recognizing members of the other race. See R. K Bothwell, J. C Brigham and R. S Malpass, ‘Cross-racial identification’, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, (1989), pp. 15-25.

Heterogeneous people groups on the other hand are a mixture of different races, ages, genders, cultures and or socio-political views. When referring to heterogeneous people groups some scholars have argued that Jesus called to himself a motley team of followers from different backgrounds, with varied persuasions, experiences, and interest such as the Galilean fishermen, tax collector, nationalist, doubtful ones like Thomas, as well as Judas who betrayed Christ. This mix combination of characters mirrors the microcosm of the church (Icenogle 1994:131).²⁰

4.6.1 Comparative Insights from Paul and CAPRO People Group Approach

Paul and CAPRO are similar in their desire to reach out to all people groups with the gospel but they are significantly different in their methods. Firstly, the idea of *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* in the Great Commission in Matthew 28:19 suggests and implies the readiness to preach, plant and grow multicultural churches across socio-cultural and ethnic contexts. For Paul, a multicultural church is likely one of the manifestations of the impact of the gospel of Christ and the demonstration of the nature of God who is reconciling people from all nations without partiality (2 Cor. 5:14-21; Gal. 3:28). Secondly, the aforementioned suggests that multicultural church growth is the manifestation of the nature of the manifold wisdom of Christ's church 'being built together into a dwelling place for God by the Spirit from one context to another' (Eph. 2:22). Paul argues that all believers are a new group of people with equal access to God and righteousness 'in Christ' regardless of their socio-ethnic identification. They are new creations being reconciled to God and to one another (2 Cor 5:17-21). For in Christ, the wall of hostility or enmity against others is destroyed and overcome (Eph. 2:14). Thirdly, like other New Testament believers, Paul eschatologically looks forward to a church that is redeemed and empowered by the Holy Spirit for unity in diversity and relevant in this present age.

²⁰ Gareth Weldon Icenogle, *Biblical Foundations for Small Group Ministry: An Integrational Approach* (Downers Grove: IL, InterVarsity Press, 1994).

Paul also anticipates the glorious consummation of the Kingdom of God in Heaven, when all nations and all tribes and all peoples and all tongues stand before the throne of God in worship (cf. Rev. 7:9-12).

In contrast, CAPRO's monolingual ethno-linguistic group approach tends to follow more of the homogeneous principle. In CAPRO, church planting in Nigeria seeks to plant and grow ethno-linguistic homogeneous churches. Although believers are welcome to fellowship in any local church ~~but~~ the church-planting teams do not compromise their stand to engage with only one particular ethno-linguistic people group at a time. Therefore, churches are named or identified based on the language they speak. For example, the Maguzawa church is for Maguzawa speaking people, Hausa church is for Hausa speaking people, Dukkawa church is for Dukkawa speaking people, Kamuku church is for Kamuku speaking people and so on. In contrast, Pauline churches are named according to the cities where they were established like the church in Corinth, the church in Thessalonica, the church in Philippi and so on.

Whereas the intercultural nomenclature of the New Testament categorizes people groups primarily into two, the Jews and Gentiles, the Gentiles were far from being a homogeneous people unit. One of the primary concerns of the early church was the need to know that in Christ we are one new people and also to live accordingly (Eph. 2:11-22). The kind of newness proclaimed by Paul is experienced more when one is a member of Christ's movement, the Church. Therefore, for Paul, all Christians are to be proactive in accepting one another both in words and in deeds as a demonstration of God's love that overcomes ethnocentrism, racism and other tendencies of discrimination (Eph. 2:14). Therefore, whereas CAPRO church planting and growth seeks to establish monolingual homogeneous churches, Pauline churches were multicultural in

composition (Gal. 3:26-29; Rom. 10:12). Paul contends strongly that ethnic barriers or racial discrimination are destroyed in Christ (Eph. 2:14).

I would rather argue that although the heterogeneous groups are diverse and different by nature, they tend to separate the members of the group from one another (Harrison and Klein, 2007).²¹ A lack of diversification in a homogeneous group stifles creativity but facilitates the process of information sharing. This is useful for sharing the gospel message without encountering barriers of understanding. It is very difficult to form homogeneous churches without making other communities feel excluded. Following social categorization theory, individuals in a heterogeneous groups have the tendency of being quick to describe other members of the group based on their membership in a social group or language. Therefore, if heterogeneous diversity is not effectively managed what is known as faultlines are then created within the church which could lead to separation during conflict (Lau & Murnighan 1998);²² instead of 'we' or 'us' sense of belonging others are discriminated as 'they or them' (De Dreu, and Homan, 2004, Forsyth 2007:362).²³ But this is not the case with homogeneous community of believers which is characterized by people of a similar background and common affinity. This kind of group tends to be more cohesive, innovative, supportive, and cooperative and their performance could lead to success and rapid growth (Jackson 1992,

²¹ David A. Harrison and Katherine J. Klein 'What's the Difference? Diversity Constructs as Separation, variety, or Disparity in Organizations' *Academy of Management Review*, 32, 4, (2007). Harrison, D. A., Prince, K. H., Gavin, J. H., & Florey, A. T. 2002. 'Time, Team and Task Performance: changing Effects of surface-and deep-level diversity on Group Functioning' *Academy of Management Journal*, 45:1029-1045.

²² Lau, D. C., & Murnighan, J. K. 'Demographic diversity and faultlines: The compositional dynamics of organizational groups', *Academy of Management Review*, 23, (1998), pp. 325-340.doi:10.2307/259377.

²³ Van Knippenberg, D., De Dreu, C. K. W., & Homan, A. C. 'Work group diversity and group performance: An integrative model and research agenda.' *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89(6), (2004), pp. 1008-1022. DOI: 10.1037/0021-9010.89.6.1008. cf. Homan, A. C., van Knippenberg, D., Van Kleef, G. A., & De Dreu, C. K. W. 'Interacting dimensions of diversity: Cross-categorization and the functioning of diverse work groups' *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 11, (2007) p.79-94. doi:10.1037/1089-2699.11.2.79. Donelson R. Forsyth, *Group Dynamics*, 5th ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2010), p. 362.

Stewart 2006).²⁴ However, research has also shown that variations in ethnicity, race, age, and sex affect performance in an unpredictable way.²⁵

Some scholars have examined these themes through the similarity-attraction theory, which suggests that people generally like and feel more attracted to people with whom they have common affinity or those with whom they share similar personality traits or attributes such as beliefs, demographics, hobbies, and values (Byrne, 1997; Horwitz and Horwitz, 2007).²⁶ Similar to the above, some scholars support the idea that when diversity is added to a group the amount and nature of interaction and co-ordination could become complicated, thereby reducing satisfaction, integration and cohesion among the members. However, they also recognize that diversity could bring more competence and skills that may result in more gain or productivity but could be devastating when there are intergroup conflicts (see Gully, Devine, & Whitney, 1995; Horwitz, 2005; Wegge, Roth, Neubach, Schmidt, & Kanfer, 2008).²⁷ Research has shown that heterogeneous groups have mixed intelligence that could support one

²⁴ For the question of whether heterogeneous group outperforms homogeneous group see the work of Sujin Horwitz and Irwin B. Horwitz, 'The Effects of Team Diversity on Team Outcomes: A Meta-Analytic Review of Team Demography' *Journal of Management* 33(6), December 2007; Jackson, S. E. 'Team composition in organizational settings: Issues in managing an increasingly diverse work force'. In S. Worchel, W. Wood, & J. A. Simpson (eds.), *Group process and productivity*: 138–141 (Newbury Park, CA: Sage 1992); Bowers, C. A., Pharmer, J. A., & Salas, E. 'When member homogeneity is needed in work teams: A meta-analysis' *Small Group Research*, 31, (2000) p.305-327. doi:10.1177/104649640003100303. Forsyth argues that when diversity is based on information and expertise, tends to improve team outcomes, particularly on difficult tasks, this make allowance for high ability person. But some homogeneous groups could be uniformly unskilled and less productive. See Forsyth *Group Dynamics*, 2010, p.364.

²⁵ Pelled, L. H., Eisenhardt, K. M., & Xin, K. R. 'Exploring the black box: An analysis of work group diversity, conflict, and performance' *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44(1), (1999) pp.1-28. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2667029>. Barsade, S. G., A. J. Ward, J. D. F. Turner, and J. A. Sonnenfeld "To your heart's content: The influence of affective diversity in top management teams." *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 45, (2000), pp. 802–836.

²⁶ Paul Byrne, *Social Movements in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1997).

²⁷ Gully, S. M., Devine, D. J., & Whitney, D. J. 'A meta-analysis of cohesion and performance: Effects of level of analysis and task interdependence' *Small Group Research*, 26: (1995), pp. 497-520. Horwitz, S. K. The compositional impact of team diversity on performance: Theoretical consideration *Human Resource Development Review*, 4, (2005), pp. 219-245. Wegge, Jürgen, Roth, Carla, Neubach, Barbara, Schmidt, Klaus-Helmut, Kanfer, Ruth 'Age and gender diversity as determinants of performance and health in a public organization: The role of task complexity and group size' *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(6), (Nov 2008), pp. 1301-1313.

another and promote cutting edge development and gain more from the diverse nature and cultures of the group through effective communication.

In the case of CAPRO and Paul, whereas CAPRO in Northern Nigeria approaches church planting base on an ethno-linguistic identification, Paul would rather combine both ethnic and geo-territorial identification. Paul's missionary journeys in Acts shows that he focused more on urban evangelization and established multicultural churches from one context to another. Whenever Paul arrived a city, his goal was to win converts and found a community of believers, the church. These few or many believers were then immediately taught the most basic tenets of the Christian faith (Acts 20:20-7). Paul intensively taught and equipped the believers to stand firm in the Lord despite social challenges or persecutions. The story of Paul's work in Thessalonica is a good example of a brief stay but effective work that withstood challenges and persecutions. Therefore, although Paul did not know the theories of 'Three Self' formula the churches he planted were self-governing (Acts 14:23; 20:17), self-supporting, and self-propagating (1 Thess. 1:8).

Another significant area of contrast between Paul and CAPRO is the emphasis on the long term approach to church planting. In CAPRO, the least time expected for a missionary to stay in the mission field is four years during which the missionary is only required to learn the language, culture, and build friendships. This became necessary because of the homogeneous ethnic approach. This time-consuming approach sometimes causes a lot of delays and hinders spontaneity in evangelism because of bureaucratic procedures, fear and cost. However, the leaders maintain that this approach is useful because when the church is eventually established, its growth is consistent because of the early preparations of the missionaries in the area of language and

production of culturally relevant material for evangelism and discipleship. Therefore, ‘the step-by-step language learning pays off in our contemporary missionary endeavour’ (Livingstone 1993:72). Paul did not stay long in a place to do pre-evangelistic teaching, people group survey, and learn languages.

It is not unlikely that Paul intentionally focused his effort on the urban centres because most people in the cities could speak the Greek language so he did not need to learn a language to communicate the gospel effectively. I am not suggesting here that Paul did not stay long in any of the places he evangelized. Luke showed us that as Paul’s mission progressed he spent three years in Ephesus (Acts 20:31), a year and a half in Corinth (Acts 18:1, 5, 11) and two years as a missionary in prison (Acts 28:30). However, it was not his policy to stay in one place for that long as it is the practice in CAPRO which is due to differences in contextual realities. For Paul, preaching another God in Roman religious cities would mean opposition and constant spiritual warfare (2 Cor. 10:5; Eph. 6:10-15). Paul understood that bringing the gospel into administrative and economic centres would make the gospel spread naturally from the centre to the surrounding regions (Allen 1913:18).

CAPRO missionaries would need to evaluate and reconsider their people group strategy and engage with more cities where appropriate instead of working more in rural monolingual areas. Although CAPRO homogeneous church planting strategy is good in some specific cases, I would rather prefer Paul’s approach because it encourages diversity and healthy interpersonal relationships among believers in a multicultural church setting, which is very relevant in today’s globalized society. The gospel of the Kingdom by its nature confronts cultures. The church cannot avoid oppositions and should not look for easy ways of making disciples and lose sight of the fact that

disciple-making among the nations is a spiritual work that cannot be completely measured through scientific means. Therefore, church planters and church growth enthusiasts would need to tread cautiously against tendencies of depending on methods and formulae at the expense of the Holy Spirit's guidance and power.

Moreover, the charismatic manifestation of the Holy Spirit through signs and wonders provides a counterbalance to the emphasis of reaching the unreached people groups through homogenous methods or formulae only (Tennent 2007:288).²⁸ Whereas CAPRO church growth strategy tends to lean more on homogeneous principles, the Pauline approach would rather embrace all peoples by seeking to become 'all things to all men' (1 Cor 9:19-23) (McClintock 1988:108-110).²⁹ This research observes that the charismatic manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the life and ministry of Paul and his team impacted their missions practice in the multicultural, multiracial, multigenerational urban societies of the first century CE. Paul contended that people from diverse backgrounds are able to reconcile and worship God together in Spirit and truth, regardless of sociological expectations and cultural realities (Eph 2:14-22; Gal 2:26-29). Therefore, it is not improbable that Paul envisioned the church to be without discrimination and segregation. His life and ministry demonstrate this fact. For instance, God call him as a Jew to be an apostle to the Gentiles, partly, to show the reconciling power of the gospel which Paul preaches (Eph 4:4-6). There is no doubt the saving power of the gospel of Christ restores broken relationships, and overcomes social

²⁸ Timothy C. Tennent, *Theology in the Context of World Christianity: How the Global Church is Influencing the Way of we Think about and Discuss Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007), p. 288.

²⁹ Wayne McClintock 'Sociological Critique of the Homogeneous Unit Principle', *International Review of Mission*, Vol 77, Issue 305, (1988), pp107-110. For theological critiques of homogenous principle from the evangelical point of view see the work of Philip Lewis, 'Caste, Mission and Church Growth', *Themelios*, 10:2 (1985), pp. 24-30; David Smith, 'The Church Growth Principles of Donald McGavran', *Transformation*, 2:2 (1985), pp. 25-30. Cf. Timothy C. Tennent, *Theology in the Context of World Christianity: How the Global Church is Influencing the Way of we Think about and Discuss Theology*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007), p. 288.

barriers, and cultural, racial and language discrimination. Conversely, it is difficult to understand and appreciate the power of the gospel of Christ by emphasizing the homogenous unit principle. Therefore, the existence of the multicultural church in a locality is not only a true representation of the universal church but a real manifestation of the wonders and reconciling impact of the power of the gospel in the lives of the believers.

4.7 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has examined and compared CAPRO and Paul's people group strategy in their quest to plant and grow churches from one context to another. The study shows that whereas CAPRO would rather plant and grow monolingual, ethno-linguistic homogeneous churches in the rural areas, Paul, from inception, adopted an urban, multicultural church growth strategy. The chapter identified Pauline perspectives of people groups, including biological, linguistic, social and spiritual lineage. Although they both value the use of research and God's guidance in the discovery of local symbols, gestures, stories, parables, proverbs, as traditional places for the understanding of how to effectively communicate the gospel of Christ, it is also pertinent that Pauline theory and praxis on πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (all nations) is significantly different from the CAPRO reading of Paul. This is more evident in Paul when establishing multicultural, multilingual and multinational churches by becoming all things to all peoples for their salvation's sake but CAPRO seeks for receptive communities. Furthermore, this study has shown how CAPRO and Paul understood the notion of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, and how it influenced their church growth strategies. Whereas CAPRO's ethno-linguistic approach to church growth is similar to McGavran's homogenous sociological unit, CAPRO's emphasis is on establishing monolingual communities of believers which is unique to CAPRO but is not unconnected to the homogeneous receptivity approach.

Conversely, the research shows that when Paul uses the plural form of ἔθνος in his claim to be an Apostle to the ‘Gentiles’, he did so with the understanding of the various ‘people groups’ or ‘nations’ in mind. Thus, all people groups ‘πάντα τὰ ἔθνη’ were essentially part of his church planting strategy. Drawing from the Old Testament notion of ἔθνη and his clear sense of calling, Paul significantly contributed to the growth of the church by pursuing the universal salvific plan of God for all nations. In his missionary theology and practice, Paul established in his letters that the salvation of the Gentiles should be apart from keeping the Law. This understanding influenced Paul’s passion, goal, strategy and theology. Consequently, Paul’s gospel to all peoples is that all believers are equal and righteous ‘in Christ’ and through Christ the wall of hostility or enmity against others is destroyed and overcome. The believers, therefore, are empowered by the Holy Spirit to celebrate and express unity in diversity in the ἐκκλησία as they anticipate the glorious consummation of the Kingdom of God in Heaven, when all nations and all tribes and all peoples and all tongues shall stand before the throne of God in worship (Rev 7:9-12). Although this consuming passion affected CAPRO and Paul’s motivation to make disciples of all nations, their people group focus is significantly different.

In the next chapter, I shall compare CAPRO’s and Paul’s disciple-making strategy. How is CAPRO’s discipleship strategy similar and or different from the Pauline disciple-making approach?

CHAPTER FIVE

COMPARING CAPRO'S AND PAUL'S DISCIPLESHIP APPROACH TO CHURCH GROWTH

5.1 Introduction

Having examined and compared the context, the church planting and people group approaches in CAPRO's and Paul's church growth strategies, this chapter looks at how Paul and CAPRO perceive and practise disciple-making in their church growth, and gleans comparative insights from their approaches. The process of disciple-making in both Paul and CAPRO brings together the some essential elements that facilitate church growth, including the following: safe atmosphere for accountability, intimate relationship skills, incorporation of words and deeds in life and ministry, intentional spiritual disciplines, and the equipping and empowering of disciples for multiplication and fruitfulness (Ogden 2003:15).¹ Christ is the object of discipleship not an abstract system of Christological dogma which functions like a general religious knowledge without commitment to Christ. This is consistent with the saying that 'Christianity without discipleship is always Christianity without Christ' (Bonhoeffer 1995:59).²

In CAPRO, discipleship is a way of learning obedience, devotion and commitment to God by following Christ Jesus. The organization uses Christ's teaching guidelines for discipleship as the means to evaluate individual commitment in the mission field.³ Scholars have seen a link between Christ commission to his disciples in Mt 28:19 and God's commission to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, which is to go and bear fruit and subdue the earth (Gen 1:28). In CAPRO, the term discipleship is widely embraced and it is used to denote the process of making people learn, love and follow

¹ Greg Ogden, *Transforming Discipleship: Making Disciples a Few at a Time*, (Downers Grove, IL: Intersarsity 2003), p. 15.

² Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 1937, (New York: Touchstone, 1995), 59.

³ Cf. Matt. 10:38-39; 16:24-25; Luke 9:23-27; 17:33; John 12:25.

Jesus with the aim of becoming like him. Disciple-making in antiquity is derived from the Greek word μαθητεύσαντες, which means to make disciples (Mt 28:19). Hull delineates three dimensions of disciple-making as follows: (1) it is a process of deliverance from the kingdom of Satan and darkness through evangelism and personal spiritual formation, (2) It is a process of developing character and capacity among Christ's followers, (3) It is a process of deploying believers in Christ mission to live and work for the salvation of all nations. In Matthew 28:19, Jesus shows that disciple-making occupies the top priority of his ministry and commission to his followers. Scholars have argued that theological reflection and learning are best pursued in the context of disciple-making.⁴ Johnson remarks that 'the practices of discipleship enable and enrich our pursuit of theological knowledge' (Johnson 2015:26). Both CAPRO and Paul understood the essential role of discipleship in achieving effective church growth. CAPRO, in its church planting manual, captures the essence and emphasis of discipleship by stating, 'discipleship is the means of producing Christ-likeness in the believers' (CCPM 2001:56). This Christlike maturity helps to draw the unsaved and increase the number of disciples who worship God in spirit and truth. But how does CAPRO understand discipleship and how similar or different is the organization's discipleship approach to Pauline discipleship?

5.2 Discipleship Approach in CAPRO and Pauline Church Growth Strategies

The next logical question is, how did CAPRO and Paul envision discipleship in their church growth approach? This section shall first examine the discipleship strategy of CAPRO and Paul and then draw some comparative insights from their discipleship approach.

⁴ Keith L. Johnson, *Theology as Discipleship*, (Downers Grove: IL, 2015), p. 26.
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5.2.1 Assessment of CAPRO's Discipleship Approach to Church Growth

Discipleship is one of the fundamental strategies of CAPRO's missionary engagement. It is required for both church planters and those supporting existing churches. This practice is emphasized in CAPRO for many reasons: (1) it is an instrument to grow young believers; (2) it is used as a means to facilitate church growth and develop skills in spiritual disciplines which support missionaries in the field; (3) it is understood as a lifelong process of learning and fellowship with other believers with the goal of becoming like Christ Jesus. Famonure remarked that 'Our Great commission task is discipling the nations' (Famonure, personal interview, 2012). CAPRO core values succinctly state that 'discipleship to us (CAPRO) is the ever continuous process of learning at the feet of our Lord and Master Jesus. He is our example in code and conduct' (CCV 2002:57-58). In CAPRO, the discipleship process is grouped into two related categories namely: (1) personal discipleship approach and (2) corporate discipleship approach.

5.2.1.1 Personal Discipleship Approach

In CAPRO, member-care principles require individual staff members to grow in their spiritual discipline. Under the supervision of national or international leaders, where the character of a missionary no longer reflects the teaching of Christ as contained in the Bible, he or she is warned, rebuked, corrected, or asked to resign or have his or her appointment terminated, especially when correction is not heeded. The personal discipleship process is an integral part of the organization's growth process. It is likened to apprenticeship which is understood as the process of learning under the supervision of the master craftsman. It is a deliberate process of the transfer of knowledge, skill or wisdom from one person to another, based on the credibility and experiences of the

master. In an apprenticeship, the disciple is given the opportunity to learn on the job, ask questions and receive answers on the spot as he/she addresses real-life situations. Through this approach, new ideas and difficult concepts are practically explained and learned under the supervision of the master who is expected to live out what he teaches. In CAPRO, the apprentice does not only acquire the skills but is required to also develop the right motives, mindset and attitudes to life and ministry. However, the case of Jesus and Judas Iscariot or Paul and Demas show that there might be failures (Matt. 26:14-16; Luke 22:48; 2 Tim. 4:10). Therefore, like Paul, leaders in CAPRO who engage in mentoring do have their share of pain and disappointment engaging in disciple-making.

Discipleship in Christ is effective when the intended disciple repents of sins and accepts the offer of God's love and grace through Christ. Mike Oye, former International Chairman of CAPRO, states that repentance is essential in the discipleship process. When reflecting on Luke 14:25-35, he observes that the opening word of Jesus' teaching on discipleship shows that one must first come to Jesus before becoming his disciple. He identified repentance and carrying the cross as the two essential conditions for following Jesus. For Oye, 'repentance gives breath to the life of God in man' (Oye 1995:25). Similarly, Yemi Ayodele, a close associate of CAPRO, remarks that 'repentance is the first doctrine of the New Testament. John the Baptist preached it. Jesus preached it and it was the first condition on the day of Pentecost for being saved (Acts 2:38)' (Ayodele 1995:31). Therefore, every member of the organization is expected to have repented sins and received God's forgiveness and cultivated a personal relationship with Christ by faith.

The instrument of discipleship in CAPRO is also used to gauge the character and conduct of the individual members of staff and partners. Discipleship principles are summed up in what the organization calls the ‘CAPRO pillars’ which is the summary document of CAPRO core values. When addressing personal lifestyles and ethics the document states:

We believe that our ministries as missionaries must take their roots in our lives as disciples of the Lord Jesus. Discipleship to us is the ever continuous process of learning at the feet of our Lord and Master. He is our example in code and conduct. We deliberately choose a simple and humble lifestyle. We refuse every temptation to copy the sophistication around us. This is not because of insufficient funds to do that, but by choice and design. We take literally the counsels of the Apostle Paul, ‘...set not your mind on high things, but condescend to things that are lowly (Rom. 12:16) (CCV 2002:57-58).

Individuals are encouraged to grow in their commitment to a personal relationship with Master Jesus by observing prayer, Bible study, fellowship and evangelism with others and in obeying God’s will.

5.2.1.2 Corporate Discipleship Approach

Apart from the personal discipleship emphasis, there is also the corporate discipleship practice in the organization. This is where the principles of discipleship are applied to all areas of CAPRO life and operations. An individual staff member’s commitment to discipleship should be seen in their personal walk with God and their stewardship of God’s resources. The corporate discipleship approach to church growth is measured within the context of the local church or the organization’s commitment to the principles outlined in the ‘CAPRO Pillars’, the six pillars of the ministry, which are love, faith, holiness, purposefulness, sacrifice, and evangelism. These pillars tend to support CAPRO’s claim to be emulating Paul because all its virtues characterized the life, ministry and teachings of Paul in his letters and sections of Acts. I will briefly examine these pillars and how they facilitate quality growth of the churches planted by CAPRO.

5.2.1.2.1 The Pillar of Love

Every member of CAPRO is expected to first have an unalloyed love for God, fellow believers and the unsaved. Some of the founding leaders contend strongly that not many things motivate the CAPRO missionaries. Essentially, the organization is motivated by love. Famonure asserts that ‘this is basic to our existence and our modes of operation. A CAPRO team that does not exhibit genuine love in its midst destroys its own labour. It would be better for them to suspend their work and reconcile with God and with one another’ (Famonure, personal interview, 2012). Moreover, drawing from 1 Corinthians 13, the members are encouraged to develop a health attitude to the unsaved around them. The pillar holds that it is appalling for a missionary to always have negative attitudes or make negative comments about the people he/she is sent to reach. The organization’s core values document maintains that a missionary that cannot really say that he or she loves the people loathes them. It is advisable for him to leave the mission field. The Lord Jesus says, ‘by this shall all men know you are my disciple, if you have love for one another’ (John 13:35). Therefore, ‘our first labour among the people to whom we are sent is to demonstrate to them that we are Jesus’ disciples through our genuine love for one another’ (CAPRO Core Values, 2002: 44-5).

5.2.1.2.2 The Pillar of Faith

CAPRO is a faith mission agency. Therefore, trust in God for every resource and for the growth of the churches planted. The core values document states:

The nature of our calling demands that we be able to trust God in the face of the most trying situations. We cannot afford to be weak in faith. We are resolved to hold on tenaciously to His promise because our lives depend on them... our resources may be limited and the odds much against us, we believe that by faith, the table shall be turned in our favour (CAPRO Core Values, 2002: 48-49).

In CAPRO, more often than not, any successful work is tied to the faith of someone or collective faith of a team. There is always a person or group of persons who serves as the primary burden-bearers of a field, department or unit or project. They raise prayer, create awareness and trust God for resources that will move the work forward in their field. For instance, the Gbagyi people work was synonymous with Victoria Hassan, the field leader; the Hausa work was tied to Raymond and Helen Hassan; the media work was synonymous with Timothy Olonade; and mercy ministry work was tied to Francis Kashimawo. But this is risky because some of these sections of the work almost collapse when such people felt called to take other assignments. Therefore, although it is profitable for everyone to take ownership of the vision and drive the section/department of his or her work, it is equally dangerous when there is no clear structure to facilitate human resource development and effective mentoring for continuity. In any case, this highlights the impact of the faith pillar in the discipleship process in CAPRO. The missionary should not only believe God for personal supply, welfare and comfort but is expected to demonstrate his or her faith in trusting God for more workers and more churches planted.

5.2.1.2.5 The Pillar of Sacrifice

Drawing from the life and character of Christ's suffering, and the sacrificial lifestyle of the apostles, the organization holds that mission practice is a call to sacrifice. The first thing to be sacrificed by individual members of staff is their personal life, which is to be surrendered to God. From that point, it is easy to give up personal ambitions and material comforts. CAPRO mission is inspired by the words of C. T. Studd, the founder of Worldwide Evangelisation for Christ, saying, 'if Jesus Christ be God, and He died for me, no sacrifice can be too great to make for him'. Before joining CAPRO, each candidate is enjoined to seriously count the cost. At this point, some candidates are

rejected or have been turned back immediately while others begin the school of mission or even start their mission career but later leave. But those who endure and are willing to sacrifice for Jesus enjoy the work. CAPRO 'assumes that every one that gets to the level of staff membership took the decision with a full understanding of the implications' (CCV, 2002: 47-48). As CCV states, 'we desire no applause from men; neither do we seek their honour. We would rather be patient and wait until we get to heaven to receive them from the Master Himself. Anyone seeking these earthly rewards shall be advised to steer clear of CAPRO' (CCV 2002:33). Therefore, CAPRO staff, partners and operations are enjoined to adopt simple and sacrificial lifestyles as they daily desire God's Kingdom and his will to be done among the nations. This facilitates the corporate discipleship practices and motivates the churches to grow in their commitment to Christ.

5.2.1.2.4 The Pillar of Purposefulness

The organization expects that each missionary recognizes God's plan and purpose for his or her life, and pursues them with every grace at his or her disposal. Another word that is popularly used by the organization in place of purposefulness is 'militancy'. This is modified to denote to the sense of urgency of the Great Commission and the right kind of attitude expected of all those involved in the mission of planting churches among unreached peoples:

Our operations are designed on the assumption that our missionaries have learnt to be militant in thought, in disposition and in deeds. We believe that what makes a missionary is vision plus action. Every CAPRO missionary must have a vision, clear enough to give him a precise direction, and strong enough to push him on, even when the odds are against him. We hold that neither vision nor action is enough without the other. Vision without action makes a visionary, and action without vision creates only confusion (CCV 2002: 45-46).

Therefore, CAPRO would rather challenge the staff to be purpose-driven in their relationship with Jesus and focus on expanding the Kingdom of God by evangelizing the unreached and unsaved.

One Bible passage that has helped in driving this emphasis is John 9:4, especially CAPRO's interpretation of the phrase 'work while it is day'. Staff are encouraged to redeem the time and seize every opportunity that comes their way and be available to do the work of evangelization as Paul told Timothy, 'in season and out of season' (Eph. 5:15-17; 2 Tim. 4:2). Consequently, CAPRO is of the view that the salvific plan of is not only paramount but also urgent. The urgency is due to two factors. Firstly, people have only one life in which to prepare for eternity. So when each member of the ministry realises how transient life is, he or she is encouraged to invest as much as possible in preparation for eternity. Secondly, the urgency serves as a drive for individuals to discover and decide where God is leading them to go and serve. In CAPRO, no aspect of the work in the field or office operates just because the leadership says so. The organization always looks for someone who has a personal burden or vision and is gifted for that kind of work. The leadership of such work is not strictly administrative but in fellowship with others and trust in God they seek direction from God on the way forward and formulate a direction for the work (CCV 2002: 36-37).

5.2.1.2.5 The Pillar of Holiness

As mentioned earlier, the fact that CAPRO does not engage in theological argument or debate has its positive and negative impact. The organization's documentation in this area is simplistic and clearly states that 'in CAPRO, we are conscious that we are at the end-time, when the love of many shall wax cold. We hold strongly, that the Christian calling is a call unto holiness. For ungodliness and every form of worldliness are incompatible with Christianity' (CCV 2002:49). For CAPRO, there is no substitute for personal and corporate integrity in a believer's discipleship experience. Church planters

and zonal directors attest to the fact that integrity and power of the Holy Spirit are essential for effective church planting and church growth in any culture.

5.2.1.2.6 The Pillar of Evangelism

The priority of evangelism was discussed earlier under church planting strategy. However, suffice it to look at the reflection and confession of the organization which further captures the impulse of the ministry's commitment to evangelism. CCV states that 'our passion is to win souls wherever we are. The most valuable gift we can offer those that we come across daily is the gospel' (CCV 2002:50). Similarly the most valuable gift we can gift God is the soul of a sinner saved by grace through faith in Christ. Therefore, although the activities are often diverse, the final aim is preaching the gospel of Christ:

We may (and very often we do) provide schools in needy villages, provide health care for the sick, or social services for the poor; we always remind ourselves that we are not educators, nor health workers nor social workers. We are primarily gospel bearers and all these services as laudable as they are, are not more than means to our final objectives. We do not expect anybody to join CAPRO if his first desire is not to win souls. A CAPRO missionary, whether posted to the field or to any office is supposed to be a soul winner' (CCV 2002:17-19).

Therefore, those whom do not have evangelistic passion gradually develop their motivation for evangelism as they work in teams with more experience and mature members. But people do not have to be the same because the body of Christ is made up of many gifted and talented men and women whom God uses to build his church. Whereas some people are planting, others water, God causes the seed to grow, while some engage in harvesting the fruit.

5.2.2 Training and Leadership Development Strategy

Another way CAPRO tends make disciples is by providing formal training that facilitates disciple-making and leadership development. Discipleship and evangelism training was an integral part of CAPRO's vision right from the beginning. But the

organization formally began Calvary Bible Institute as a vocational school of evangelism and a dry-season Discipleship Training School (DTS) in 1977 at Dandume. The training programme was designed to train the Maguzawa converts on how to be disciples of Christ and evangelists among their people. The courses taught included personal and mass-crusade evangelism, Muslim evangelism, follow-up and discipleship. There was no academic qualification required and it was for anyone interested. The goal of the school of evangelism was to produce more evangelists not resident missionaries, since there was no knowledge of missions at this time. However, the vocational school of evangelism (SOE) evolved into the Discipleship Training School (DTS), which was located at the Gaskiya Road Centre, Zaria, in 1979. When Victoria Ashiwaju Hassan was preparing to go to the Gambia in 1980, as CAPRO's first worker outside Nigeria, she was given a short orientation programme that took her to meet the teachers in their various locations. But when Famonure and Aderonmu visited WEC International Headquarters in 1980 and discovered the need for mission training, CAPRO then decided to begin a formal school of missions (SOM) in September 1981 at Kauna, Tsakiya village for missionary candidates. The goal of the school, right from the beginning, was 'to train and equip disciples for cross-cultural ministry in the mission fields, that is, to make disciples out of converts and missionaries out of disciples' (Famonure 1985:4). Today, from one school of missions, there are five schools of missions located in different parts of Africa:

- i. Gana Ropp near Jos in Nigeria, English-speaking School of Missions, started in 1981;
- ii. Kauna, Kaduna, Hausa School of Mission, started for Hausa speakers, Nigeria
- iii. Ayanma near Abidjan in Côte d'Ivoire, Francophone School of Missions, started in September 1992;

iv. Agbodrafo near Lomé in Togo, Francophone School of Missions, started in July 2000;

v. Nairobi in Kenya, English-speaking School of Missions, started in March 2002.

I inquired into whether CAPRO intends to reduce the number of training schools. Tokum, a former international Director of CAPRO, is of the view that the schools are the expression of CAPRO's growth strategy and serve to facilitate the mobilization of churches for more growth as they engage in mission discourse in the schools. According to Tokum, 'the schools were not the product of mere administrative planning. Each of them came first from the burden of the field leadership, and was set up to respond to the need of the area' (Tokun 2003:1)

In this case, the proliferation of schools demonstrates how strategic training is in CAPRO's approach to church growth. Soladoye, CAPRO International Chairman, argues that 'training to a ministry like CAPRO is what a fountain is to a river' (Soladoye 2003:2). He says that 'a leadership that does not place a high premium on training cannot accomplish its mission. CAPRO, therefore, seeks to place adequate premium on training' (Soladoye 2003:2). Aderonmu, the former International Training Secretary, noted that the environment for training should be marked by the atmosphere of love even where or when it is difficult to cultivate it in a context of interpersonal conflict or persistent cases of opposition. He lamented that 'The unsavoury comments on yokefellows, distortions of facts, professional intimidation, and the absence of true love among the brethren are a few of the problems that have hindered the impact that could have been seen in our schools' (Aderonmu 2003:5).

The training arm of the organization serves as a very important part of CAPRO's church-growth process and occupies a domain between late adolescence and early adulthood. In the churches planted, different ages are being equipped for personal and corporate ministry. Apart from the fact that CAPRO's church growth training is church based, the organization also provides different kinds of training services such as: Discipleship Training School, Discipleship and Missions Evangelism programme, School of Mission, School of Leadership, School of Health, and School of Languages. The primary function of a trainer in CAPRO schools is to seek to influence, through mentoring relationships. In the school of missions for example, a small group of students known as '*flock group*' is allocated to each trainer for mentoring and guidance.

Missionary training in CAPRO is also perceived as intuitive and subjective. Many trainers may be gifted in ministry work, like evangelism, cross-cultural mission, leadership development or interpersonal relationship management but not in training others. In some of these schools, some trainers do not have the capacity to engage with the students. In view of the aforementioned, quality training skills such as listening, student engagement, instructional plans and methods are rare or are yet to be developed in those who are actively engage in training. Afiniki Leo, in her assessment, observes that some resident instructors are not often good at transferring and or multiplying their expertise in the training of new students. Therefore, their products do the same when they find themselves in the real situation in the mission field, most of which involve the training of the convert (Afiniki Leo, personal interview, 2012). She adds that 'formal or informal training in the field of educational psychology, development and administration would help CAPRO trainers in the understanding of what makes training excellent vis-à-vis the danger of monotonous routines which some trainers overemphasize' (Afiniki Leo, personal interview, 2012). Therefore, although training in

CAPRO is essentially part of discipleship and leadership development strategy, its practice is not clearly developed. There is no standard document on discipleship yet.

Ozodo captures this when he laments that:

Discipleship is one of the areas that CAPRO has talked so much about but has not done anything to standardise it. When we discovered church planting as a vital part of the organization, we set up different committees at different times to look into how CAPRO would engage in church planting among the unreached peoples and the result is the CAPRO church planting manual which is used today to train people in our School of Missions. But it is not the case with discipleship. There has never been any consultation or formal discussion on how to approach discipleship in CAPRO and by CAPRO (Peter Ozodo, personal interview, March 2015).

Therefore, the organization would need further consultation in the area of discipleship in order to determine how it fits into the church growth strategy of the organization.

5.3 The Disciples (*μαθητής*) as Imitators (*μιμητής*) in Pauline Church Growth Process

Becoming like Christ is the goal of any Christian disciple. To achieve this, it is essential to consider the cultural and religious background of Christ's and later Paul's disciple-making context. This understanding would shed more light and help us to appreciate Christ radical departure from the traditional understanding of discipleship in Judaism which consequently underpins Pauline discipleship theory and praxis. The identity and background to Jesus' life and ministry is Jewish. He was a Jewish rabbi in the company of twelve apostles who were Jewish too. How did people in this context understand discipleship and how is Pauline discipleship approach different? How did Jesus develop his radical approach to discipleship? As a Jewish boy at age six, Jesus would have begun to attend the synagogue school learning the Hebrew alphabet and memorizing the Holy Scripture. Subsequent to this, at eight, he would have received intense vocational training from his father which was tied with learning the Torah, observing biblical feasts and holidays and going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When he became thirteen years old, he graduated from the synagogue school to a *Beit Midrash* (school of higher

learning) where he was required to learn the writings of all the great Jewish teachers and how to debate with the sages and teachers of the *Torah*. Finally, at age thirty, Jesus started adult public ministry. At this point, he called to himself those he would appoint to be his disciples (Mk 3:13-19).

To follow Jesus faithfully, his disciples were required to leave everything, travel with him from village to village and city to city, listening and observing his every word, action and reaction in words; being loyal in serving him, supposedly providing companionship and guarding Him from throngs of helpless and harassed people. In exchange for these services (*shimmush* in Hebrew), the master is expected to teach and acquaint the disciples with the Torah. This kind of discipleship is more practical than dogmatic by engaging people on byways and highways of the cities and rural areas outside the classroom. Therefore, the skill needed for disciples to succeed are: careful listening, a zealous participation, and powers to observe the master. These are necessary ingredients for a disciple to effectively learn the oral text of the Torah and the accompanied emphasis of the articulation and gestures of the master. In any case, a disciple was required to become like his master in words and deeds (Dunn 2003:540).⁵

However, Paul avoided the use of the terms “follower” and “disciple” in his letters. Whereas the Greek noun *μαθητής* denotes a 'disciple' or 'follower', the verb form means to 'make a disciple of' or 'be a disciple' are common in the Gospels and Acts but for

⁵ See Mk 3:13-19; Mt 10:1-4; Lk 6:12-16. The Greek term *μαθητής* (disciple) is used frequently in the Gospel: 78 times John, 73 times in Matthew, 46 times in Mark, and 37 times in Luke. Dunn (Dunn 2003:540) when looking at the circles of disciples of Jesus, wonders whether there is need to recognize the distinction between 'disciples' and 'followers'. He concluded that when we think of Jesus' circle of discipleship we should speak of circles (in plural) not a single coherent circle (Mk 3:35; Lk 6:20; 18:13-14; 19:1-10; Mt 8:10; Lk 7:36; 11:37; 14:1). According to Dunn, ‘what is striking about these circles of discipleship is the way they overlap and intertwine, forbidding us to make any hard and fast distinction between disciples and followers, or to designate different grades of discipleship. Mark recalls that those who tried to do so were rebuked by Jesus (Mk 9:38-41; Lk 9:49-50); James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered: Christianity in the Making*, v. 1, (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003), p. 540.

whatever reason they are missing in Paul's writings (cf. Thiselton 2000:371; Belleville 1996:120). In contrast, the noun *μιμητής* (imitator') and its related verb 'to imitate' (*μιμέομαι*) are the descriptions of the act of discipleship found in the letters of Paul.⁶ Therefore, this makes any attempt to put together the concept of discipleship in the Pauline Letters very difficult to elucidate (Thiselton 2000:371).⁷ However, though the language of discipleship is scarce in Pauline literature, the idea of discipleship is very much present. Paul envisioned discipleship through an imitation process in his church growth practice. His strategy of making disciples was more pragmatic than theoretical. He invited his congregations to be an imitator of him as he is of Christ (1 Cor 11:1; 4:16ESV).

Instead of describing what it meant to follow Jesus Christ in abstraction, Paul rather drew the attention of his followers to the daily impact of the gospel and the grace of God in their personal lives. Despite the elusiveness of the aforementioned, there is a general consensus among recent scholars that *μαθητής* and *μιμητής* are one and the same if the context is properly explored (Wilkins 1992:392).⁸ Wilkins argued that the term "imitator" provides a link between Christ's disciples in the gospels and the follower of Christ in the early church (Wilkins 1992:392). Hence, if we take the modern equivalent of *μαθητής* to be apprenticeship, which is referring to a master craftsman passing on skills of his trade to someone who is learning under him, then we can see parallels between Jesus' discipleship concept and Paul's *μίμησις*. Therefore, it is consistent to say at this point that it was Paul's goal to make his followers learn and

⁶ For instance, there are eleven appearances of these in the New Testament and eight of them are found in the Pauline corpus, especially in 1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1; Eph. 5:1; Phil 3:17; 1 Thess. 1:6; 2:14; 2 Thess. 3:7, 9; Heb. 6:12; 13:7.

⁷ Cf. Linda L. Belleville, 'Imitate Me, Just as I Imitate Christ': Discipleship in the Corinthian Correspondence' Richard N. Longenecker (ed.), *Patterns of Discipleship in the New Testament* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996.

⁸ cf. Michaelis, 'μιμέομαι κτλ.' *TDNT* 4, 673; H. D. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament*, BHT 37, Tübingen, 1967; A. Schulz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung: Studien über das Verhalten der neutestamentlichen Jüngerschaft und urchristlichen Vorbildethik* (SANT 6. Munich 1962).

become like Christ in life and ministry by imitating his lifestyle (Lk 6:10; Mt 10:24-25; 1 Cor 4:16).

5.3.1 Μίμησις *Motif* as Pauline Discipleship Approach to Church Growth

The imitation (μίμησις) motif in the Pauline corpus has received a wide range of interpretations, especially among scholars who seek to demonstrate the connection between Paul's dominant rhetorical, theological, authoritarian and ethical traditions in the socio-historical context (Ehrensperger 2007). While many of these have provided a broad understanding of the notion of imitation in the Pauline Letters, they have done less in relation to Paul's church growth strategies. For instance, scholars like Ehrensperger have studied the idea of imitation but focus on the question of power and authority in Paul's self-understanding as an Apostle.⁹ This section examines the function of μίμησις as a discipleship method in Paul's church growth strategies. The question is how did Paul's perception of discipleship facilitate the growth of his churches?

It is worth saying at this time that Paul's usage of μίμησις does not mean copying the original but a learning approach to discipleship that is essentially relational in practice.¹⁰

⁹ See Kathy Ehrensperger, *Paul and the Dynamics of Power: Communication and Interaction in the Early Christ-Movement* (London: T. & T. Clark International, 2007). Cf. M. Hooker, *Endings: Imitations to Discipleship*, (2003) pp. 106-13.

¹⁰ According to Oxford English Dictionary μίμησις is 'the deliberate imitation of the behaviour of one group of people by another as a factor in social change.' see *Oxford English Dictionary Online* 'Μίμησις', Access 16/6/18. The Greek word μίμησις means to imitate. See Edwards, Paul, Ed. "Μίμησις," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 5&6. (New York: Macmillian, 1967) 335. The use of this term is broad and often theoretically vague and encompasses a variety of possibilities that represent the world created by people that can relate to any given "real", fundamental, exemplary, or significant world. See Michael Kelly, Ed. "Μίμησις," *The Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, v. 3. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). 233-234. Cf. also Spariosu, Mihai, ed. *Μίμησις in Contemporary Theory* (Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1984); Durix, Jean-Pierre. *Μίμησις, Genres and Post-Colonial Discourse: Deconstructing Magic Realism*. (New York: Macmillian, 1998) 45; Taussig, Michael. *Μίμησις and Alterity*. (New York: Routledge, 1993) xiii; Auerbach, Erich. *Μίμησις: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1953); Benjamin, Walter. "On the Mimetic Faculty," *Reflections*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1986). Paul's perception of μίμησις is based on his personal encounter with God which not sensuous. Although it was out of the

For Paul, the knowledge of the subject was not enough; the way in which Christians were taught was also very significant. Consequently, he made himself a model teacher while Christian congregations or believers were the learning communities (1 Tim 2:7). Hay's view of discipleship supports this when he says, 'the church is seen primarily as a community of those who are taught –which is, of course, the meaning of the word 'disciple' (Hays 1996:96). Similarly, Ehrensperger, in her studies, concludes that imitation language in Paul is a means of guiding and teaching his congregations the way of Christ (Ehrensperger 2007:153). In antiquity, she argued that imitation played a significant role in any learning process. It was the basic means of learning and teaching before any conscious, explicit form of education (Ehrensperger 2007:151).

Paul's μίμησις or imitation motif should be understood in the context of learning, where the teacher (διδάσκαλος) and the student are practically engaged in the learning process. In this method of teaching, the teacher's knowledge of the subject is not enough to create the desired change. The approach is also essential in the learning process. Therefore, Paul perceived the way of teaching the truth of the gospel is by making his life a role model for his disciples to watch and learn the ways of Christ. Paul testified that he was appointed to be a 'true and faithful teacher of the Gentiles' (1 Tim. 2:7).

world experience yet it was real and tangible because of the change that has taken place in his heart. Without personal regeneration and transformation Plato would have been right that mimetic is the imitation of an imitation that has lose its originality as it moves away from the original. Michael Kelly, ed. "Μίμησις," *The Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, v. 3. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) pp. 233-234. Contrary to Plato's believe, it is most probable that Paul did not perceive his congregation as inferior in their imitating him. He knew Christ is the original image that every believer should imitate see Edwards, Paul, ed. "Μίμησις," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, v. 5&6. (New York: Macmillian, 1967) 335. Michelle Puetz observes that Plato believed that μίμησις was manifested in 'particulars' which resemble or imitate the forms from which they are derived; thus, the mimetic world ... is inherently inferior in that it consists of imitations which will always be subordinate or subsidiary to their original. See 'The University of Chicago Theories of Media, Keywords Glossary: mimesis, <http://csmt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/mimesis.htm>, Access 16/6/2018 (Edwards 1967:335). This is also different from Aristotle's fiction of reality idea (Kelly 1998:234).

However, Paul did not see imitation as sameness or identical because he was also an advocate of diversity.¹¹ The language of imitation in Paul's writing is a way of guiding and teaching his congregations how to follow Christ (cf. Ehrensperger 2007:153). Paul's discipleship goal was to be a model for his followers (1 Thess. 1:5). He expressed this in his letter to the church in Thessalonica, whom by following him are now examples to others:

You became an example to all the believers in Macedonia and in Achaia. For not only has the word of the Lord sounded forth from you in Macedonia and Achaia, but your faith in God has gone forth everywhere, so that we need not say anything. For they themselves report concerning us the kind of reception we had among you, and how you turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God (1 Thess 1:7-9 NIV).

Paul saw the act of imitating Christ's example as the most practical way to present his new life in Christ for others to see and follow (1 Thess 1:7), and ultimately become witnesses for Christ in their communities (1 Thess 1:8-9) (Clark 1998; 333-334; cf. Best 1972:7). Malherbe remarks that Paul's 'life verified what he preached' (Malherbe 1987:54; StuhlmueLLer 1983:161; De Boer 1962:138, 154f; O'Brien 1995:12). His exemplary lifestyle facilitated their understanding of the implication of the gospel and being part of God's family through faith in Christ. He reminded them of how sincere and straightforward they worked holy and justly among them by day and night.

According to Paul:

Surely you remember, brothers and sisters, our toil and hardship; we worked night and day in order not to be a burden to anyone while we preached the gospel of God to you. You are witnesses, and so is God, of how holy, righteous and blameless we were among you who believed. For you know that we dealt with each of you as a father deals with his own children, encouraging, comforting and urging you to live lives worthy of God, who calls you into his kingdom and glory (1 Thess 2:9-12NIV).

Pauline practice of discipleship is not seen as a show of knowledge to the pupil but an honest show of obedience to God by the discipler. Paul understood that by modelling righteous, holy and blameless living he would inspire his converts to follow the pattern of Christ not by flattery, gimmick or manipulation but by his humble selfless service

¹¹ See the previous chapter.

among them (Bruce 1982:29). According to Paul, 'For the appeal we make does not spring from error or impure motives, nor are we trying to trick you. On the contrary, we speak as men approved by God to be entrusted with the gospel. We are not trying to please men but God, who tests our hearts. You know we never used flattery, nor did we put on a mask to cover up greed...' (1 Thess 2:5-7). Paul was also very caring and personal in relating with his congregation like a mother or father to a child (1 Thess. 2:7-8, 11).¹² The manner in which Paul repeatedly drew the attention of his disciples on what they already knew about his life is another salient way of reminding them to imitate him. From the above passage, Paul referred to his readers' awareness of his manner of life as follows: 'as you know' (1 Thess. 2:11 cf. v.5), 'for you remember' (1 Thess. 2:9), 'for yourselves ... know' (1 Thess. 2:1), 'you are witnesses' (1 Thess. 2:10)' (De Boer 1962:112; Collins 2014:278).

Paul did not hide his expectations from his disciples. He admonished them to please God by living the way they were taught. He states, 'as you learned from us how you ought to live and to please God as, in fact, you are doing, you should do so more and more' (1 Thess. 4:1). Scholars have observed the link between Paul's autobiography and his vocation as a disciple-maker. Lyons observes that 'Paul's autobiographical remarks are closely bound to his profession... He highlights his 'autobiography' in the interests of the gospel and his readers... Their faithfulness or unfaithfulness to the gospel, as Paul understands it, determines which aspects of his life he brings to the fore' (Lyons 1985:225-27). Christopher Little referred to the work of Spicq who observes that Paul was to Timothy 'a model in the manner of preaching, building communities, and in the choice of appropriate 'measures'' (Little 2005:116. cf. Spicq 1947:372-73; Meeks, Hilton, and Snyder 2002:177).

¹² cf. 1 Cor. 4:14; 2 Cor. 6:13; Gal 4:18-19.

From the above, Paul and his team rejected all self-seeking considerations and affirmed that their consuming passion was pleasing God and the well-being of their followers. Just as Jesus saw the love of God as expressed in his own self-giving for others and the essence of discipleship as losing one's own life and finding it again in Christ (Mark 8:34–37), Paul, in his discipleship, practice demonstrates his resolve to portray himself as an example of a believer for his followers to emulate (1 Thess. 2:2, 15; 3:3-4; 2 Thess. 1:4). It is not improbable therefore, that Paul saw his congregations as learning communities or disciples making centres.

5.3.2 Pauline Churches as Imitators and Witnesses (1 Thess. 1:6-8)

The Thessalonians received the gospel amidst much affliction. The gospel that Paul and his co-workers preached was not of 'words alone' but was accompanied by the power of the Holy Spirit (1 Thess. 1:5). Paul understood that the ultimate goal of the Holy Spirit's work in the believer's life was to produce spiritual maturity that is consistent with Christ-like behaviour and attitudes (Gal. 5:22-23). Therefore, the reception and obedience to the Word of God became intrinsically significant in the disciple-making process. Paul knew that mere speech without the power of the Holy Spirit would avail him nothing among his congregations. 'Such speech, however eloquent and moving, would be ineffective in evoking faith from the hearers' (Bruce 1982:14). Similarly, the way the Thessalonians received the gospel from Paul was commendable. Naturally, the gospel of a crucified Saviour would have been ridiculed among the Gentile pagans but since it was accompanied by the power of the Holy Spirit those who believed were liberated and transformed into a community of Christ's followers in the cities where Paul lived and preached (1 Thess. 2:13; 1 Cor 2:4, 5). These transformed lives were witnesses and their light drew more people into Christianity.

Paul wanted the faith of his followers to be grounded in the power of God's Word not in mere wisdom of men and persuasive rhetoric (1 Cor. 2:1-4; Rom. 15:19). In addition to the outworking of the power of the Holy Spirit, the missionaries were deeply convinced and passionate about the gospel they preached. For when the life of the missionary is full of the power of the Holy Spirit, the impact on the life of the listeners is phenomenal, as seen in the lives of the Thessalonian believers (1 Thess. 1:5). According to Bruce, 'The spiritual power and conviction with which the message was received matched the spiritual power and conviction with which it was delivered' (Bruce 1982:15). The result of the work of this power is the inner growth of new life in the hearts of the believers, who like Paul, were deeply persuaded of the truth of the gospel and have become imitators of Paul and the Lord even amidst severe opposition. Paul referred to them as disciples who received the word not as merely words of men but as the Word of God (1 Thess. 2:13). This shows that their conversion experience was genuine not because of their good works but in the way they received the word and works of the Holy Spirit in their midst. Hence, their imitating Paul and the Lord was not a superficial outward conformity but was full of inner regeneration and life transformation.

Pauline congregations did not only imitate his moral conduct but also his zeal for preaching the gospel by sharing their faith with others. Bruce remarks that 'having received the gospel, the Thessalonian Christians had no thought of keeping it to themselves; by word and deed they made it known to others. From the beginning they functioned as a missionary church' (Bruce 1982:16). Instead of being bitter against their persecutors, social discrimination they became vanguard in witnessing their faith. Therefore, news about this radical change from idol-worship to becoming heralds of the gospel message spread rapidly in Macedonia and beyond (1 Thess. 1:6-8). This is

radical disciple-making. According to Martin, ‘They were so effective at this that Paul felt his ministry of pioneer evangelism was no longer necessary in that region’ (Martin 1995:63). Some scholars refer to them as the apostolic community because its members did not only accept the apostles' teaching but also followed the apostles' example. They faithfully and joyfully endure persecution for the gospel's sake and also preached the gospel of Christ boldly (Bruce 1982:15; Morris 1984:31).

Therefore, Paul's discipleship practices demonstrate that where the gospel message is believed and properly modelled by the preacher, the disciples find it easier to imitate the examples. The discipleship approach to his church growth implies that preaching or winning converts is not enough, there should be a follow-up discipleship plan. His desire to see the church members grow into mature disciples makes his disciple-making strategy a significant part of his church growth practices. Very significant to CAPRO's reading of Paul's missionary practice is the fact that in Paul's theology and practice of missions, the community of disciples, known as the church, must imitate the master by living a transformed lifestyle, reaching out to the unreached world through evangelism and discipleship. However, for Paul, these two elements are inseparably connected. He charged Timothy not only to be an example to the believers in words and deeds (1Tim 4:16), and preach the gospel in season and out of season (2 Tim 4:2) but also to commit the teachings he has received to the next generation of faithful people (2 Tim 2:2). CAPRO reading of Pauline discipleship process suggests that non-believers look up to the disciples for Christ's character, attitude and behaviour. The organization maintains that the vocation of a believer is intrinsically connected to their witnessing life so should not be treated separately (Dennett 1998:36).¹³

¹³ Dennett, Jo Anne. 1998. *Thriving in Another Culture: A Handbook for Cross-Cultural Missions* (Melbourne, Australia: Acorn, 1998).

5.3.3 Discipleship and Leadership Approach

Another matter that stands out in Paul's discipleship practice is his commitment to be like Christ in character and conduct of love, obedience to God, humility, purposefulness, service and endurance in suffering. Through the quality of his lifestyle, he substantiates the impact of the gospel power in his personal life (1 Tim. 1:13-14). Based on his transformed life, he cautiously exhorts his followers to emulate his example as he imitates the example of Christ Jesus (1 Thess. 2:8, 2 Thess. 3:3-9). Although it is possible for readers of Paul, like CAPRO, to be overwhelmed with the issues he was dealing with and neglect the quality of his life, this study argues that, for Paul, the quality of life of the church-planter is a significant part of the church planting process and should not be taken for granted (Acts 2:17-38). Paul told his disciple, Timothy, to watch his life and doctrine closely because by so doing he would save his own life and the lives of his hearers (1 Tim. 4:16). This notion is also traceable in his leadership requirements for church leaders like bishops, elders, or deacons (1 Tim. 3:1-1-16; Titus 1:6-9). This shows that there is no substitute for a clear personal testimony of a transformed life in Christ. For Paul, preaching or teaching is not a mere act of handing down sets of rules or information in evangelizing non-Christians or in the process of discipling believers. On the contrary, it should be backed up with evidence of a transformed lifestyle, and a Christlike character. Therefore, in different contexts, Paul reminded his congregations saying, 'you know how we lived among you' (Acts 20:18; 1 Thess. 1:5, 20:10; 2 Thess. 3:7). This constitute one of the challenges contemporary disciple-maker, as CAPRO, are facing in their church planting and church growth activities. Therefore, although both Paul and CAPRO value the practice of discipleship, there tends to be lack of conceptual understanding in CAPRO on how fulling integrate discipleship practice. Moreover, CAPRO concept of discipleship is not fully developed

because there is not corporate thinking in this area as it is on church planting and there is no recognized manual to guide the practice.

Therefore, whereas Paul modelled his disciple-making by inviting his converts or churches to watch his life and emulate him as he imitated Christ, CAPRO members who are engage in disciple making often run the risk of seeing the discipleship process as formal class activities or a dogma to learn in Discipleship Training Schools (DTS), Discipleship and Missions Exposure Program (DIMEP) or School of Missions (SOM). But Famonure observes that one of the reasons for emphasizing communal living in CAPRO is because ‘by it we learn together in discipleship’ (Famonure 1989:10). CAPRO discipleship regards Paul as a man who mirrors Christ for others to see and follow (Phil. 3:7-11; 1:21) (cf. Famonure 1989:57-62). But their desire to be like Paul is far from attainment.

Pauline discipleship approach to church growth portrayed him as an exemplar in the following areas (Best 1988:66)¹⁴: Firstly, Paul is presented as a model of clear conscience and integrity. Paul puts it this way ‘Our conscience testifies that we have conducted ourselves in the world, and especially in our relationship with you. With integrity and godly sincerity. We have done so, relying not on worldly wisdom but on God’s grace (2 Cor 1:12 NIV). Secondly, Paul is presented as a missionary model in theory and practice. Paul states that ‘at least we are not commercialising God’s world like so many others. Instead, in Christ we speak with sincerity, like people who are sent from God and are accountable to God’ (2 Cor 2:17 NET). Thirdly, Paul is a model of obedience to God’s calling to worldwide missions. Paul told King Agrippa, that he was

¹⁴ Best observes in *Paul and his Converts*, 66 that ‘Paul makes no explicit reference to imitation of himself in 2 Corinthians though there are constant allusions to his behaviour when he was in Corinth. (1:12, 17; 2:17; 4:2; 7:2; 10:2, 10; 11:5-7; 12:11-13, 17)’.

not disobedient to the heavenly vision (Acts 26:18-20; 2 Cor 4:1-2). Fourthly, Paul is a model of Christian witnessing by the power of the Holy Spirit. In his testimony to the believers in Corinth, Paul reminded them that ‘sings of an apostle were performed among you with utmost patience-signs, wonders, and works of power’ (2 Cor 12:12-13). Therefore, Paul was an example to his disciples in life and ministry.

5.4 Comparative Insights from CAPRO and Pauline Discipleship Strategy for Church Growth

This study has shown that though Paul and CAPRO idea of discipleship is similar and connected to Christ’s Commission to his disciples. However, their methods of calling and training disciples were considerably different. What are the comparative insights gained from Paul and CAPRO engagement in disciple-making?

- i. In Judaism, the תלמידים¹⁵ (disciples) select the teacher that would be their teacher but Jesus went out to the sea shores, highways and byways to evangelize and call people into discipleship relationship with him (John 15:16; Luke 9:57-62). Like other rabbis, Jesus had occasion to reject some candidates who wanted to follow him because their motives were not right (Mark 5:18-19). In a similar way, Paul rejected John Mark (Acts 15:39) and CAPRO often screen missionary candidates and reject some due to immaturity, the wrong motive, or sickness.
- ii. Among the Jews, disciples chose rabbis who are very knowledgeable in the Torah. This was very significant because the authority of a rabbi was not centred on himself but was directly proportionate to his knowledge of the Torah. In contrast, although Jesus respected the law, he required his followers to sacrifice everything for his sake not the sake of Torah (Mt 10:38). Jesus rather presented

¹⁵ A *talmidim* is a plural Hebrew noun meaning "disciples". It is used to mean those who leave family to study and follow the ways of their teacher [rabbi]. They study not only to learn what their teacher knows but to become the type of man their teacher is. From the Hebrew root word ‘limud’ meaning ‘instructed’. See *Strong’s* #8527.

himself as the fulfilment of the law and the scriptures testified to him (Colossians 1:17; John 5:39-40; cf. 2 Corinthians 3:15-18). This understanding and experience of discipleship is still being discovered and developed in CAPRO because few members have the understanding of Paul and his ministry context.

- iii. Discipleship in Judaism was understood as transitional and only a means to an end. The disciple's goal is to become a career rabbi. In contrast, Jesus saw discipleship as a fulfilment of destiny for the disciple. Both CAPRO and Paul read Christ's discipleship practice as a lifelong love relationship with Christ which does not have provision for graduation (Romans 8:29-30; Philippians 3:7-14; cf. 2 Peter 3:18), which was not the case with Paul's contemporaries. Whereas in Paul's Jewish context, the process of discipleship was seen as a way of education where the pupils were seen as students hoping to graduate one day in a career. For Paul, Christ's disciples are to be devoted servants of Christ, dedicating their lives and willing suffer or death for Christ's sake (Matthew 16:24-25; John 12:26). Therefore, Paul encouraged his believers to be imitators of him as he imitates Christ. The themes of dedication, sacrifice and suffering are also common in CAPRO discipleship, especially among those working among the Muslims in Northern Nigeria. Believers are taught to follow Christ's example by loving their enemies and praying for them to discover Christ as their Lord and Saviour.
- iv. Moreover, in Pauline traditional context, a Jewish rabbi looked for disciples who was considered intelligent, had head knowledge and could pass on their teachings to others. But Paul followed in the steps of Christ, who went to the sea shore and called a few fishermen to follow him and consecrated them to be his apostles and witnesses among the nations (Mk 3:14 and Acts 1:8). Paul argued

that God calls the weak and foolish to shame the strong and wise respectively so that no one can boast in his presence (1 Cor 1:26-29). Even Paul acknowledged that he was the worst of all sinners but God called him to be an apostle to the Gentiles. This argument tend to support CAPRO focus on evangelizing the rural poor, the illiterate, vulnerable children and youth and engaging in non-influential communities and people groups. In contrast, Pauline discipleship activities engaged all categories of people in the cities, including the poor and vulnerable.

- v. Whereas the Jewish rabbis produce activists who were passionate about the restoration of political glory of Israel, the disciples of Christ in Paul's missionary endeavour were developed to become agents of reconciliation, heralds and ambassadors of Christ among the nations. Most Jewish rabbis, at this time, had the knowledge of the law and the various 613 interpretations of the Torah as the prime condition for successful discipleship. Furthermore, the rabbis stressed full separation from the non-Jewish people because they are unclean. In contrast, Jesus, in his discipleship approach, focused more on the transformation of the heart. Therefore, his discipleship operated under different principles from his contemporaries, especially those of John and the Pharisees.

According to Matthew:

When the Pharisees saw this, they asked his disciples, "Why does your teacher eat with tax collectors and sinners?" On hearing this, Jesus said, "It is not the healthy who need a doctor, but the sick. But go and learn what this means: 'I desire mercy, not sacrifice.' For I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners" (Mt 9:11-13NIV).

This radical approach to evangelizing and discipleship is discernible in Paul's attitude and imitation approach. This is a challenge to CAPRO members because their theological perception of imitation is more negative than positive. So CAPRO tends to use the word apprentice in the place of imitation. For Paul, Jesus Christ is the goal and model for discipleship in life and ministry (cf.

Clarke 1998: 348). He wrote, ‘Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus’ (Phil. 2:5, cf. 3:10).¹⁶ Paul understood that conversion to Christianity was not enough or an end. Those who claim to be Christians were required to be obedient followers of Christ. Therefore, Paul appealed to his readers to follow his conversion paradigm of a radical change and re-orientation of thoughts according to their new life in Christ and its implications for the church (1 Tim 1:16; 2 Tim 3:10-11 also Rom 12:1-2) which included his missionary conduct (De Boer 1962:201; Little 2005:116; Longenecker 1997:40). Paul did not suggest that believers should replace Jesus in their discipleship task. On the contrary, each is encouraged to emulate the attitude of servanthood that characterized the life and ministry of Christ (Hawthorne 1996:169; Clarke 1998:348-50).¹⁷ For instance, in Philippians, Paul did not promote his image but kept exalting Christ as the supreme model for his disciples to follow (Phil 3:17).¹⁸ By so doing, it is not unlikely that Pauline disciples knew that Paul wanted them to ultimately follow the example of Christ without juxtaposing it with Paul (Phil. 2:5-11; 2 Cor. 8:9; Rom. 15:2-3).

- vi. Similarly, this study has discovered consistency between Paul’s life and his teachings. This supports the argument of the existing harmony between Pauline

¹⁶ Stanley, ‘Imitation in Paul’s Letters’, 137. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, 203-205, argues that Phil. 2:5 provides a bridge linking the preceding and succeeding verses. L.W. Hurtado, ‘Jesus as Lordly Example in Philippians 2:5-11’, in P. Richardson and J.C. Hurd (eds.), *From Jesus to Paul: Studies in Honour of Francis Wright Beare* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984), p. 113-26, and I. H. Marshall, ‘The Christ-Hymn in Philippians 2:5-11’, *TynB* 19 (1968) 117-119. Contra E. Käsemann, ‘A Critical Analysis of Philippians 2:5-11’, in *God and Christ: Existence and Province* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 45-88; R. P. Martin, Carmen Christi: ‘Philippians 2:5-11’ in *Recent Interpretation in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967); and Michaelis, ‘μυμέομαι κτλ.’ 669. Cf. also Cruz, *Christological Motives and Motivated Actions*, 376-85, who consider that the whole hymn, not the model of Christ, which should be seen as motivating.

¹⁷ Paul has done this himself by taking the same title as Christ, namely δοῦλος (Phil. 1:1; 2:7), and equally by emptying himself of all that was to his advantage (Phil. 2:7; 3:7-8), cf. Hawthorne, ‘The Imitation of Christ’, 172-74, and Kurz, ‘Kenotic Imitation of Paul and of Christ’.

¹⁸ This perspective is strikingly at odds with the interpretation offered by Castelli and Michaelis who see here references to power, control and authority. See Castelli, *Imitating Paul*, 95-97; Michaelis, ‘μυμέομαι κτλ.’ 668. Cf. M. Bockmuehl, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians* (London: A. & C. Black, 1997), p. 229. As elsewhere, Paul also highlights for the Philippians those models whom they should not follow (Phil. 3:18-19).

core theology and his mission to evangelize the Gentiles (Little 2005:123). Scholars like Stendahl have supported this view by maintaining that ‘there is hardly a thought of Paul which is not tied up to his mission’ (Stendahl 1976:12). Others, in their conclusions, agree that Paul was ‘a theologically driven missionary and a missiologically driven theologian’. In other words, his theology was missiological in practice and his missionary endeavours were theological in thoughts (cf. Hafemann 2000:141). His conscientious combination of these elements facilitated the quality of the churches he established. This is a challenge to CAPRO’s perception of discipleship which is mostly didactic. Paul did not teach discipleship in abstraction but called upon his followers to look at his life and imitate his examples. It was his goal to model Christian teachings for non-believers to be attracted to his faith and for his followers to emulate him as they follow Christ. By this, Paul established multicultural and counter-cultural communities of Christ followers in the pluralistic Greco-Roman cities, especially when the numbers of his disciples grew and matured to become models for others to follow (1 Cor 11:1; 1 Thess 1:6-8, 2 Tim 2:2).¹⁹

5.5 Summary and Conclusion

Some of the summary highpoints which underpin CAPRO’s reading of Paul’s discipleship practice include, but are not limited to, the following:

- i. CAPRO, like Paul, encourages members to pursue personal and corporate intimacy with God and let it transform their lives and ministry as they engage in interpersonal relationship with others (Phil. 2:1-16).

¹⁹ Witherington takes this further by saying, ‘The glorious conclusion of μύμησις comes, in Paul’s view, at the resurrection of believers, when they are truly conformed to the image of the Son’. See Witherington, *Conflict and Community in Corinth*, 146.

- ii. The organization's understanding of Paul, maintains that strategies, eloquence and gadgets cannot convert or disciple anyone except the power of the Holy Spirit using humble disciples (1 Cor. 1:17; 2:1, 4).
- iii. Following the example of Paul, CAPRO seeks to pursue a discipleship process that involves commitment to Christ which is fully expressed by faith through prayer, studying and understanding the Bible and cultures (CCPM 2001:44, cf. Ponraj 1993:92), as well as equipping indigenous church leaders in their community (Pocock, Rheenen, McConnell 2005:140, 286).
- iv. CAPRO understood that Paul used the local church as a leadership and disciple-making centre which facilitated his church growth process (1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Tim. 2:2; Acts 11:19-26, 13:1-5; 20:18-24).
- v. CAPRO, like Paul uses discipleship to encourage church-planters to identify and affirm the gifts of indigenous local believers and have faith in their ability to run the affairs of the local church (Escobar 1992:9, Holmberg 2004:190).

Finally, this chapter has shown that CAPRO and Paul take the task of disciple-making seriously in their church growth practice. Drawing from the Hebraic and Hellenistic points of view, this study has shown that the notion of a disciple is known to be someone who follows the teachings, life, and aims of another until the person becomes like the master. Christ, in the Great Commission, mandated his disciples to go and make disciples of all nations. This process is achievable when individual believers learn from Jesus by intentionally following him and his radical transforming teachings. For it is required of a disciple of Christ to become like him. The study has demonstrated that the life of total commitment, absolute surrender, sacrifice and supreme love inspires the disciple to follow the master. These impact on the strength and influences Christ's community, the church, in a locale to aspire for greater fruitfulness. Consequently, this facilitates church growth, especially when disciples are also committed to making more

disciples. This is very significant to both the CAPRO and Pauline perspectives of discipleship.

CHAPTER SIX

KOINΩNIA: COMAPARING CAPRO'S AND PAUL'S APPROACHES TO PARTNERSHIP AS A STRATEGY FOR CHURCH GROWTH

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, this thesis has compared CAPRO and Paul's church growth strategies, including the contextual realities, church planting, ethnicity and discipleship. The research revealed that both Paul and CAPRO engaged these approach categories as church growth strategies in their respective mission enterprises but were very different from one context to another. This chapter shall examine CAPRO and Paul's *κοινωνία* or partnership, their approach to qualitative and quantitative church growth and later compare them. The growing awareness and interest in *κοινωνία* as 'partnership or sharing in fellowship'¹ is evident in the increasing literature on the subject.² The term *κοινωνία* and its cognates were used expansively in antiquity.³ Although there were variations in the understanding of the term but its basic meaning which is 'to participate and share in common' was generally understood (Kariatlis 2011:40-41). Therefore,

¹*Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible with Hebrew-Aramaic and Greek Dictionaries*, 1998,#2844, *koinónos* and #2842 *koinōnía*.

² Charles Van Engen, 'Opportunities and Limitations', *Working Together with God to Shape the New Millennium: Opportunities & Limitations*, (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library 2000). Daniel Rickett, *Making Your Partnership Work* (Enumclaw, WA: WinePress Publishing, 2002); Ernie Addicott, *Body Matters: A Guide to Partnership in Christian Mission*, (Edmonds, WA: Interdev Partnership Associates, 2005); Bruce W. Longenecker, *Remember the Poor: Paul, Poverty, and the Greco-Roman World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010).

³ Some early Greek writers see the term *κοινωνία* as: (1) sharing in public funds or other public matters (Demosthenes *Or.* 8.23; 18.257; Xenophon *An.* 4.7.27; Aristotle *Pol.* 2.6.23; Res Gestae 1.2), or (2) sharing in the general public interest (Isocrates 14.21; Demosthenes *Ep.* 1.5, 9-10), or (3) sharing in different sorts of socio-political entities such as the polis, leagues, local communities, subdivisions of the government (cf. Herodotus 1.67, 3.156, 5.109; Thucydides 1.90, 2.12; *SIG* 457; *P.Thead.* 17; *P.Oxy.* 1.54), and or (4) sharing in reference to clubs, associations, and what was known as professional 'guilds' (*P.Oxy.* 1.53; *P.Oxy.* 1.84). Aristotle viewed *κοινωνία* basically as a socio-political unit that undergirds the fabric of society which intrinsically demands from its citizen's sociability, communality, interdependency, and solidarity in their day-to-day life (Aristotle *Pol.* 1.3.12; cf. Ogereau 2012:372).

depending on the context the meaning of the term ranges from fellowship, partnership, sharing, association, communion or participation (cf. O'Brien 1993:293).⁴

6.2 CAPRO's Approach to Partnership in Missions

This section examines CAPRO's partnership strategy and how it contributes to the growth of the church in Nigeria. But CAPRO is not an island and draws its understanding of partnership from the contemporary partnership discourse. Therefore, this section explores the understanding of partnership and how CAPRO teams mobilize for partners in Nigeria.

6.2.1 Towards Understanding of Partnership in missions

This study shall use *κοινωνία* to mean partnership because of its expansive application among mission scholars and practitioners. Cueva observes that partnership and its related terms such as 'cooperation, collaboration, networking, synergism, and strategic alliance have been used in the evangelical arena at various times' and in different ways (Cueva 2015:61).⁵ Escobar highlighted some partnership insights based on his experiences in Latin America. But his approach to partnership is more on the historical interpretation of global impact of missions on the church, particularly the church in Latin America. He saw missionary collaboration in the context of tension between

⁴In the Septuagint *κοινωνία* as partnership between God and humankind is not common; nevertheless, there is compelling evidence on what partnership relationship could accomplish in the Old Testament. For instance, in Genesis 2:18 God observes that it is *not good* for the *man* to be *alone*, and says, 'I will make him a suitable partner.' Consequently in Ecclesiastes 4:9-14, the ancient preacher observes that 'two are better than one and a cord of three strands cannot be easily broken.' See John C. Maxwell & Tim Elmore, *The Power of Partnership in the Church* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1999), 5. In Exodus 17:8-15, the account of Israel's battle against the Amalakites illustrates this point. The coordinated teamwork between Moses, Aaron, Hur and Joshua is the Old Testament view of what people could achieve when they work together (Exo. 17:8-15; cf. Amos 3:3).

⁵ Samuel Cueva, *Mission Partnership in Creative Tension: An Analysis of Relationships within the Evangelical Movement with Special Reference to Peru and Britain between 1987 and 2006*, (Carlisle: Langham Monographs, 2015).

evangelism and social work (Escobar 2001:119).⁶ However, he contended that missionary partnership today should recognize global realities and encourage missionaries to flow freely from everywhere to everywhere in the spirit of humble service in the six continents (Escobar 2003:164).⁷

René Padilla (1985)⁸ argues that there is no distinction between sending churches and receiving churches. He questions the idea that ‘Christian mission lies in the hands of Western strategies and specialist’. He warns that as long as partnership is understood as a one way relationship where the strong, big or old churches or group reach out to the weak, small or young ones any partnership effort is a myth (Padilla 1985:134). He maintains that partnership in world missions is not a matter of convenience but a necessity because of its role in the fulfilment of God’s purpose for humankind revealed in Jesus Christ (Padilla 1985:136). However, it should not be paternalistic which creates dependence and division among believers. On the contrary, it should be interdependent, building on trust and mutuality; reciprocating the interchange that promotes unity in the body of Christ. This view further challenges the Western supremacy idea of partnership in missions which was driven by political and economic power and a general assumption of superiority in worldview, culture and race. This was counter-productive because a proper reading of body ministry in Pauline letters shows that each member of the body is important and has equal access to God and something to contribute to the body (see 1 Cor 12; Rom 12 and Phil 2). Therefore, I agree with Kirk that all churches, theologically speaking, belong to one another (Kirk 1999:135-187).

⁶ Samuel Escobar ‘From Mission to Theology’ in Samuel Escobar, *Changing Tides: Latin America and World Mission Today*, (Maryknoll, NY: Obis Books, 2002).

⁷ Samuel Escobar *The New Global Mission*, 2003, pp. 164-167.

⁸ René Padilla, *The Fullness of Missions*, pp. 129-141.

Historically, the concept of partnership as it evolved from the colonial ruling policies influences its use in the theological debate. Baurochse (1996:89-92) notes that the term partnership came to light in 1905 before the First World War (1914-1918). At this time, the word was used in British colonial discourse in relation to self-determination of the so-called colonial countries and to regulate British policies between the colonial administration and the British governments. Initially, the colonialist used terms like 'self-determination' and 'trusteeship' to highlight self-responsibility for the colonies while the British government retained power and its protective function toward the colonies. Then, the 'indirect rule' was coined to give the British colonies more governmental power. However, after 1942, the British government introduced a new policy for its colonies known as 'partnership' to establish new relationships between the colonies and the United Kingdom.

From this backdrop, one can deduce why the idea of supremacy, superiority, and inferiority originated in partnership discourse. The decolonization process ended in the 1960s (1) but the political dimension of partnership emerged from the understanding of equal rights between the whites and the colonies, and (2) the feeling of superiority in race and culture made the colonialist feel that the overseas colonies (partners) were not mature, rich or learned enough to rule themselves, which made the process of handing over power to the colonised countries very slow. Baurochse argues that the British government 'did not want to give up their power and influence entirely to the Asian or African partners, because overseas partners were not yet mature enough, without education, capabilities or personnel with leadership qualities' (Baurochse 1996:93). This kind of political partnership continued until nationalists protested, and only then did colonialism come to an end between 1960 and 1970. This colonial political mind-set

in missions which permeated partnership discourses gained prominence at the beginning of 1905.

Drawing from the above narrative, it is obvious that one of the motivations for partnership at this period was for control of power as well as domination of economic resources and space. Similar motivations underpinned the use of the term after the Second World War to consolidate the unity of the 'ecumenical mission enterprise' (Bauchse 1996:93). Therefore, the term 'partnership' in missions is a borrowed concept that has economic, political, social and theological consequences on global mission enterprise. However, the evangelicals continue to use this term with a modified meaning to connote unity and a good relationship between those engaged in mission enterprise. The word was theologically adopted after the Whitby Conference in 1947⁹ to include the missional relationship between the North and South in Obedience to Christ Commission (cf. Cueva 2015:62). Furthermore, in June 1992, during the consultation of the World Evangelical Fellowship in Manila, 95 mission leaders from 35 countries attended and focused their discussion 'towards independence partnerships', especially in the context of indigenous national mission movements (Taylor 1994:1). In this context, partnership was understood as the 'association of two or more autonomous bodies that have formed a trusting relationship and fulfil agreed upon expectations by sharing complementary strength and resources to reach their mutual goal' (Cueva 2015:64).

In other words, a partnership relationship between two or more people or ministries is their working together to accomplish a common vision (Butler 2006:2). Butler took the idea further by referring to what he calls strategic partnership which is a way of 'looking at the whole challenge by identifying all the needed resources then engaging

⁹ The conference was organised by the Committee of International Missionary Council in June 1947.

those varied elements in a single lasting collaboration. Realizing a challenging goal that may be simple to state but complex to achieve' (Butler 2006:6). This is 'any group of individuals or organisations sharing a common vision beyond the capacity of any one of the individual partners' (Butler 2066:34-35). When looking at growth as self-development in learning and making appropriate changes, Daniel Rickett and Omar Gava rather see partnership in Christian ministry as 'cooperation between two autonomous bodies in order to train one another to make possible the expected growth in their abilities to initiate and to accomplish things for the gospel' (Rickett and Gava 2005:15).¹⁰

Other terms closely related to partnership that should be considered in this section are synergy and networking. Synergy is used to denote a state of being or acting together. It is the effort of two or more groups of people put together for greater achievement than the individuals could achieve separately. Synergy is the result of where there is effective partnership in global missions. I agree with the way Taylor illustrates this word. According to him: 'a synergistic effect in physiology speaks of body organs that cooperate with others to produce or enhance effects (Taylor 1994:6). He added, 'synergism occurs when the output is greater than the sum of the inputs. For example, one draft horse can pull four tons. If you harnessed two draft horses together, they can pull twenty-two tons. Synergy comes from partnership: and we want to see kingdom partnerships for world missions (Taylor 1994:6).¹¹ Networks, on the other hand, are chains of people talking to one another, sharing ideas, information, and resources towards accomplishing a common goal. The verb 'to network' is simply the process of connecting with other people and groups with the aim of sharing for a common good

¹⁰ Daniel Rickett and Omar Gava *Allianzas Estrategicas [Strategic Alliance]*, (COMIBAM, 2005), 12-14.

¹¹ William D. Taylor, *Kingdom Partnerships for Synergy in Missions* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1994).

(Taylor 1994: 243-244).¹² Like the human body, networks are like multitudes of body cells connected directly or indirectly and working together for a common goal. How does the above idea of partnership work in CAPRO?

6.2.2 Building Partnerships in CAPRO

Before comparing CAPRO with Paul, this research shall first identify and discuss their approaches to partnership. In CAPRO, there are different stages of partnerships: (1) partnership through departmental synergy, (2) partnership with churches established by CAPRO, (3) partnership with non CAPRO churches, (4) partnership with other mission agencies and (5) partnership with all Christians. The value and goal of these partnering relationships are as follows: partners in ministry, partners in prayer, partners in financial matters, partners in prayer and financial matters. How does CAPRO engage in these partnerships? There are four common foci of partnership in CAPRO missions.

Firstly, prayer partnership: CAPRO network with churches to mobilize prayer support. CAPRO staff and friends also organize prayer events in churches and schools to encourage Christians to pray for missions. In addition, missionaries share their prayer news for the same purpose. This prayer news is divided into two: (1) the information circulated among staff members through the *Staff Link*, and (2) the information shared with the general public through *CAPRO Prayer and Praise Bulletin*. Partners are encouraged to support missionaries by regularly praying for them, and organizing special prayer events to pray specifically for the missionaries and set up intercessory teams of prayer supporters for worldview missions.

¹² Augusto Rodriguez observes that networks themselves are the important thing. It is the process of connecting with people that is significant. See Augusto Rodriguez, *Paradigms of the Church in Mission: A Historical Survey of the Church's Self-Understanding of Being the Church and of Mission* (Eugene: OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012). Cf. John Naisbitt, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*, (New York: Warner Books, 1984); Doris Naisbitt, John Naisbitt, *Mastering Megatrends: Understanding and Leveraging the Evolving New World*, (Singapore: World Scientific, 2017).

Secondly, financial partnership: Financial consideration is always part of the critical process of answering and sustaining missionary calls. It is not uncommon to find missionaries handling difficult and expensive problems and projects that are community-based and non-profit oriented. Moreover, most resignations of missionaries are somewhat connected to their financial situations. Therefore, missionaries always need financial support but appreciate when supporters are regularly taking into consideration the changes and inflation in the market particularly in the areas of food, accommodation and children schools. CAPRO missionary activities are funded by individual Christians or groups who believe their vision to reach the unreached peoples with the gospel of love and hope in Christ Jesus. This group of people feels called by God to support the organization financially. CAPRO believes that the God who calls frontline missionaries and sent them to the mission field by faith will call generous people to give resources and support the work. Like mobilizing for mission prayers, CAPRO mobilizes people to partner with the organization to reach the unreached peoples by encouraging churches to adopt an unreached people group of their choice to reach by sponsoring the missionaries or church planting team; praying for them, providing funds for their welfare, medical, education, equipment, projects, paying fees for missionary candidates in training, transportation, schools, holidays and ministry expenses to mention a few.

Thirdly, prayer and financial partnership: Another track of partners who support CAPRO operations are those who felt called to commit themselves to both prayer and financial support. Some of these people may not necessarily join the CAPRO sending and support teams but are very active and committed to the course of reaching the unreached. A family or group of individuals could choose to operate independently but contract to support the work monthly, quarterly or yearly. CAPRO objectives are

achieved through these teams of supporters. They also go out of their way to mobilize funds for the organization. They are encouraged to explore ways of encouraging missionaries physically, intellectually, materially, emotionally and spiritually. By sending letters or emails of encouragement, music CDs or sermons, devotionals, motivational DVDs, Christian books, magazines, especially things that missionaries cannot easily find where they are. They also remember to give gifts to the missionaries on their birthdays, at Christmas and Easter celebrations. Partners also support the missionaries by organizing special short term visits to the mission field to see for themselves what the situation is in the mission field and how to better support the missionary. CAPRO and partners also work together to support the activities of the indigenous churches according to the handing over plan.

Fourthly, ministry partnership: This is another type of partnership relationship that exists between CAPRO and other mission agencies in Nigeria, Africa and globally. For instance, right from the beginning, CAPRO works in partnership with student organizations such as Nifes, SU, FCS; churches, and international organizations such as WEC, Joshua Project, Tear Fund, YWAM, OM, and World Vision and so on. These organizations work together in certain part of Africa, Europe and America to advance the course of cross-cultural mission enterprise by sharing human and material resources.

6.2.3 Partnership Mobilization in CAPRO Nigeria

Before comparing CAPRO and Paul, this research shall first examine how CAPRO mobilizes partners and builds partnerships. CAPRO does partnership mobilization through partners and friends commonly referred to as '*chapters*' or a 'CAPRO support team' (CAST) in each city to pray and support the mission of CAPRO. Soladoye, the International Chairman of CAPRO and one of the leading partners of CAPRO

operations, defined mission mobilization as ‘the spontaneous response of a true disciple of Christ to the need of stirring up the hearts of other Christians to make them active partners and constantly on the move in terms of missions’ (Soladoye 2003:1). He added that in CAPRO:

We believe that we must reach the unreached, and also motivate the Churches to do so. We also believe that the resources we need to reach the unreached are in the Churches. Mobilization is practically about being credible and friendly to the extent that it is part of the larger ministry of reconciliation committed to the church. The task of mobilising is critical to the success of the missions of the church. Therefore, should not be left entirely to missionaries alone (Soladoye 2003:1).

In the beginning, when CAPRO was ready for church planting, the next question was where to find people to send since there were few staff members and most were university students. So, the leadership appointed a committee in 1984, led by Niyi Gbade, to examine the state of CAPRO work and recommend the way forward. In their submission, the committee recommended that CAPRO should as a matter of urgency recruit more workers for the mission. According to them, this work can only move forward when there are more people on board. ‘The progress of our mission work hangs to a very large extent on the number of people we can send out to the field’ (Gbade 1984:4-5). The committee also proposed ways of recruiting more missionaries. Essentially, the proposal suggested that mission awareness and recruitment should be directed to church leaders, to recruit more full-time staff, and to give more attention to the use of print and electronic media (Gbade 1984:4).

At this time, CAPRO understood that the church was an organic body of Christ and should function to facilitate the fulfilment of the Great Commission. Instead of depending on Western support, the organization evolved a structure that both indigenous missionaries and supporters would work together to fulfil the goal of

evangelizing the world. Therefore, to mobilize a wide range of partnership¹³ networks, the ministry started what is known as ‘*chapters*’ in the urban centres. These are small groups of believers designated to serve as missionary partners and mission resource mobilizers that work alongside churches to motivate them to actively participate in missions, discipleship and facilitate culturally relevant church growth activities. Therefore, CAPRO right from its inception has always depended on God through the support of friends and churches to accomplish her mission.

Although every member of staff is expected to mobilize resources and prayer for his or her ministry, it is the ‘chapters’, partners, associates or friends of the organization that originally have the responsibility of mobilizing resources for the work. A chapter is an organized sending and supporting arm of CAPRO missionary activities in a specific location (CCPM 2001:9). According to the first Guiding Principle of CAPRO (GPC), a chapter functions mainly as a prayer, staff recruitment and financial base (GPC Sec. IV: no. 12). Famonure reflected on how CAPRO started and recalled that ‘mobilization was a very significant part of CAPRO’s strategy right from the beginning’:

When we started there were no full time missionaries but some people were more involved in the outreach than others; while some had more resources to give for the outreaches. Although we were living by faith, part of that faith is that God will move the hearts of people to support his work in CAPRO. Therefore, the original vision of CAPRO had chapters as part of her strategy (Famonure. Personal Interview, 2012).

Similarly, Kputu added that in CAPRO, like the full-time missionary, chapter supporters are believed to have been called by God to support and partner with CAPRO for the fulfilment of the vision to reach the unreached peoples with the gospel:

CAPRO chapters exist to support the ministry in the area of prayer, creating awareness about missions in general and CAPRO in particular, mobilizing the churches in their community and beyond to be committed to discipleship and world evangelization by being strong members of

¹³ By partnership here I do not mean a servant-master or older-younger relationship but in terms of koinonia or fellowship of mutuality, interdependency, companionship between the church and the mission agency or CAPRO with churches or mission agencies.

the church, building network of supporters and friends for CAPRO; and also provide supports for CAPRO missionaries in the mission fields (Kputu 2003:1).

Moreover, the duties of chapters are clearly stated in the CAPRO chapter manual (CCM 10-11). Among other things, a chapter is expected to mobilize churches and provide needed support spirituality, materially, emotionally through all kinds of prayers, gifts, visits and volunteer services. Therefore, the success of a CAPRO support team is not in the numbers of attendance but in their efficiency in mission partnership. For example, Kola Kehinde observes that the Port Harcourt chapter in the Southern part of Nigeria, is not large but what it lacks in sheer size it makes up in dexterity and zeal. 'It has remained one of our most virile financial sending bases or teams' (Kehinde 2003:1). But in mobilizing for missions, the missionaries are enjoined not to fold their hands and watch. The task of mobilizing and recruiting would require the active participation of all Christians. Kputu graphically describes the interface between the frontline missionary and support partner in CAPRO, saying:

God raised CAPRO on two legs – the Going Leg (serving missionaries) and the Sending Leg (the chapters support). The effective interplay of these two arms is the secret behind the advance of the mission of the Lord through CAPRO. It is therefore of uttermost importance that one leg does not outpace or outgrow the other (Kputu 2003:1).

This suggest that CAPRO perceives and organizes partnership relations as follows: (1) partnership through departmental synergy, (2) partnership with churches established by CAPRO, (3) partnership with non-CAPRO churches, (4) partnership with other mission agencies and (5) partnership with all Christians. The value and goal of these partnering relationships include, but not limited to partners in ministry, partners in prayer, partners in financial matters and those provide emotional encouragement. The above shows that the complementary and collaborative efforts from both CAPRO missionaries and partners have increased the impact of the gospel in the mission field and consequently facilitated church planting and growth among the unreached people groups in Northern Nigeria and beyond.

6.3 Κοινωνία: Paul's Partnership Approach to Church Growth

Having looked at partnership and CAPRO's approach to partnership, this section shall focus on partnership (κοινωνία) in the Pauline partnership approach and how it functions as a strategy for quality and quantity church growth. How did Paul and his team approach partnership in their missionary enterprise? I shall examine this by looking at:

- i. Paul's partnership with his co-workers;
- ii. Paul's partnership with the Philippians church;
- iii. Jerusalem collection as partnership with churches.

6.3.1 Paul's Partnership with his Co-Workers

The term κοινωνία or partnership did not begin with Paul. In Greco-Roman society, κοινωνία and its cognates were used expansively.¹⁴ In its fullest extent, Paul embraced partnership as a way of sharing in all matters of faith, fellowship, evangelism, and prayer for the progress of the gospel and growth of the church (Phil. 1:5; 2:1; 3:10; 4:15). One of the ways Paul engaged in partnership was through his team relationship with his co-workers. Teamwork is one of the good practices encouraged throughout the Scriptures.¹⁵ In the New Testament, Jesus began and ended his earthly ministry in the

¹⁴ Some early Greek writers see the term κοινωνία as: (1) sharing in public funds or other public matters (Demosthenes *Or.* 8.23; 18.257; Xenophon *An.* 4.7.27; Aristotle *Pol.* 2.6.23; *Res Gestae* 1.2), or (2) sharing in the general public interest (Isocrates 14.21; Demosthenes *Ep.* 1.5, 9-10), or (3) sharing in different sorts of socio-political entities such as the polis, leagues, local communities, subdivisions of the government (cf. Herodotus 1.67, 3.156, 5.109; Thucydides 1.90, 2.12; SIG 457; P. Thead. 17; P. *Oxy.* 1.54), and or (4) sharing in reference to clubs, associations, and what was known as professional 'guilds' (P. *Oxy.* 1.53; P. *Oxy.* 1.84). Aristotle viewed κοινωνία basically as a socio-political unit that undergirds the fabric of society which intrinsically demands from its citizens' sociability, communality, interdependency, and solidarity in their day-to-day life (Aristotle *Pol.* 1.3.12) Ogereau 'The Jerusalem Collection as Κοινωνία' 2012, p. 372.

¹⁵ The Scripture whether in the Old Testament or New Testament encouraged believers to work together in unity. See Gen. 2:18; Exo. 4:14-16; Num. 11:14; Prov. 27:17; Hag. 1:14; Amos. 3:3; Mk. 6:7; Acts 13:2; 15:39-40; 1Cor 12:18-26.

company of others, especially his disciples.¹⁶ As with Christ and his other disciples, Paul's ministry shows that he employed a variety of partnership relationships as means to encourage member care and personal growth that should engender corporate fellowship and growth among his congregation. As shown in the table below, it is evident in Paul's missionary journeys that he was a good team player and a team leader who always travelled in a team. Although it is not clear why Paul travelled in teams but it is not unconnected with the need for fellowship, accountability, companionship, encouragement, mentoring, or disciple-making. Paul's promotion of teamwork in mission is evident in both his letters and in Acts. As shown in the table below, Paul's teams varied in composition, from one city to another or people group to another. However, he was consistent in constituting and working with different teams at different times and places in his church-planting and church growth endeavours.

Table 5.1 Paul's Ministry in the Company of other Believers in Acts

<i>Paul's Ministry in Damascus after Conversion</i>	
Paul started his Christian life in the company of disciples	Acts 9:19
Paul went to join the disciples in Jerusalem	Acts 9:26-28
Paul stayed with Barnabas, Peter and James	Acts 9:27; Gal. 1:18-19
<i>Paul's Ministry in Antioch</i>	
Paul ministered together with Barnabas	Acts 11:25-26
Paul ministered together with Barnabas, Simeon, Lucius, and Manaen	Acts 13:1
Paul travelled together with Barnabas and John Mark on his first missionary journey	Acts 13:2-5
<i>Paul's Ministry in Jerusalem</i>	
Paul took famine relief with Barnabas	Acts 11:30
Paul went to the Jerusalem Council with Barnabas and others	Acts 15:2
<i>Paul's Second Missionary Journey</i>	
In Antioch Paul selected Silas to accompany him	Acts 15:40-41
In Lystra Timothy joined Paul's team	Acts 16:3
In Troas Luke joined Paul and his companions	Acts 16:8-10
In Philippi Paul ministered with Silas, Timothy and Luke	See 'We' verses in Acts 16:12-18
In Thessalonica Paul ministered with Silas and Timothy	Acts 17:1-15
In Berea Paul was with Silas and Timothy	Acts 17:13-15

¹⁶ Mk 3:13-19; Mt 4:17-22; Jn 15:16.

In Athens Paul ministered alone for a while before Silas and Timothy joined him	Acts 17:15-16
In Corinth Paul was with Aquila and Priscilla, Silas and Timothy	Acts 18:1-5; 1 Thess. 3:6
In Ephesus Paul was accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla	Acts 18:18-22
<i>Paul's Third Missionary Journey</i>	
Paul taught in the company of his disciples in Ephesus	Acts 19:9
Timothy and Erasmus were together with Paul in Ephesus	Acts 19:22
From Greece to Macedonia Paul was accompanied by seven men: Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus and Trophimus	Acts 20:4
In Philippi Paul was accompanied by Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus and Trophimus	Acts 20:5-6
In Jerusalem Luke stayed with Paul	Acts 21:15
In Rome Luke kept Paul company	Acts 27:1; 28:16
In Jerusalem Paul was in the company of brethren, James and elders	Acts 21:17-18
In Rome, Luke and Aristarchus accompanied Paul	Acts 27:1-2

6.3.1.1 Paul's Partnership is Teamwork with Fellow Believers for a Common Goal.

Looking at the table above, it is evident, firstly, that Paul carried out most of his evangelization activities and travels in teams. In many instances, he employed the company of fellow Christians in his evangelization efforts (Acts 9:28-30; 13:1-15:61). He had regular companions and referred to them as co-workers, like Timothy, Silas, Titus, Priscilla, Aquila, Luke, Erastus, Trophimus, Tychicus, and Mark. Secondly, the data also show that Paul earnestly desired, and in some cases requested, for others to join him. For instance, while in prison, Paul wrote to Timothy:

Do your best to come to me quickly, for Demas, because he loved this world, has deserted me and has gone to Thessalonica. Crescens has gone to Galatia, and Titus to Dalmatia. Only Luke is with me. Get Mark and bring him with you, because he is helpful to me in my ministry (2 Timothy 4:9-11 NIV).

Thirdly, the table above highlights the following: (1) fellowship,¹⁷ (2) security,¹⁸ (3) delegation,¹⁹ (4) provision of care and material needs,²⁰ (5) discipleship and or leadership mentoring,²¹ and (6) the task of missions and evangelism.²²

Fourthly, the core purpose for Paul's building relationships with different co-workers was connected with his passion for the salvation of the Gentiles or for the common good of the gospel (cf. Addicott 2005:11). However, to achieve this, all partners were encouraged to value the task of relationship-building, sharing core values and vision, agreeing with the structure and working together to build trust, especially in multi-cultural teams (Rickett 2002:5-6). Therefore, like the body analogy in 1 Corinthians 12; Romans 12 and Ephesians 4 illustrates unity in diversity, Paul saw the members of the church mutually interconnected and interdependent in their working together for the growth of the church through partnership.

6.3.1.2 Paul's Partnership as an Opportunity to Mentor Indigenous Church Leaders

Drawing from the list of partners above, it is significant to note that the complex network of co-workers in Paul's life and ministry contributed in many ways by offering him the opportunity to mentor more people and equip them for indigenous church leadership. For instance, Paul's frequent delegation of responsibilities to some of the members of his network helped him to prepare and equip many of the churches by mentoring their leaders. Some served as secretaries, hospitality providers or as resident

¹⁷ Acts 9:19, 26-28; 18:18; 19:29; 20:34; 27:1-2; 28:15.

¹⁸ Acts 9:30; 17:15; 20:2-4.

¹⁹ Acts 15:2; 11:30; 20:4.

²⁰ Acts 18:1-3; 19 24:23; 27:3; 28:14.

²¹ Acts 11:25-26; 14:21-23; 15:35; 15:40-41; 16:4-5; 19:9; 20:6-38.

²² Acts 9:28-30; 13:1-5, 13-16, 44-46; 14:1, 7, 20-21, 25; 17:1-15; 18:5-8.

teachers and overseers of local ἐκκλησία.²³ For instance, if we look at Paul's relationship with Timothy, it is evident that Paul wanted Timothy, like other disciples, to grow strong in the teaching he had received from him and trained others to do the same (2 Tim. 2:2; 1:13; 2: Phil. 2:22). For Paul, church growth was not the work of an individual or a single local assembly but the collective effort of the whole church (Peerbolte 2003:232). He did not only seek to work with others but also through his relationship with new churches, to train more disciples and leaders for the same mission.

Any portrayal of Paul as a lonely hero in his mission and church growth is inconsistent with Paul's image in his letters and in Acts. On the contrary, he collaborated and consistently interacted with multiple individuals and church groups to ensure the effective expansion of the church (Ehrensperger 2007:36, cf. Stark 1996:61-71). Wolf-Henning Ollrog (1979), in his argument, stretched this idea further by observing that the relationship between Paul and his companions was that of colleagues. He demonstrated in his monograph that the term *synergoi* is not used for co-workers but denoted colleagues who were engaged in the same work as Paul. They may or may not have supported Paul directly or indirectly, but they may equally well have been working independently of Paul (Ehrensperger 2007:47, Ollrog 1979:70). But I prefer others, like Lietart Peerbolte, who was aware of Ollrog's arguments but still advanced a contrary view. According to him, 'Paul was supported in his proclamation of the gospel by a certain group of co-workers, 'fellow-workers' *synergoi* in Christ' (Peerbolte 2003:228). Whatever the case, in view of the fact that the term *synergos* was 'distinctive and unique Pauline expression' (Jewett 2006:957; Cotter 1994:350-72), this study would rather maintain a balance between the aforementioned views. This is because there were times

²³ 1 Tim. 1:3; 2 Cor. 8:23; 1 Thess. 3:2; Titus 1:5.

and contexts that Paul accepted the support of the churches but there were also situations that he did not accept the support for the sake the gospel.

6.3.2 Pauline Epistles as Partnership Instruments with Churches for Effective Church Growth

Paul used letter-writing as an instrument to promote fellowship and partnership among his companions and the churches. Today, most people, both Christians and non-Christians, know Paul because of Luke's narrative in the book of Acts and the 13 Letters grouped under his name. But not many people think of Paul's letters as part of his church growth strategy especially in promoting healthy fellowship and partnership among believers. His Letters went to places or people that he could not reach at the time they were sent. Therefore, in reading Paul's Letters and Luke's portrait of him in Acts 9-28, two significant partnership relationships are evident.

Firstly, Paul used his Letters to begin and strengthen partnership relationship with churches. For example, Paul introduced himself to the believers in Rome (Rom. 1:1-17). To the church in Philippi, he expressed his love and appreciation for their partnership in his missions: 'I thank my God in all my remembrance of you ... because of your partnership in the gospel from the first day until now' (Phil. 1:3-5; 4:15-19). He defended his apostleship, reprimanded and sought reconciliation in Galatians and 2 Corinthians, and he addressed concerns or answered questions in 1 Corinthians. In the case of his friend Philemon, Paul interceded and solicited for forgiveness and restoration of the lost relationship between Philemon and his slave, Onesimus (Phlm 17-22). Therefore, Paul achieved various purposes by using his Letters as means to begin and strengthen his partnership relationship with churches and individuals.

Secondly, Paul used his Letters as tools to facilitate *κοινωνία* among his co-workers for sustainable church growth. From whatever angle one looks at Paul's Letters, it is evident that Paul carried out his church growth activities in the company of many believers. Similar collaboration is evident in his letter-writing. For example, at the beginning of most of his undisputed Letters, he would mention a co-sender after introducing himself and toward the end he sent greetings to some people. The passages below demonstrate Paul's use of co-senders in his correspondence:

1 Thess. 1:1 'Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy'
2 Thess. 1:1 'Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy'
1 Cor. 1:1 'Paul ... and our brother Sosthenes'²⁴
2 Co 1:1 'Paul ... and Timothy our brother'
Gal. 1:1-2 'Paul, an apostle ... and all the brothers who are with me'
Phil. 1:1 'Paul and Timothy'
Phlm 1:1 'Paul ... and Timothy'
Col. 1:1 'Paul ... Timothy'

Fulton's recent studies on co-senders in the Greek letters and the Pauline Epistles did not only acknowledge that Paul had a preference for including others as co-senders, but also concluded that the phenomenon was more common in antiquity than many supposed (Fulton 2011:229). Having challenged the general misconception that co-senders were mere carriers (Fulton 2011:212-4), secretaries (Fulton 2011:214-6), or co-authors (Fulton 2011:216-9), Fulton concluded that the role of co-senders in ancient Greek society was that of 'those who take responsibility for the contents of the letter' (Fulton 2011:218). Paul's writings were not too different. She maintained that Paul's co-senders were people who took responsibility with Paul as would be perceived by the recipients as being in agreement with its contents (Fulton 2011:229). For Paul, co-senders were his co-workers in the founding of the church, members of a particular Pauline congregation, known and respected by the recipients of the Letters (Ehrensperger 2007:35; Fulton 2011:181). If that is the case, then Timothy, being presented as a co-sender in almost all the Letters of Paul, had more authority in Paul's

²⁴ Cf. Acts 18:17.

church planting and church growth initiatives than is commonly presented and demonstrated in Paul's pastoral Letters (1 Thess. 3:1-2; 2 Cor. 1:19; 1 Tim. 4:12). Therefore, apart from the fact that Paul used his Letters for pastoral care, discipleship, and leadership training, I conclude that Paul's use of co-senders was another way of expressing his partnership with his co-workers and the churches he planted.

Paul demonstrated at the beginning of most of his Letters that he was not alone. His preaching of the gospel was a joint effort. He reminded the church in Thessalonica that 'You know what kind of men *we* proved to be among you for your sake' (1 Thess. 1: 5; cf. 1:1 italics mine). Ehrensperger observed that 'Paul does not claim to address the recipients as a lonely voice but makes it clear from the beginning that what he is writing is the product of a group of at least two members of the Christ-movement, and thus a corporate enterprise' (Ehrensperger 2007:35). Although Paul witnessed many great miracles and spectacular manifestations of the Holy Spirit in his life and ministry, the fact that he wrote most of the Letters in the New Testament and that they are still being read through the centuries is very significant.

6.3.3 Paul's Interpersonal Relationship Challenges

The aforementioned shows that Paul carried out most of his mission in the company of other believers. He clearly demonstrates this in his missionary journeys, letter writing and Jerusalem collection project. However, this was not without difficulties. Firstly, Paul had relational difficulties with the Jewish people in most of the cities he carried out his mission. According to Luke's narrative in Acts, at Damascus 'the Jews conspired to kill him [Paul]' (Acts 9:23 cf. Gal 1:15-17), and at Iconium 'the Gentiles and Jews, together with their rulers, set out to mistreat and stone them (Paul and Barnabas)' (Acts

14:5). Other areas include Lystra (Acts 14:19-20; Thessalonica, Berea (Acts 10:11); Corinth (Acts 18:6, 15); Ephesus (Acts 18:6; 19:8); and Jerusalem (Acts 23:12-15).

Secondly, although Paul was a good team builder and great team player, he encountered disappointments, divisions, immoral behaviour, heresies, controversies and corruption in some of the churches he established and among his team members (Patmury 1992:70).²⁵ Paul constantly faced the tension between maintaining relationships at the expense of his calling to evangelize the nations (Gal 2:11-13). This was even more difficult when the disappointing behaviour came from one of his own team. Thirdly, Paul's converts were referred to as living epistles (2 Cor. 3:2-3). They were his glory and joy. Paul suffered emotional pain when he heard one of his converts had backslidden into the old pagan lifestyle such as Demas loving the world (2 Tim. 4:10) and 'even Phygelus and Hermogenes' deserted him at the province of Asia (2 Tim. 1:15). Paul's teamwork did not always work.

6.4 Paul's Partnership with Churches

We have seen that Paul took seriously his relationship with individuals or groups of co-workers with the aim of building stronger churches and planting new churches. Ollrog observed that 'the fact that Paul surrounded himself with so many co-workers has no parallel in the early Christian mission' (Ollrog 1979:228). This section examines Paul's partnership with the churches he established. Firstly, the Paul-church partnership was expressed in various ways, including the following:

- i. Through Christian greetings (1 Cor. 16:19-20; Phil. 4:23; Rom. 16:16);

²⁵ Gloria Patmury, *The Disappointments of St. Paul in His Missionary Endeavour* (Bangalore: St. Paul's Press, 1992).

- ii. Through collaboration with others, for example, in the Jerusalem collection project (1 Cor. 16:1-3; Rom. 15:26);
- iii. By co-operating in a common cause of the church's prayer and evangelism (1 Thess. 1:8);
- iv. By allowing churches to support his mission in different ways (Phil. 4:15-15);
- v. By modelling Christian faith to motivate others to grow likewise (2 Cor. 1:24; 9:2; 1 Thess. 1:7-10; 2:14);
- vi. By writing letters together (Col. 4:16);
- vii. By sending representatives to support one another (Acts 11:22-23, 17; 15:1-2; 1 Cor. 16:3-4);
- viii. By supporting one another through prayer (2 Thess. 1:11; 3:9-13 Phil. 1:9-11; Eph. 1:16; 3:14-21; Col. 1:9-13);
- ix. By encouraging the churches to actively participate in Christian mission through prayer, giving of gifts, or sending helpers to stay with him as the case might be (Phil. 2:25; 4:14-16; Col. 4:3);

However, although Paul deeply appreciated and even solicited some kind of partnership, he by no means demanded it nor did he always receive it from the churches he established (Phil. 4:15; 2 Cor. 11:8-9; 1 Cor. 4:12) (cf. Hesselgrave 2005:295). As in the case of the church in Philippi, when Paul mentioned the Macedonian believers, he did so to show how their selfless giving was modelled on Christ in supporting him and others (Rom. 15:26; 2 Cor. 8:1; 11:9). Seesemann connected the function of grace and generosity in service by noting that 'χάρις' means not just a favour, but grace calling the Macedonians to generosity' (Seesemann, 1933:68; Panikulam 1977:48). To this end, Panikulam concluded that: (1) Macedonian generosity is seen exclusively as the out-working of 'the grace of God' (Χάρις του Θεού) in them. (2) Partnership or κοινωνία is

the concrete expression of their response to the grace of God in the service of the saints whether in Paul's ministry or to the poor in Jerusalem. (3) Therefore, their motivation for *κοινωνία* is God's love, which is fully expressed in Christ giving himself on the cross. Consequently, church partnership is primarily partnership with Christ Jesus which leads to a partnership relationship with God the Father and with one another in Christ (Panikulam 1977:1, 53).

6.4.1 Paul's Partnership in the Gospel with the Church in Philippi

Drawing from Luke's narrative in the Book of Acts, Paul travelled to Philippi²⁶ in his second missionary journey (Acts 16:6-40). Paul's journey to Philippi began when he had a vision in the night of a man from Macedonia urging him to 'come over to Macedonia and help' (Acts 16:9). Luke narrated that (1) the Spirit forbade the mission to Asia (Acts 16:6); (2) the Spirit forbade the mission to Bithynia (Acts 16:7). Then Paul travelled to Troas (Acts 16:8). It was at Troas that a vision of the man in Macedonia (Acts 16:9) appeared to Paul. And Paul took a 'straight course' to the call (Acts 16:11). Paul's ministry in Philippi was accompanied with signs and wonders (Acts 16:16-40). The impact of his ministry initially led to the conversion of two households: Lydia and her household (Acts 16:14-15) and the jailer and his household (Acts 16:32-34). Having established the church in Philippi, Paul moved on to Thessalonica because of severe persecution. But the church in Philippi continued to contact him and variously supported him (Phil. 4:16). When Paul visited the region on his third missionary journey, the Philippians church, amongst others in the region of

²⁶ Philippi was situated in the North-Eastern corner of Macedonia, about 16 km by road from its harbour town at Neapolis on the Aegean Sea, and 180 km north of Thessalonica. Traditional scholarship dates the letter during Paul's imprisonment in Rome 56-60 CE (McClendon 199: 439-444; Murphy-O'Connor 1998:184). There are three traditions about where Paul composed Philippians, namely Ephesus, Caesarea, and Rome. The earlier tradition maintains that Paul was in Rome when he wrote the book of Philippians (Bockmuehl 1997:26-30; Silva 2005:5-7). Some of the plausible indications that suggest Rome may include Paul's references to 'in bonds' (Phil. 1:13-14); in the Praetorium (Phil. 1:13); and 'saints in Caesar's household' (Phil. 4:22).

Macedonia, gave generously to support his mission to the poor in Jerusalem (Rom. 15:26; 2 Cor. 2:13; 8-9).

But what was the nature of Paul's partnership relationship with the Philippian church? In the Book of Philippians, Paul highlighted some main areas of partnership he enjoyed with the church, including partnership in prayer (Phil. 1:4; 19), partnership in the spirit (Phil. 2:1), partnership in the gospel (Phil. 1:3-5), partnership in suffering (Phil. 4:14; 3:10; Col. 1:24), partnership in giving and receiving (Phil. 4:15-19). O'Brien observes that 'much of the key NT teaching on *κοινωνία* and cognates are found in Paul who uses the verb *κοινωνέω* five times out of a total eight occurrences, and the noun *κοινωνία* thirteen times out of nineteen instances' (O'Brien 1993:293, Silva 2005: 44). *Κοινωνία*, in antiquity covered all kinds of common enterprise, ranging from marriage union to bonds of human friendship.²⁷ For Paul, unlike the divisive tendency portrayed by the church in Corinth, the Philippians saw themselves as a community who *συνκοινωνός*, 'shared with' him in the grace of God (Phil. 1:7) and in 'the fellowship of the Spirit' (Phil. 2:1). Therefore, their common sharing in the Spirit should be a decisive factor in their life together (Phil. 2:1-4; cf. 2 Cor. 13:13). This partnership as sharing is also evident in the gentile converts being sharers, *συνκοινωνός*, with the Jews in the inheritance of Abraham (Rom. 11:17; 15:27). A similar idea is discernible in 1 Corinthians 9:23 where Paul expressed his zeal and determination to become all things for the sake of the gospel in order to share, *συνκοινωνός*, in its blessings. The idea of making the gentiles to share in the blessing of Abraham implies growth which is made possible through the preaching of the gospel for which Paul was in prison.

²⁷Louw, Johannes P.; Nida, Eugene Albert: *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*. Electronic ed. of the 2nd ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1996, c1989), 1:445-446.

Paul testifies that it was only the Philippian church that supported his mission in giving and receiving when he sets out from Macedonia and when he was at Thessalonica. According to Paul, ‘not one church shared with me in the matter of giving and receiving, except you only; for even when I was in Thessalonica, you sent me aid more than once when I was in need (Phil. 4:15-16 NIV). Paul’s remark here is unique because the phrase ‘giving and receiving’ shows that the relationship was reciprocal in nature. The Philippians were generous and consistent in their partnership with Paul (Phil. 4:18-19). Drawing from this relationship one could postulate that Paul’s partnership with churches was a two-way relationship whereby both parties were mutually respectful and responsible for one another for the purpose of church growth (cf. Hesselgrave, 2000:296). Paul’s response to partnership relationship resulted in the book of Philippians. Paul showed that he cherished and appreciated the partnership role of the church and encouraged others to emulate their persevering corporate partnership, even when other churches did not join Paul in the preaching of the gospel and care of the missionaries (Phil. 4:10-19).

The Philippian church was a model of self-motivated and corporate partnership in prayer, in preaching the gospel, in fellowship and giving. These provide significant insights to what should be the attitude of a local church to the funding of church mission and caring for missionaries’ welfare in the field. The church did not wait for newsletters, prayer updates or a request for a visit from Paul. They knew what was right and they did it. The Philippian believers distinguished themselves in the area of consistent generosity and Paul used them as a model to motivate other churches, like the church in Corinth, to do the same in their contribution to the needs of the Judean saints (2 Cor. 8:1-5; 9:1-5).

6.4.2 Partnership in the Gospel involves Suffering for Christ’s Sake

In many ways, Paul also sought to grow churches by enduring suffering and hardship. For Paul, ‘suffering is a sign of genuine ministry (Phil. 1:15-25; 2:17; 3:8-10) as it is of all Christian existence (Phil. 1:29-30)’ (Johnson 2010:328). Hubbard (2010), in his study, interestingly compared literary parallels between Paul’s hardship catalogues in 2 Corinthians 4:8-19; 6:3-10 and 11:22-33 to the Stoic-Cynic tradition. According to him, ‘The motif is very nearly ubiquitous. And not only is Paul’s subject matter between Paul and his philosophic contemporaries analogous, the literary forms of the hardship catalogue could bear remarkable correspondence’ (Hubbard 2010:101). See the table below.

Paul -2 Corinthians 4:8-9	Plutarch, <i>Mor</i> 1057E	Paul -2 Cor. 6:9-10
‘Afflicted in every way but not crushed; perplexed but not despairing; persecuted but not abandoned; thrown down but not vanquished.’	‘Confined, but not hindered; thrown down, but not constrained; tortured, but not in pains; maimed, but not injured; Pinned down, but not beaten; surrounded but not defeated, Enslaved but not captive.’	‘Unknown, yet well know; dying, but look! We live; punished, but not killed; sorrowful, but always rejoicing; poor, but making many rich, having nothing, but possessing all things’

Fig. 5.2 Literary Parallels between Paul and Stoic-Cynic Tradition of Suffering

Like the Stoic philosophers, Paul saw suffering as a way of strengthening godly character and promoting virtue (Rom. 5:3-5; 1 Cor. 9:24-27; 2 Cor. 4) and presenting to his followers a Christian model to emulate. However, contrary to the Stoics’ perspective of being invincible and self-sufficient, Paul listed his hardship to show the sufficiency of the grace of God thereby highlighting his weaknesses (2 Cor. 12:9-10). This line of thinking, according to Hubbard, ‘would have baffled Paul’s Stoic contemporaries and exposes the most fundamental difference between the valiant Stoic and the follower of Jesus Christ’ (Hubbard 2010:102). For example, Paul did not depend on his personal

strength but on God's grace and power (2 Cor. 3:5; Phil. 4:13). He also endured hardship because of the eschatological implication (1 Cor. 9:27) and soteriological motivation (1 Cor. 10:30-33). Therefore, to this end, Paul laboured, struggled with all God's power which was at work in him (Col. 1:29).

Although Paul's imprisonment set the stage for the suffering theme and served as one of the occasions for the Letter, Paul did not limit the experience to himself (Phil. 3:7-10). Others like Timothy and Epaphroditus suffered (Phil. 2:19-30), while the whole Philippian church experienced suffering (Phil. 1:29) and, more importantly, Christ suffered (Phil. 2:6-8; 3:10, 18). Paul saw the suffering of others as a reflection of his suffering and a way to advance the gospel of Christ. Bloomquist concluded that in the Book of Philippians, Paul did not use the theme of suffering 'to reprove the Philippians or humble them' but to endear them to him (Bloomquist 1993:193).

Therefore, Paul perceived his afflictions and being chained for gospel sake as sharing, *koinōnia*, in Christ's suffering (Phil. 3:10; cf. 2 Cor. 1:7). Paul's suffering here does not add to the finished work of redemption accomplished through Christ's death on the cross (cf. Acts 14:22; 1 Thess. 3:3, 7). However, 'By participating in Christ's afflictions, Paul was entering into a deeper personal relationship with his Lord and thus becoming more like him, every day. This fellowship was evidence that Paul was truly one of the Messiah's people, destined for salvation and future glory' (Phil. 1:29; Rom. 8:17) (O'Brien 1993:294). A similar note is struck in Philippians 4:14 where it is asserted that the Philippians had 'made common cause with' (*syngkoinōneō*) the apostle in his affliction. By their recent gift (cf. Phil. 4:15), they had identified with him in his ministry and given further evidence of their participation in the apostolic task of proclaiming the gospel (Phil. 1:5) (cf. Witherington 1994:31f, Bockmuehl 1997:64)

6.5 Jerusalem Collection: Paul's Geo-Political Fundraising Strategy for Church Growth

When the Prophet Agabus stood up and was foretold by the Spirit 'there would be a great famine over the entire world' (Acts 11:28), little did the church foresee what the impact would be on the believers. However, in response to the devastating famine, believers were determined to send relief to those living in Judea through Barnabas and Saul (Acts 11:29-30). According to Luke's narrative, Paul spent three months at Corinth during which he wrote the book of Romans (Acts 20:1-3) in the winter of CE 56-57 (cf. Murphy-O'Connor 1996: 22). He was with his associates Gaius and Erastus in Corinth (1 Cor. 1:14; 2 Tim. 4:20) when he wrote the Book of Romans (Rom. 16:23). It is worth noting here that Aquila and Priscilla who were originally from Rome (Acts 18:2), serving as co-workers with Paul at Corinth had also gone back to Rome at this time (Rom. 16:3). The letter is unique because of the way Paul addresses the recipients as 'to all that be at Rome' instead of 'the church at Rome' (Rom. 1:7). Paul did not address the letter to any particular congregation. It was written to Christians who were residing in the city of Rome (Rom. 1:7, 15) comprising of different individuals and household congregations, both Jews and Gentiles (Wiersbe 1997:360).²⁸ He greeted the various segments of his audience in 16:1-24 including: the saints (see Rom. 16:5, 10, 11, and 15); the sinners who should be avoided (Rom. 16:17-20); and the servants of God who deserve honour (Rom. 16:21-4).

²⁸Wiersbe, Warren W.: Wiersbe's *Expository Outlines on the New Testament* (Wheaton, IL: Victor Books, 1997, c1992), p. 360.

The conceptualization of Paul's fundraising enterprise known as 'the Jerusalem collection'²⁹ is agreed by most biblical scholars to have begun when the church elders in Jerusalem, including Peter, James and John, gave Paul and Barnabas the charge to 'remember the poor' (Gal 2:10). But what is the 'Jerusalem collection' and who are the poor saints in Jerusalem?

6.5.1 Jerusalem Collection: A Pauline Geo-Political Strategy

Scholars have seen Paul's collection project as part of his global strategy. Ksenija Magda referred to Knox who interpreted the ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ (meaning from Jerusalem to Illyricum) to be the scope of the nations Paul planned to evangelize in Romans 15:19.³⁰ Wright (2013), Rosner (2011), Kim (2011) and Magda (2009) et al. perceive 'Jerusalem collection' as described in Romans 15 as part of Paul's missionary strategy and goal to take the gospel to the ends of the earth by visiting Rome and going beyond Rome to Spain. Seyoon Kim³¹ refers to the collection as 'Gentile's eschatological pilgrimage to Zion' (Kim 2011:1). Consequently, it is not improbable that Paul saw himself as an eschatological herald of Christ gospel, who seeks to bring to an end the reign of 'the god of this age' in sin and death (Burke and

²⁹ Scholars have interpreted this collection variously. Paul's collection is a radical shift and big step toward global κοινωμία among Christ communities in the first century. J. P. Sampley, in Gal. 2:9, has shown that this act of κοινωμία possesses a legal and commercial connotation. See Sampley, *Pauline Partnership in Christ* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1980), p. 21-50. In the case of 1 Cor. 10:16, κοινωμία (κτλ.) is understood as 'participation' because of the genitive of the thing shared. In 1 Cor. 16:1-4 Paul calls it λογεία, which is the general term for any kind of voluntary, or compulsory, monetary collection (Ogereau 2012:363). In Paul then presents it as a divine privilege or gift, in which they can participate voluntarily and out of love (αὐθαίρετοι, 2 Cor. 8:3). Consider the also the repetitions of προθυμία (8:11, 12, 19; 9:2), σπουδή (8:7, 8, 16), and τὸ θέλειν (8:10). No less than eight times is the term χάρις indeed employed to refer to either the collection or to God's favour enabling them to give (8:1, 4, 6-7, 9, 19; 9:8, 14; cf. 1 Cor 16:3). For a precise categorization of Paul's various usages of χάρις is difficult here. For a detailed discussion see J. R. Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace in its Graeco-Roman Context* WUNT 2/172, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 294-303. Cf. G. W. Griffith, 'Abounding in Generosity: A Study of Charis in 2 Corinthians 8-9' (Ph.D. diss., University of Durham, 2005). In 2 Corinthians 9, which many scholars consider to constitute a different letter,²⁹ the collection is then described several times as a διακονία [τῆς λειτουργίας] (9:1, 12-13; cf. Rom. 16:31), and εὐλογία (9:5). For a good review of scholarship on this matter, see M. E. Thrall, *Second Corinthians* ICC 2, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 194), p. 1-49.

³⁰ J. Knox 'Romans 15:14-33 and Paul's Conception of his Mission', in *JBL* 83 (1964), 1-11.

³¹ Seyoon Kim 'Paul as an Eschatological Herald in *Trevor*' in J. Burke & Brian S. Rosner (eds.), *Paul as Missionary: Identity, Activity, Theology and Practice* LNTS, 420, (London: T & T Clark, 2011), pp. 9-24.

Rosner 2011:1).³² However, before embarking on his mission to the West, particularly to Spain, he informed the believers in Rome about his plan to visit them on his way after giving the Gentile believers in the East the opportunity to participate in the missional pilgrimage to Zion as predicted in Prophet Isaiah 40-66. Riesner's view of Paul's geographical strategy presents Paul and his mission moving from Tarsus Westward. Drawing from Isaiah 66:18-21, he observes that 'Tarshish, Put, Lud, Meschech, Tubal, Javan and the farthest islands correspond to Tarsus, Cilicia, Lydia, Cappadocia or Mysia, Bithynia, Macedonia and the farthest West, respectively (Riesner1998:13).³³

Magda (2009:4) attempted to examine how Paul's mission could be better understood by studying the geography of Paul's missionary activities. Drawing from James Scott's geographical proposition in relation to Romans 15:18-21, Magda argues that knowing Paul's territoriality is the basis for understanding his strategy which could clarify some basic misunderstanding of Pauline strategy (Magda 200:4).³⁴ Earlier, Knox (1964:1-11) believes that understanding Paul's mission geography is essential to the understanding of Paul's strategy but he suggests more than he proved. He understood Paul's approach to missions as beginning and ending in Jerusalem without leaving any part of the known Mediterranean world without the gospel.

³²Trevor J. Burke & Brian S. Rosner (eds.), *Paul as Missionary: Identity, Activity, Theology and Practice* LNTS, 420, (London: T & T Clark, 2011).

³³ Riesner, Rainer. *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology*, Trans. Doug Stott (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998).

³⁴ See Ksenija Magda, *Paul's Territoriality and Mission Strategy: Searching for the Geographical Awareness Paradigm Behind Romans*, (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); J. Scott, *Paul and the Nations: The Old Testament and the Jewish Background of Paul's Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the Destination of Galatians* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); P. Alexander, *Toponymy of the Targumim with Special Reference to the Table of Nations and the Boundaries of the Land of Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974).

Although Knox did not go into details, Scott, in his ‘Table of Nations’ study provided helpful arguments in favour of territoriality -nation-based global strategy’ (Magda 2009:6). Both Riesner and Scott, in their argument on Paul’s territoriality, have suggested that Jerusalem was a central place in Paul global strategy and mission worldview but this is not evident in his Letters and ministry. On the contrary, Paul, in Galatians chapter 1 and 2, shows us not only how remote his life and ministry was from Jerusalem but also highlights the notion of a New Jerusalem which is above the geographic Jerusalem (Gal 4:25-26).³⁵ This is a new shift of focus from the ‘geographic Jerusalem’ which is in bondage and its people to the idea of New Jerusalem which is ‘above all’.

Julien M. Ogereau (2012:360-378) attempted to explore the political and socio-economic dimension of *ισότης* (inequality) and *κοινωνία* as the key motives for the Jerusalem collection in Paul’s Letters (Rom. 15:26, cf. 2 Cor. 8:4, 9:13). Drawing from the context of ancient literary and documentary sources, he argues that the two terms do not primarily bear the theological connotations that generations of scholars have ascribed to them. He opined strongly that Paul had more than poverty alleviation in mind as he appears to have aimed at reforming the structural inequalities of Greco-Roman society that was also becoming apparent in the early church (cf. 1Cor 11:17-22), by fostering socio-economic *ισότης* between Jewish and Gentile believers and by establishing a global inclusive *κοινωνία* that is socially and ethnically significant through the collection exercise. This view challenges the ancient socio-political theories and prejudices that were based more on socio-ethnic distinctions (cf. Wan 2000:195-

³⁵ A. Knauf *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien: Die unbekanntten Jahre des Apostels* (1998) – Paul between Damascus and Antioch: The unknown years (London: SCM, 1997).

215, Ogereau 2012:377).³⁶On the contrary the collection tends to reveal Paul's desire for a socio-economic equality and solidarity across ethnic and socio-cultural divides in a way that no Greek socio-political utopia had ever dared to envisage (Ogereau 2012:378).

Ogereau provided sufficient mention of the four major traditional interpretations of the fundraising or collection mission which are not mutually exclusive in their perspectives. These include: '(1) the fulfilment of an eschatological event;³⁷(2) the expression of the Gentiles' moral and/or social obligation towards the Jews;³⁸(3) the ecumenical offering;³⁹(4) the charitable act in the form of material relief';⁴⁰ and (5) as contribution⁴¹ (Ogereau 2012:362). Although he questions these earlier traditional views of *κοινωνία*, he fails to see the contribution of this strategic enterprise in the growth process of the early Jesus movement. This study examines how *κοινωνία* through the Jerusalem

³⁶ S. Wan, 'Collection for the Saints as an Anticolonial Act', *Paul and Politics* ed. R. A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity International, 2000) 191-215. Who interprets the collection as an act of resistance against both Jewish ethnocentrism and Roman imperialism?

³⁷ J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1958); K. F. Nickle, *The Collection* (Naperville: Allenson, 1966); Georgi, *Remembering*; S. Wan, 'Collection for the Saints as an Anticolonial Act', *Paul and Politics* ed. R. A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity International, 2000) 191-215.

³⁸ Holl, 'Kirchenbegriff'; K. Berger, 'Almosen für Israel', *NTS* 23(1977)180-204; S. Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor* WUNT 2/124, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

³⁹ This is to say that it was aimed at fostering unity and solidarity between the Gentile and Jewish sections of the church. See O. Cullmann, 'The Early Church and the Ecumenical Problem', *ATHR*40 (1958) 181-9, 294-301; Munck, *Paul*, 290; J. Hainz, *Koinōnía* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1982).

⁴⁰ For a more exhaustive and up-to-date review of the literature see Downs, David J. *The Offering of the Gentiles: Paul's Collection for Jerusalem in Its Chronological, Cultural, and Cultic Contexts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). S. McKnight, 'Collection for the Saints', *Dictionary of Paul and his Letters* ed. G. F. Hawthorne and R. P. Martin (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993), p. 143-7.

⁴¹ So Dunn, despite an informed discussion on the significance of *κοινωνία*. J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* WBC 38B, (Waco TX: Word, 1988), p. 870-75. Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* MNTC, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932) p. 231; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* BNTC, (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1957), p. 278; J. A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* AB 33, (New York: Doubleday, 1993), p. 721-2; D. J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* NICNT, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996) pp. 898, 903-4. But see R. Jewett, *Romans Hermeneia*, (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2006) 927-8; BDAG, s.v. *κοινωνία*. J. Y. Campbell, 'KOINΩNIA and its Cognates in the New Testament', *JBL* 51(1932) 373; G. V. Jourdan, 'KOINΩNIA in I Corinthians 10:16', *JBL* 67 (1948) 114; P. C. Bori, *KOINΩNIA* (Brescia: Paideia, 1972), pp. 84-6; J. M. McDermott, 'The Biblical Doctrine of KOINΩNIA', *BZ* 19 (1975) 71-72, 225. Hainz is not totally convinced by Seesemann's arguments; nonetheless, he understands Rom. 15:27 as referring to 'diese Konkrektion der Gemeinschaft im Gemeinschaftswerk der paulinischen Gemeinden'. Hainz, *Koinōnía*, 110-12, 144-54. Others, still, prefer to emphasise the theological dimension of *κοινωνία*. See G. Panikulam, *Koinōnía in the New Testament* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1979), p. 57.

collection facilitated the quality and quantity growth of Pauline churches in the first century. The collection was not just a random enterprise. It was an organized act of generosity intended to strengthen inter-church relationship. For Paul, the collection was grounded on the awareness of God's grace in the life of a believer and the advent of the eschatological reality of the kingdom of God which was being inaugurated through the new socio-economic and political order that was emerging within the church. But why did Paul engage in fundraising for the impoverished believers in Judea? When considering the question four things come to the fore.

6.5.2 The Collection is a United Response to a Regional Socio-Economic Predicament

Paul's partnership for church growth involves sharing in financial and materials. In the Christian life there is a *κοινωνία*, which means 'practical sharing' with the poor. Paul used the word three times in connection with the fundraising from Gentile churches for the poor saints at Jerusalem (Rom. 15:26).⁴² This suggests that Christian fellowship and partnership facilitate active and practical sharing in the physical needs of others (Barclay 1974:174). Although Paul did not accept financial or material support from all his congregations, he did enjoy the support of the churches. In his first missionary journey, he no doubt enjoyed the support of the Antioch Christian community (Acts 13:1-3). His Letters suggest clearly that the church in Philippi actively supported him and his church growth activities (Phil. 1:5; 4:15-16; 2 Cor. 11:8-9) and he sought to find help from the church in Rome towards the work in Spain (Rom. 1:13; 15:28-16:2) (cf. Johnson 2010:235). Witherington has argued that in Paul's Letters phrases introduced by the preposition *εἰς* has the meaning of contributions, almsgiving, in other words,

⁴² Cf. 2 Cor. 9:13; Heb. 13:16.

some sort of financial sharing (2 Cor. 9:13; 8:3-4; Rom. 15:26)⁴³ as well as the cognate verb in Galatians 6:6 and Romans 12:13 (Witherington 2011:57). Ogereau has observed that ‘financial contribution which involved Greeks as donors and Palestinian Jews as recipients may not only be ecclesiastical politics but also involve socio-economic politics too’ (Ogereau 2012:362).

The collection is also unique in the sense that it was not the few wealthy philanthropists taking full responsibility of helping the poor but Paul through his fundraising mandate made it possible for every Gentile church and believer to share with the poor by contributing according to their capacity. The uniqueness of Paul’s approach facilitated the churches’ unified response which effectively gave every member the opportunity and responsibility of benefaction to all the Gentile believers. It is not clear what made the church poor at this time. But this was not unconnected with the severe persecution of the early church (Acts 8:1-3) and the famine which affected the Judean Christ community in Jerusalem (Acts 11:27-30). The collection was a thanksgiving response to their socio-economic situation (1 Cor. 9:12-13). Although early Christians suffered severe persecution all over the world, it was more severe and perhaps lasted longer in Jerusalem which affected the socio-economic life of the Christ community leading to a widespread poverty among the Christ followers. Eusebius, in his church history, reported that during the reign of Claudius about five different famines occurred in 41-54 CE.⁴⁴ Josephus in the same way speaks of the famine in Palestine in 47-48 CE, especially when Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander were Roman procurators.⁴⁵

⁴³Phlm 6; cf. Heb. 13:16.

⁴⁴ Dion Cassius, LX. 11, Tacitus, *Annals*. XII. 13, and Eusebius, *Chron.*, year of Abr. 2070.

⁴⁵ Josephus, *Ant.* XX. 2. 5 and 5. 2. Eusebius Pamphilius is known by his works as a Greek Church historian and exegetical polemicist who became the bishop of Caesarea about 314 CE. He pioneered a chronological narration of the history of early Christianity from the first century to the fourth century CE. See Eusebius, eds. Kirsopp Lake, J. E. L. Oulton, Hugh Jackson Lawlor. *The Ecclesiastical History* (London: Heinemann, 1926). For the reliability of Eusebius’ history see R. M. Q. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

Therefore, first-century fundraising for the poor saints in Jerusalem would have required more logistical organization to collect and send large sums of money to Jerusalem.

Paul's explanation in 2 Corinthians 8:13-14 indicates that they desired equality so that the abundance in the Gentile churches would supply what the Judean churches needed. The project was also motivated by the need to teach the Gentile churches the act of giving to support the needs of God's people regardless of place and race (2 Cor. 9:12). This approach was significantly different from ancient patronage in the Greco-Roman milieu. Contributions in ancient Roman society were not aimed at relieving the poor but increasing the patron's status in society. For Roman patrons, supporting a poor client was not a priority (Hubbard 2010:157). In contrast, Paul's relief collection was motivated by love and grounded upon the truth of Christ's sacrifice (2 Cor. 8:7-9). Pliny contrasted the motif of love with selfish attitudes of the rich in his day. He states that a typical Roman patron could only 'bestow their gifts on those best able to make a return' (Pliny, *Epistles* 9.30). Such people do not relieve the poor but use their gifts as bait to become richer. But Paul was following the example of Christ who became poor to make others rich (2 Cor. 8:9).

Paul's motivation for this collection therefore was not only for the redistribution of Christ wealth in the first-century global church. The implication of this is not only economic but also social. For example, if we take for granted that Gentile Christians supported their Jewish counterparts this would have opened ways to more interactions between the churches in Judea and others. Paul was looking forward to seeing a relationship without barrier between the Jewish Christians and the Gentiles. Therefore,

the collection significantly took Paul's time, energy and space in his Letters.⁴⁶ But Paul was ready to risk even his life by facing the hostility in Jerusalem to complete this fundraising mission (Rom. 15:30-31; Acts 24:17).

6.5.3 The Collection Process reveals Paul's Fundraising Strategy

The value of this relief collection is also discernible in the massive and careful efforts put in the planning by Paul and his co-workers (Hubbard 2010:157). This is evident in their bringing differing churches together for a common goal of raising funds to relieve the poor saints in Jerusalem. The churches involved in the process include: the church at Corinth (1 Cor. 16:1-4), the churches throughout Galatia (1 Cor. 16:1), and the church at Philippi (2 Cor. 8-9), and it is not improbable that the churches at Cenchrea, Berea, Derbe, and Thessalonica were involved. The later churches did not only contribute to the relief but sent delegates to go with Paul, Barnabas, Timothy and Silas, and Luke to present the relief to the elders in Jerusalem.

However, one thing that has not been given attention is how this collection process reveals Paul's mobilization strategy. Given that the collection was dealing with real money, real people and real needs, Paul had to develop a real plan or strategy that would address all doubts that might arise in people's hearts. He was practical in motivating churches by comparing believers' attitudes instead of the amount of money given. For instance, he shows how Macedonian believers gave willingly without grudging, cheerfully without feeling coerced because God loves a cheerful giver (2 Cor. 9:7). It is significant though to note that this was possible because the Macedonian believers gave their lives to Christ first. This suggests that it is not easy to truly give sacrificially and selflessly without encountering the love of Christ as the Macedonians did (2 Cor. 8:5).

⁴⁶ See 1 Cor 16:1-4; 2 Cor 8:1-9:15; Rom 15:14-32.

In any case both the giver and the recipients were beneficiaries of God's grace (2 Cor. 9:8-14).

Furthermore, Paul was realistic in his approach to the collection. He took practical measures to guarantee that the relief was not only collected credibly but that the delivery of the gathered funds was handled with integrity (2 Cor. 8:16-24). He provided practical guidelines on how to give and what the benefits are (2 Cor. 8:11-15; 9:6-15). He practically asked them to appoint representatives from their congregations for the collection and delivery for the funds (2 Cor. 8:18); and admonished them to set aside a certain amount weekly so that they would not lack money to give (1 Cor. 16:2). Therefore, it is unlikely that Paul gathered more support than anyone could afford and there is no evidence of any unmet needs among Pauline churches, especially in Macedonia and Achaia, before taking the relief to Jerusalem.

Having looked at the significance of the Pauline fundraising in the advancement of his congregation, how did this enterprise facilitate Paul's partnership relationship with the churches? Would not this act of generosity have strengthened the faith of the Gentile believers and perhaps provided more ground for the emergence of Christ-believing communities on a global scale? What is the implication of this collection to Paul's church growth mission?

6.5.4 The Collection was for Appreciation and Support

Paul argues in Romans 15:25-27 that Gentile believers were debtors to the believers in Jerusalem because the gospel had spread from Jerusalem to them. 'For if the Gentiles have shared in the Jews' spiritual blessings, they owe it to the Jews to share with them their material blessings' (Rom 15:27). Therefore, the collection was a formal way of

showing appreciation by the Gentile Christians to their Jewish counterparts at Jerusalem. Paul, through this effort, probably hoped to create united ‘Jew-plus-Gentile churches’. According to Wright, ‘this was not just an example of poor-relief, but a demonstration to Jewish Christians that Gentile Christians were in solidarity with them and a reminder to Gentile Christians that they were a junior part of the same olive tree’ (Wright 1994: 60).⁴⁷ The term *κοινωνία* was a ‘strong and evocative word in early Christianity. It implies more than a simple association. Those in fellowship with one another were responsible for each other, and this included fiscal responsibility’, as was the case between the Philippians and Paul (Thurston Ryan 2005:49).⁴⁸ The exercise was to celebrate the growth and impact of the church among the Gentiles. The spectacular growth of Christianity was not simply the result of resourceful, opportunistic visionaries working in an optimal political climate, but there was something attractive about this new religious movement. In many ways, Christian communities were fundamentally counter-cultural in the classless, egalitarian ideals that they sought to actualize. Membership was not based on rank, or ethnicity, or gender, or wealth. Slaves worshipped beside city magistrates, and former prostitutes beside aristocratic matrons (Hubbard 2010: 232).⁴⁹

Furthermore, drawing from the contribution of Pauline churches towards assisting the Judean believers, one may posit that Paul was seeking to promote the unity of the church in a global scale by facilitating the loving intimacy of the Christian communities both among the Gentiles and Jewish believers. As he makes explicit in 2 Cor. 8:4 and

⁴⁷ Tom Wright, ‘Jerusalem in the New Testament’ in *Jerusalem Past and Present in the Purposes of God*. P. W. L. Walker, ed., pp. 53–77. 2nd ed. (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1994).

⁴⁸ See Bonnie B. Thurston and Judith M. Ryan, *Philippians and Philemon, Sacra Pagina Series v. 10*, (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005).

⁴⁹ Christianity was a revitalization movement in the first century. It offered charity and hope to the poor; expanded sense of family for orphans and widows; solidarity and nursing services for the victims of epidemics, disasters. See Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 161.

9:13, the Gentile Christians' contribution to the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem is an expression of this unity and intimacy (Moo 1996:903). Moo observed that 'Paul understands that the Gentiles' status as members of the people of God is inextricably tied to salvation history that has an indelible OT/Jewish cast' (Moo 1996:905). Therefore, in view of Rom. 15:27, the collection for Paul was both a charitable socio-economic and political enterprise but also a theological and practical demonstration of unity and thankfulness of heart.

This collection is also seen as part of Paul's discipleship and leadership responsibility among the Gentile churches. Joseph A Fitzmyer observes that 'by means of such a collection, Paul educated the communities that he founded on Christian concern and harmony, especially between the mother church of Jerusalem and his new foundations' (Fitzmyer 1993:721). He added that, in this way, Paul made an essential contribution to both theological and practical, to the formation of a common consciousness of the church as a whole. And that it was one of the chief reasons why the church was growing in extent but did not split up. This action and theological premise had made all the faithful to be conscious of the unity conferred on them by God which imperatively called for concord (Fitzmyer 1993:721).⁵⁰

6.5.5 The Collection Enterprise Provided a Platform for Believers to Care for and Share with One Another

The Christian community was also a place where needs were met. Elders laid hands on the sick and prayed for them. Widows were cared for. The poor were supplied with provisions. The collection highlights Paul's concern for believers to care for the needs

⁵⁰ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (London: Doubleday, 1993), p. 721; Cf. R. Schnackenburg, *The Church in the New Testament* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965), p. 82.

of fellow believers (Rom. 15:25-26; 2 Cor. 8-9; 1 Tim. 6:17-18), and this conviction vitally informed Paul's theology of work: 'He who has been stealing must steal no more, but must work, doing something useful with his own hands, that he may have something to share with those in need' (Eph. 4:28). In Paul's view, the goal of work was not wealth accumulation but wealth dissemination, 'sharing with those in need'. Other less tangible but equally important needs were also satisfied by the message of the gospel and the experience of the Christian community. 'The message proclaimed by Paul not only leveled the ground socially but also declared that everyone in Christ was newly created, the slate was wiped clean, 'all things have become new' (2 Cor. 5:17). Establishing a family dynamic in the house churches served to reconfigure personal identities, individual loyalties, and social alliances, while giving expression to a nurturing, loving community (Hubbard 2010:233). Tertullian captured this when he described the practice of caring for the needy by the church:

Even if there is a money chest of a sort, it is not made up of money paid in entrance fees, as in pagan temples, as if religion were a matter of contract. Every man once a month brings some modest coin – or whenever he wishes, and only if he does wish, and if he can; for nobody is compelled, it is a voluntary offering. You might call them the trust funds of piety, for they are not spent upon banquets or drinking parties, nor thankless eating houses, but to feed the poor and to bury them, for boys and girls who lack property and parents, and then for slaves too old to work, and shipwrecked mariners; and any who may be in the mines, islands, or prisoners. ... Such work of love- for so it is – puts a mark upon us in the eyes of some. 'Look,' they say, 'how they love one another.'⁵¹

Therefore, *kotwovía* through Paul's fundraising project was a way of expressing godly virtues which are embodied in the church. It was a demonstration of believers' care in the socio-economic needs of the church regardless of geo-political identification. The practice of *kotwovía* among Jesus' followers was perceived by outsiders and within the believing community as an embodiment of Christ's virtue among Christ's followers. James Crossley (2006)⁵² sets out to answer the question of 'why Christianity happened

⁵¹ Tertullian, *Apology* 39.6-7.

⁵² James G. Crossley, *Why Christianity Happened: A Sociohistorical Account of Christian Origins* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), pp. 26-50.

without recourse to theological reasons'. His study attempted to provide pure secular and sociological explanations for Christian origins that eschew theologizing as illegitimate in historical enquiry. In his argument, he posits that Christianity was not in any way superior to any other religious movement of its time.

Although Crossley's labour may be commended for guarding against Christian triumphalism in its various forms, the fallacy of his work, however, is that it is a one-dimensional approach. Hubbard has challenged this view by observing that 'a full, multidimensional description of Christianity's stunning growth must accept in principle that its ideas, its worldview, its theology might indeed have contained elements that pagans found attractive, even superior' (Hubbard 2010: 234). Concerning the growth of the church in the first century, Hubbard also notes that 'the sense of community and equality in the early Christian community did not arise in an ideological vacuum but were the manifestation of deeply held theological beliefs. Therefore, he concluded that the worldview Christianity offered may not have been the primary reason why people were converted, but it cannot be dismissed as irrelevant. Hence, the figure of Jesus might have been an oddity in the religious smorgasbord of antiquity' (Hubbard 2010: 234). Moreover, he remarked that *κοινωνία* through the collaboration of Christian communities somewhat facilitated the rapid spread of the gospel, which transformed many lives and attracted many people to the church. 'This is the most compelling feature of the gospel, both in the Roman world and in the modern world' (Hubbard 2010: 235).

Paul's Letters demonstrate that Christians shared in 'material things' (Rom. 12:13; 15:27; Gal. 6:6). No true Christian can bear to have too much while others have too little. Philippians knew that they were co-sharers in God's grace and salvation, and co-

heirs with Paul and with Christ on the matter of the Kingdom of God (*Hansen 2009:49; Witherington 2011:57*).⁵³ Longenecker noted that many ancient Jews would have agreed with Gillian Clark's assessment: 'No Roman cult groups, not even those that were primarily mutual groups... looked after strangers and people in need. Provision for the poor was not an ethical priority in Roman cultures' (Clark 2004:23-24, Longenecker 2010:199).⁵⁴ Therefore, the Jerusalem collection might have been a radical shift and a step toward global *κοινωνία* among Christian communities in the first century (cf Longenecker 2010:199-205). The contribution and the task of collecting the gift may have been challenging or, in some cases, difficult because of the economic situation of some of the members but Paul thought it was worth the trouble. Therefore, everyone was encouraged to give. Furthermore, as Paul's collection exemplifies so well, *κοινωνία* fostered socio-economic equality and solidarity across socio-cultural and ethnic divides in a manner that no Greek socio-political utopia had ever dared to envisage' (Ogereau 2012:378).

John Reumann went further to add that *κοινωνία* is mutual sharing between teacher and those being taught the word (Gal. 6:6 cf. Phil. 4:15), which is seen as reciprocity in Romans 15:27 (Reumann 2008:108).⁵⁵ J.P. Sampley in his study of Philippians suggested that *κοινωνία* is the Greek equivalent of the Latin term for a business partnership, *societas*.⁵⁶ But this view has been challenged by Witherington, who after much analysis concluded that the language of partnership in the context of *societas* might characterize one aspect of Paul relationship with the Philippians, but it cannot

⁵³ J. P. Sampley, *Pauline Partnership in Christ: Christian Community and Commitment in Light of Roman Law* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1980); G. Walter Hansen. *The Letter to the Philippians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans; Nottingham: Apollos, 2009), 49; Ben Witherington III., *Paul's Letter to the Philippians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), p. 57.

⁵⁴ Gillian Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004).

⁵⁵ John Reumann, *Philippians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Yale Bible, (London: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁵⁶ Sampley, *Pauline Partnership in Christ*, 1980, p. 15.

circumscribe or describe the whole nature and character of the relationship (Witherington 2011:279).⁵⁷ In Galatians 2:9, Sampley posited that *κοινωνία* possesses a legal and commercial connotation (Sampley 1980:21-50).⁵⁸ Therefore, in applying the term *κοινωνία* to the collection, Paul was clearly emphasizing that it was a direct expression of Christian fellowship that the churches were contributing relief-funds to Jerusalem.⁵⁹

6.6 Comparing CAPRO's and Paul's Partnership Approaches

CAPRO partnership prefers relationships where each partner is expected to take a humble posture of seeking to learn from one another what God is doing and how to be part of what God is doing among the nations together. This approach to a partnership relationship has significantly helped facilitate effective mobilization of every believer in the local church to identify and engage in the salvation plan of God for all nations. Drawing from 2 Corinthians 8, there are some partnership principles that facilitated Pauline church growth (Ruiz 2009), which CAPRO emulates. Firstly, the partners must give themselves to God and together discover God's will and the ways of giving themselves to serve one another in specific ways (2 Cor. 8:5). Secondly, both partners must find ways of serving one another in love without any sense of superiority, or fall into the temptation of giving orders for others to obey. In Paul's partnership with the church in Corinth he humbly states, 'I am not speaking this as a command' (2 Cor. 8:8). This suggests that Paul did not seek to dominate the relationship, impose his views or control the partnership process but serve alongside others. For Paul, every part is equally significant and brings its unique strength and weaknesses to the partnership (cf. 1 Cor. 12:12, 18, 22-23, 27).

⁵⁷ See G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians* (Nottingham: Apollos, 2009), pp. 307-308.

⁵⁸ See Sampley, *Pauline Partnership in Christ*, 21-50.

⁵⁹ K. F. Nickle, *Collection*, 106.

Thirdly, consequent to the above, when each partner gives or puts in the best for the sake of the others, there are mutual experiences that facilitate healthy growth, in this case healthy church growth. For Paul, partners should not be possessive or portray the attitude that claims ownership of the partnership process no matter the riches or strength that they contribute to the partnership. On the contrary, Paul is of the view that just like Christ who gave up his riches for others to be rich (2 Cor. 8:9), a healthy partnership is one where the rich or strong party gives away its riches or strength to make the weak one strong or the poor rich. This kind of partnership for church growth is transformational in nature because poverty is transformed into wealth and weakness is transformed into strength, thereby producing more rich and strong communities that can in turn do the same for those in need. This is well expressed in Paul's fundraising collections for the poor members of the church in Judea. By this Paul strengthened inter-church relationships when he encouraged the churches to appoint and send their representatives to support one another (Acts 15:1-2; 1 Cor 16:3-4). Paul in his mission practice did not see the task of church growth as a personal venture, rather he understood his calling in the context of a corporate mandate giving to the church in which he is only a member.⁶⁰

Reporting to the mother church appears to have been a pattern of partnership accountability between the missionary and the local church amongst the early followers of Christ. For instance, in Jerusalem, Peter reported to the church in Jerusalem (Acts 11:1); Paul and Barnabas reported to the church in Antioch (Acts 14:27), and Paul to Jerusalem (Acts 21:19-20). Paul, in his Letters, also demonstrated a commitment to keep his relationship with churches by visiting and reporting to them about what God

⁶⁰ See Paul's partnership with his co-workers in Chapter Five.

was doing among the nations through his ministry. For example, when he was planning to visit Spain he shared it in his Letter to the Romans by asking for their support (Rom. 15:15-24) and reported his plan to travel to Jerusalem and his involvement in the collection of the contribution for the poor saints in Jerusalem (Rom.15:25-28; 1 Cor. 16:5-7).

CAPRO also emulates Paul in seeking to build enduring relationships with churches and individuals who identify with the organization's vision and mission. CAPRO members are strongly encouraged to stay connected with their home or sending churches. Conversely, many staff joined organizations without receiving the support of their churches because some of these churches are not fully aware of their role in missions. Nevertheless, members are encouraged to maintain relationships with such churches with the hope that God will change the situation. To solve this problem, the management agreed that before candidates are admitted to CAPRO School of Missions, they are required to bring a recommendation letter from their pastors. Where staff members are not affiliated to a church, the organization assists and connects them to one. This is different from Paul's practices. Secondly, CAPRO members are encouraged to mobilize prayer and material support by updating the church on what is happening with them in the mission field. Following Paul's missionary practice of mutual accountability with the churches he established, CAPRO missionaries are required to make it part of their annual holiday to connect and spend time with their churches (CSH 2001:16). Therefore, both Paul and CAPRO perceived that true *κοινωνία* with other believers and church organizations facilitates both the quality and numerical church growth (1 Cor. 12:25; Eph. 4:3) but the process of building partnerships in CAPRO varies from one context to another, and there are occasions where the partnership

relationship would not work. This is different from Paul's approach which was centred more on the churches he established.

Whereas Paul and his teams may not have had much difficulties appealing for partnership from the churches they founded (Phil 4:15-15), in contrast, CAPRO appeals very hard and connects with few partners. This is perhaps because most of the CAPRO partners are Christians from other organizations or churches that CAPRO did not establish so the mobilizers find it cumbersome to convince people to engage with its vision. However, since partnership is relationship, the partners are required to be more intentional in their efforts to connect and network with others. In order to achieve this level of intentionality, CAPRO created a department of Media and Mobilization to promote every section of the work, facilitate chapter operations, and network with other organizations that have similar vision, purpose and passion. But Paul did not need this kind of established organizational structure.

6.6.1 Regional Co-operation versus Modern Technology

Paul understood partnership in the context of a believer's relationship with Christ and to one another, as he demonstrated in the 'one another's passages in his Letters (Rom 12:10; Eph 4:32; 1 Thess 3:12; 5:11; Gal 6:2). Paul also encouraged partnership between the churches he founded among the Gentiles with the Judean churches through his Jerusalem collection project. Similarly, CAPRO builds partnership relationships through the chapters and creates synergy between the departments. The organization believes that the church would grow more if there is synergy between the evangelism, discipleship, translations, relief, literature, radio, TV, and the training ministries of the church. However, Paul did not have any such departments as translation, radio, and TV as today. There was less developed technology in Paul's day compared to CAPRO's

context. Today, different social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkIn, Whatsapp among several others and mobile devices are handy to facilitate connectivity and social networking in and by CAPRO. Although there is evidence of social networks of people in the first century CE society, the way internet networking is expressed today is phenomenally different.

6.6.2 Doctrine and Theology

Unlike Paul's relationship with his congregations, CAPRO's partnership requires dealing with doctrinal differences. The churches Paul planted were not far away from the earliest Judean churches in time and geography, and may have had doctrinal challenges especially regarding the Gentiles' inclusion with or without circumcision or food offered to idols but Paul corrected them. However, there are observable doctrinal differences in CAPRO than Paul's experiences because of the distance in time and geography from the first century Christians. For instance, today, there are doctrinal challenges among staff who are from different denominations as well as in the organization's dealing with other churches and mission agencies which do have differences in beliefs. In contrast, although there were conflicts in the early church, there was no sharp divisions into denominations as today in Nigeria. Therefore, one key difference between Paul and CAPRO is that Paul was one of the apostles and those from whom he differed were wrong whereas within CAPRO it is inevitably quite challenging and unclear when such wrongs are being corrected.

Similarly, the theological understanding of Paul in relation to his partners as portrayed in his Letters shows that they were primarily members of one body in Christ before collaborating with one another in Christ's mission and his mission. But today, some churches in Nigeria would rather find their identification with denominations or

doctrinal stand over the unity of the body of Christ. They do not see the need to collaborate with others in any way. This is so particularly in churches that have more attendance and whose members are wealthy. This makes the organization's connection and networking more sensitive because of differences in priority, principles and theological stance.

Furthermore, sometimes CAPRO tends to confuse the terms *partnership*, *networking*, *synergy* and basic *fellowship*. Although Paul may not have used these terms directly, his missionary engagements show that he understood the function of these terms. Though there is an overlap between partnership and networking there is a significant difference. As noted earlier, whereas in partnership the parties or partners focus on taking a joint action by collaborating with one another in the task of reaching a particular people group with the gospel of Christ, networking simply focuses on information sharing with agencies or people who have similar interest for mutual assistance or support when and where it is practically possible. Where these terms are not clear, CAPRO has misdirected energies and resources and not achieved expectations. However, the understanding of these terms and the way they are used would complement one another and facilitate the realization of the organization's potential and objectives.

6.6.3 Mission Awareness and Networking

Both CAPRO and Paul had as their goal to reach the unreached but the way they went about mobilizing others and the responses they received were different. For example, many churches or Christians do not know about the unreached people groups. Although the idea of unreached, lost, least reached or unsaved is a household conversation in some circles. However, there are still many churches who do not know about the plight of the unreached peoples or how to reach them. Paul had to create awareness about his

plan to reach Spain in his Letter to the church in Rome and encouraged them to join him in his mission to Spain. He states, ‘I hope to see you in passing as I go to Spain, and to be helped on my journey there by you, once I have enjoyed your company for a while’ (Rom 15:24). Paul believed that when people become aware of the condition of the unreached peoples, they are more easily encouraged to adopt them for prayer to look for appropriate ways to reach them or support him to do so. This highlights the enormity of ignorance and selfishness of some members of the body of Christ. Some members of the organization do not know the benefit of partnership or collaboration so do not cherish connecting with other believers. However, sometimes might know the value of building partnership relationships but would not because of organizational pride, financial implications, and a selfish agenda. Whatever the case may be, it is counter-productive to duplicate God’s resources and create competition in the church instead of complementing one another.

Although Paul did not establish the church in Rome, he networked with them. In contrast, some churches in Nigeria would not entertain any form of link and sharing with another agency that is not from their church organization. This makes awareness efforts futile or at least difficult. However, when a church becomes aware and interested in the unreached people they become engaged by seeking ways to adopt the unreached and reach out to them for Christ. Jesus is our perfect example and he does not support divisions and quarrels among his members because it results in a colossal waste of time and valuable resources. In John 17:20-23, Jesus grounded the motivation and credibility of the believers’ missionary task on their determination to be one in Christ. Therefore, any tendency to feel better or more important than others should be sternly resisted in CAPRO as it was in Paul’s approach to partnership. Like in Christ Jesus, Paul perceived

his partners as co-workers and friends or brothers and sisters. Likewise, he urged the believers in Philippi to become like Christ in humility (Phil 2:5-11).

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined and compared CAPRO and Paul's partnership strategy. The study demonstrates that the success of both CAPRO and Paul's church growth story should be seen in the context of number of viable and vibrant indigenous churches established among the unreached peoples as well as the number of Christian disciples who partnered with them to achieve their goal of reaching the unreached peoples worldwide. The study has shown that Paul's *κοινωνία* motif sufficiently demonstrates that he was not a lone ranger in his endeavours for church growth. Both Luke's records in Acts and the Pauline Letters revealed that Paul did not work or travel alone but employed partnership relationships with his co-workers and churches as a strategy to disciple and equip leaders for effective church growth. This study has shown clearly that the Paul of Acts and his Epistles was a man with significant close associates and co-workers (Johnson 2010:235), who worked with him in the task of evangelizing the unreached. Therefore, their growing into maturity was not understood by Paul nor his congregations as individual growth only, much less as self-development or self-fulfilment. For Paul, church growth is a matter of collective, corporate, and community growth. It is in this context that individual believers grow and mature into the likeness of Christ. As it is with the body, no part grows apart from the rest of the body or else the body is disfigured and becomes unhealthy. This chapter has also shown that Paul did not only have plans to plant and build churches but was also a relief worker. He was not only a tent-maker but also a fundraiser. His fundraising methods are evident in his approach to the Jerusalem collection and his decision to write the Book of Romans to

create awareness among believers in Rome about his plan to visit and the need to support his mission to Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28-29).

Finally, the chapter has shown that although the core purposes for *κοινωνία* in both CAPRO and Pauline missions are to facilitate church growth, promote the unity of the body of Christ, and encourage each member to actively participate in the sharing for the common goal of healthy fellowship and worldwide evangelisation, there are significant differences in approach. Whereas Paul's partnership approach was centred more on the churches he established like the church in Philippi, CAPRO depended more on other churches and Christian organizations. Moreover, Paul did not form special support groups other than the churches but CAPRO forms special support teams known as chapters.⁶¹ These teams support the work in prayer, giving, and encouragement while CAPRO members input into their spiritual lives as God grants grace to do so. There is a clear difference in the way Paul and his teams did networking which was more face to face but today through the use of technology many CAPRO members are building networks of partners through the social media platforms.

⁶¹ CAST is an acronym of CAPRO Sending Teams synonymous with chapter support teams.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

It was the goal of this research to compare Pauline church growth strategies and CAPRO strategies in Nigeria to see the extent to which CAPRO is justified in its claim to follow Paul's pattern. The main question of this study is: how did Paul in the New Testament and CAPRO in Nigeria grow the churches they planted and how are their church growth strategies similar or different? Having compared and contrasted Paul and CAPRO strategies, the following conclusion and summary are presented below. Although there are significant differences between CAPRO and Paul as shown in the previous chapters, it is not improbable that the parallels between CAPRO and Pauline church growth strategies presented in the summary below support the organization's claim to be following Paul's pattern of church growth.

7.2 Summary

This section presents the summary of the findings of this research. Firstly, it is significant to note that CAPRO and Pauline church growth approaches are uniquely different in many respects and cannot be compared on the ground of sameness.¹ But what kind of parallels can we find in Paul's and CAPRO's church growth strategies? CAPRO claims to be planting and growing churches according to the NT, particularly the Apostle Paul's approach, but to what extent is this claim justified? The summary highlights some significant parallels between the two agencies especially in the following areas: (1) both Paul and CAPRO claim to have been called into Christ's mission by God; (2) they both had at the core of their mission the goal to witness and

¹ CAPRO is a mission agency with about 1,000 staff and associates while Paul was a single individual with many co-workers. If Paul's mission and church growth activities are understood in the context of corporate and organized teamwork, then it may be possible to see Paul and his co-workers, as portrayed in Acts and his Letters, in some sort of organization.

convert sinners to faith in Christ Jesus, (3) they both claim to have been led by the Holy Spirit in accomplishing their mission, and (4) they both work closely with the church in seeking to fulfil their mission of planting new churches and growing existing churches.

Chapter one of this study presents the background to the study, the statement of the problem and the research question, goal, scope and limitations. It also presents the methodology and research design by highlighting the sources and organization of the research data. The last section of the chapter briefly reviewed the church growth movement theory and defined the salient terms of this study. Moreover, it showed that Paul did not only think about church growth but also had strategic plans on how to plant and grow quality churches which resulted in more churches being established, resulting in quantity growth.

The study examined Paul's Letters and Luke's account of Paul's ministry in Acts as both contribute to CAPRO's understanding of the person and ministry of Paul, as well as investigating CAPRO church growth strategies in Nigeria to identify categories for comparison between the two cases in Chapter Two. Having examined CAPRO and Paul's missionary activities in their respective contexts, their strategic patterns were identified and adopted as categories to be treated as chapters in this thesis. The strategic categories of engaging contextual realities, church planting, disciple-making, focusing on ethnic or people groups, and working together with others in partnership were critically examined and compared in each chapter as church growth strategies in CAPRO and Paul's mission enterprise. The study also established that church growth principles such as prayer, evangelism and tent-making, good works and the guidance of the Holy Spirit played significant roles in the applicability of the aforementioned strategies in CAPRO and Pauline church growth practice. The study also discovered

that churches do not grow by accident or in isolation of the socio-cultural realities and felt needs of the communities they established. On the contrary, this study has shown that church planters explore and exploit the context for leverage in their pursuit of church expansion. Therefore, though the church growth context of CAPRO may be analogous to Paul's context, this study has shown that they are very different socially, politically, culturally, ethnically; geographically, historically and spiritually. CAPRO understands church growth fundamentally in the context of church-planting. Churches are equipped to plant new churches that are self-propagating, self-supporting, self-governing, and self-theologizing. Active missional churches are planted and nurtured with the goal for them to plant more churches.

In this study, both CAPRO and Paul are committed to holistic church growth by seeking to transform the whole person and the whole society through the preaching of the gospel and providing care for the needy. CAPRO mission holds tenaciously to spiritual intervention but also believes that church growth approaches should be evident in the pursuit of socio-economic development, social justice and freedom experienced by the people through the impact of the gospel. However, unlike Paul, CAPRO understood holistic ministry to include healthcare delivery, and agricultural and literacy development which must accompany a clear gospel message. This makes the good news and good deeds of the missionaries go hand-in-hand to show the mercies and love of God to the world. Although the Pauline approach did not have elaborate humanitarian institutions like schools or hospitals as found in CAPRO church planting today, that does not mean Paul was less concerned about people's socio-economic needs. For instance, he led the churches in the collection of relief for the poor Saints in Jerusalem (Rom 15:25-28). Both Paul and CAPRO have a high view of the church but, as demonstrated in this study, Paul's perspectives of the church are more crystallised and

dynamic in nature. Conversely, as CAPRO staff members are volunteers from different denominational backgrounds, this sometimes leads to inconsistencies or conflicts in doctrinal views in the field, especially in the areas of observing church sacraments, such as baptism and the Lord's Supper or even the order of worship and prayer.

Although CAPRO believes in the role of the Holy Spirit in the evangelization and growth of the church, some members limit this to mental acceptance of signs and wonders without any expectations. On the contrary, Paul's church growth strategies maintain that church formation and growth are only possible by the power of the Holy Spirit which includes signs and wonders. Drawing from his encounters in Acts and his Letters, Paul's mission was characterized by various signs and wonders, especially in the following areas: judgment (Elymas, 13:6-12); healing (Acts 14:8-10; 19:11-12); the dead being raised (Acts 20:9-12); deliverance from demons (Acts 16:16-18; 19:11-12), and of the preservation of his own life (Acts 28:3-6). Therefore, the impact of his ministry in many cities often faced stiff opposition but did not stop the Holy Spirit from saving those who should be saved or producing disciples who form a community of Christ's followers, the church (Acts 14:19-33; 16:16-24). This study has further shown that although Paul recorded great miracles in his life and ministry, none of them could be compared with the conversion of sinners and the formation of Christian communities in many places within a short time, which characterized his mission among the Gentiles (Rom. 15:19). In contrast, though CAPRO has experienced some miraculous manifestations of the Spirit, there is so much to be learned from Paul's approach and submission to the Holy Spirit in life and ministry experiences.

In addition, the study reveals the following parallel between CAPRO and Paul church planting and growth approaches:

- i. They both have burning desire to evangelize the unsaved where the gospel is not preached and no church is established;
- ii. They both take the task of discipleship seriously in their evangelization process;
- iii. They both seek to contextualize the gospel message from one context to another with a determination not to compromise the core content of the gospel which is Christ the crucified;
- iv. They both use tent-making and networking where it is appropriate. Paul's tent-making helped him to connect with people, provided for his needs and the needs of others, and offered him the opportunity to evangelize and disciple people at the workplace;
- v. They both take prayer and use of the Scriptures seriously in their evangelistic efforts, and by them demonstrate their trust and obedience to God;
- vi. They often suffer persecution or opposition in their process of seeking to evangelize the non-Christians or are misunderstood in their efforts to nurture believers;
- vii. They both acknowledge that they are vulnerable and inadequate but also recognize the role of the Holy Spirit in their lives and in the accomplishing of the salvific mission of God among the nations.

Finally, this study has shown that the idea of 'all nations' is key in the application of the salvific plan of God. The human race makes the incarnation story come alive. God loves the world and sent His only son Jesus to come and save His people from sin. At the end of His mission on earth, Christ commissioned His disciples to go and make disciples of all nations in partnership with Him and one another. For this purpose, Paul dedicated himself to become all things to all people so that he could win some for Christ. However, CAPRO tends to approach the idea of a people group differently. Whereas Paul built multicultural churches which are free to draw in people from all

cultures and languages, CAPRO, on the other hand, seeks to build independent monolingual and homogeneous people group community churches. Furthermore, Paul's church planting activities were mostly in the urban centres but CAPRO's work in Nigeria was initially rural based before expanding to include urban areas. This study has examined the pros and cons of homogeneous versus heterogeneous groups and posits that the multicultural approach to church planting reflects the original intent of the church on earth as the gathering of all nations, united in Christ to worship God in spirit and truth.

7.3 Conclusion

Like Paul in the first century, the formation and spread of CAPRO in Nigeria and beyond has contributed significantly to the exponential rise in the activity of the interdenominational, independent and indigenous Christian mission in Africa today. This study has demonstrated that both Paul and CAPRO employed certain strategic categories as means to facilitate the maturity and expansion of the churches they planted. These include context, church planting, discipleship, ethnicity or people groups, and partnership relationships. The study also has shown that all these categories are relevant for effective church growth and, therefore, essentially relevant for comparing CAPRO and Pauline mission strategies.

This study has identified contextual parallels between Paul and CAPRO which are evident in their belief that God, through the Holy Spirit, is at work in the world planting and building communities of Christ's followers among the nations through human agents such as Paul in the Greco-Roman world and CAPRO in Nigeria. In each context, the universal church is represented by the local church which embodies Christ's forgiveness, reconciliation and healing in the community. The local church is also both

the fruit of God's love for the world and an instrument of communicating God's love through unity in diversity and corporate worship, prayer, preaching of the gospel of the Kingdom, confessing the Lordship of Christ, and the formation of culturally relevant churches that glorify God (Rom. 15:7-13). Following Paul's missionary theories and practice, as seen in his Letters and Luke's narrative in the Book of Acts, this study concludes that it is probable that Paul had strategic plans on how to evangelize, plant and grow churches among the Gentile communities but would always submit his plans to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Therefore, having compared and contrasted CAPRO church growth strategies and Pauline mission strategies the conclusions are presented as follows.

1. The study concludes that when a church functions as a loving and learning community of followers of Christ who feel and relate like a family to one another, outsiders are attracted to it. Pauline congregations were caring communities. In this way, qualitative and quantitative growths are linked. The spectacular growth of Christianity in the first century was not simply the result of resourceful, or opportunistic visionaries working in an optimal political climate to fulfil their selfish ambitions but because ordinary men and women chose to love and care for one another by the power of the Holy Spirit and obeyed Christ's Great Commission of making disciples of all nations. This brought about the rapid growth of the early church.

2. The study also concluded that CAPRO sees in Paul a man who facilitated the formation of many family household churches, thereby restructuring personal identities and loyalties as well as social alliances and networks through building a loving community with a familial ethos. This kind of counter-cultural community of

Christ's followers in the first century was determined to remove all forms of discrimination in the pursuit of an egalitarian lifestyle. Therefore, membership of the local church was not based on class, ethnicity, gender, or wealth. On the contrary, 'slaves worshipped beside city magistrates, and former prostitutes beside aristocratic matrons' (Hubbard 2010:232). This selfless attitude of the members of the church was a great witness to the world around them which made many people believe and were added to the number of those that would be saved. Although CAPRO in Northern Nigeria focuses more on planting homogeneous churches, cases also abound where the established church ends up having a mixed or multicultural congregation because Christian traders or public officers who are believers from Southern Nigeria join in the fellowship. Therefore, whereas Paul's inclusive, multicultural approach is to be preferred because it facilitates character transformation and broad-mindedness in world evangelization and disciple-making process and practice, the CAPRO homogenous approach should not be ignored especially where the context is appropriate.

3. In this study, although both Paul and CAPRO are committed to the conversion of individuals, I would rather conclude that their goal is more on the formation of a counter-community and counter-culture, the church, which embodied God's love locally in all nations that serves as a true witness to Christ. Hence, they both strive to make the unchanging gospel very relevant in a changing and highly volatile environment with limited resources advancing Christ's church into the hinterlands by conduct and proclamation of the gospel. The study demonstrates that both Paul and CAPRO are aware that a Christ-like quality which is built through discipleship or nurture of members could result in numerical growth. As demonstrated in the formation of the church in Antioch, Luke shows that even the obscure members of

the Jerusalem church, in their distress because of persecution, still established a growing church in Antioch of Syria.

4. CAPRO frontier missionaries and support chapter members need to emulate the partnership relationship between Paul and the believers in Philippi. Drawing from Paul's partnership relationship with Philippians, this study concludes that CAPRO could learn the following: (i) the believers in Philippi persevered in their partnership relationship with Paul, the missionary. Their relationship grew over a long period of time. The church was generous in giving support to Paul until he was amply supplied with the 'things' he needed for his mission and his stay even in the prison (Phil. 4:15-18). (ii) Paul joyfully appreciated the church for their partnership in the gospel, fellowship and sharing in his suffering. He also took time to exhort them to be mindful of Judaizers who might want to glory in vain things, to manage or resolve any conflict between Euodia and Syntyche, to develop Christ-like attitudes by being humble and mindful of others. He enjoined them to pursue the purity and unity of the church. (iii) Paul did not show appreciation by word of mouth only for he practically showed genuine concern for the church by praying for them, writing a letter of thanks, and caring for a sick member of the church (Phil. 2:25-30).

5. Once that is established, the task of planting and growing churches is made real and tangible in a locale through intentionally using Christ's disciple-making model, which is administered by mature believers, saying like Paul, 'Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ' to the disciples (1 Cor. 11:1). This suggests that it is hard for a church to grow beyond the quality of the leadership. The study concludes that Paul ensured his congregations had mature leaders who were godly and committed to the evangelization of the unsaved like Timothy. This explains why Paul strained himself

to mentor his followers who were church leaders and work with them to equip their congregation to be strong, grow in Christ-like character, and be missional churches in their communities and beyond (2 Tim. 2:2; Acts 13:1-3; 1 Thess. 1:8).

6. Moreover, this study concludes that Paul did not carry out his church growth mission alone. On the contrary, we saw him engaging in different networks of partnership relationships for different purposes. The study has shown that Paul and CAPRO both engaged in mobilizing the church for the work of evangelization. Paul, however, went beyond mere recruitment. He employed the strategy of teamwork in ministry for many reasons especially to encourage the discipling of young believers and mentoring more leaders, like Timothy, Titus and Silas for the work of ministry in the church and in the mission fields. Both Paul and CAPRO believe that effective communication is vital in building a harmonious community of Christ's followers and for a sustainable relationship between the church and mission fields. Consequently, the study concludes that the communication link between the mother churches and the mission fields or daughter churches is vital because by it decrees like the Jerusalem Council decision (Acts 15:19-29) were disseminated to all churches. Therefore, it is essential to read Paul as one who would not hesitate to intervene, rebuke, correct, and warn people in his congregations through his Letters, but even this should be understood in the context of his commitment to a responsible partnership relationship. So, Paul encouraged his disciple, Timothy, to take heed in the way he lived his life and the things he taught for his sake and others. According to Paul, 'Watch yourself and watch your teaching. Keep on doing these things, because if you do, you will save both yourself and those who hear you' (1 Tim. 4:16).

7. This study has highlighted many similarities and contrasts between Pauline strategies and CAPRO strategies in Nigeria. I conclude that the main ones are (i) Paul was different in his focus on the urban centres, seeking to establish multi-cultural churches in the cities, while CAPRO until recently focused more on the rural areas and limited itself to planting churches among the homogeneous unreached ethno-linguistic people groups. (ii) Although they work in the company of various partners and friends both are committed to efficiency and effectiveness in the leadership of a local church. CAPRO emulates Pauline practice of delegating responsibilities and both are concerned about the stability and harmonious co-existence of the churches they established.² (iii) Whereas, for Paul, evangelism is inseparably connected to his personal life testimony, CAPRO employs a didactic pre-evangelistic teaching approach. Both Luke's account in Acts and Paul's Letters show that Paul uses his personal testimonies as a tool to preach the gospel. Paul presents his autobiography variously in his Letters: Galatians 1:11-2:21; 1 Corinthians 15:1-11; Philippians 3:1-7; 1 Timothy 1:12-17. It is not unlikely, therefore, that this storytelling approach amazed people by the fact that God could save a sinner like Paul but also challenged and encouraged others to trust God for the same experience by grace. (iv) Paul was not ashamed of the gospel of Christ and was not ashamed to testify to the impact of the gospel in his personal life either. He told Timothy, his son and disciple, that although he was the chief sinner, Christ's love had saved him (1 Tim. 1:15). For Paul, witnessing by way of telling his personal testimony or autobiography goes together with any form of evangelism. CAPRO's approach is centred on pre-evangelistic teaching: 'missionary evangelism must involve more of teaching the gospel than preaching it' (CCPM 2001:45). The danger here is that the church-planter might fall into the trap of expecting the

² Acts 20:29-31; Rom. 16:17-18; Gal. 1:8-9; Titus 3:10; 1 Cor. 1-3.

unconverted to begin to show evidence of change by behaving in certain prescribed ways, but without a personal transformation through faith in Christ. It can be argued that this formal and didactic approach to evangelism tends to hinder spontaneity and creativity.

8. Pauline church growth practices which include witnessing, church planting, discipleship and *κοινωνία* were inseparably connected. It was an integrated approach. But CAPRO church growth strategies are still being developed and are not yet fully integrated.

9. This study has shown that multicultural urban environment potentially affects the way missionaries deal with their personal biases and barriers which in turn affect their presentation of the gospel to other nationalities. A failure to learn from Paul's approaches would encourage pseudo-heterogeneity which is a situation where there are many different cultures represented in a group that do not interact with one another in reality. The dominant cultures oppress or suppress the minority, who then feel marginalized and disadvantaged in the running of the affairs of the church or organization. This explains why some people would tend to view the homogeneous unit principle as facilitating racism and ethnocentrism. Whereas advocates of the church growth movement reason that 'all churches should be culturally and socially homogeneous', Bosch observes that 'this reasoning cannot but lead to a wrong view of the church' (Bosch 1983:239), while Saayman criticises the view by saying that it 'could undermine the unity and universal nature of the church' (Saayman 1986:101, Carlton & Still 2010:131). Therefore, this study concludes that a homogeneous church might be effective as a way of bringing people together who share a common identity, but it is limited in offering Christ's followers the richness and challenging

experiences of personal and corporate life necessary to facilitate multicultural growth in the body of Christ. Paul's shift in the understanding of people groups in Christ enabled him to boldly evangelize where the gospel of Christ had not reached. This made Paul perceive the law as 'provisional' and not be binding on Christ's followers whether Jewish or Gentile. These new insights also brought Paul success on a scale that he did not foresee in his church planting and church growth experiences.

10. This study has shown that Paul's perspective of ἐκκλησία influenced his vision and mission because it determined what kind of churches he wanted to plant. In a class and status-driven Greco-Roman society, Paul understood the church as Christ's body and a community to promote the organic life of the church. By this, Paul was able to demonstrate how every member of the church, rich or poor, strong or weak, had spiritual gifts and was important in the body, the church. This helped him to build a multicultural community of believers that includes peoples from different backgrounds: Jews, Gentiles, freemen and slaves, men and women. Therefore, this study concludes that Paul's organic understanding of the church created the atmosphere that enables people from all sorts of backgrounds to belong and feel accepted in the church regardless of their social standing in the society. This community life of sharing and caring among the members of the church significantly attracted non-Christian friends and thereby enabled the church to be a witnessing and growing community. I would agree with Rodney Stark's judgment that one of the major ways which 'Christianity served as a revitalization movement within the Roman Empire was in offering a coherent culture that was entirely stripped of ethnicity. All were welcome without need to dispense with ethnic ties' (Stark 1996:213, Reese 2010:184).

11. This study has shown that church growth in CAPRO and Paul is not limited to numerical growth. On the contrary, the aspect of maturity of the church in relation to God and His people precedes the motivation for numbers or quantity. Allen remarked that church growth in the early church was a ‘very simple growth’ that does not ask for elaborate organization, or large finances, or a great number of paid missionaries (Allen 1962:156 cf. Payne 2012:238-9). Therefore, this study recommends that CAPRO mission should pay attention to Paul’s partnership and networking approach in its nurturing and expansion process. Paul’s partnership with churches was a key to the growth of his congregations. He acknowledged the evangelism of the church in Thessalonica (1 Thess. 1:8) and joyfully appreciated the partnership support of the church in Philippi for their partnership in the gospel since the beginning of his acquaintance with them (Phil. 1:3-5; 4:10-19).

12. The strategies of both Paul and CAPRO are focused on church planting through evangelization of the unsaved and mobilization of believers by teaching the communities of Christ’s followers. For this purpose, Paul visited synagogues, courtyard temples, market places, lecture halls, workshops and private houses to preach Christ, win converts, disciple them and later form them into churches. However, Paul sought to plant and grow churches that were not based on human philosophies or personal eloquence, rather he desired churches based on their response to the gospel of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit. Paul founded gospel-centred churches, whereby Christ, the Head of the church, was the centre in the following areas: in Paul’s preaching (1 Cor. 1:23; 2:2), discipleship process (1 Cor. 11:1), fellowship and services (1 Cor. 1:9; Eph. 6:7) and ordinances (Rom. 6:3-5; 1 Cor. 11:24-26). This is consistent with what Allen observed earlier that Paul did not see his converts as united to one

another by bonds of convenience arising from the fact that they lived in the same place, and believed the same doctrines to form a society. On the contrary, he understood that they were members of one body in Christ through baptism. Each was united to every other Christian everywhere by the closest spiritual ties and communion in the one Spirit (Allen 1962:126).³

Finally, drawing from the above, Paul's missionary practices reveal that he had plans to plant and grow multicultural churches in the Greco-Roman urban centres but often subjected them to the leadership of the Holy Spirit. Based on the available data presented in the preceding chapters, it is plausible that CAPRO's passion to plant and grow churches in Nigeria is based on a clear strategic plans. However, the organization's church growth strategies are in a limited respect analogous to Pauline strategies but are inconsistent and dissimilar.

³ For some good practices and principles that facilitate Paul in his church planting see Garrison, *Wind in the House of Islam* (Monument, CO: WIGtake Resources, 2014), p. 648.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Sample of Interview Questions

- A. Who founded CAPRO? How did it happen?
- B. What is church growth? Does CAPRO have any church growth plan?
- C. How do these church growth strategies help in the growth of the organization?
- D. What criteria do you use to establish an effective strategy for reaching a people group?
- E. As far as you could remember how CAPRO did church growth strategies develop?
- F. How does church growth team know the strategy to adopt in planting and growing churches?
- G. Do you agree that CAPRO plant and grow churches on the pattern of Apostle Paul?
- H. In your own opinion, to what extent is CAPRO consistent with Pauline approaches?
- I. What are some of the New Testament (Pauline) strategies adopted by Paul?
- J. How is CAPRO church growth strategies similar to Paul's strategies in the NT?
- K. How is CAPRO church growth strategies different to Paul's strategies in the NT?
- L. What are the problems encountered by CAPRO in following Paul's church growth strategies?
- M. What are the CAPRO church growth strategies?

(Tick the appropriate number in the table: 1=Strongly Agree; 2=Agree; 3=Neutral;

4=Disagree; 5=Strongly Disagree)

1. Discipleship and training
2. Research and information management
3. Evangelism and prayer
4. Mobilization and staff recruitment
5. Wholistic social and humanitarian services
6. Print and electronic media services

	1	2	3	4	5
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

- 7. Partnership and co-operation
- 8. People group focus
- 9. Church planting
- 10. Internet and technology

N. How would you assess the impact of CAPRO church growth strategies in northern

Nigeria? (*Tick the appropriate number in the*

table 1=Strongly Agree; 2=Agree; 3=Neutral;

4=Disagree; 5=Strongly Disagree)

	1	2	3	4	5
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					

- 1. Discipleship and Training impact
- 2. Research and Information impart
- 3. Partnership and Mobilization impact
- 4. Church Planting impact
- 5. Social Services impact
- 6. People Group Focus impact
- 7. Others

O. What are the CAPRO church growth principles?

(Tick the appropriate number in the table: 1=Strongly Agree; 2=Agree; 3=Neutral; 4=Disagree; 5=Strongly Disagree)

	1	2	3	4	5
1. A missionary should have the call of God in his/her life					
2. Every missionary should go through CAPRO cross-cultural training in the School of Missions					
3. That godly character and conduct should come first before ministry					
4. Every missionary should have high sense of stewardship and accountability					
5. Every missionary should learn the language and culture of the people before preaching the gospel					
6. The unreached people have priority					
7. Every missionary is to maintain a persevering witness among the resistant people or communities					
8. Ideally baptism should come before discipleship teachings					
9. Every church planter must prioritize contextualization of Biblical truth in every cultural setting					
10. Church planters should also seek socio-economic transformation among the host people/community					
11. To raise 'self' growing- independent church believers in their context					
12. Maintain local church context of discipleship and leadership development and empowerment					
13. Every missionary should mobilize funds for all of life and ministry					
14. Decentralized leadership for effective supervision					
15. The use of professional skills as tent-making in access denied communities					

16. Every missionary should balance spirituality with practicality

17. Every church planter should plant and grow culturally relevant independent and non-denominational churches

P. Which concern below has hindered CAPRO church growth? How?

(Tick the appropriate number in the table: 1=Strongly Agree; 2=Agree;

3=Neutral; 4=Disagree; 5=Strongly Disagree)

1. Discipleship problems

2. Mobilization problems

3. Training problems

4. Research and Information problems

5. Relief and Social Development problems

6. Financial Problems

7. Leadership Problems

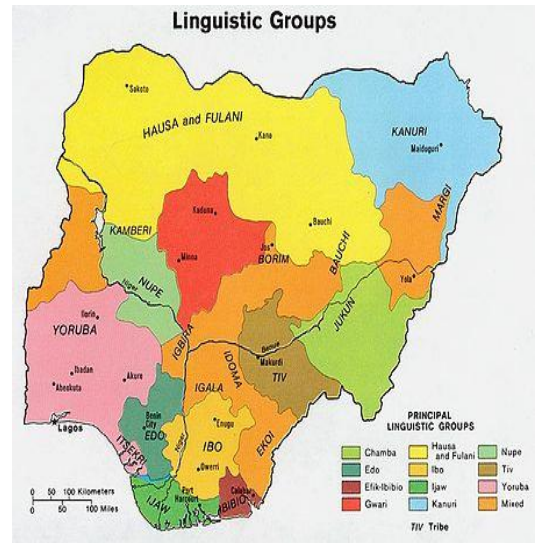
8. Converts Problems

9. Lack of quality Missionary/Church Planter

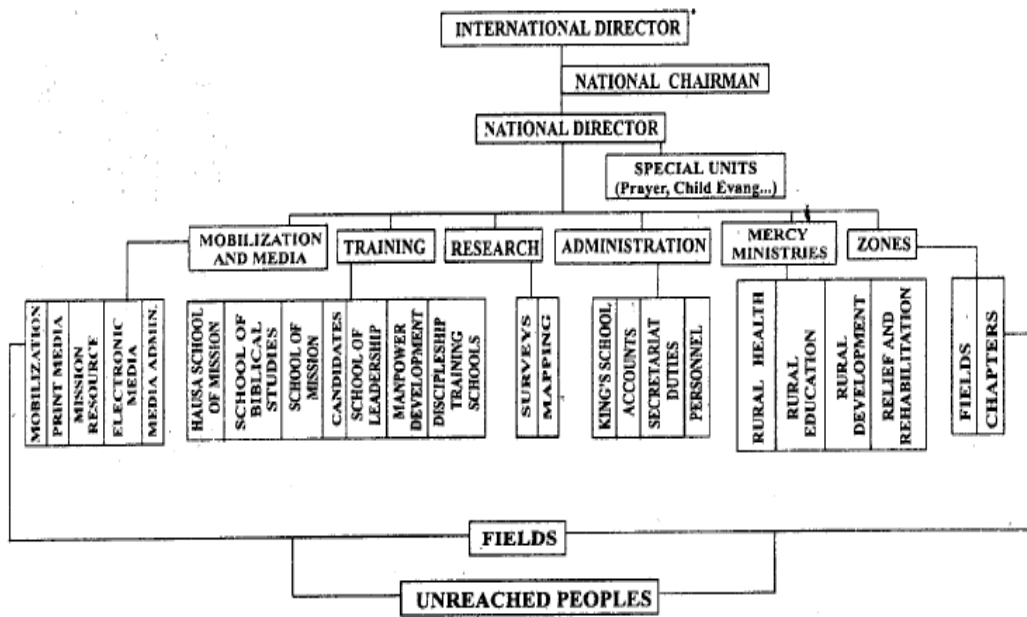
10. CAPRO Chapters or Partners problems

	1	2	3	4	5
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

Appendix 2 Map showing Nigerian Mega Ethnic Regions



Appendix 3 CAPRO Organogram



Appendix 4 Some Cases of Religious Violence in Nigeria, 1999–2012

No	Date	State(s)	Nature	Remarks
1	1Jul. 1999	Ogun	Violent clashes between Yoruba traditional worshippers and Hausa groups in Sagamu, Ondo state.	The crisis originated from the killing of a Hausa woman by the Oro Masqueraders for violating traditional rites.
2	22 Jul. 1999	Kano	Reprisal to the Sagamu crisis above.	The casualty figure was not reported.
3	20 Dec. 1999	Kwara	Muslim fundamentalists attacked and destroyed over 14 churches in Ilorin.	Properties worth several millions of naira were destroyed and an unspecified casualty reported.
4	21–22 Feb. 2000	Kaduna	Riots over the introduction of Sharia.	An estimated 3 000 people died.
5	28 Feb. 2000	Abia	Religious riots in Aba, and minor disturbances in Umuahia.	Over 450 persons killed in Aba, Abia state, as reprisal for the Kaduna crisis.
6	8 Sept. 2000	Gombe	The Kaltungo religious crisis.	The crisis erupted over the implementation of Sharia in the state.
7	12 Oct. 2001	Kano	Religious riot in Kano.	In protest to US invasion of Afghanistan over Osama bin Laden. Over 150 persons were killed.
8	7–17 Sept. 2001	Jos	A religious riot between Muslims and Christians in Jos. Mosques, churches and several properties were damaged or torched. The clashes started on September 7 and lasted nearly two weeks, ending on September 17.	The riot broke out when the Islamic Brigade attacked a Christian woman who attempted to cross a public high-way barricaded by Muslim worshippers on Friday. Over 300 people were killed.
9	16 Nov. 2002	Kaduna	The <i>Miss World</i> crisis in which Muslims attacked Christians and churches.	The crisis was triggered by an article authored by Isioma Daniel in <i>This Day</i> newspaper, alleging that Prophet Mohammed would have loved to have the girls. Over 250 people were killed and several churches destroyed.
10	8 Jun. 2004	Adama wa	Religious conflict between Christians and Muslims in Numan town.	Caused by the location of the town's Central Mosque close to Bachama paramount ruler's palace. Over 17 persons killed.
11	18 Feb. 2006	Borno	Religious conflict between Christians and Muslims in Maiduguri.	The riot was caused by the Danish cartoon on Prophet Mohammed, in <i>Jyllands-Posten</i> newspaper. Over 50 persons killed and 30 churches destroyed; over 200 shops, 50

				houses and 100 vehicles vandalised.
12	22 Mar. 2007	Gombe	Muslim pupils killed their Christian teacher, Mrs Oluwatoyin Olusesan.	The pupils claimed that their teacher desecrated the Qur'an while attempting to stop a student from cheating in an examination hall.
13	28 Nov. 2008	Plateau	Religious violence between Muslims and Christians in the city of Jos.	The crisis which was triggered by the controversial results of a local election later turned religious. Over 700 people killed and thousands internally displaced.
14	21 Feb. 2009	Bauchi	Ethno-religious conflict at the Makama New Extension.	Over 11 people were killed, more than 400 houses burnt, and over 1 600 families displaced.
15	26–30 Jul. 2009	Bauchi, Borno, Kano, Yobe	Religious violence unleashed by the radical <i>Boko Haram</i> sect on Christians.	Over 700 persons killed, 3 500 persons internally displaced, 1 264 children orphaned, over 392 women widowed, and several properties destroyed.
16	29 Dec. 2009	Bauchi	Religious violence unleashed by the <i>Kala-Kato</i> sect on Christians.	Over 38 persons killed; about 20 suspected members of the sect arrested; and over 1000 people internally displaced.
17	17–20 Jan. 2009	Plateau	Resurgence of religious crisis in Jos.	Police announced at least 320 killed, but aid workers and local leaders place death toll at over 550. Over 40 000 persons displaced.
18	7Mar. 2010	Plateau	Attacks by Fulani Moslems on Christian-dominated villages of Dogo Nahawa, Shen and Fan in Jos.	Over 500 people – mainly women and children – were killed.
19	17Mar. 2010	Plateau	Suspected Fulani militia men attacked residents of Biye and Batem in Jos.	13 persons killed.
20	11 Apr. 2010	Plateau	Attack on a Christian village of Berom stock, some 30 kilometres south of Jos, by suspected Fulani herdsmen.	The attackers targeted the homes of some officials in Kura Jenta, in reprisal to the killing of about 150 Fulani Muslims, who were allegedly killed and dumped in wells on 19 January 2010. No life was lost but 3 houses and 6 vehicles were torched. This violence was ethno-religious.
21	22 May 2010	Plateau	Murder of three (Muslim) Fulani herdsmen at Tusung Village in Barkin Ladi Local Government, Plateau state.	The attackers were alleged to be Berom Christian youths. It was ethno-religious.
22	22 May 2010	Plateau	Attack on some Christians, who were returning from their place of worship along Bauchi	Reprisal attack by Muslims over the killing of 3 Fulani Muslims. At least 1 person died while many

			road in Jos.	were injured.
23	17Jul. 2010	Plateau	Muslim Fulani herdsmen launched an overnight attack on a Christian village, Mazah, north of the city of Jos.	About eight people were reportedly killed, including the wife, two children and a grandson of a Pastor. Seven houses and a church were also burned during the attack.
24	29 Aug. 2011	Plateau	Clashes between Muslims and Christians at Rukuba road and Farin Gada in Jos during the Ramadan prayers.	No less than 20 persons were killed, 50 injured, over 50 motor vehicles and 100 motor cycles were torched.
25	16Jun . 2011	Police Head- quarters , Abuja	Suicide bomb attack at the Police Headquarters, Abuja by suspected Boko Haram Islamists whose ideology is framed around religion (<i>Wahabism</i>).	Authorities said 6 persons were killed and 73 vehicles destroyed.
26	26 Aug. 2011	UN House, Abuja	Suicide bombing at the UN House, Abuja by suspected <i>Boko Haram</i> Islamists.	23 persons (11 UN personnel and 12 non-UN personnel) were killed.
27	5 Nov. 2011	Potiskum, Damaturu and Maiduguri	Coordinated attacks on churches and police stations by suspected <i>Boko Haram</i> Islamists.	More than 90 persons were reportedly killed, several churches and police stations torched.
28	25 Dec. 2011	Madala, Niger state, near the FCT	The bombs were alleged to have been planted at the Church's parking lot.	At the last count, 45 persons were killed. Some died instantly, others from injuries sustained from the explosion. Over 80 others were receiving treatment for various degrees of injuries.
29	5-6 Jan. 2012	Gombe, Gombe state	Gunmen stormed a Deeper life church in Gombe, shooting indiscriminately at worshippers. The <i>Boko Haram</i> Islamist sect claimed responsibility for the shooting.	6 persons were reportedly killed while many others were injured.
30	5-6 Jan. 2012	Mubi, Adama wa state	Suspected <i>Boko Haram</i> militants stormed a gathering of Igbo Christians and shot sporadically, killing over a dozen and injuring others in apparent execution of an ultimatum given by the <i>Boko Haram</i> Islamist sect to Southern Christians living in the North to leave.	22 persons were reportedly killed; a dozen others were injured.

Source: Adapted from Onuoha 2010 with additions and modifications by the

author. The data are by no means exhaustive

Appendix 5 Sample Summary of CAPRO 2010 Strategy Conference



CALVARY MINISTRIES (CAPRO)

**CAPRO
Strategic
Goals
2011 - 2020**

STRATEGIC GOALS 2011 - 2020

Okon Esin

In November 2010, a Strategy Conference (STRATCON 2) was organized for the Ministries. The aim of the conference was to enable CAPRO as a Ministry/Missions Agency to re-strategize and work towards the realization of her ultimate mission, which is to Research, Mobilize, Train, Send and engage unreached Peoples and plant New Testament pattern Churches amongst them. STRATCON 2, having to do with the overhauling of CAPRO's strategic operations, needed to put in place a process for the evaluation of the entire Ministries and her Vision 2015 plan, which was formulated 7 years earlier at STRATCON 1.

116 CAPRO Leaders were able to come together to map out a direction for the Ministries for the next 10 years. An evaluation of the Ministry was conducted and 12 segments (i.e. thematic areas of the Ministry) were thoroughly reviewed and strategies and goals were formulated for each of these sectors. They are as follows: Church Planting; Training; Mobilization & Media; Research; NGO/Mercy Ministries; Finance; Chapters, Partners & Friends; Administration & Personnel; Leadership; Management Process; Globalization and Networks & Alliances. The CAPRO Strategic Goals for the next 10 years (2011-2020) arising from the conclusions of STRATCON 2 can therefore be summarized as follows:

CHURCH PLANTING

GOAL: To ensure the multiplication and consolidation of churches and place new church planting teams among people clusters, mega peoples and other UPGs to plant indigenous churches by the year 2020.

- 1) Recruit, Train and place 200 New Church Planters amongst UPGs of Mega Peoples and Cluster groups by 2020.
- 2) Plant 200 Urban/Rural New Testament Churches by 2020.
- 3) Allocate 30% of CAPRO Budget to actual Church planting (this includes evangelism and discipleship materials, tools and equipment). Upgrade the budget allocation to 40% within 2 years.
- 4) Set up a Church Planting Monitoring and Coaching Team by 2011 to monitor and drive the CAPRO Church Planting vision in all Fields CAPRO fields.

ADMINISTRATION

GOAL: Develop a well-defined and efficient administration, communication, staff welfare and spiritual growth machinery by the year 2020.

- 1) Strategically implement clear policies on Staff Welfare as touching the matters of Health, Children Education, Staff Accommodation and Staff Retirement.

CHAPTERS PARTNERS & FRIENDS

GOAL: To increase our partners by 5000 and chapters by 500 by the year 2020 and ensure that both partners and missionaries view partnership as a calling.

- 1) Promote a change in perception, mutual accountability and transparency between Missionaries and Partners.
- 2) Promote enhancement of resource mobilization.
 - Pursue multiplication of Partners and Chapters through awareness efforts and personal contacts as from Dec 2011.
 - Review and produce the Chapter Manual in the major working languages of CAPRO by end of 2012.

MOBILISATION AND MEDIA

GOALS:

MOBILIZATION: Have an efficient structure, capacity building process and monitoring plan for mobilization by 2020.

MEDIA: Have an independent, centralized, well- funded and well- staffed media department producing ministry relevant and tech driven media communication with global outlook by 2020.

- 1) Ensure that 85% of staff are well supported and Ministry yearly budgets are met.
- 2) Recruit 300 more missionaries by 2020.
- 3) Establish 500 Prayer Cells or Centres; have 120,000 people praying through CAPRO prayer circulars/alerts.
- 4) Provide greater autonomy to Media Unit operations.
 - Create a CAPRO Media Centre separate from mobilization.
 - Ensure a well-equipped Media outfit.

TRAINING

GOAL: Put in place well developed, CAPRO training programmes manned by adequately motivated manpower/facilities, producing quality missionaries rich in character and vibrant/active in ministries by 2020.

- 1) Run 6 Schools of Mission with a proportion of 1 trainer to 8 students maximum, well stocked library with literature and Electronic/Media sections.
- 2) Train 600 Missionary Candidates by 2020.

RESEARCH

GOAL: Engage in a broad scope of research that produces fully utilized information and gives direction to the ministry.

- 1) Carry out research to cover all areas of CAPRO.
 - Carry out growth surveys assessment of CAPRO work every 4 years.
 - Carry out assessment of Church growth in the Fields every 4 years.
 - Carry out people group assessment survey between 2011- 2020.
- 2) Disseminate Research information.
 - Develop a CAPRO Central database- March 2011- January 2013.
 - Produce prayer cards, missiological reviews, research newsletter - quarterly.

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