### The Pentecostal Gospel, Religion and Culture in African Perspective

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#### The Expansion of African Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism has expanded so rapidly in the African continent over the past four decades that it has become a dominant feature of African Christianity, affecting every form, including Protestant, Catholic, Anglican and Independent churches. At the risk of oversimplification, the Pentecostal gospel that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century in Africa was one of a God who healed and performed miracles, who gave power to the powerless through an experience of the Holy Spirit, and who raised up leaders from the uneducated (in the western sense) and from ordinary women and men. This message was preached by foreigners, but predominantly it was a message proclaimed by Africans who saw in the newly-translated vernacular Bibles a message that had been hidden from them by the extant missionary forms of Christianity. It was a message that resonated with the African spirit world with which they were so familiar. It was a message that caught fire in Africa and resulted initially in a wave of churches independent of the western missionary movement that today form a significant proportion of African Christianity, collectively known as African initiated or African independent churches (AICs). To this day, these churches emphasise healing and deliverance from evil forces through leaders who are charismatically endowed with powers from the Holy Spirit. Most of them are known by the epithet ‘churches of the Spirit’, and in Southern Africa they are often contrasted with the other ‘churches of the law’.

It is always difficult to categorise Pentecostalism, and this is as much the case in Africa as anywhere else.[[2]](#footnote-2) Whether these AICs can be considered ‘Pentecostal’ is a debate that rages on. It is obvious that AICs are no longer paradigmatic of the Pentecostal movement, as Asamoah-Gyadu has observed.[[3]](#footnote-3) But scholars are also certain that the AIC pioneers, who were predominantly prophets and healers, were forerunners of the present-day African Pentecostalism and that they paved the way for the easier acceptance of a message of the power of the Spirit. Furthermore, I am not one of those who think that the predominant influence on Pentecostalism in Africa is that of the United States; or that it is a form of Americanization, or even of globalization. As Ogbu Kalu has observed, ‘The appropriation of global forces within local contexts and communities has drawn attention to how local cultures gestate, absorb, internalize, domesticate, or transform external change agents’.[[4]](#footnote-4) This lecture is about how local African cultures have transformed the globalizing effects of a rampant missionary Pentecostalism.

The expansion of the Pentecostal message in Africa over the past forty years can be attributed, at least partially, to religious and cultural factors. Swiss theologian Walter Hollenweger was one of the early advocates of this view. He considered the ‘oral structures’ of Pentecostalism, like Christianity itself, to be the reason for its initial growth. His list of the characteristics of these structures is well known and includes oral liturgy, narrative theology and witness, reconciliatory and participant community, the inclusion of visions and dreams in worship, and understanding the relationship between body and mind revealed in healing by prayer and liturgical dance.[[5]](#footnote-5) He points out that spontaneity and enthusiasm in Pentecostal worship, rather than leading to an absence of liturgy, produce flexible oral liturgies memorized by the congregation. The most important element of these liturgies is the active participation of every member in the congregation.[[6]](#footnote-6) This was certainly the case with early Pentecostalism, although the more recent creation of large urban megachurches has dissipated this characteristic. Nevertheless, Hollenweger’s observation is that Pentecostal liturgy has social and revolutionary implications in that it empowers marginalized people, takes as acceptable what ordinary people have in the worship of God and thus overcomes ‘the *real* barriers of race, social status, and education’.[[7]](#footnote-7)

There are many different expressions of Pentecostalism in Africa. It now constitutes a significant proportion of African Christianity, and in some countries has become the majority of Christians there if its older varieties in the AICs are included.[[8]](#footnote-8) Their reformation of missionary Christianity has gone much further than the ‘Ethiopian’ and ‘African’ churches had done before them. Many observers consider the free African liturgy of music and dance in the AICs to be their most obvious demonstration of their indigenization or ‘African-ness’.[[9]](#footnote-9) This has been overtaken in recent Pentecostalism by the use of electronic and modern music. However, the emphasis on ‘freedom in the Spirit’ has rendered the Pentecostal movement inherently flexible in different cultural and social contexts worldwide, and Africa is no exception, even when it changes from a rural to an urban culture or from a local to a ‘global’ one. This flexibility has made the transplanting of the central tenets of the Pentecostal gospel more easily assimilated in Africa. Many older missionary churches arose in western contexts of written liturgies, set theologies, highly educated and professional clergy, and church structures with strongly centralized control. This often contributed to the feeling that these churches were ‘foreign’ and that people first had to become westerners educated in formal western education before becoming Christians. In contrast, the Pentecostal emphasis on immediate personal experience of God’s power by the Spirit was more intuitive and emotional, and it recognized charismatic leadership and formed African church patterns wherever they were needed. Even in most Pentecostal churches with western missionary involvement, leadership was not kept long in the hands of missionaries, and the proportion of missionaries to church members was usually much lower than that of older mission churches. This was another reason for its rapid growth and its acceptance in African communities. Preaching a message that promised solutions for present felt needs like sickness and the fear of evil spirits, Pentecostal preachers were heeded and their message readily accepted by ordinary people. Churches were rapidly planted in African cultures, and Africa took on its own, different expressions of Pentecostalism.[[10]](#footnote-10)

One of the outstanding features of African Pentecostalism is its religious creativity, entrepreneurship and spontaneously contextualizing character, characteristics held as ideal by missionary scholars for over a century. The ‘three self’ formula for indigenization of missionary leaders Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson in the mid-nineteenth century – self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating churches – was automatically and seemingly effortlessly achieved by African churches long before this goal was realized by European mission churches.[[11]](#footnote-11) At first, the AIC movement represents ‘a kind of Christianity that has the trademark of African culture’.[[12]](#footnote-12) Today, many Pentecostal churches have programmes for recruiting new members that transcend national and ethnic divisions, and have international departments with missionaries in other African countries and wherever the African diaspora is found. Their belief in the movement’s universality and message for the whole world is a radical departure from ethnically-based religions. Most of the biggest of the older African Pentecostal churches, like the Christ Apostolic Church, the Zion Christian Church, and the African Apostolic Church, as well as several of the largest newer ones like the Church of Pentecost, the Redeemed Christian Church, Deeper Life and Winners Chapel, have transcended parochial limitations and have become international and multi-ethnic African movements, forming new voluntary organizations to replace traditional kinship groups. The planting of these churches in the ‘African Diaspora’ is an example of the multi-ethnic and international dimension of this form of African Christianity.

It is true that the German evangelist Reinhard Bonnke and his Christ for All Nations organization has probably done more than any other single person to popularise Pentecostalism in Africa, especially in countries like Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He is undoubtedly the most popular Pentecostal preacher in Africa, who is now in his seventies and still ‘without honour’ in his own country. However, his popularity in Africa remains unabated and his meetings in which his successor Daniel Kolenda does most of the preaching, draw hundreds of thousands of Africans nightly. His simple and positive message of hope and faith strikes chords in those African communities for whom there is little reason to be hopeful or positive. However, thriving African churches, established in Africa without the help of foreign missionaries, were founded in innovative initiatives unprecedented in the history of Christian missions. They were motivated by a compelling need to preach and even more significantly, to *experience* a new message of the power of the Spirit. These African churches have been established for over a century and have fundamentally transformed Africa’s religious landscape, a veritable reformation of African Christianity. Harvey Cox suggests that for any religion to grow today, it must demonstrate two vitally important and underlying capabilities. First, the religion ‘must be able to include and transform at least certain elements of preexisting religions which still retain a strong grip on the cultural subconscious’. Secondly, ‘it must also equip people to live in rapidly changing societies’. He finds these two ‘key ingredients’ in Pentecostalism.[[13]](#footnote-13) African Pentecostalism is in constant interaction with the pre-existing African spirit world, western culture and the Christian message. In the words of Birgit Meyer, African Pentecostalism has ‘translated the devil’. It may be true that some African Christians might need to have a greater appreciation for the rich diversity of their cultural and religious past and not feel the need to bow to the cultural hegemony of western Christianity. Pentecostals who demonize the African cultural and religious past (and sometimes other churches) do not help explain either the present attraction of Pentecostalism for African peoples or those features which are in continuity with that past, even though it might sometimes help promote African Pentecostals in the religious competition that is a feature of pluralist societies today.

Cox sees the largely unconscious interaction of Pentecostalism with indigenous religions as helping people recover vital elements in their culture that are threatened by modernization. Pretorius and Jafta speak of ‘the intrinsic affinity between traditional African conceptions and Pentecostal religiosity’.[[14]](#footnote-14) African Pentecostals have found in their own context, both culturally and biblically acceptable alternatives to and adaptations from the practices of their ancient religions, and they are seeking to provide answers to the needs inherent there. Any religion that does not offer at least the same, and preferably more benefits as the old religion does will probably be unattractive. Christianity, particularly in its Pentecostal emphasis on the transforming power of the Spirit, purports to offer more than the traditional religions did. The Pentecostals have changed the face of Christianity in Africa because they have proclaimed a holistic gospel of salvation that includes deliverance from all types of evil oppression like sickness, barrenness, sorcery, evil spirits, unemployment and poverty. This message may not have engaged always effectively with the more structurally oppressive political and economic monopolies, but the needs of people have been addressed more fundamentally than the rather spiritualized and intellectualized legacy of western missionaries. African preachers declare the good news that God meets all the needs of people, including their spiritual salvation, physical healing, and other material necessities. The phenomena of mass urbanization and immigration results in African churches providing places of spiritual security and personal communities for people unsettled by rapid social change and new cultural and spiritual centres for Africa’s upward mobilizing youth. The more relevant the church becomes to its cultural and social context, the more prepared it will be to serve the wider society.

### *Pentecostalism, African Religion and Culture*

African Pentecostalism raises many questions concerning the central theological issue of the relationship between Christianity and other religions, particularly because of their emphasis on the Spirit. Chinese American Pentecostal Amos Yong says that the experiences of the Spirit common to Pentecostals and Charismatics demonstrate ‘indubitable similarities across the religious traditions of the world’. This opens the way for a constructive Pentecostal theology of religions that explores ‘how the Spirit is present and active in other religious traditions’.[[15]](#footnote-15) In an attempt to apply scientific principles to human cultures and languages, more conservative forms of western theology assumed that there was a pure ‘Message’ free of cultural constraints and that when the ‘purity’ of the gospel was affected in some way by cultural adaptations, the result was ‘syncretism’. The word ‘syncretism’ was often used to suggest that the ‘gospel’ had somehow been corrupted by culture. But as Chilean Pentecostal Juan Sepúlveda points out, ‘the concern for preserving the “purity” of the Gospel has always been stronger than the desire to incarnate (or “inculturate”) the Gospel in a particular situation’. He says that we cannot ‘grasp any meaning without the help of our precious cultural categories’, and so ‘“purity” is not given to us. Some sort of syncretism *is* inevitable.’[[16]](#footnote-16) And so, Pentecostalism in its different expressions, like Christianity everywhere, is inherently ‘syncretistic’. Because of the way that African Pentecostals proclaim the Christian message, however, a selective rejection of some religious practices as a means of solving problems takes place. In some AICs, the syncretising tendencies are seen in the rituals and symbols adapted and introduced from both the western Christian and the African religious traditions. Sometimes completely new ones appear, usually with local relevance and including enthusiastic participation by members and lively worship.

It must be remembered that although most scholarly attention has been given to Pentecostal megachurches in Africa’s cities, African Pentecostalism also does well in African’s rural heartlands. This is because African Pentecostals proclaim a pragmatic gospel seeking to address practical and contextual issues like sickness, poverty, unemployment, loneliness, evil spirits and sorcery. In varying degrees and in their many different forms, and precisely because of their inherent flexibility, these churches offer answers to some of the fundamental questions asked in their own context. A sympathetic approach to local culture and the retention of certain cultural practices are undoubtedly major reasons for their attraction. This is especially true for those millions overwhelmed by urbanization with its transition from a personal rural society to a more impersonal urban one. At the same time, African Pentecostals confront old views by declaring what they are convinced is a more powerful protection against sorcery and a more effective healing from sickness than either the existing churches or traditional rituals had offered. Healing, guidance, protection from evil, and success and prosperity are some of the practical benefits offered to faithful members of their churches. Holistic, ecstatic, and experiential religious practices are found in Christianity throughout the world today. The antiphonal singing, simultaneous and spontaneous prayer, dance and motor behaviour found throughout worldwide Pentecostalism, all of which are also essentially African practices, emphasize the freedom, equality, community and dignity of each person in the sight of God.

Whenever Christianity, unencumbered by its various foreign cultural expressions, encounters another living religion and culture as it does in African Pentecostalism, a transformation takes place in both directions. The Christian message challenges, confronts and changes whatever seems incongruous or inadequate in African popular religion and cultural practices, and African religion and culture transform and enrich the Christian message so that it is understandable and relevant within the worldview in which it is submerged. And so the Christian message becomes more appropriate and comprehensible to both those to whom it is proclaimed and to those who proclaim it. At the same time, the Christian community throughout the world discovers new depths in its message that it would not have discovered except for this encounter with African religion and culture. In a small book written almost twenty years ago, I outlined what I saw as the parallels between African concepts of ‘power’ and biblical ones, making the Christian concept of spiritual power easier to assimilate.[[17]](#footnote-17) This biblical message of the power of the Spirit finds familiar ground among African people, and is possibly one of the main reasons for the rapid growth of Pentecostal churches. Ancient African beliefs have been transformed in these churches so that Christianity is presented as an attractive and viable African alternative. These churches encounter African religions and provide answers to a host of perplexing questions that seem inherent there.

Although this analysis is not exhaustive, at least from this particular Christian perspective, it appears that African popular religions are inadequate on several fronts and seem to be seldom completely satisfying and leave people uncertain, threatened and fearful. ‘African’ problems caused by a loss of power and life through the malicious workings of sorcery, magic and witchcraft, and through capricious spirits often demanding more than people can provide, demand a Christian response.[[18]](#footnote-18) The great attraction of African Pentecostalism is that it *does* offer answers to these problems. In their encounter with African religions, Pentecostals have themselves been challenged and enriched concerning the content of their message, which would have been impoverished and ‘foreign’ without this encounter. Their message of the power of the Spirit challenges evil powers and what are roundly declared to be the work of Satan. In many churches, ancestors are confronted as impersonating demons from which people need deliverance and evil spirits are exorcised in the name of Jesus Christ. Sorcerers, witches and even diviners are declared to be agents of the devil. These churches acknowledge all these various African forces as realities and not as ‘ignorant superstitions’ from which people need ‘enlightenment’. African Pentecostals offer realistic solutions by accepting these problems as genuine, conscientiously attempting to provide real explanations, and expecting to resolve the problems through faith in God. The response involves prayer to an almighty God for deliverance from the evil, protection from its possible future occurrences, and the restoration of wellbeing found in Christ. The methods by which this deliverance is effected may differ and the use of symbols vary greatly, but the outcome is the same: God is glorified as demonstrably more powerful than other ‘gods’.

The emphasis on the power and provision of the Holy Spirit in African Pentecostalism means that we should consider whether traditionally western concepts of revelation are adequate. What theological value should be given, for example, to direct ‘revelation’ (prophecy) given to individuals, or to visions and dreams? The prominence of healing also forces us to consider a theology of healing. Any theological reflection that is done in this type of study should be made with extreme caution and tentativeness and can never be definitive when the phenomena under discussion are dynamic and under a constant process of change.

It might be appropriate, finally, to repeat a word of caution sounded in an earlier study.[[19]](#footnote-19) If there is a criticism often justifiably levelled at Pentecostals and Charismatics, it is that they have sometimes expounded a theology of success and power at the expense of a theology of the cross. This is particularly true of the popular western fringes of the Pentecostal movement where emphasis is placed on ‘health and wealth’ through faith in God. But at the same time this crude form of North American Pentecostalism needs to be separated from its African counterpart. As Asamoah-Gyadu has pointed out:

Pentecostals draw attention to the fact that the gospel is about restoration, so it is expected that the transformation of the personality would be manifest in personal health, well-being and care, in short salvation is holistic and includes spiritual as well as physical abundance…. In African Pentecostalism generally, prayer for well-being and success has become one of the critical concerns. Some may view this as an obsession with this-worldly concerns but this could hardly be otherwise in a precarious context in which, besides the divine, people may virtually have no other means of survival.[[20]](#footnote-20)

The emergence of Pentecostal churches in both Africa and Europe in the twenty-first century indicates that there are unresolved questions facing the church. But there are not always instant solutions to life’s ups and downs. Spirituality is not to be measured merely in terms of success. People are not only convinced by the triumphs of Christianity but also by its trials. The history of the church in Africa is clear evidence of that. A one-sided pneumatology is a danger to all of us, whether in Africa, Europe or somewhere else. The Spirit is also a gentle dove, a Spirit of humility, patience and meekness, of love, joy and peace. The Spirit is the tender Comforter, the one who comes alongside to help and strengthen us whenever we encounter trials and problems. This comforting ministry of the Spirit also needs to be emphasized in an African world plagued with famine, poverty, economic and political oppression and disease. Overemphasizing the power of the Spirit in terms of outward success often leads to bitter disappointment and disillusionment when that power is not evidently and immediately manifested. Christian theology must not only provide power when there is a lack of it – it must also be able to sustain through life’s tragedies and failures, especially when there is no visible success.

*African Pentecostalism and the Church’s Mission*

The remarkable growth of African forms of Pentecostalism should be examined to discover whether there is something in African Pentecostalism from which all Christians can learn in the on-going task of proclaiming the gospel. And conversely, there might be something that other churches have failed to do or did wrongly which resulted in such a huge response. There *was* sometimes a close identification between western missionaries and colonizing Europeans and sometimes African clergy were discriminated against. Part of the reasons for the emergence of AICs can be attributed to these factors, particularly the first ‘Ethiopian’ and ‘African’ movements. There were also times when missionaries protested against injustice and oppression by the colonizing powers. Reflecting on the mistakes of missionaries in the past should not overlook the enormous, often self-denying contribution that they made to alter the face of African religion. But the growth of Pentecostal forms of African Christianity is a different story. That African Pentecostals often continue to gain strength at the expense of older churches has implications for these churches, and it no longer has anything to do with the mistakes of European missionaries. It does not help being polarised and accusing Pentecostals of ‘sheep-stealing’, for as one African leader once remarked, ‘We don’t steal sheep; we plant grass’. The grass *is* sometimes greener on the other side. If the teachings and practices of older churches are perceived as powerless to meet people’s everyday felt needs, then these churches cannot continue with ‘business as usual’ in the face of as yet unidentified shortcomings. The Organization of African Instituted Churches’ 1996 manifesto spelt out ‘one main reason’ for the drift away from ‘mission churches’:

...The Western God was spiritually inadequate and irrelevant to deal with the reality of many aspects of our lives. The result was a Christian faith and conviction which were only ‘skin-deep’ or superstitious, in spite of the successful spread of Christianity on the continent. There was and is still the question of how deep the Christian faith really is when so many of its affiliates still continue to visit the caretakers of the African traditional religions.[[21]](#footnote-21)

This penetrating remark challenges older churches in Africa with the need to rethink their entire mission. Without such a serious reappraisal, their decline will probably continue and new forms of Pentecostal Christianity will continue to grow. This is not always a negative thing. Many older African churches have been influenced by Pentecostalism and have adopted its methods. Further questions are raised concerning the relationship between the gospel and culture. A rapidly growing religious movement demands our attention, whether we agree with its theology or not. In seeking to find out *why* these churches are growing we must know how to relate to and learn from them missiologically. Part of the reason for their growth may be that they have succeeded where western-founded churches often failed – to provide a contextualized Christianity in Africa and in those parts of the western world in which they have been transplanted among African diaspora communities.[[22]](#footnote-22)

The phenomenon of African Pentecostalism is largely of *African* origin, and has its roots in a marginalized and underprivileged society struggling to find dignity and identity in the face of brutal colonialism and oppression in Africa, and marginalisation in Europe and North America. In some parts of Africa, it expanded initially among people who were neglected, misunderstood and deprived of anything but token leadership by their white ecclesiastical ‘masters’. But despite these important social and historical factors in Africa and in the African Diaspora, fundamentally it is the ability of the Pentecostal gospel to adapt to and fulfil *religious and cultural* aspirations that continues to be their strength. These aspirations should be defined more precisely, to help answer the question of whether all churches are addressing these needs today. Turner suggested that AICs offer solutions to problems existing in all Christianity, ‘a series of extensive, long-term, unplanned, spontaneous, and fully authentic experiments from which [Christianity] may secure answers to some of its most difficult questions’.[[23]](#footnote-23) This analogy may be extended to other forms of African Pentecostalism.

The contribution of African Pentecostalism is of great importance to the mission of the universal church and its effective proclamation of the gospel. Turner’s observation of the AICS can be applied in the wider context of Pentecostalism. These African churches help older churches understand ‘the overriding African concern for spiritual power from a mighty God to overcome all enemies and evils that threaten human life and vitality, hence their extensive ministry of mental and physical healing’. He points out how different this is from ‘the Western preoccupation’ with theoretical and rather esoteric theological issues.[[24]](#footnote-24) All these questions in turn raise further questions concerning the problem of continuity and discontinuity, the intercultural communication of the Christian gospel and the encounter between Christianity and another living religion. There are many questions about the post-colonial history of African Christianity. African Pentecostalism has created a new Christian identity for itself that includes an African style of worship and liturgy (even when modern electronic music and English lyrics are used), and a holistic Christianity that offers tangible help in this world as well as in the next. These and other features together form an African contextualization of Christianity. If churches in Africa are to be at the cutting edge of Christianity they will have to address and remedy their shortcomings or continue to minister to a decreasing membership content either to practise Christianity side by side with African popular religions, or succumb to a materialistic society that no longer practise Christianity at all. At the same time, African churches are challenged to recognize that their cultural context in an increasingly technological and urbanized society is a rapidly changing one; and that in order to avoid becoming archaic and irrelevant, the contextualization process must continue. This is a lesson that the whole Christian church must learn. The experience of the power of the Spirit can be a unifying factor in a global society that is still deeply divided, and it can be the catalyst for the emergence of a new society where there is justice for all and hope for a despairing world. But it dare not become an escape mechanism to flee from the harsh realities of life. The Spirit should liberate us from prejudice, arrogance, isolationism and ethnocentrism – in short, all our abominable selfishness. We should be brought to the place where God can truly bring God’s dominion to bear on all facets of life as we experience it – that God’s kingdom may come, and God’s will be done throughout the earth, as it is done in heaven.

1. This was a Public Lecture presented at the Conference on *‘Cultural roots, cultural transition, understanding of faith and cooperation in development’,* University of Hamburg, Germany, 19 January 2011. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Defining Pentecostalism has been discussed in Allan Anderson, ‘Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions’, in A. Anderson, M. Bergunder, A, Droogers & C. van der Laan (eds.), *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press), 13-29. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘”Born of Water and the Spirit: Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity in Africa’, in Ogbu Kalu (ed.), *African Christianity: An African Story* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press,2007), 341. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Allan H. Anderson & Walter J. Hollenweger, (eds.), *Pentecostals After a Century: Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), chapter 1; Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 269-71. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 274-75. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. This is true of most Southern African countries, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria and Kenya. Further information on this is found in Allan H Anderson, *African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the Twentieth Century* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2001)*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. John S. Pobee & Gabriel Ositelu II, *African Initiatives in Christianity: The Growth, Gifts and Diversities of Indigenous African Churches – A Challenge to the Ecumenical Movement* (Geneva: WCC, 1998), 26; Deji Ayegboyin & S. Ademola Ishola, *African Indigenous Churches: An Historical Perspective* (Lagos: Greater Heights Publications, 1997), 151. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), 246; Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism,* 52. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll,NY: Orbis, 1991), 331-32. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Ayegboyin & Ishola, *African Indigenous Churches,* 150. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Cox, *Fire from Heaven,* 219. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Cox, *Fire from Heaven,* 228; Hennie Pretorius & Lizo Jafta, ‘”A Branch Springs Out”: African Initiated Churches’, R. Elphick & R. Davenport (eds.), *Christianity in South Africa* (Oxford: James Currey & Cape Town: David Philip, 1997), 217. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Amos Yong, ‘‘Not Knowing Where the Wind Blows...’: On Envisioning a Pentecostal-Charismatic Theology of Religions’, *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 14, 1999, 85-7, 99-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Juan Sepúlveda, ‘To overcome the fear of syncretism: a Latin American perspective’, L. Price, J. Sepúlveda & G. Smith (eds.), *Mission Matters* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997), 167. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Allan H. Anderson, *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African Context* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1991)*,* 113-15. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Anderson, *Moya*, 67-68. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Anderson, *Moya,* 72-73. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘Born of Water’, 354-55. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Pobee & Ositelu, *African Initiatives,* 68. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Wilbert R. Shenk, ‘The Contribution of the Study of New Religious Movements to Missiology’, A.F. Walls & W.R. Shenk (eds.), *Exploring New Religious Movements* (Elkhart, IN: Mission Focus, 1990), 198. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Harold W. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa* (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall, 1985), 209. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Turner*, Religious Innovation,* 210. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)