PENTECOSTALIZATION:

THE CHANGING FACE OF BAPTISTS IN WEST AFRICA

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by

Randy Ray Arnett

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APPROVAL SHEET

PENTECOSTALIZATION:

THE CHANGING FACE OF BAPTISTS IN WEST AFRICA

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To Kathy,

who attentively listens to and corrects my conjectures, and

to Bevin and Jillian,

who enthusiastically joined in mission.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	African Initiated Church
ATR	African Traditional Religion
BBCT	Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and Togo
CARIB	Carib Baptist Publications
CBT	Convention Baptiste du Togo
CC	Conseil Chrétien
CIBM	Côte d'Ivoire Baptist Mission
CPE	Centre de Publications Évangéliques
EBTAO	Ecole Baptiste de Théologie pour l'Afrique Occidentale
EP	Evangel Publishing House
ESBTAO	Ecole Supérieure Baptiste de Théologie pour l'Afrique de l'Ouest
IMB	International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention
TBM	Togo Baptist Mission
TEE	Theological Education by Extension
UEPBB	Union des Eglises Protestantes Baptistes du Benin
UEEBBF	Union des Eglises Evangéliques Baptistes du Burkina Faso
UNEBAM	Union des Eglises Baptistes Missionnaires de Côte d'Ivoire

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PREFACE

During the interview for acceptance into the Ph.D. program, a professor asked why I wanted to do doctoral studies. I jokingly responded, "Because I'm bored." That response was not an expected (or acceptable) answer. I went on to explain that I wished to place more than twenty years of cross-cultural missions practice in the crucible of academic inquiry. I had questions about missiology and field practice. The time had come for in-depth evaluation.

Over the course of three years of study, I have discovered that my missiology, birthed in the crucible of practice, holds up in the heat of academic inquiry. Indeed, I have adjusted and strengthened my thinking, but the foundation stands firm.

Many students begin their doctoral studies with a dissertation topic in mind. I did not. About two years into the program, I encountered a word in an obscure article that caught my attention—*pentecostalization*. The term captured that which I had observed among West African Baptists. Thus, the quest began, the quest of placing the pentecostalization of Baptists in the crucible of academic inquiry. And, it has been an insightful and enjoyable quest.

As all writers of dissertations must acknowledge, dissertations are not created in isolation. In my case, many others assisted and enriched the final product, but I alone am responsible for content. I recognize humbly and gratefully the many who contributed, as follows:

The informants shared deeply about sensitive topics. Their cooperation and transparency exceeded expectations. In some cases, they revealed crucial information about developments that would otherwise remain hidden. In return, I have tried my

For me, the objective of this dissertation is not to demonstrate my capacity for academic research, nor simply to add to the body of missions knowledge. Rather, the purpose is that the insights gained by this research will provoke more research and will translate into more effective entry, presentation, disciple-making, church formation, and leadership development.

Baptists in West Africa are not what they used to be. A new reality has dawned. Will we ignore or confront the current reality?

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Louisville, Kentucky

December 2012

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the research topic of pentecostalization. The first

section traces the phenomenal growth of Pentecostalism over the past century. The next

section explains the research questions and the necessity of this study. The third section

provides background information. Then, the chapter describes the methodology used in

the research.

The New Shape of Global Christianity

The twentieth century began with the birth and extraordinary expansion of

Pentecostalism.[1] Over the past century, this movement and its subsequent waves

introduced a new form of Christianity whose growth astonishes even the most optimistic

observer.[2] From the start, missionary zeal characterized the movement. William

Seymour, the leader of the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles, urged his listeners to

spread the gospel. His simple, unpresuming admonition shaped Pentecostalism's early

ethos.[3] Within a few months of the initial Spirit baptism at the Azusa Street Mission in

April 1906, missionaries had spread to the southern states and eastern seaboard of the

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[1]See "Definitions" later in this chapter for the manner in which I employ various terms, such as *Pentecostalism, Francophone,* and *Baptist.*

[2]For example, David Barrett reports that Pentecostals grew from "a handful of Christians" in 1900 to over 500 million in 2000. David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Trends, AD 30-AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001), 3.

[3]Grant McClung, ed., *Azusa Street and Beyond: 100 Years of Commentary on the Global Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement* (Gainesville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2006), 3.

United States.[4] By the end of the year, missionaries had arrived in Liberia, Egypt,

Angola, and Scandinavia. Other missionaries prepared to go to Asia and the Pacific.[5]

Initially, the established churches in the United States dismissed the new

movement as misguided fanaticism. Harold Hunter and Peter Hocken reveal,

> The vast majority of church leaders and theologians from the historic Churches, however, did not even seem to consider the phenomenon worth the attention of criticism. Accordingly, Pentecostals were judged by many to be emotionally disturbed, mentally limited, sociologically deprived—more the object of pathology than of theology. Pentecostal claims to the illumination, guidance and power of the Holy Spirit were therefore dismissed *a priori* as inauthentic.[6]

Yet, by mid-century, the mainline churches could no longer ignore

Pentecostalism. A second wave, the Charismatic movement, swept through the Episcopal

Church in the 1960s. The Roman Catholics experienced a similar phenomenon in the

1970s, as did a number of mainline denominations.[7]

Beyond the borders of the United States, Pentecostalism experienced similar

growth and expansion. In 1988, researcher David Barrett reported that the Renewal

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[4]For general histories of Pentecostalism, see Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Mass, eds., *New International Dictionary of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002); Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997); Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997); and Harvey G. Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995).

[5]Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective," in *All Together in One Place: Theological Papers from the Brighton Conference on World Evangelization*, ed. Harold D. Hunter and Peter Hocken, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 175–77. See also Allan H. Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM, 2007), 50–51.

[6]Harold D. Hunter and Peter Hocken, eds., *All Together in One Place: Theological Papers from the Brighton Conference on World Evangelization*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 9.

[7]See, for example, Allan H. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 144–65; and Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 153–80.

movement encompassed 21 percent of global Christianity.[8] By 2000, the movement had

increased to 25 percent.[9] Harvey Cox, in his 1995 study of Pentecostalism, announced

that Pentecostalism was a new Reformation in the Majority World.[10] In similar fashion,

Philip Jenkins observed,

> Since there were only a handful of Pentecostals in 1900, and several hundred
> million today, is it not reasonable to identify this as perhaps the most successful
> social movement of the past century? According to current projections, the number
> of Pentecostal believers should cross the one billion mark before 2050. In terms of
> the global religions, there will be by that point roughly as many Pentecostals as
> Hindus, and twice as many as there are Buddhists.[11]

Within a century, Pentecostalism has risen from obscurity to ascendancy in

global Christianity. The repercussions of this movement may not be dismissed easily. The

movement shapes today's Christianity.

A significant center of Pentecostalism's global footprint lies in Africa.

Pentecostalism projects a vision that captures the imagination of Africans, especially

West Africans. Allan Anderson, a premier scholar on global Pentecostalism, affirms,

"West Africa is one of the hotspots of the world as far as Pentecostalism is concerned,

having rapidly become one of the most prominent and influential religious movements

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[8]Barrett's term, *Renewal,* encompasses a wide variety of "pentecostals, charismatics, and third-wavers." The "third-wavers" are "non-pentecostal, non-charismatic" and compose less than two percent of the global total. David B. Barrett, "The Twentieth-Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal in the Holy Spirit, with Its Goal of World Evangelization," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 12 (1988): 119. See also David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1:19-21. Barrett admits that accurate statistics for Neo-Pentecostals and Charismatics remain elusive. He explains, "Such groups have little time or opportunity for self-analysis, and usually keep neither statistics nor exact membership lists. . . . It must be emphasized here, therefore, that such statistics as we provide in this survey serve merely as an aid to understanding the order of magnitude of the situation and its rapid evolution over the years, and should not be construed as conferring a separate or separatist identity on such movements." Barrett and Johnson, *World Christian Trends*, 476.

[9]Ibid., 3.

[10]Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 246.

[11]Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, rev. and exp. ed., The Future of Christianity Trilogy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 9.

across this region."[12] In the past three decades, West Africans have embraced this new form of Christianity to the point that Paul Gifford characterizes the movement as a paradigm shift.[13] Anderson concurs, "West Africa, and in particular Nigeria and Ghana, has been the scene of an explosion of a new form of Pentecostalism since the mid-1970s, to such an extent that it may become the future shape of African Christianity, which turns increasingly Charismatic."[14]

One of the most important consequences of this paradigm shift pertains to the non-Pentecostal churches. In a manner similar to the experience of the Catholics and mainline Protestant denominations in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, Pentecostalism extends its reach into non-Pentecostal churches worldwide.[15] This rushing, mighty wind blows into churches and upsets existing denominational ethos, structures, and strategies. Churches adapt or languish.

The global phenomenon of pentecostalization has had two particular implications for churches in West Africa. First, pentecostalization has provoked self-examination by the historic churches. Anderson writes about African churches in general,

> This remarkable growth and the corresponding decline in membership among many older churches gives us pause to consider the reasons. Searching questions about the relevance of the faith and life of older churches in Africa can be posed. If people perceive their teachings and practices as powerless to meet their everyday felt needs, then these churches cannot continue with "business as usual" in the face of obvious shortcomings. Older churches in Africa are now rethinking their entire

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[12]Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 115.

[13]In his study of Pentecostalism in Ghana, Paul Gifford entitled his second chapter, "Paradigm Shift." He uses the term "charismatic" to describe the Pentecostal churches that are not classic Pentecostals. These groups are sometimes called Neo-Pentecostals. Paul Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity: Pentecostalism in a Globalizing African Economy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), vii, viii, and 23.

[14]Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 160.

[15]The pentecostalization process is well documented in Latin America. See Gastón Espinosa, "The Pentecostalization of Latin American and U. S. Latino Christianity," *Pneuma* 26 (2004): 262-92; and David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

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strategy and are being changed by the "Pentecostalization" process taking place. Without such a serious reappraisal, their decline will probably continue and may be terminal.[16]

Indeed, not all churches have carried out a "serious reappraisal." Pentecostalism's increasing dominance and the contraction of both African Initiated Churches (AIC) and historic denominations reflect the new Reformation.[17]

Second, the Pentecostal ethos has crossed denominational lines to the point that the distinction between evangelical and Pentecostal churches blurs.[18] In the mid-1990s, Gifford proclaimed that "the sheer strength of the Pentecostal explosion in Africa has made this distinction meaningless: evangelical churches in Africa are increasingly Pentecostal as well."[19] Unfortunately, non-Pentecostal missiologists have been slow to recognize the significance and extent of the Pentecostal movement and its effect on existing churches. Thus, the response has often been reactionary and fragmented, as Pialo Maditoma observed in his study of the Eglise Evangélique Presbytérienne au Togo.[20]

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[16]Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 121–22. See also chaps. 1-4 in Peter Hocken, *The Challenges of the Pentecostal, Charismatic, and Messianic Jewish Movements: The Tensions of the Spirit* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2008).

[17]See J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Pentecostalism in Africa and the Changing Face of Christian Mission: Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal Movements in Ghana," *Mission Studies* 19 (2002): 21; and Birgit Meyer, "'Make a Complete Break with the Past': Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28 (1998): 319. Ogbu Kalu disagrees and claims AICs are not in decline. Ogbu U. Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5.

[18]See Cephas Omenyo, "Pentecost outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana" (doctoral diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 2002).

[19]Paul Gifford, "Some Recent Developments in African Christianity," *African Affairs* 93 (1994): 524.

[20]See, for example, chap. 3 of his dissertation. Pialo Pawèlé Maditoma, "Le phénomène des nouveaux mouvements pentecôtistes charismatiques et son influence sur l'Eglise Evangélique Presbytérienne du Togo (EEPT)" (Doktorin der Theologie diss., Universität Hamburg, 2005). I observed a similar confused response by Baptists—local, national, and missionary—in West Africa.

Statement of Problem

This dissertation contends that Baptist churches in West Africa are not exempt from pentecostalization. Even though these churches were established on Baptist principles, they, like many others, have succumbed to the Pentecostal explosion of which Gifford speaks. In fact, pentecostalization of Baptist churches stands as a basic assumption.[21] One need only visit worship services to observe, in most cases, a style of worship that reflects that of the Pentecostal churches. The focal concern of this dissertation is the nature of pentecostalization among Baptists in Francophone West Africa.

Rationale

The rationale for the research lies, principally, in the lack of precedent research. To date, research on Pentecostalism has concentrated mostly on the Americas, while research on Africa remains sparse. More specifically, no systematic, in-depth study has ever been conducted on Baptist churches in Francophone West Africa. For many years, an evaluative instrument used by IMB, the *Annual Statistical Report* (ASR), afforded a quantitative measurement of thirteen indicators.[22] This instrument provided an annual survey of key church growth indicators. Unfortunately, the data acquisition protocols lacked consistency and control, which undermined the data validity as indicated by the widely varying statistics year-to-year. In any case, the ASR survey provides no qualitative component for determining the soundness of the faith and practice of the

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[21]For example, Gifford claims the Ghana Baptist Convention "has become thoroughly Pentecostal." Gifford, "Some Recent Developments," 524.

[22]The ASR and its progenitors evolved over the past few decades. In the 1980s, the survey consisted of dozens of questions. By the early part of the first decade of the 2000s, the survey had been reduced to thirteen indicators as follows: total churches, new churches, total outreach groups, new outreach groups, baptisms, church membership, participants in church Bible teaching, new believers in discipleship, church members in discipleship, non-residential leadership training, residential leadership training, Baptist partner home missionaries, and Baptist partner international missionaries.

progress it reports.

In similar fashion, no study is available on the missiology, effectiveness, and long-term results of IMB work in Francophone West Africa. Granted, in the mid-1990s, some of the Baptist missions undertook a church growth study aimed to improve their effectiveness; however, the studies focused mostly on organizational models and priorities. The evaluations did not probe the depths of the work in terms of results and missiology. Regardless, the late-1990s major re-organization of IMB known as *New Directions* or *SD-21* discarded the reports and recommendations.[23] In short, no one has investigated the effect of Pentecostalism on Baptist work.

The second rationale for research lies in the missiological implications of the phenomenon. Stories of breakthroughs and church planting abound. Yet, anecdotal follow-up surveys often yield little tangible evidence of lasting results. Salient questions arise, such as *How do Baptists address the pentecostalization of Christianity in Africa? What are the long-term results of past and current strategies and activities? What kind of churches are Baptists starting and developing?* Furthermore, IMB strategy calls for the mass mobilization of others in church planting and mission. This strategy generates equally pensive questions, such as *What kind of churches are IMB personnel training others to start and develop? What doctrines are propagated? What practices are endorsed, albeit implicitly?* The missiological issues raised by pentecostalization are pertinent and significant, especially as the number of IMB church planters in the Francophone countries of West Africa declines and increased attention is placed on the internationalization of missions. While this dissertation does not seek to answer all these

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[23]During the first several years, the reorganization was known as *New Directions*. Later, the reorganization was designated *Strategic Directions for the Twenty-first Century* or, simply, *SD-21.* The re-organization consisted of a shift from a country-based focus to a people group focus. This "new direction" evoked administrative and missiological shifts.

questions, it lays the groundwork for further research into these critical questions.

The third rationale for research lies in the contextualization practiced by Pentecostals. By any measure, Pentecostals have attained a high level of success in societal penetration, including entry into existing churches and denominations. This dissertation explores the nature of that penetration among Baptists. The way that Pentecostals have captured the African imagination provides a rich field for missiological study.

Research Questions

The research project investigates the extent of pentecostalization and the factors for its proliferation. The two main research questions are as follows:

1. What is the nature of the pentecostalization of Baptists in Francophone West Africa?

2. What factors contribute to the pentecostalization of Baptists in Francophone West Africa?

The first research question examines the depth and extent of distinctive Pentecostal emphases among Baptists. The focus is on practices more than beliefs due to worldview considerations.[24] In this way, the research concentrates on a qualitative understanding of Pentecostalism's effect on Baptists.

The second research question examines the attraction of Pentecostalism for Baptists. The assumption that Baptists are pentecostalized leads to the important question, *What makes Pentecostalism appealing?* Stated conversely, *Where have Baptists failed to connect to the heartbeat of Africans?* One component of this question relates to contextual factors. The other component concentrates on the reasons for embracing Pentecostalism. Mainly, the research explores the reasons that Pentecostalism gained a

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[24]See the section "Research Methodology" later in this chapter.

foothold and grew among Baptists.

Background

This section discusses my personal involvement in the topic and the precedent research.

Personal Interest

Events of the late-1980s and early 1990s introduced me to the conflict and volatility entailed in pentecostalization. My arrival in Togo as a theological educator coincided with a surge of Pentecostalism in four Francophone countries, viz., Togo, Benin, Burkina Faso, and Côte d'Ivoire. During those years, the *pentecôtistes* and *charismatiques* flourished. Their practices proliferated rapidly and profusely; however, the practices and beliefs of these groups differed radically from what I knew of Pentecostals in the United States. As it turned out, the proliferation emanated from Neo-Pentecostals, not the Classic Pentecostals with whom I was familiar. At the time, I did not understand this distinction.

My involvement with churches, pastors, associations, and the national pastors committee brought me to the forefront of this epoch. The IMB response in the volatile situation, like that described by Maditoma, was fragmented and reactionary.[25] New groups assumed control of church buildings and properties while disenfranchising those who resisted the new practices. One of these groups, Deeper Life Bible Church (*Eglise Biblique de la Vie Profonde*), was particularly prominent in its takeover of Baptist churches.

This proliferation promoted several novel doctrines and practices. The leaders in the newly pentecostalized churches often introduced accouterments such as the Ark of

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[25]Maditoma, "Phénomène des nouveaux mouvements," 119–34.

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the Covenant, the Rod of Aaron, holy cloaks, and deliverance handkerchiefs. Prophets and prophetesses abounded. Deliverances assumed a central place in church life. Similarly, these churches proclaimed speaking in tongues as a non-negotiable prerequisite for the "spiritual" Christian. Obviously, some of the more extreme expressions diverged from Classic Pentecostalism to form a syncretic Christian and African Traditional Religion (ATR) mix. Fortunately, few zealots went as far as the examples cited above. Even so, other enthusiasts made some practices binding, even when the practices were not biblically normative.

The movement also encroached on denominational structures such as the seminary where I taught. For example, one group of students in 1990 included three pastors (a Burkinabe, a Togolese, and a Beninese) who had a distinctly Pentecostal orientation. Within a short time of their arrival, they vigorously and resolutely insisted that all students follow their practices as normative for the Christian life. At the time, I was acting director of the seminary and so the management of the situation fell to me. The incident was not isolated; throughout the 1990s, the Pentecostal discourse often surfaced in seminary life.

Today, most of the Baptist churches in West Africa with which I am familiar reflect Pentecostal faith and practice. Rarely does one find a church that has not pentecostalized to some degree. Notably, churches, pastors, missionaries, and theological educators are often ill-equipped to address the phenomenon because no one in their circle of influence has studied the matter carefully enough to provide counsel. Simply, Baptists need help in formulating a response. My personal interest lies in a need to understand and address this movement as it relates to the churches and denomination.

From my perspective as a theological education consultant, pentecostalization is a consequential missiological concern. For example, Pentecostals possess a distinctive understanding and application of contextualization. More importantly, pentecostalization raises important issues about partnerships, church planting, discipleship, missions

training, church development, and theological education. Thus far, the pentecostalization discourse has rarely articulated these issues. An understanding of the process of pentecostalization of Baptist churches in West Africa should provide a context and baseline for additional studies that might address these particular issues. Also, I want to build my own capacity to respond to the challenge pentecostalization presents. As a theological educator and as an academician, I need to explore systematically the nature of the phenomenon among Baptists in Francophone West Africa.

History of Research

The literature on Pentecostalism, in general, has grown tremendously in the past three decades.[26] Nonetheless, most of the treatment has focused on the Americas, especially the United States. Only recently has the subject of global Pentecostalism received much attention. Among the most prolific writers, Allan Anderson and Walter Hollenweger have made major contributions.[27] Hollenweger writes mostly from an ecumenical perspective. Anderson, who comes from a long line of missionaries, grew up in southern Africa before becoming Professor of Global Pentecostal Studies at the University of Birmingham. He, more than anyone, has written on the global nature of Pentecostalism with particular emphasis on Africa. The Neo-Pentecostal movement has attracted less attention than Classic Pentecostalism and, consequently, one finds a dearth of studies in this most recent version of Pentecostalism.[28]

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[26]See Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, ed., *The Spirit in the World: Emerging Pentecostal Theologies in Global Contexts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), xviii–xix.

[27]See "Bibliography" for a listing of their more significant works.

[28]Peter Hocken writes, "As the new charismatic churches are more recent arrivals than the Pentecostal denominations, they have not yet attracted much scholarly research. As they are in a phase of rapid evolution in an age of increasingly hectic change, it is less easy to provide accurate information and informed reflection. As yet, there are no 'new charismatic' studies equivalent to the works of Walter Hollenweger, Allan Anderson and David Martin on the worldwide Pentecostal movement." Hocken, *Challenges Pentecostal, Charismatic, Messianic*, 30–31.

The literature on Pentecostalism in West Africa gravitates to Ghana and Nigeria while the other countries are mostly excluded. Notable works on Nigeria come from writers such as Ogbu Kalu, Ruth Marshall-Fratani, Richard Burgess, Rosalind I. J. Hackett, and Matthews Ojo. Studies on Ghanaian Pentecostalism benefit from scholars such as Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, Cephas Omenyo, Paul Gifford, Kingsley Larbi, Birgit Meyer, and Rijk van Dijk. Fortunately, the writers on Ghanaian and Nigerian Pentecostalism often address the Neo-Pentecostal movements and the AICs in their respective countries. A small number of scholars have specifically treated the newer Pentecostal groups. Their research on the inner workings of these groups provides rich insights. One such example is Asonzeh Ukah's study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God.[29] Notably, very little research has engaged the Francophone version of Pentecostalism, which consists mostly of small, independent groups. In part, the paucity of the Francophone literature is due to the variegated manifestations of Pentecostalism in the Francophone countries and the diminutiveness of the evangelical, academic community.

Three dissertations form the core of the study of pentecostalization in West Africa.[30] The first, Cephas Omenyo's *Pentecost outside Pentecostalism*, addresses Charismatic renewal among Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Evangelical Presbyterians, and Baptists in Ghana. In his work, Omenyo describes the socio-political, religious, and historical setting before attempting a comparative analysis that examines response, spirituality, and ecclesiology. He links the success of the

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[29]For example, Asonzeh Ukah's dissertation on the Redeemed Christian Church of God provides insights into the church's global strategy. Asonzeh Ukah, "The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), Nigeria: Local Identities and Global Processes in African Pentecostalism" (doctoral diss., Universität Bayreuth, 2003).

[30]Omenyo, "Pentecost outside Pentecostalism"; Robert Mbe Akoko, *Ask and You Shall Be Given: Pentecostalism and the Economic Crisis in Cameroon*, African Studies Collection, vol. 2 (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2007); and Maditoma, "Phénomène des nouveaux mouvements."

Charismatic movement to the emphasis on prayer, unique culture, and distinctive practices.

The second work, *Ask and You Shall Be Given* by Robert Akoko, consists of several articles emanating from his doctoral dissertation. Akoko provides a helpful description of the growth of Pentecostalism among Cameroonian Presbyterians with special attention on the shift in emphasis, among Pentecostals, from asceticism to accumulation. Nevertheless, in his analysis, he often fails to account for other possible explanations of the phenomena. In the end, his conclusions incline to reductionism.[31]

The third study is Pialo Maditoma's dissertation on the pentecostalization of the Eglise Evangélique Presbytérienne du Togo (EEPT).[32] His work dedicates a chapter each to the characteristics of Neo-Pentecostals, contextual factors, and the EEPT's response to the "Pentecostal offensive." The core research component consists of a short survey of 35 men and 6 women followed by semi-structured interviews with 6 men and 10 women. The small sample population and lack of substantial analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data weaken the work. Maditoma includes lengthy excerpts from the interviews.

Precedent studies do not exist for the specific topic of pentecostalization of Baptist churches in Francophone West Africa. This lack of literature precludes a comparison of the conclusions of this dissertation with those of other scholarly works. While both Maditoma's and Omenyo's studies have some correlation, they do not present compelling, relative analyses in terms of depth and specificity. Thus, by necessity, this dissertation requires original research.

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[31]Kalu agrees. He calls the "dual vision of asceticism and accumulation . . . rather simplistic." Ogbu U. Kalu, review of *Ask and You Shall be Given: Pentecostalism and the Economic Crisis in Cameroon*, by Robert Mbe Akoko, *Pneuma* 31 (2009): 301.

[32]Maditoma, "Phénomène des nouveaux mouvements."

The most important primary research sources are human. To a lesser degree, the study draws on primary documents related to the national convention and IMB's work. The former are not well preserved or easily accessible. IMB archives contain a limited collection of source material that varies in quality and continuity. In addition, I have a personal and unique collection of source material from circa 1985 to 1999 related to the work of the Togo Baptist Mission and the Convention Baptiste du Togo.

Methodology

This section discusses the research methodology, definitions, limitations and delimitations.

Research Methodology

The nature of the two research questions and the context in which they are posed dictate the major lines of the methodology. In this case, the dissertation employs qualitative research.[33] To begin, the dissertation focuses on the practices, beliefs, and values of Baptists in Francophone West Africa. Clearly, the subjects under study are the primary interpreters of their social reality. Their perceptions of the reality, i.e., the pentecostalization phenomenon, form the basis of the analysis. Thus, a study of their perceptions of this social reality entails qualitative inquiry.

These perceptions and the subsequent analysis must be understood within the context, which contains two significant components. First, the subjects of the study live in an oral-preference setting. This factor creates specific parameters for the implementation of the human research. For example, oral people perceive the world differently than non-oral people. Non-oral research tools such as written surveys fail to

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[33]See Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln's engaging reference book for an introduction to qualitative research. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011).

capture the oral person's reality.[34] Second, religion in West Africa tends to be pluralistic and utilitarian. Consequently, practice takes precedence over doctrine. Thus, the research examines behaviors and the motivations behind those behaviors. These tendencies require careful observation and inquiry consistent with qualitative research.

Approach, strategy, and data processing. The methodological approach is designed to provide both description and explanation of the phenomenon. The approach functions at three theoretical levels that underlie the practical implementation. The three levels are as follows: (1) the emic understanding and perceptions of Baptists concerning the distinctive Pentecostal emphases, (2) the emic understanding of acceptable faith and practices on the part of Baptists, and (3) the etic categories that extract generalizations from the first two levels.[35] This three-part theoretical outline proceeds to a practical implementation in two ways. In the first place, the research yields a detailed description and understanding of the pentecostalization phenomenon. In the second place, the research moves beyond mere description to analyze and explain the phenomenon. In this way, the research is both descriptive and explanatory. On the one hand, the methodology allows rich description of the phenomenon. On the other hand, the methodology facilitates an explanation of the phenomenon.

The research strategy, by its very nature, is open and flexible rather than tightly circumscribed by predefined, theory-driven research questions. The research requires liberty to pursue the informants' perspectives in order to generate deep, rich, and meaningful description.

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[34]Walter Ong's classic work provides a helpful introduction to thought and verbal expression in oral culture. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 2002).

[35]Mark Cartledge's methodology in practical theology influences my thinking. See chap. 2 in Mark J. Cartledge, *Testimony in the Spirit: Rescripting Ordinary Pentecostal Theology* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

Data acquisition and analysis follow recognized qualitative research methods. The research employs a combination of four qualitative research methodologies: participant observation, phenomenology, grounded theory, and ethnography. Data were digitalized, coded, and analyzed using Atlas.ti version 7.0. As the data collection proceeded, analytic categories were created, relationships mapped, and key themes identified. In turn, the analyses implicated subsequent data acquisition as ideas, concepts, and themes were explored further.

Specific methodologies. As noted, four methodologies form the basis of data acquisition. A survey of these methodologies follows. Participant observation immerses the researcher in the flow of events to provide an emic perspective. Bronislaw Malinowski's study of the Trobriand Islanders in the 1920s popularized the method.[36] Since that time, anthropologists and sociologists have treated participant observation as a given for human research. The strength of the method lies in the researcher's high exposure to the research context, its people and implicit meanings. The methodology is especially helpful in the early stages of the research. The main weaknesses revolve around misinterpretation of the flow of events and over-identification with the participants. Without critical assessment, participant observation can lead easily to wrong conclusions. The participant observation aspects of this study followed two lines. First, structured participant observation allowed a close look at specific Pentecostal emphases in activities such as worship, prayer, and deliverance. Second, participant observation provoked random interviews for clarifying behaviors.

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[36]Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1922). For basic guides to participant observation, see Kathleen Musante DeWalt and Billie R. DeWalt, *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2002); James P. Spradley, *Participant Observation* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1980); and Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, "Ethnography and Participant Observation," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994).

Phenomenological research explores the nature of a common experience by examining small, purposeful sample populations. While its philosophical roots reach back to the 1800s, the present day research methodology developed mostly in the 1990s with the work of Ernesto Spinelli, Clark Moustakas and Max van Manen.[37] The strength of phenomenology lies in its ability to probe deeply the phenomenon under investigation. Two weaknesses of this methodology are readily apparent. First, due to the small population size, the results lack generalizability and representativeness. Second, the distinctive relationship between the researcher and informants limits replication. A vulnerability of this methodology lies in researcher subjectivity.[38] The phenomenological aspects of this study followed two lines. At one level, the study examined the phenomenon of pentecostalization. At another level, the study narrowed to a precise phenomenological study of the informant's own, personal pentecostalization. In this way, phenomenology examined the pentecostalization of Baptists as a group and as individuals.

Grounded theory research provides a theoretical explanation of a process, action, or interaction based on the data. Quantitative research begins with a theory or hypothesis to be proven or disproven by the available data. In contradistinction, grounded theory develops an explanation (theory) of a phenomenon based on the data alone. Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser developed the methodology in the 1960s on the

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[37]See Ernesto Spinelli, *The Interpreted World: An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005); Clark E. Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994); and Max van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, SUNY Series in the Philosophy of Education (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990).

[38]See Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, "Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994); and Pauline Boss and Carla Dahl, "The Use of Phenomenology for Family Therapy Research," in *Research Methods in Family Therapy*, ed. Douglas H. Sprenkle and Fred P. Piercy, 2nd ed. (New York: Guilford, 2005).

foundation of symbolic interactionism and multivariate analysis.[39] Since that time, grounded theory proponents have taken the methodology in many directions.[40]

The strength of grounded theory methodology lies in its ability to move beyond mere description to purposeful explanation. Unfortunately, grounded theory also suffers from two weaknesses. First, the methodology requires a significant investment in time and energy for interviews, coding, data analysis, and theory development. Second, grounded theory practitioners necessarily approach the topic with personal notions and assumptions. On the one hand, these notions often assist the researcher in identifying relevant data and abstract categories, and dictate the direction of the research. On the other hand, they may reflect the *a priori* experiences and assumptions of the researcher. In this case, the researcher may fall prey to naïve realism.

The grounded theory aspects of this study followed three lines. First, the emphasis of the research focused on developing an emergent theory about pentecostalization, rather than starting with a theory about the nature and causes of pentecostalization. The flexibility and open-ended nature of the interviews allowed theory to develop out of the data. Second, the research permitted the identification of the patterns and processes of practices and beliefs. While some commonalities reported in other studies were found, the unique situation of Baptists in the Francophone countries yielded new connections. The grounded theory approach facilitated those discoveries. Third, the data was processed and coded in a manner consistent with the grounded theory methodology described by Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin.[41]

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[39]Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transaction, 2008).

[40]See Ralph LaRossa, "Grounded Theory Methods and Qualitative Family Research," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67 (2005): 837–57.

[41]Juliet M. Corbin and Anselm L. Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008).

Unlike analytics-oriented grounded theory, ethnographic research uses interviews and participant observation to *describe* a culture group's behaviors, values, beliefs, and language. The roots of ethnography reach back to cultural anthropologists, such as Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski.[42] Today, ethnography takes a myriad of forms in the social and medical sciences.[43] The strength of the methodology lies in its immersion in the culture. Insights and understanding flourish to the extent that the researcher enters the world of the culture group. At the same time, failure to immerse in the culture, develop relationships, and understand meanings limit the validity of the final report. This method requires extensive time in the field. The ethnographic aspect of this study emerges in two ways. First, an important component of the research consists of describing the behaviors associated with Pentecostalism. Second, as the research progressed and the grounded theory approach yielded relationships and connections, the values, beliefs, and behaviors of the informants came under greater scrutiny.

Validation. Corroboration of the results employed triangulation. The data was subject to validation through one or more of five pairs of crosscheck as follows: (1) Baptist leaders and Baptist members, (2) Africans and former and current IMB personnel, (3) structured and unstructured interviews, (4) interview data and participant observation, and (5) interviews and correlated studies.

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[42]See Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1938); Ronald P. Rohner, ed., *The Ethnography of Franz Boas: Letters and Diaries of Franz Boas Written on the Northwest Coast from 1886 to 1931*, trans. Hedy Parker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); and Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Ethnography of Malinowski: The Trobriand Islands 1915-18,* ed. Michael W. Young (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

[43]For basic discussions of the procedures and applications of ethnography, see David M. Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step-by-Step*, 3rd ed., Applied Social Research Methods Series, vol. 17 (Los Angeles: Sage, 2010); James P. Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1979); and Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007).

Procedure. The research encompassed three overlapping steps as follows:

1. Identify the key emphases of Pentecostalism as expressed in Francophone West Africa.

2. Identify and analyze the presence of these emphases in the faith and practice of Baptists.

3. Identify and analyze the factors that correlate with pentecostalization.

The identification of the key emphases proceeded, initially, through a literature review and, progressively, through the interviews as the emphases were mapped and corroborated by the informants. The identification and analysis of the emphases proceeded through the qualitative research methods previously reviewed. The interviews followed the qualitative interview guidelines proposed by Herbert Rubin and Irene Rubin.[44] The identification and analysis of the factors proceeded through the interview data and the coding that followed.

The nature of qualitative research means one cannot always predict the direction the interviews will take. The questions evolved over time as grounded theory identified key themes. The initial questions concentrated on key indicators of pentecostalization, such as self-identification, association with Pentecostals, and appropriation of distinctive Pentecostal emphases. The interviews explored personal beliefs, practices, opinions, experiences, and understanding as they pertain to pentecostalization.

The informants may be divided into two groups.[45] The first group consists of forty-three informants who agreed to an in-depth interview.[46] These informants, with

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[44]Herbert J. Rubin and Irene Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005).

[45]In the following chapters, *informants* refers to the first, primary group unless the context indicates otherwise. For example, when I say "all informants," I mean all informants in the primary group.

[46]John Creswell estimates that, typically, twenty to thirty interviews achieves data saturation. John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*, 2nd ed.

only a few exceptions, are Baptists who reside or resided in Togo. This primary research group consists of the following: six (past or present) convention leaders, nine Lomé pastors, eighteen Lomé church members, six non-Lomé pastors, and four non-Lomé church members.[47] Seven of the informants became active in Baptist life since 1997. The other thirty-six informants have been active in Baptist life since sometime before 1997. The church member mix consists of seven females and fifteen males. The fifteen pastors were all males. All informants were at least eighteen years of age.

A second group consists of informants who provided background information. While most of these interviews were in-depth, about one-third sought specific information about which the informant was knowledgeable. This group of ten includes some former and current IMB personnel. Beyond these ten interviews, many other shorter interviews occurred opportunistically.

The interview team consisted of three people. Kathy Arnett conducted all of the female interviews plus four male interviews in the primary research group. A Togolese pastor, Roger Kpeglo, conducted one interview. I conducted the other thirty-one interviews and all but one of the interviews in the second group. Kpeglo assisted in arranging interviews and logistics.

The interviews began with greetings and relationship building followed by the *Agrément de Consentement*, which presented the informed consent for human research. The interview process continued with a series of twelve questions as follows:

1. How did you come to choose Baptists?
2. What are the different meetings in your church?
3. What happens in the worship service?

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(Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007), 64.

[47]Lomé is the capital and largest city of Togo. Informants from the Agoényivé area are counted in the Lomé group.

4. How do you express your faith in daily life?

5. What do you like and not like about your church?

6. What happens in the other meetings in your church?

7. What spiritual training have you received in your church?

8. What spiritual training have you received elsewhere?

9. What is the difference between Baptists, Pentecostals, and the *ministères*?

10. Have you ever attended another church? What was the occasion? What was it like? What did you like and dislike about the church?

11. Have you ever attended another *ministère*? What was the occasion? What was it like? What did you like and dislike about the *ministère*?

12. How does your church compare to that of a Pentecostal church?

The questions were formed in French and contextualized in order to communicate as well as possible. Explanatory comments from the interviewer helped to situate the question. The exact wording varied in order to elicit the experiences and understanding of the informant. The first interviews concentrated on the first questions more than the latter ones. As the interviews progressed concentration moved to the higher number questions.

By the twelfth interview the data were saturated. From that point forward, the interviewer was less tied to the twelve questions. The process moved to probing the meaning of the developing themes and domains. In this way, the questions became more specific.

Ethics and Integrity. The research was conducted with integrity and transparency in accordance with the institution's human subjects research protocol. The Research Ethics Committee granted approval for the research. A consent script was administered verbally at the beginning of each interview. The consent explained the purpose and nature of the research project. Informants were asked to participate voluntarily in the research by sharing personal experiences, attitudes, perceptions, and daily practices. Informants were assured of confidentiality and the right not to participate or to cease participation at any time without prejudice. All in-depth interviews except one

were captured using digital voice recorders.[48]

In order to maintain the anonymity of the informants, the dissertation uses alphanumeric codes to identify informants and the respective transcripts. The reference code consists of two letters followed by an arbitrarily assigned number. The location and exact date of interview are not provided. Moreover, all interviews are attributed to the author, even though some interviews were conducted by the other two members of the research team. Occasionally, other information is provided to situate an informant's perspective or credibility without revealing the informant's true identity. In conformity with the informed consent agreement, the transcripts and the identities of the informants are retained exclusively for the author's use.

Definitions

Terminology plays a major role in this dissertation. At the pinnacle of the Pentecostal discourse lies the definition of the term *Pentecostal*. This discourse asks, *What does it mean to be Pentecostal*? André Droogers, in a chapter on the globalization of Pentecostalism, contributes, "The concept of Pentecostalism is, to a certain degree, very much a social scientific construct. The term covers a variety of forms, to such a degree even that it seems difficult to determine exactly what they all have in common."[49] The heterogeneity of Pentecostalism creates the challenge of definition, as Anderson rightly explains: "Pentecostals have defined themselves by so many paradigms that diversity itself has become a primary defining characteristic of Pentecostal and

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[48]One non-Baptist informant declined to be recorded. While he was an avid participant in the interview, he did not contribute substantially to the knowledge base. I suspect that, at times, his answers reflected that which he thought I sought, rather than his own perceptions and understandings.

[49]André Droogers, "Globalisation and Pentecostal Success," in *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*, ed. André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 46.

Charismatic identity."[50] Some scholars, such as Anderson, Barrett and Johnson, Asamoah-Gyadu, and Hollenweger, include a wide range of beliefs and practices.[51] Others, such as Kalu, Hocken, and Robeck, apply criteria that are more restrictive.[52] Obviously, the definition dictates the results. Consequently, chapter 3 will treat Pentecostal identity.

Throughout the dissertation, I use terms in specific ways with specific meanings. The following terms deserve clarification because of their extensive use.[53]

Francophone West Africa, in general usage, refers to those countries in West Africa whose official languages include French. In this dissertation, the term and its shortened version, *Francophone*, refer to eight countries: Senegal, Mali, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Niger, Togo, and Benin.

BBCT designates the four countries that figure prominently in the dissertation namely, Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and Togo. In these four countries, Baptist work began and developed along similar lines and at a similar rate.[54] The Baptist churches are far more developed than those in the other four Francophone West Africa countries.

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[50]Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 10.

[51]Allan H. Anderson, "Stretching the Definitions? Pneumatology and 'Syncretism' in African Pentecostalism," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 10 (2001): 100; Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 103–06; Barrett and Johnson, *World Christian Trends*, 283-90; J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics: Current Developments within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana*, Studies of Religion in Africa, vol. 27 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 18–23; and Walter J. Hollenweger, "After Twenty Years' Research on Pentecostalism," *International Review of Mission* 75 (1986): 9–11.

[52]Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 75–80; Hocken, *Challenges Pentecostal, Charismatic, Messianic*, 12–17; Robeck, "Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective," 166–72.

[53]In this dissertation, I occasionally personify these and other entities solely for the purpose of brevity. For example, I may refer to *TBM* as "it" or "they."

[54]This statement is not intended to denigrate Baptist work commenced before the entry of IMB. For example, Nigerian Yorubas had well-established churches in some of the Francophone countries decades before the arrival of IMB. Notably, the Nigerian work concentrated on expatriate Nigerians rather than the autochthons.

Baptist refers to those churches related to the Convention Baptiste du Togo (CBT), l'Union des Eglises Baptistes Missionnaires de Côte d'Ivoire (UNEBAMCI), l'Union des Eglises Protestantes Baptistes Du Benin (UEPBB), or l'Union des Eglises Evangéliques Baptistes du Burkina Faso (UEEBBF), as indicated by the immediate context. Traditionally, IMB and these national bodies have worked together. The term *Baptist* does not encompass other Baptist groups, such as les Eglises Baptistes Bibliques, les Eglises Baptistes Libres, and l'Eglise Baptiste Œuvres et Mission Internationale. *Baptist* designates members, churches, associations, and the national body.

IMB refers to the international mission agency of the Southern Baptist Convention. During the agency's 160 year history, various names and acronyms have been used, such as F.M.B., Foreign Mission Board, International Mission Board, and I.M.B. I use the current name, IMB, in all references to the agency regardless of the historical period.[55]

African Traditional Religion (ATR) refers to the traditional, indigenous religious beliefs and practices of Africans. These practices and beliefs, which appear in various forms and degrees, were handed down from generation to generation. Admittedly, no single all-encompassing African Traditional Religion exists. Yet, within the hundreds of African traditional religions, shared themes emerge. I use the term as generally employed.[56]

African Initiated Church (AIC) refers to that which the literature calls,

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[55]NB I use *IMB* not as an acronym, but as the formal name of the organization. Thus, the definite article is unnecessary.

[56]See Paul G. Hiebert, R. Daniel Shaw, and Tite Tiénou, *Understanding Folk Religion: A Christian Response to Popular Beliefs and Practices* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999); Osadolor Imasogie, *African Traditional Religion*, 2nd ed. (Ibadan, Nigeria: University Press, 1985); John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969); Jacob Obafẹmi Kẹhinde Olupọna, ed., *African Traditional Religions in Contemporary Society* (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 1991); and J. O. Awolalu, "What Is African Traditional Religion?" *Studies in Comparative Religion* 9 (1975): 1-10.

variously, African Indigenous, Initiated, Independent, or Instituted Churches. The AIC cluster is composed of those churches that, beginning in the late-1800s, broke away from mission churches or were founded independently by Africans. The Ethiopian, Aladura, Zionist, Kimbanguist, Harriste, and Christianisme Céleste movements fall in this category. While theological generalizations about this group are difficult, many hold beliefs or practices outside the norms of biblical Christianity. In this dissertation, *AIC* refers to the older AICs in contradistinction to the newer, independently founded Pentecostal-type churches.[57]

Mainline churches refers to the mission churches established by the historic denominations unless the context clearly indicates otherwise. The term includes such groups as Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Baptists. I use *mainline* and *historic* interchangeably.

Pentecostals designates those who self-identify as Pentecostals or who hold to generally recognized Pentecostal beliefs and practices. This generic term encompasses Classic Pentecostals, Neo-Pentecostals, Charismatics, and some *ministères*.[58] However, AICs and some *ministères* are specifically excluded on theological grounds even though they may self-identify as Pentecostals.[59] I employ the variations, *Pentecostal* and *Pentecostalism*, in similar fashion.

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[57]See Dean Gilliland for a helpful typology of these groups. Dean S. Gilliland, "How 'Christian' Are African Independent Churches," *Missiology* 14 (1986): 259-72. See also Anderson for a discussion of the newer AICs. Allan H. Anderson, "The Newer Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches: The Shape of Future Christianity in Africa," *Pneuma* 24 (2002): 167-84.

[58]A *ministère* is an autonomous assembly led by an autocratic, charismatic person. Most of the gatherings number less than one hundred participants. As a group, *ministères* outnumber easily the established churches. Typically, the leader builds a reputation in a specific domain of Christian practice, such as prayer, deliverance, healing, proselytization, or speaking in tongues.

[59]Chapter 3 treats more extensively this topic. For an opposing position, see Anderson who advocates the inclusion of AICs and Barrett who uses self-identification as a criterion in his surveys. Anderson, "Stretching the Definitions?"; Anderson, "Newer Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches," 168; and Barrett and Johnson, *World Christian Trends*, 470.

Classic Pentecostals refers to the historic Pentecostal denominations, such as Assemblies of God, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, the Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost, and the Church of God. I employ *Classical Pentecostals*, a term preferred by some authors, in similar fashion unless the context dictates otherwise.

Charismatics refers to those individuals and entities who generally hold to Pentecostal faith and practice, but choose to remain within existing non-Pentecostal churches. This usage assumes an ecclesiastical rather than a theological differentiation.[60] I employ the variation, *Charismatic*, in similar fashion.

Neo-Pentecostals refers to those Pentecostal groups who have arisen since the 1970s and represent the new face of West African Christianity. They typically attract the upwardly mobile middle-class, preach a health and wealth message, and associate with the Word-Faith Movement.[61] Though non-denominational, they maintain a global network. This group includes E. A. Adeboye's Redeemed Christian Church of God, Mensa Otabil's International Central Gospel Church, David Oyedepo's Winner's Chapel, and a myriad of independent groups. I employ the variations, *Neo-Pentecostal* and *Neo-Pentecostalism*, in similar fashion.

Pentecostal-like encompasses those groups that do not fit easily with the other designations, such as Neo-Pentecostals and the AICs, yet manifest Pentecostal-type beliefs or practices. They include those assemblies that are ideologically aligned with the

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[60]Burgess and van der Mass, *New International Dictionary*, Kindle e-book, loc 308.

[61]The Word-Faith movement is known under diverse names, such as the Word of Faith Movement, the Faith Movement, Health and Wealth, Prosperity Theology, Positive Confession, and Name It and Claim It. I use *Word-Faith* while avoiding other terms that may have pejorative connotations. Some Classic Pentecostal scholars deny that the Word-Faith movement is a variation of Pentecostalism. See, for example, D. R. McConnell, *A Different Gospel*, upd. ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995). I include Word-Faith as a variation of Neo-Pentecostalism because of the movement's strong presence in Pentecostal churches in West Africa,

Neo-Pentecostals, but theologically aligned with the AICs. This term includes *ministères* that take extremist positions. The designation appears in cases where the source, expression, or nature of the manifestation is indeterminate.

Charismatic manifestations refers to phenomena characteristic of the Pentecostal movement. These manifestations include such things as speaking in tongues, trances, prophesy, and falling. Because of the difficulty of distinguishing between Holy Spirit-inspired, human-inspired, and demon-inspired phenomena, I use the term without distinction. I employ the variations, *charismatic phenomena*, *manifestations*, and *spirit manifestations*, in similar fashion.

Charismatization refers to the process of creating space within a denomination or church that allows Pentecostal phenomena to co-exist in the entity. The entity retains its essential historical mission and identity, but incorporates the phenomena. This term describes the phenomenon of the Charismatic Movement in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s.

Pentecostalization refers to the process of assimilating and incorporating Pentecostal beliefs and practices, individually or corporately. I use the term in reference to a church or denomination. In this process, Pentecostal phenomena, experiences, and spirituality are normalized and adopted. The entity's identity and mission evolve to the point that the entity no longer holds to its original identity and mission. Substantively, in charismatization an entity creates space for Pentecostal phenomena, whereas in pentecostalization the entity adopts Pentecostal phenomena for its identity, ethos, and mission. In the former, the historic mission and identity are retained. In the latter, the historic mission and identity are replaced with a new identity and mission.[62]

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[62]NB Many authors use *pentecostalization* and *charismatization* interchangeably.

Limitations and Delimitations

The following section discusses the three limitations and five delimitations of the research project.

Limitations. This dissertation has three limitations. In the first place, the research depended on the availability and accessibility of informants. Church leaders and the CBT leaders agreed to the research project with no restraints. All the potential informants identified for interviews participated. The interview schedule proceeded with no interruptions. External factors, such as health, infrastructure, and weather, did not impede the interviews.

In the second place, the research had a data quality limitation. First, the research assumed that informants would agree to interviews and accurately articulate their beliefs, practices, and perceptions. When first approached about participation, many informants requested a list of questions that would be asked in order to prepare their answers. This request was not granted because of the dynamic nature of the interview process. Once informants were assured of anonymity, confidentiality, and the right not to answer questions, they cooperated exceedingly well. Answers flowed freely and reflectively. Several of the informants considered it an "honor" to be chosen for participation. Only two cases arose where informants seemed reluctant in their responses. In another three cases, informants seemed not to articulate accurately their beliefs, practices, and perceptions. In these three cases, the responses seemed designed to persuade and influence the outcome of the research in a particular way. Nonetheless, these interviews were not excluded; information gleaned from them appears in the dissertation.

Second, the research assumed that the transcriptions accurately reflect the interviews. In a few cases, environmental noise renders the audio recording very, very difficult to understand and, hence, degrades the transcription. The transcription of the audio recordings was carried out by two university students from Abidjan, Côte

d'Ivoire.[63] They transcribed all but five of the French language interviews. The other five were transcribed by the author and his spouse. Comparisons between the transcription and the audio indicate a high degree of accuracy.

Third, the research assumed that the translations of the informants' ideas accurately reflect the intended meanings. The majority of interviews were conducted in French. Only IMB personnel were interviewed in English. Studies on linguistic relativity suggest some level of degradation occurs whenever ideas are expressed in different languages.[64] Consequently, the final research report is limited because some elements of worldview are uniquely expressible only in the structure of the host language. The translation of those ideas outside the host language alters meaning because reality is, to some extent, linguistically embedded.

Three factors impinged on the translation. To begin, almost all informants are oral-background. Furthermore, they do not communicate in grammatically correct French. Consequently, the translation of the meaning poses immense challenges. The dissertation has followed a pattern of translating as close as possible to the original wording with only occasional insertions to clarify obscure meanings. Oftentimes, the translations do not carry the full nuanced meaning of the speaker.

Next, informants often respond to questions with a narrative. The answer is imbedded in the story, which makes citations and translations awkward. Thus, I sometimes condense the extended narrative to succinct points. Through this extraction of points from the narrative, the meaning undergoes some alteration. I have diligently

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[63]The transcribers signed a *Formulaire de Confidentialité.*

[64]See, for example, Benjamin Lee Whorf et al., *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2012); John A. Lucy, *Language Diversity and Thought: A Reformulation of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Alan Rumsey, "Wording, Meaning, and Linguistic Ideology," *American Anthropologist* 92 (1990): 346-61; and John J. Gumperz, *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

sought always to reflect the informant's original meaning.

Finally, informants tend never to identify an individual by name. Consequently, informants often nuance *on* to designate a particular individual without naming him.[65] The informant assumes that the interviewer knows exactly to whom he refers based on the context and network of relationships. In translation, the dissertation follows this same pattern and does not identify the person even though the identity of the person is known to both the informant and the interviewer.

In the third place, the dissertation is limited by the availability of archival materials. Unfortunately, many of the documents and records of the former Togo Baptist Mission have not been preserved. The author holds one of the most extensive collections of mission documents in existence. The CBT documents are not easily accessible or well preserved. This limitation degraded the final results. For example, the written records for a few key decisions by the TBM and the CBT cannot be found. Thus, some arguments that would normally have been presented and developed in the dissertation were withdrawn due to the lack of supporting evidence.

Delimitations. The dissertation has five delimitations. First, the magnitude of pentecostalization of African Baptists requires delimiting the study to the specific context of Francophone West Africa. The primary research focus is Togo.[66] Since the Baptist work in Togo has evolved similarly to that of Benin, Burkina Faso, and Côte d'Ivoire, the country provides an optimal research setting.[67] While general similarities between

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[65]The third person singular indefinite pronoun, *on,* has a variety of uses. While it approximates the English *one,* it may also be used as a subject in a passive sentence. Informally, the pronoun may be used for *we, you, they,* and *someone.*

[66]NB This dissertation focuses on Togo Baptists, but does not purport to do a case study of them.

[67]Togo provides an optimal research setting for four reasons. First, Togo was IMB's first entry in Francophone West Africa. Second, Togo is representative of the four Francophone countries (BBCT) in terms of Baptist demographics and development. Baptist work achieved spectacular growth during much of

Baptists in Togo and the other countries exist, this study does not extrapolate nor apply the findings to those countries. Nonetheless, the research strongly suggests that pentecostalization has followed a similar pathway in other parts of West Africa. The research provides a suggestive direction of research that will likely yield similar results in similar situations.

Second, the research does not examine the perspectives of those who are not currently involved in Baptist life. Informants outside of Baptist life are excluded, except when needed to provide clarity or background information. Further, individuals who are no longer active in Baptist life are excluded, except as previously noted.[68]

Third, the research results are limited by the language choices. The interviews were conducted in French or English depending on the informant. This French-English filter excluded some potential respondents who were fluent in neither language.

Fourth, the research does not assess critically the biblical or theological basis of Pentecostal phenomena among Baptists. In this respect, the study focused on the nature and factors of pentecostalization without making an evaluative judgment on its biblical and theological validity. Thus, a chapter on the theological basis of pentecostalization does not appear. Nonetheless, occasional references to the biblical or theological aspect of pentecostalization appear incidentally when these aspects impinge on the research.

Fifth, the research does not validate quantitatively the causative factors. In this respect, the proposed causations rely on perceptual correlations. No effort is made to ascertain the statistical validity of the correlations.

the 1980s. Third, ESBTAO has been the hub of theological education for Francophone since the late-1970s. Fourth, Togo lies on the major transportation route between Nigeria and Ghana. Further, it is adjacent to and shares a major people group with Ghana.

[68]See "Procedures."

Conclusion

Pentecostalism has created a new face for global Christianity. Baptists, too, have been changed by the movement. Among Baptists worldwide, West African Baptists find themselves in a world center of Pentecostalism. How have they adapted? How has their face changed? What prompted this new image?

The answers to these questions unfold in the following pages. As the answers unfold, the reader will recognize that Francophone Baptists are not what they once were. The practices have changed fundamentally.[69] As the picture unfolds, one discovers churches that do not follow the lines of traditional Baptist faith and practice.

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[69]Beneath those practices lie beliefs that have changed as well. This work, as noted in the delimitations, recognizes the relevancy of those beliefs, but does not purport to examine or assess them. Rather, the focus rests on *practices*.

CHAPTER 2

PENTECOSTALIZATION IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter surveys the historical context of Pentecostalism in Francophone West Africa. The first section traces the history of IMB work in the four Francophone countries. The history gives particular emphasis to background information that impinges on chapters 5 and 6. The second section switches to the global expansion of Pentecostalism, which is followed by the third section on Pentecostalism's growth and dominance in West Africa. The third section treats Pentecostalism as expressed mostly in Ghana and Nigeria. The second and third sections set the context for and transition to chapter 3.

The History of IMB Missions in Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and Togo

This section traces the history of Southern Baptist missions in the four Francophone countries (BBCT). Togo will receive more attention than the other countries because of its significance for the research project.

Historical Context

In 1851, Thomas J. Bowen, the great missionary pioneer in West Africa, wrote of the opportunities in Dahomey (present-day Benin):

> Europeans are allowed to travel freely in Dahomey, and it is said the king would willingly receive missionaries. I should think strongly of going to see him, if the king of Iketo would let me pass through his territories; for Dahomey is not only a wide unoccupied missionary field, but would be a very convenient highway to Central Africa.[1]

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[1]Foreign Mission Board, Sixth Annual Report; excerpt from letter by Thomas J. Bowen, IMB

Yet, for the next century, Southern Baptists focused uniquely on Nigeria. Finally, in 1947, a few missionaries from Nigeria opened work in Ghana.[2] A dozen years later, IMB sent missionaries to another Anglophone country, Liberia.[3]

Eventually, in the late 1950s, IMB's attention turned again to the Francophone countries such as Dahomey. Two developments prompted this strategic focus. First, a change in IMB leadership contributed to a revitalization of mission planning. In 1958, H. Cornell Goerner assumed the responsibilities of Secretary for Africa, Europe, and the Near East shortly before George W. Sadler retired.[4] Within weeks, Goerner projected entry into the Francophone countries. He wrote,

> In addition to Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, definite consideration is being given to French West Africa. Scattered Baptist groups from Nigeria have migrated into Dahomey and Ivory Coast, as well as French Cameroons. Negotiations have been begun with the secretary of the Federation of Evangelicals in French West Africa, whose recommendation would have to be secured before the colonial government would grant entrance visas for Southern Baptist missionaries. Your secretary would like to have the assurance of the approval of the Board in moving toward entrance into French West Africa, if all technicalities can be satisfactorily overcome.[5]

Throughout 1959, Goerner's reports to the board of trustees of IMB consistently stressed the "desirability that Southern Baptists should have definite work in French-speaking

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Archives, no. 2620, 9 May 1851.

[2]The Ghana mission remained a part of the Nigeria Baptist Mission until 1957, at which time the Ghana Baptist Mission constituted.

[3]IMB exited Liberia in 1875 and re-opened work in 1960 at the invitation of the Liberia Baptist Missionary and Education Convention. Albert W. Wardin, ed., *Baptists around the World: A Comprehensive Handbook* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1995), 76–77; and Baker J. Cauthen, "Report of Executive Secretary," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1833, 28 July 1960.

[4]Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1806, 9 April 1957.

[5]H. Cornell Goerner, "Report to the Board," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1779, 8 April 1958.

territories."[6] In mid-1959, he and Baker J. Cauthen conducted a four week tour that included "surveying mission needs in French West Africa."[7] Upon his return from the trip, Goerner expressed his intent:

> Although we must proceed slowly, as availability of personnel and the possibility of securing residence permits dictate, the Area Secretary and the Committee on Africa, Europe, and the Near East would like to have the assurance that the full Board approves in principle *a vigorous plan of expansion* [emphasis added] into French West Africa, looking toward the possibility that there might be established eventually a network of Baptist mission stations in Guinea, Togo, Upper Volta, Sudan, Senegal, and possibly Ivory Coast and Dahomey.[8]

Second, the change in IMB leadership coincided with the breakup of the French territories in West Africa. In the fall of 1958, seven of the eight colonies voted to remain in the French community and under the French constitution of 1958. Guinea, alone, voted for complete independence. Nevertheless, two years later, in 1960, France granted complete independence to the seven countries.

In this political turmoil, Goerner understood, correctly, that missionary visas posed a difficult challenge. The French government's policy favored Catholic missions in the Africa colonies. Consequently, the Protestants had formed the Evangelical Federation of French West Africa to represent the interests of the member missions and churches before the colonial government. In the former French colonies, France continued to follow the inclinations of the Evangelical Federation for approval of entry to new missions.[9]

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[6]H. Cornell Goerner, "Report of Secretary for Africa, Europe and the Near East," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1770, 16 July 1959.

[7]Baker J. Cauthen, "Report of Executive Secretary," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1770, 16 July 1959.

[8]H. Cornell Goerner, "Report to the Board," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1836, 13 October 1959.

[9]French policy for Africa through the successive periods of colonial rule, decolonization, and independence was based on centralization, hierarchy, and uniformity. The Evangelical Federation helped to ensure uniformity and centralization. See John Frank Clark and David E. Gardinier, eds., *Political Reform*

By late 1959, Goerner had established a priority list of countries based on the likelihood of gaining entry. He believed that Guinea offered the best possibility. He explained,

> If Guinea were still a part of the French African Community, visas would necessarily be secured through Dakar, and would require the endorsement of the Evangelical Federation of French West Africa. This in turn would necessitate the sponsorship of one of the existing missions within French West Africa and acceptance on the part of Southern Baptists of a definite limitation of territory under a comity agreement. It seems more desirable to deal directly with the government of an independent African nation, rather than work through the Federation office, which has been closely aligned with the Colonial government.[10]

Unfortunately, Cauthen and Goerner's visit with officials of the Guinea government in 1959 did not succeed. In July 1960, Goerner informed the board of trustees that the Guinea government had declined the visa applications.[11]

After the Guinea failure, Goerner turned his attention to other Francophone countries. Goerner's second choice was Togo, which expected full independence in 1960. Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire were next in line. Burkina Faso and Benin were more remote possibilities.[12] Yet, three years later, IMB had not established a single Francophone mission. Goerner attributed the lack of action to pressing needs elsewhere and the dearth of candidates already proficient in French.[13]

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in Francophone Africa (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997), 10.

[10]Goerner, "Report to the Board," 13 October 1959. The colonial governments throughout West Africa discouraged multiple missions in a single community in order to reduce confusion and conflict. As a result, the Protestant missions responded with comity agreements. Cf. Elizabeth Allo Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).

[11]Cauthen, "Report of Executive Secretary," 28 July 1960. A few weeks later, he lamented, again, to the trustees: "The most discouraging news for our mission work in Africa in recent weeks has been the refusal of the government of the Republic of Guinea to grant permission for Southern Baptists to begin a program of work in that country." H. Cornell Goerner, "Report of Secretary for Africa, Europe, and the Near East," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1756, 8 September 1960. The refusal came, most likely, as a result of Guinea's political alignment with the Soviet Union.

[12]Goerner, "Report to the Board," 13 October 1959.

[13]H. Cornell Goerner, "Report of Secretary for Africa, Europe and the Near East," Minutes of

Unlike Guinea, most of these countries had some existing foundation for

Baptist work. Yoruba traders from Nigeria had established enclaves of Baptists in many

of the coastal cities. Nearly forty years earlier, in 1921, L. M. Duval had reported to the

Southern Baptist Convention,

> The influence of our missionary efforts in Africa are [*sic*] not confined to the
> Yoruba people nor the Yoruba country. Many of our Christians have become traders
> and have gone into many parts of the west coast. . . . Quite remarkable that one
> should go away from home a heathen to another heathen country, under the
> government of Roman Catholic France, to learn the teachings of the Saviour. These
> Yoruba Christians do not forget the gathering of themselves together, and wherever
> they go hold their Sunday meetings, choosing one of their number to lead them. All
> through the year we have been receiving letters from the interior, where our
> Christians, who either have settled or have gone there on trading trips, are begging
> us to send them teachers and preachers to lead them in religious services. It has been
> a great sorrow to us all that we have not been able to send them any.[14]

A decade later, George Green had reported that Nigerian Baptist churches existed in Côte

d'Ivoire and Benin.[15] Similarly, Togo had its share of Nigerian Baptist churches. The

persistent requests from these Yoruba churches became, in part, the catalyst for new

entries. Thus, these Nigerian churches became the launch pad for Southern Baptists to

enter other Francophone countries.

Togo

The first sustained contacts between IMB personnel and the Nigerian Baptist

churches in Togo began in 1958.[16] At that time, Clayton Bond, a newly arrived

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the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1883, 9 April
1963.

[14]L. M. Duval, "Annual Report," Foreign Mission Board, Seventy-Sixth Annual Report, IMB
Archives, no. 2711, 12 May 1921.

[15]George Green, "Annual Report," Foreign Mission Board. Annual of the Southern Baptist
Convention, Eighty-Fifth Annual Report, IMB Archives, no. 2727, 14 May 1930.

[16]An internal document of the Togo Baptist Mission, "Program Base Design," cites 1957 as the
date of original contact, but provides no further details. The document contains other dating inaccuracies,
and no other source substantiates the 1957 date. I conclude that "1957" is a typographical error. See Togo
Baptist Mission, "Program Base Design of the Togo Baptist Mission," Lomé, Togo, 1992, 14.

missionary in Accra, Ghana, commenced occasional trips to Togo to support and encourage the small Yoruba congregations. In 1959, Cauthen and Goerner attended the formal organization of First Baptist Church of Lomé.[17] IMB entry, even if desired, was impossible because of the Evangelical Federation's restrictions and, later, the Togo government's parity agreement with the existing religious organizations. Bond's trips to Togo continued until tensions between the governments of Togo and Ghana made border crossings untenable.

By 1964, the situation had changed. The Bonds transferred to Togo and officially launched the Togo Baptist Mission.[18] Naturally, the initial TBM work focused on the Nigerian Baptist congregations. By the end of the 1960s, the TBM consisted of three families who hosted a small Togolese (non-Nigerian) church at the mission center. By 1971, this first non-Nigerian Baptist church had moved to its own building.

In the 1970s, the TBM opened mission stations in three other locations: Sokodé (1971), Atakpamé (1975), and Tabligbo (1977). Besides evangelism, the mission promoted a variety of ministries, including student work in Lomé, agriculture in Sokodé, and literacy in Tabligbo. Theological education held an important place in the mission's work. A local pastor's school evolved into a regional institution for the Francophone countries later in the decade. At the end of 1977, the TBM reported three national pastors, seven churches, and thirty preaching stations.[19]

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[17]The establishment of First Baptist Church in Lomé is complicated. A division in the church over polygamy led to the establishment of a second Baptist church. Both churches (*Boulevard* and *Doulassamé)* claimed the title *First Baptist Church.* Moreover, they both claim to be the true descendent of the original church that originated circa 1919.

[18]The difficulty of gaining entry remained until the 1990s when restrictions were loosened. For example, in the early 1970s, the Association of Baptists for World Evangelization (ABWE) was unable to gain its own entry protocol and so entered under the parity umbrella of the Southern Baptist mission.

[19]Foreign Mission Board, *West Africa 1978* (Richmond, VA: Foreign Mission Board, 1978), 27.

In the 1980s, the TBM experienced rapid growth in personnel, ministries, and church plants. By the end of the 1980s, a high attrition rate of missionaries of the 1970s and early 1980s had mollified.[20] A wave of new personnel doubled the missionary force between 1985 and 1989. Ministries expanded to include music, religious education, women's work, and health care. Notably, student work, a key component of the TBM strategy, lacked continuity of leadership and suffered accordingly. Three new stations opened: Moretan, Ountivou, and Kara. The Moretan Project stood as a focal point for much of the decade. This community development project, in partnership with North Carolina Baptists, opened a remote area in east central Togo. The project included bridge-building, wells, water catchments, and evangelism. Much of the church growth of the 1980s may be attributed to the project. In 1988, the churches formed the Togo Baptist Convention.

During the 1990s, the TBM faced political and organizational upheaval. In the first part of the decade, the mission slowly and reluctantly adjusted its internal organization for the increased number of personnel and the reduced budgets. In the late 1990s, the introduction of New Directions, later named SD-21, disrupted relationships, provoked job re-assignments, imposed new administrative structures, and dictated different strategies. The TBM ceased in 1999 when the mission was split in north and south and each part assigned to a different "cluster," or administrative entity. Politically, the country underwent profound changes as opposition groups contested the regime of the sitting president.[21] The upheaval and violence disrupted ministries and strategies.

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[20]For example, only four of the eleven units appointed between 1975 and 1980 were still in Togo in 1983.

[21]For an excellent summary of the political conflict in Togo, see John R. Heilbrunn, "Togo: The National Conference and Stalled Reform," in *Political Reform in Francophone Africa*, ed. John Frank Clark and David E. Gardinier (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997).

Missionary attrition rates rose in the mid- to late 1990s. The Tabligbo and Atakpamé stations closed.

In the first decade of the 2000s, the Southern Baptist mission continued to decline in number of personnel. The SD-21 emphasis on unengaged people groups forced a retrenchment of personnel in the traditional fields in favor of Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger. IMB ministries retracted rapidly. The Moretan and Ountivou stations closed. The Sokodé station closed at the end of the decade when the only remaining evangelist retired. By 2012, only one unit, assigned to the theological institution, remained in the country.

Côte d'Ivoire

Contemporaneous with the Togo entry, John Mills, who served as the secretary of the Department of Evangelism for the Nigerian Baptist Convention, made a survey trip to Côte d'Ivoire. Struck by the opportunities, he asked to open the work. Unfortunately, Mills suffered a mild heart attack, which delayed arrival until 1966.

Similar to the situation in Togo, Mills found a strong foundation of Nigerian Baptist churches.[22] His prior experience in Nigeria allowed him to identify easily and work with those congregations during the first year.

Following the arrival of two other units in 1967, the fledgling mission targeted non-Nigerians, albeit it with limited results. The first non-Nigerian congregation struggled for four years before its mission-constructed building was dedicated in 1971.[23] Ebele Adioye, in his history of the Côte d'Ivoire Baptist Mission, cites four problems that

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[22]Ebele Adiboye reports fifteen Yoruba churches in 1966, whereas John Mills reports twenty congregations and three thousand members. Ebele Adioye, "The Southern Baptist Mission Work in Côte d'Ivoire" (B.Th. thesis, Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, 1994), 11; and Foreign Mission Board, *West Africa 1973* (Richmond, VA: Foreign Mission Board, 1973), 31.

[23]"Dedication in Abidjan," *The Commission*, April 1971, 40.

afflicted the mission in the early years. He places the lack of language proficiency at the top of his list. He relates the events of 14 October 1967:

> The three missionaries went to Marcory market to invite people to the new church. The three missionary women abandoned quickly the task because the sellers could not understand their message. They were crowded by women who thought the three missionaries came for shopping.[24]

Another problem encountered was the paucity of French language materials. A few years later, Mills lamented, "Printed materials, films, and other tools with which to witness in French, are woefully lacking."[25]

In the 1970s, the CIBM expanded its personnel, ministries, and locations. Medical missions began with a small dispensary in Abidjan, followed by a full dental clinic in Bouaké, the second largest city in Côte d'Ivoire. Work in a third city, Daloa, centered on an agricultural program. At the end of the decade, a music consultant arrived and a regional media center opened. A cooperative agreement with the theological institution in Togo, EBTAO, provided Theological Education by Extension for church leaders.

In the 1980s, the CIBM expanded into four more cities—San-Pedro, Gagnoa, Man, and Yamoussoukro. Student ministries culminated in the opening of a student center in 1985. The Baptist convention of Côte d'Ivoire was established in late 1984.

In the 1990s, the mission continued expansion. TEE received greater attention with a significant increase in enrollment. In the late 1990s, IMB aggressively expanded its reach into the west and north as a part of the SD-21 reorganization.

In the first decade of the 2000s, the political situation erupted violently. The consequent instability and civil war provoked the mass departure of missionaries,

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[24]Adioye, "Southern Baptist Mission Work," 14.

[25]Foreign Mission Board, *West Africa 1973*, 33.

particularly those stationed outside the capital. All stations were abandoned except for Abidjan and a small village in the east of the country. By 2012, only two units remained.

Benin

In 1970, the Neville Claxon family transferred from Nigeria to open the work in Benin. They were joined two years later by a couple from Zambia. As in the other countries, Nigerian Baptists formed a foundation from which IMB began work. Marilyn Bonnell notes in her history of the Benin Baptist Mission,

> These Yoruba congregations, small as they were, paved the way for Southern Baptist missionaries in Dahomey. It would have been extremely difficult to obtain a government permit to start new Baptist work, had the Yoruba Baptist churches not been here already. Yorubas were truly the bridge over which Southern Baptist missionaries went into Dahomey and the other countries of Francophone Africa.[26]

The turbulence of the 1970s impeded the Benin Baptist Mission's progress. Throughout most of the decade, only one or two families were on the field at a time. Moreover, a series of coups d'état culminated in the establishment of a Marxist state in 1975. Under Marxism, the mission suffered severe restrictions in its activities. Bonnell writes, "Policy and guidelines for the evangelistic work of the Mission was [*sic*] made as the need arose, and often abruptly cancelled due to national conditions."[27] From the very beginning, Claxon focused on students as his primary evangelism strategy. This strategy, along with the Bible Way Correspondence Course, stood as the primary, almost unique, focus of the 1970s and early 1980s. By the end of the decade, the mission had expanded into two other cities: Abomey and Porto Novo. In 1980, the mission boasted a total of 517 Baptist church members.[28]

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[26]Marilyn R. Bonnell, *Yesterday–Today; Then–Now: Benin Baptist Mission 1970-1995* (n.p., 1997), 101.

[27]Ibid., 135.

[28]Ibid., 195.

The restrictions of the Marxist government continued in the 1980s with varying degrees of enforcement. A dental clinic in Abomey, first envisioned in the mid-1970s, operated sporadically until it closed in 1993 because of the inability to attract and retain missionary dentists. The Porto Novo station had a small clinic run by a nurse. Agricultural work began late in the 1980s. A strong emphasis on TEE through EBTAO developed in mid-decade. Notably, the Benin mission adopted and enforced a policy that emphasized local language learning for its missionaries. The policy had the unexpected consequence of diminishing French language competency.[29]

The 1990s began with the establishment of the Benin Baptist Convention and the formation of a new non-Marxist government. These two developments set the tenor for the decade. The mission launched several new initiatives with missionary specialists in music, religious education, and student work. Moreover, the mission emphasized evangelism strongly. Unfortunately, the mission's high attrition rate diminished the effectiveness and longevity of these initiatives. Furthermore, the relationship between the national convention and the mission remained tense throughout the decade.[30]

The SD-21 reorganization brought a decline in the Benin mission similar to Togo. While the mission had a north-south divide like that of Togo, the impact was lessened due to the concentration of missionaries in the south, rather than the north. Nonetheless, the retrenchment of missionary presence and the closure of mission stations proceeded quickly. By 2012, one unit remained in Benin.

Burkina Faso

After their survey trip in 1959, Goerner and Cauthen reported, "Entrance into

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[29]Ibid., 311.

[30]See, for example, Bonnell's account of a 1993 meeting between the mission and convention. Ibid., 358–59.

the Boltaik Republic [i.e., Burkina Faso] at this time seems a little more remote but Dr. Cauthen and I will not soon forget an inspiring service with the Yoruba Baptist Church of Ouagadougou."[31] Subsequently, missionaries in northern Ghana made occasional trips to Ouagadougou in support of that small Yoruba Baptist church.[32] Finally, in 1971, the J. B. Durham family transferred from Nigeria to establish the first permanent IMB presence in Burkina Faso.

In the 1970s, the mission's primary strategy consisted of reaching the educated class in the population centers. Durham explained,

> The emphasis will be placed upon establishing work in the larger towns and cities, using French as the language of communication. We will attempt to win educated young men who can be trained as pastors and lay leaders to work among their own people.[33]

Thus, the Bible Way Correspondence courses and a center in Ouagadougou became the practical outworking of this strategy. In the mid-1970s, more missionaries arrived, including a music evangelist and an agriculturalist who established the second station, Koudougou. Over the next two decades, the Koudougou station developed into a vocational training center for church leaders and, finally, a Bible institute. The establishment of the Burkina Faso mission coincided with the 1970s Sahel famine. Consequently, the mission included famine relief in its strategy, which led to the establishment of the Tenkodogo station in 1979. The Burkina Faso Baptist Convention formed in 1977 with twelve churches.

In the 1980s, the mission expanded its personnel and ministries. Three new stations were manned, the most significant of which was Bobo Dioulasso. The decade

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[31]Goerner, "Report to the Board," 13 October 1959.

[32]H. Cornell Goerner, "Report of Secretary for Africa, Europe, and the Near East," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1728, 9 November 1961.

[33]Foreign Mission Board, *West Africa 1973*, 47.

was characterized by three developments: the Sanwabo project, famine relief, and ministry expansion. The mission launched a five-year community development and relief project at Sanwabo in partnership with the Tennessee Baptist Convention. A return of famine conditions meant a renewed effort at famine relief. Furthermore, the mission received numerous additions. New personnel included specialists in literacy, religious education, TEE, public health, dentistry, media, agriculture, well-digging, famine relief, and urban evangelism.[34] Yet, a relatively high attrition rate meant that several ministry initiatives languished or collapsed when missionaries resigned or transferred.

The 1990s continued with relief efforts and the shuffling of personnel to maintain existing ministries and operations. The training center in Koudougou evolved to a Bible institute under national leadership in 1994. The dental clinic closed.

Since 2000, the number of IMB personnel and ministries has retracted to three units who engaged three people groups. The institutional ministries, such as the student center, media center, and Bible Way, were transferred to the national convention as part of the SD-21 initiative.

Francophone Conference

The Francophone Conference served an important role in the development of IMB work in BBCT.[35] The Conference provided a forum to discuss common needs and solutions for the Francophone countries. Seven missionaries from Togo and Côte d'Ivoire attended the first conference in 1968. As Goerner explained,

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[34]See Burkina Faso Baptist Mission, "Program Base Design," Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, 1995, 213–18.

[35]Area Director John Mills explains that in the French-speaking countries "we began to coordinate things, and out of that, our work with both literature, media and then with theological education, we decided, and he [Goerner] made an administrative decision in those days, we will not try to do the same thing for all of these countries, but will do what we do for French in one unified effort for all of them." John E. Mills and Davis Saunders, "The Africa Report," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 585, 9 April 1986.

The primary purpose of the meeting was to discuss common problems and plan unified projects for the work which was launched in Togo in 1964 and which began in the Ivory Coast in 1966. Consideration was also given to the possibility of expansion into other nearby countries in which French is the dominant language.[36]

The Francophone Conference continued to meet yearly for a decade. The participants monitored IMB work in Francophone and recommended strategy for the countries, including plans for expansion. From the beginning, the group agreed to collaborate in three areas: publications, audio-visual materials, and theological education. In this respect, the Conference resolved to avoid duplication of effort by the development of a single regional publications center and a single regional seminary.[37]

The centralization of publications had both positive and negative results. Positively, centralization avoided duplication of efforts and allowed for a much faster production of quality literature in French. Negatively, the publications tended to be less contextualized. In particular, the location of the publications center in the most advanced Francophone country tended to place the materials at a higher educational level than found in the other countries. Moreover, the development of local language resources was eclipsed by the more readily available French resources.

The Conference's recommendations for leadership training are particularly important in light of the historical developments. The Conference members held that each country should "do all that it could at the elementary level, but that the development of a center for advanced theological study should be a joint project, and one seminary should be developed in the future to serve all the French-speaking countries of West Africa."[38] By the mid-1970s, the Conference had settled on a hybrid program of TEE and

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[36]H. Cornell Goerner, "Report of the Secretary for Africa," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1413, 9 May 1968.

[37]In 1999, the seminary, known as L'Ecole Baptiste de Théologie pour l'Afrique Occidentale (EBTAO), changed its name to L'Ecole Supérieure Baptiste de Théologie de L'Afrique de l'Ouest (ESBTAO).

[38]Ibid.

residential studies, headquartered in Togo. The program consisted of four levels based on the student's French competency and educational level. The lowest level, Fundamental, used textbooks produced by the Centre de Publications Évangéliques (CPE), whereas the upper levels used the Centre de Publications Baptistes (CARIB) series. In spite of the intent, the Burkina Faso mission, alone, developed a program of theological education for the elementary level in a local language.[39] In 1992, the CBT initiated steps to launch a Bible Institute. The minutes contain the terse response: "but the TBM informed them that this was against FMB policy."[40]

Besides the centralization of efforts, the Conference also contributed to strategic conformity. The strategies and ministries of Baptist missions in the BBCT show a remarkable similarity throughout their lifespan.

The Global Expansion of Pentecostalism in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries

Over the past century, Pentecostalism has changed the face of Christianity globally, and especially in the Majority World. This phenomenal expansion provokes compelling questions such as: What are the origins of this movement? Where did it take root? How did it take root?

One of the difficulties in answering these questions lies in the identity of Pentecostals. The answers to the questions about origins and expansion are determined, in part, by the criteria used to identify Pentecostalism. In other words, what constitutes a Pentecostal? Because of the complexity and significance of this question, chapter 3 will concentrate on Pentecostal identity. In order to lay the groundwork for the discussion, the

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[39]The program at the Koudougou center employed a Moré translation of the CPE books. Although limited in scope, the institute's efforts deserve recognition.

[40]Report of the Joint Meeting of the Togo Baptist Convention and the Togo Baptist Mission, 12 March 1992, in the author's possession.

remainder of this chapter traces the global expansion of modern Pentecostalism. This section recognizes the newer forms of Pentecostalism, but accentuates Classic Pentecostalism's place in the worldwide expansion of the movement.[41]

The history of Pentecostalism has received increasing attention over the past few decades. One of the best overviews of the historical approaches is Augustus Cerillo, Jr.'s detailed bibliographic article.[42] He identifies and evaluates four interpretive paths used to conceptualize and understand the origins and growth of Pentecostalism.

Origins

One of the most hotly debated topics about global Pentecostalism's history concerns its origin.[43] The debate question is simple: did Pentecostalism expand from a single center or from multiple centers?

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[41]The chapter applies loosely J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu's distinctions: "all those churches and trans-denominational movements whose main theological orientation is the experience of the Holy Spirit and his manifestations in acts of power. The phenomena cast as 'acts of power' here include: speaking in 'tongues', healing, exorcism and deliverance, prophecy and the like." J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "'*Get on the Internet*!' Says the LORD: Religion, Cyberspace and Christianity in Contemporary Africa," *Studies in World Christianity* 13 (2007): 226.

[42]Augustus Cerillo, Jr., "Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins," *Pneuma* 19 (1997): 29-52. See also Everett A. Wilson, "They Crossed the Red Sea, Didn't They? Critical History and Pentecostal Beginnings," in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel*, ed. Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Oxford: Regnum Books Intl., 1999); Cornelis van der Laan, "Historical Approaches," in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Michael Bergunder et al., The Anthropology of Christianity, vol. 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective," in *All Together in One Place: Theological Papers from the Brighton Conference on World Evangelization*, ed. Harold D. Hunter and Peter Hocken, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993); Grant Wacker, "Are the Golden Oldies Still Worth Playing: Reflections on History Writing among Early Pentecostals," *Pneuma* 8 (1986): 81-100; Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Allan H. Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM, 2007).

[43]This survey is limited to Pentecostalism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. For the historical antecedents of Pentecostalism, see Donald W. Dayton, "Theological Roots of Pentecostalism," *Pneuma* 2 (1980): 3-21; Allan H. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 19–38; David W. Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); and Vinson Synan, ed., *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901-2001* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 15–38.

The prevailing view holds that Pentecostalism erupted in the first decade of the 1900s from a single center under the influence of Charles Parham and William Seymour who functioned as the icons of the movement.[44] While some disagreement continues about the true progenitor of the movement, most historians settle on the Azusa Street revival of 1906 as the catalytic event of the first wave.[45] The Azusa Street single origin view, which was heralded by early historians, gained added following when Walter Hollenweger promoted it in his 1972 and 1997 comprehensive works on Pentecostalism.[46]

Nevertheless, a growing number of scholars contest the "myth" of the single center view.[47] One of the earliest challenges was raised by Grant Wacker in the 1980s in his evaluation of early Pentecostal historiography.[48] He argues that until the 1950s,

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[44]van der Laan, "Historical Approaches," 208.

[45]See, for example, Steven Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* (New York: Routledge, 1996); David A. Shank, "Le Pentecôtisme du prophète William Wadé Harris," *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 105 (1999), 52 [journal on-line]; accessed 13 June 2011; available from http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/ prescript/article/assr_0335-5985_1999_num_105_1_1078; Internet.

[46]Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches*, 1st U.S. ed. (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972). See his 1997 work. Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997). See also Vinson Synan and David du Plessis who attribute the movement, including the indigenous churches, to Azusa Street. Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 104–05; and David Du Plessis, "Golden Jubilees of Twentieth Century Pentecostal Movements," in *Azusa Street and Beyond: 100 Years of Commentary on the Global Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement*, ed. Grant McClung (Gainesville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2006), 71. Grant Wacker notes that the early historians disagreed about the theological, geographical, and social provenance of the movement, but "displayed remarkable unanimity when they assessed its significance in the history of Christianity." With their "cosmocentric" view, they believed in the worldwide significance of the movement of which they were a part. Nonetheless, Wacker concludes that the early historian's works are not "reliable representations of what 'really happened.'" Wacker, "Are the Golden Oldies," 92–95.

[47]Cf. Joe Creech, who refutes the "mythic understanding of Azusa" as the single source of the global Pentecostal movement. Joe Creech, "Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History," *Church History* 65 (1996): 405-24.

[48]Wacker, "Are the Golden Oldies."

historians were guided mainly by a providential view of history.[49] They emphasized the heavenly origins of the movement. Wacker describes the thrust of the providential view when he writes, "No idea was more pervasive than the implication that the revival dropped from heaven like a sacred meteor."[50] He explains further that the sacred meteor idea appeared in two forms. First, the movement emerged without human leadership. Second, the movement ignited globally "without sparks of influence from any other part of the movement."[51] Paul Pomerville, in his theology of mission, comes to a similar conclusion on theological grounds: "However, in the last analysis the universal and *spontaneous origins* [emphasis added] of the Movement point to the divine dimension of the Movement as the crucial dimension in understanding causation."[52]

Other scholars challenge the single origin view on the basis of the actual historical developments around the world. For example, Malaysian Methodist scholar, Hwa Yung, contends that the prevailing view may fit North American Pentecostalism, but it fails to reflect the Asian reality. He cites a few Asian origins of the Pentecostal movement before concluding: "In the face of such evidence, no one-source theory of the Pentecostal-Charismatic renewal can stand."[53] Julie Ma, a recognized Pentecostal leader in Asia, remarks, "Although it is believed that the Pentecostal movement began in the Azusa Street Mission, there are records that Pentecostal-type revivals broke out even

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[49]See also Cerillo, "Interpretive Approaches to History."

[50]Wacker, "Are the Golden Oldies," 86.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Paul A. Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions: A Pentecostal Contribution to Contemporary Mission Theology* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1985), 52.

[53]Yung Hwa, "Endued with Power: The Pentecostal-Charismatic Renewal and the Asian Church in the Twenty-first Century," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 6 (2003): 69. He names five individuals in India and China among "other lesser known figures."

before the Azusa Street revival in 1906."[54] Assembly of God scholar Everett Wilson

concurs,

> Although the origins of Pentecostalism may be arbitrarily circumscribed by a time frame, a given religious subculture and a particular set of participants, the movement that has burgeoned cannot be so neatly delimited. Pentecostalism, it may be argued, *has had many beginnings* [emphasis added]. It has broken out or has been rediscovered or been appropriated recurrently since the beginning of this century—if not before.[55]

In similar fashion, Allan Anderson supports a multi-source view of

Pentecostalism. In his influential work, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, he offers a

seven-chapter survey of Pentecostalism's global growth. He declares,

> Despite the significance of the Azusa Street revival as an African American centre of Pentecostalism that profoundly affected its nature, when this is assumed to be the "Jerusalem" from which the "full gospel" reaches out to the nations of earth, the truth is distorted and smacks of cultural imperialism. We have seen in the previous chapters that *there were several centres* [emphasis added] of Pentecostalism from which great expansion took place, even in North America. There were many "Jerusalems."[56]

African scholar Ogbu Kalu follows Anderson when he declares unequivocally that

"Pentecostalism was not exported to Africa from Azusa Street."[57] While he recognizes

Azusa Street, he denies its global reach. Moreover, he urges a rewrite of Pentecostal

history:

> Undoubtedly, the Azusa Street revival is very important, but it is a North American event, and a certain movement that first called itself Pentecostal, and whose genealogy may be traced to a host of religious antecedents such as holiness

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[54]Julie C. Ma, "Pentecostalism and Asian Mission," *Missiology* 35 (2007): 24. Ma's statement highlights the complex issue of Pentecostal identity. Notably, she refers to *Pentecostal-type* events, not *Pentecostal* events.

[55]Wilson, "They Crossed the Red Sea, Didn't They?" 107.

[56]Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 171. See also Allan H. Anderson, "Christian Missionaries and 'Heathen Natives': The Cultural Ethics of Early Pentecostal Missionaries," *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 22 (2002): 4-29.

[57]Ogbu U. Kalu, "A Discursive Interpretation of African Pentecostalism," *Fides et Historia* 41 (2009): 71. See also J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Pentecostalism in Africa and the Changing Face of Christian Mission: Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal Movements in Ghana," *Mission Studies* 19 (2002): 16.

movements. But other regions experienced the move of the Spirit *independently* [emphasis added]; therefore, there is need to reconstruct the historiography of the movement worldwide, and to interrogate the extant literature.[58]

Other scholars are not so adamant about the multiple origins and independent developments of Pentecostalism. They assert a stronger influence for Azusa Street. For example, Harvey Cox nuances Anderson's statement: "But the real burst of growth for the African independent churches came later, and there can be little doubt that *it was catalyzed by the worldwide chain reaction that started at Azusa Street* [emphasis added]."[59]

In a much stronger response, church historian Cecil Robeck, Jr. disavows the multi-center view. Robeck, who is the uncontested expert on the Azusa Street revival, strongly supports the Azusa Street epicenter in a 1991 paper. He explains,

> In an attempt to come to terms with whether there is a single location for Pentecostal origins we must first set to rest the theory of multiple origins in the form of spontaneous and simultaneous outpourings of the Spirit around the world. To date this has not been fully accomplished, although as new sources have emerged, they have revealed a great deal about the nature of Pentecostal origins in a variety of locations. The tendency on the whole is not to take the spontaneous outpouring theory as a serious contender for explaining Pentecostal origins.[60]

His most recent book affirms that "'Azusa Street' rightfully continues to function as the primary icon expressing the power of the worldwide Pentecostal movement."[61] Cephas Omenyo, another forceful advocate of the centrality of the Azusa Street mission, declares forthrightly,

> Today, African Christians can state with certainty, that the gallant attempt Seymour and Azusa missionaries made to work in Africa was a glorious effort. Africans can

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[58]Ogbu U. Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 13. See also Creech, "Visions of Glory."

[59]Harvey G. Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995), 249.

[60]Robeck, "Pentecostal Origins from a Global Perspective," 170.

[61]Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 10.

raise their heads, with their chest out with pride (not shame), for the initiative and sacrifice made by Azusa missionaries, which has transformed African Christianity into a viable and vibrant one. They constitute a major factor that accounts for the paradigmatic shift of the center of gravity of Christianity to the southern continents, particularly Africa. . . . This story must be told loud and clear through the research and writing of African and indeed world Church history, with Seymour and the Azusa movement given its proper place.[62]

In a more hesitant way, Dale Irvin does not "dispute the fact that one can trace some form of historical lines of apostolic succession from virtually every Pentecostal and Charismatic church or community in the world today back to Azusa Street."[63] He denounces, however, every attempt to make a local event "*the* determining factor for Pentecostal histories elsewhere in the world."[64]

The debate over the origins of the global Pentecostal movement suffers from differing understandings of what constitutes Pentecostalism. At this point, the origins question highlights the need to clarify Pentecostal identity, which the next chapter will address.

Expansion

The expansion of Pentecostalism is often described as waves. David Barrett uses the wave analogy as the theme of his statistics presentations. He projects the expansion as three separate, simultaneous, overlapping waves that began in 1741, 1907, and 1970. These waves, which form a "single tide," continue to surge as "one overall renewal in the Holy Spirit."[65]

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[62]Cephas Omenyo, "William Seymour and African Pentecostal Historiography: The Case of Ghana," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 9 (2006): 258.

[63]Dale T. Irvin, "Pentecostal Historiography and Global Christianity: Rethinking the Question of Origins," *Pneuma* 27 (2005): 44. Cf. Kalu's negative reaction in Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 13–14.

[64]Irvin, "Pentecostal Historiography," 44.

[65]David B. Barrett, "The Worldwide Holy Spirit Renewal," in *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901-2001*, ed. Vinson Synan (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 382. See also David B. Barrett, "The Twentieth-Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal in the Holy Spirit, with Its Goal of World Evangelization," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 12 (1988): 119-24; and David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian*

Another distinct, but similar view, understands Pentecostalism's global expansion as a three wave phenomenon that occurs consecutively over the past century. Advocates of the single center position often describe expansion in this way. Accordingly, the intercultural, interracial Azusa Mission stood as the epicenter of the first wave. Newly Spirit baptized people spread across the United States. Others headed overseas prompted, in part, by their belief they could speak the languages of the world. D. William Faupel correctly observes, "Wherever the Pentecostal flame lighted a new fire, it was a potential new Azusa."[66] As the Azusa fire spread, new Azusa-like centers of Spirit baptism were spawned. The new centers joined, nurtured, and extended the movement by sending forth their own missionaries. In 1908, A. H. Argue identified twenty-eight locations where people had been Spirit baptized.[67] Anderson chronicles the "spreading fires" in those early years, as well.[68] According to him, by 1909, missionaries who had been Spirit baptized at Azusa Street were in at least three African and six Asian countries. In addition, Pentecostal preachers embarked on extended world tours.[69] During

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Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Cf. Hwa Yung's variation of Barrett's wave theory in Yung Hwa, "Pentecostalism and the Asian Church," in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, ed. Allan H. Anderson and Edmond Tang, 2nd ed. (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).

[66]Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 218.

[67]A. H. Argue was the publisher of *The Apostolic Messenger,* which had a global distribution of 100,000 copies in 1907 and 1908. Argue cites the November 1908 edition: "Our hearts rejoice to hear of many faithful witnesses, many precious souls from nearly every quarter of the globe, receiving the Holy Ghost, according to Acts 2:4, in *Jerusalem, Syria, Arabia, Persia,* and *Armenia,* and a number of places in *China. . . .* In *India* it has broken out in many quarters and hundreds have received the Baptism of the Spirit. Word also comes that in forty places in *Scotland,* Pentecost has fallen. Also, many have been baptized in *England, Ireland, Wales, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, Australia, Russia,* and *Tibet.* In *Africa, west* and *south, San Marcial, New Mexico, Jerusa, Cuba, Egypt,* Torr-Pellice, province of Torino, in *Italy,* and in *Japan*" (italics mine). A. H. Argue, "Azusa Street Revival Reaches Winnipeg," *The Pentecostal Testimony,* May 1956, 9.

[68]Anderson, *Spreading Fires Missionary Nature*, 50–57.

[69]Ibid., 52.

the next quarter century, Pentecostal groups took root in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Western Europe.[70] Anderson explains further that Pentecostalism's reach extended into other evangelical faith missions, such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance, some of whose missionaries adopted Pentecostal practices and further advanced the movement.[71] As Gary McGee insists, "The history of Pentecostalism cannot be properly understood apart from its missionary vision."[72]

The second wave struck in the 1960s when Pentecostalism surged into the traditional mainline churches, especially in the United States. In the post-World War II era, Pentecostalism's public image swelled as healing evangelists traversed the United States, and television brought prominent Pentecostal preachers such as Oral Roberts into the American home. In 1959, Dennis Bennett, the rector of a California Episcopal church, sparked the Charismatic movement by his public confession of having received Spirit baptism.[73] Within a couple of years, Charismatics could be found in Anglican churches worldwide. Within a short time, the Anglican movement breached denominational boundaries and spread to other historic churches globally. In this way, the Pentecostal movement created a Charismatic stream among Episcopalians, Catholics, Anglicans,

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[70]See Faupel for a partial listing of the United States (pp. 214-19) and world (pp. 219-21) expansion. Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel.* Anderson notes that by 1910, "Pentecostal missionaries from Europe and North America were in over fifty nations of the world." Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 171.

[71]Anderson, *Spreading Fires Missionary Nature*, 54. See also Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, 221–22; Charles W. Nienkirchen, "Christian and Missionary Alliance," in *New International Dictionary of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Mass, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002); and Gary B. McGee, "Early Pentecostal Missionaries: They Went Everywhere Preaching the Gospel," in *Azusa Street and Beyond: 100 Years of Commentary on the Global Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement*, ed. Grant McClung (Gainesville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2006), 38.

[72]McGee, "Early Pentecostal Missionaries," 35.

[73]At the time, the followers of the new movement were labeled *Neo-Pentecostals*. In the 1970s, the followers took the label *Charismatic* to describe their insider renewal movement. *Neo-Pentecostals* was used to describe the independent and breakaway groups. See definitions in chap. 1.

Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and others.[74] Repeatedly, the movement passed into a denomination's overseas counterparts.

Two distinctive elements characterized the second wave. First, the second wave left denominational structures intact. While many churches, including the Episcopal church of southern California, ousted the "tongues-speakers," many others quietly acquiesced.[75] Second, the Charismatics tended to be less emotional in their expressions than Classic Pentecostals. The worship services were more orderly and the spiritual gifts used more privately than in the first wave Pentecostals.

The third wave followed in the late 1970s as new, independent churches were born and existing churches splintered and evolved.[76] Pentecostal historian Vinson Synan ascribes the wave to John Wimber of Fuller Theological Seminary and founder of the Association of Vineyard Churches.[77] This wave consisted of the formation of vast numbers of independent, locally-initiated groups that were dissimilar to the first and second wave groups. These groups rarely maintained ties to the Classic Pentecostal or the mainline denominations. Oftentimes, they were led by apostolic, charismatic leaders. *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* labels the third wave as *neocharismatic,* which includes "the vast numbers of independent and indigenous churches and groups that cannot be classified as either pentecostal or

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[74]See Synan, *Century of the Holy Spirit*, chaps. 7-9.

[75]Southern Baptists demonstrated a strong aversion to the movement and frequently ousted individuals and churches that joined the movement. As a result, the Southern Baptist Convention was one of the least charismaticized large denominations during the second wave.

[76]The term should not be confused with C. Peter Wagner's *Third Wave.* In 1983, Wagner coined the term to describe those who were sympathetic with the first and second waves but did not self-identify with them. See C. Peter Wagner, "A Third Wave?" *Pastoral Renewal* 8 (1983): 1-5. Contra David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Trends, AD 30–AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001), 286, 289.

[77]Synan, *Century of the Holy Spirit*, 9.

charismatic."[78]

In summary, the three wave view holds that Pentecostalism originated in the United States from which it spread during three consecutive phases. In the first wave, missionaries went forth and established Azusa-inspired Pentecostal centers. In the second wave, a segment within the historic churches embraced the Pentecostal experience. In the third wave, independent groups arose that resisted identification with the first two waves, but had Pentecostal-like practices.

Regional Surveys

Pentecostalism quickly arose beyond the confines of the United States. While some scholars hold to a simultaneous global eruption, this section will follow a single center approach by highlighting the connections to the Azusa Street Mission.

In Europe, Pentecostalism developed through the work of Thomas Barratt, a Norwegian Methodist Episcopal pastor.[79] He encountered the Azusa Street revival in New York in the fall of 1906. Upon his return to Oslo, he helped establish groups in Norway, Sweden, Britain, Germany, Denmark Switzerland, and Finland before the outbreak of World War I. Other Pentecostals established groups in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Russia, and the Baltic states. In the initial stages, the Pentecostal groups cooperated with each other, but two world wars interrupted their collaboration. In the 1960s, Western Europe's historic churches underwent a charismatic renewal similar to that experienced in the United States. In the Soviet Union bloc, Pentecostals faced government restrictions that severely limited their growth. After the fall of the Berlin

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[78]Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Mass, eds., *New International Dictionary of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 75–76.

[79]These surveys rely heavily on the following sources: Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*; Anderson, *Spreading Fires Missionary Nature*; Burgess and van der Mass, *New International Dictionary*; and Synan, *Century of the Holy Spirit.*

Wall, Pentecostals began an era of significant growth.

In India, a 1905 revival with Pentecostal-like phenomenon grew in force until it engulfed Pandita Sarasvati Ramabai's Mukti mission in late 1906. Later, Ramabai acknowledged that the Azusa Street phenomena had not accompanied the revival. At the beginning of 1907, missionaries from Azusa Street arrived in Calcutta and influenced the growing movement that eventually penetrated southern India and many of the mission agencies working there.[80] Pentecostal groups continued to grow until the 1970s when a small renewal movement swept through the Catholic Church. A larger neo-charismatic movement, consisting of Indian initiated groups, grew tremendously beginning in the late 1970s.

China was the main center of Pentecostal activity in East Asia. The first meaningful Pentecostal presence began with the arrival of Azusa Street missionaries Alfred and Lillian Garr in 1907. The Garrs' early convert, Mok Lai Chi, became a significant force in the early expansion. Nonetheless, the Pentecostal movement remained small for the first fifty years. In 1949, Pentecostals of all types numbered a half million members, a mere fraction of the total number of Chinese Christians. Among the Pentecostal groups, the indigenous True Jesus Church claimed one hundred thousand members. Under Communism, Pentecostals declined until the 1970s at which time they entered an era of phenomenal growth. Today, Pentecostalism is the dominant form of Christianity in China.

The rise of Pentecostalism in Latin America began at approximately the same

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[80]McGee and Anderson differ in their interpretations. McGee recognizes the pre-Calcutta events while maintaining a clear link with Azusa Street. Contrariwise, Anderson sees a simultaneous rather than a sequential or causative connection with Azusa. Gary B. McGee and S. M. Burgess, "India," in *New International Dictionary of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Mass, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002); and Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 77–89.

time as the Azusa Street revival.[81] Pentecostals, some of whom had been to the Azusa

Street Mission, quickly turned to Latin America. By 1912, Pentecostal enclaves could be

found in Mexico, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil.

Beginning in the 1930s, Pentecostals entered a period of rapid growth that accelerated in

the 1960s and continues to the present. Remarkably, Anderson ignores the evidence of

the Azusa Street influence in Latin America when he asserts that the movement "is

distinctly different from that of the North, and we should not regard it as a North

American creation or importation."[82] According to Anderson, half of Classic Pentecostals

in the world are in Latin America.[83] In an important article, Gaston Espinosa provides

statistical evidence of the recent growth of Pentecostalism, especially in the Catholic

Charismatic movement that encompasses seventy-five million Catholics.[84]

 In Africa, more than anywhere else, Pentecostalism developed in two streams.

The first stream arose out of the Azusa Street type of Pentecostal phenomena and is more

closely associated with Classic Pentecostalism.[85] The second stream sometimes predated

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[81]Latin American Pentecostalism has received significant scholarly attention. Among the many scholars, David Martin and David Stoll have made important contributions. See David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); and David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002). Cf. Anderson, *Spreading Fires Missionary Nature*; and Everett A. Wilson, "Latin America (Survey)," in *New International Dictionary of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Mass, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002).

[82]Anderson*, An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 64.

[83]Anderson, *Spreading Fires Missionary Nature*, 206.

[84]Gastón Espinosa, "The Pentecostalization of Latin American and U. S. Latino Christianity," *Pneuma* 26 (2004): 271.

[85]Anderson accurately assesses the situation when he notes the inextricable linkage between the Zionist and Apostolic streams. The advent and growth of the Zionist-type AICs represents a second stream, the consideration of which is beyond the scope of this section. Anderson*, An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 106. See also Irving Hexham and Karla Poewe-Hexham's article for a positive perspective on indigenous charismatic/prophetic movements in South Africa. Irving Hexham and Karla Poewe-Hexham, "South Africa," in *New International Dictionary of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Mass, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002).

and at other times arose from the first stream. This second stream consists of the African Initiated Churches and favors a prophetic-charismatic orientation.[86]

The Azusa Street type of Pentecostalism first took root in South Africa, from which the movement spread into central Africa. By 1908, Azusa Mission-inspired missionaries had joined John Alexander Dowie-inspired missionaries.[87] In 1913, they organized The Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa. Another group organized The Assemblies of God of South Africa the following year. Central Africa's Pentecostalism developed through contacts with The Apostolic Faith Mission and missionaries from Europe and North America. East Africa developed more slowly and had a higher incidence of AICs. One of the most prominent, the Roho, initially began as a charismatic segment in the Anglican Church.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the AICs grew significantly, catalyzed by William Wadé Harris, Garrick Braid, Simon Kimbangu, Zakayo Kivuli, and others. The growth resulted from the dissatisfaction with the staid historic churches that disparaged the Pentecostal-like phenomena. During the following few decades, colonial governments looked askance at the growing number of these new, independent churches. Consequently, in order to improve their position with the government, many of these churches sought affiliation with established Pentecostal bodies in the United Kingdom and United States.[88]

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[86]Churches and movements founded by charismatic prophets constitute the main current of this stream.

[87]Dowie was a late 1800s faith healer who founded the Christian Apostolic Church and the City of Zion in Illinois. He exerted significant influence on Pentecostalism in the US and southern Africa. See E. L. Blumhofer, "Dowie, John Alexander," in *New International Dictionary of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Mass, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002).

[88]See, for example, Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi, "African Pentecostalism in the Context of Global Pentecostal Ecumenical Fraternity: Challenges and Opportunities," *Pneuma* 24 (2002): 140–41.

In the post-colonial era, another wave of Pentecostal-like churches began to emerge in what Ogbu Kalu calls the "third response."[89] By the 1970s, these different variations of Pentecostalism were established and, as Kingsley Larbi observed, "poised for massive expansion and explosion."[90] The massive expansion came in the 1980s when many of these independent churches promoted Word-Faith and deliverance themes.[91] The churches grew explosively at the expense of both the AICs and the mainline churches. By the end of the 1990s, the distinction between Pentecostal and Evangelical churches had lessened and the dominant form of Christianity had become Pentecostal.[92] Today, the high visibility of Pentecostalism in the public space does not escape even the casual observer.

The Expansion of Pentecostalism in West Africa

The cultural, economic, and political differences between the Anglophone and Francophone countries in West Africa provided two distinct environments for Pentecostal expansion. Pentecostalism in the Anglophone countries experienced rapid growth whereas the Francophone countries had a much less accommodating environment that impeded the movement's foothold.[93] In both contexts, the AICs impinged on the

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[89]Ogbu U. Kalu, "The Third Response: Pentecostalism and the Reconstruction of Christian Experience in Africa, 1970–1995," *Journal of African Christian Thought* 1 (1998): 3-16.

[90]Larbi, "African Pentecostalism in Context," 142.

[91]*Word-Faith* denotes the teachings popularized by Kenneth Hagin. The movement is known by various names: Word of Faith Movement, Faith Movement, Prosperity Theology, Health and Wealth Gospel, Positive Confession, and Name It and Claim It. For a critical assessment of the movement see D. R. McConnell, *A Different Gospel*, upd. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995).

[92]See Paul Gifford's evaluation of African Christianity in the 1980s in Paul Gifford, "Some Recent Developments in African Christianity," *African Affairs* 93 (1994): 513-34.

[93]See Joël Noret's brief history of Pentecostalism in Togo for the kind of impediments Pentecostals encountered in the Francophone countries. Joël Noret, "Le pentecôtisme au Togo: Eléments d'histoire et développement," *Autrepart* 31 (2004): 75-92.

Pentecostal movement. The following section sketches the three streams of
Pentecostalism as they developed in the twentieth century.

Origins

Any survey of Pentecostalism in West Africa must sooner or later address the
place of the AICs. This hotly debated issue revolves around the continuity or
discontinuity of the AICs with recognized Pentecostal practices.[94] The AICs developed in
three periods: the late nineteenth century, 1910-25, and 1935-60. Some of the AICs were
birthed in an earlier period, but did not gain recognition and momentum until later. Still
others evolved over time. The groups may be divided by four inclinations: separatist,
protest, prophetic, and renewal.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the AIC movement began with
Ethiopianism. This secessionist movement opposed the Western dominance of the
mission churches. African historian Bengt Sundkler identifies the primary motivations as
racial and political.[95] One of the earliest examples is the 1888 Native Baptist Church that
split from Lagos Baptist Church. While Ethiopianism set precedents for splits, it had no
distinctive Pentecostal-like practices.

The next generation of AICs launched in the second decade of the twentieth
century, and had a far closer affinity to the Pentecostal experience. This second wave of
AICs deserves attention because of its widespread and long-lasting effect. A careful
examination of the movement reveals two kinds of AICs.[96] The churches of the first kind

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[94]See Ogbu Kalu's excellent review of the debate in Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 65–102.

[95]Sundkler notes that Ethiopianism was primarily a southern Africa phenomenon. Bengt
Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 2000), 423, 835-39.

[96]Harold Turner made the same distinction in his classic work on new religious movements in
Africa. Harold W. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movements*
(Boston: G. K. Hall, 1979), 94–95.

were born as a protest to the mainline churches. This group, though similar to Ethiopianism, in effect, remained distinct because of its motivation and historical period. This sub-movement did not specifically result from Pentecostal-like tendencies. Rather, the main causative factor was dissatisfaction with the mainline churches, which was resolved through the creation of distinctly African churches.

The second kind of churches was born as a result of a rising prophetism. This movement, which consisted of a few smaller local movements, manifested distinctly Pentecostal-like characteristics. Prophetism generated such well-known groups as the Harristes in Côte d'Ivoire, the *Sunsum sorè* in Ghana, and Aladura in Nigeria.[97] Liberian William Wadé Harris is the most well-known, influential, and typical figure of this epoch. In the 1910s, Harris donned prophetic paraphernalia, denounced idolatry, and offered healing, miracles, and prayer.[98] Harris, whom Cephas Omenyo considers "the first prophet to minister in a typical Pentecostal style," became the model to emulate.[99] In a short time, prophets proliferated. These prophets, both men and women, were mostly lay, itinerant preachers who healed the sick and delivered the spiritually oppressed. Undoubtedly, the global 1918 influenza epidemic contributed to the astounding response. The prophetic, Pentecostal tradition grew as more and more prophets followed the Harris example and provided an alternative to the mission churches. As a general principle, the prophets did not plant churches. Rather, they functioned as itinerant evangelists.

Shortly after the rise of Harris, the Aladura movement took form during the Spanish influenza epidemic in 1918 when Nigerian Anglicans resorted to prayer for

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[97]Harold Turner and Matthews Ojo hold that Garrick Braid, not Aladura, was the initiator of Pentecostalism in Nigeria. Turner, *Religious Innovation*, 122; and Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World, 2006), 31.

[98]Shank, "Pentecôtisme prophète Wadé Harris," 62-64 and passim.

[99]Omenyo, "William Seymour African Historiography," 250.

healing.[100] By the mid-1920s, the Anglican Church had expelled the Aladura adherents because of irresolvable differences over faith and practice. Aladura, with its multiple versions and many schisms, was a massive Pentecostal-type renewal movement that had a profound effect in Nigeria.[101]

In the third period, the 1930s to the 1970s, the AICs experienced another surge as the original founders died and battles raged over their successors. The multiple schisms produced new groups as the movement went through a period of revival and renewal. Among the new groups that appeared, Christianisme Céleste deserves mention because of its influence and strong presence in the coastal areas of Benin, Togo, Nigeria, and Ghana. In 1947, its Beninese founder, Samuel Oschoffa, established the church following a vision.[102] The growth of the AICs continued into the 1970s. Omenyo attributes their growth to conscious efforts at accommodating the African worldview with an emphasis on Spirit baptism, spirit possession, healing, and exorcism.[103]

In the early part of this era, the policies of the colonial governments caused many of the independently established churches, particularly Aladura, to legitimize their existence through links with Pentecostal churches in the United States and the United Kingdom. Yet, links were often short-lived due to conflicts over Pentecostal practices.

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[100]J. D. Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1968), 62–63.

[101]Anderson, *Spreading Fires Missionary Nature.* See also Deidre Crumbley's anthropological study of Aladura. Deidre Helen Crumbley, "Indigenous Institution Building in an Afro-Christian Movement: The Aladura as a Case Study" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1989).

[102]For history and background of the movement, see Albert de Surgy, *L'Eglise du Christianisme Céleste: Un exemple d'Eglise prophétique au Bénin* (Paris: Karthala, 2001); Afeosemime U. Adogame, *Celestial Church of Christ: The Politics of Cultural Identity in a West African Prophetic-charismatic Movement*, Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, vol. 115 (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); and Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "Thirty Years of Growth and Change in a West African Independent Church: A Sociological Perspective," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 11 (1980): 212-24.

[103]Cephas Omenyo, "Charismatic Churches in Ghana and Contextualization," *Exchange* 31 (2002): 261.

Nonetheless, Classic Pentecostalism bore some influence on the AICs.

The continuity among these early AICs lies in their desire for the experience of the Holy Spirit. The movements brought Pentecostal-like practices to the forefront of church practice. Omenyo's study of Ghana AICs reveals this Pentecostal orientation. He writes,

> Although the various groups are different historically and phenomenologically, they have a lot in common. All of them have sought to emphasize divine experience in the life of the believer, emphasize a pneumatic ecclesiology, deep sense of belonging and prominence of the *charismata*.[104]

This Pentecostal orientation leads many scholars to recognize the AICs as the precursors of Pentecostalism in West Africa. For example, J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu contends, "Pentecostal spirituality was effectively introduced into African Christianity from the early years of the 20th century by movements operating independently of Western historic church missions. . . . The AICs have a 'pentecostalist' character."[105] Likewise, Kalu declares in the Preface to *African Pentecostalism,* "The Pentecostal experience broke out without missionaries or any foreigners and often to the consternation of missionaries who deployed the colonial government's clout to contain the flares."[106]

The AICs thrived during the first half of the twentieth century. Yet, as they evolved, the early Pentecostal emphases waned. Anderson notes,

> Although it continued to have a strong emphasis on divine healing and the ministry of prophets, the Harrist movement that emerged in the 1930s was very different from western Pentecostalism and may no longer be considered a "Pentecostal" movement without considerable qualification. The same is true of other churches that emerged out of Harris's ministry, like the Twelve Apostles Church in Ghana and its secessions. Many African independent churches developed in ways that have

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[104]Ibid., 264.

[105]J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Mission to 'Set the Captives Free': Healing, Deliverance, and Generational Curses in Ghanaian Pentecostalism," *International Review of Mission* 93 (2004): 392.

[106]Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, viii.

departed from their more "Pentecostal" beginnings, but these beginnings still have to be recognized.[107]

At the same time that the AICs were developing, the Azusa Street version of Pentecostalism appeared in West Africa. Within months of the Azusa Street revival, ten missionaries had begun work in Monrovia, Liberia, and the surrounding area.[108] Their numbers, though decimated by tropical disease, remained steady and even grew as others joined them. By mid-1909, Edward and Molly McCauley had planted the Apostolic Faith Mission, which boasted 154 converts. This congregation is the earliest known Classic Pentecostal congregation on the continent and a probable contributor to the Pentecostal movement that energized the AICs. Robeck writes,

> McCauley's mission was the first permanent Pentecostal congregation on the continent of Africa, and it may ultimately prove to be the source of the Pentecostal theology and experience that produced Prophet William Wade Harris and his millions-strong Harrist Church of the Ivory Coast. . . . Their missionary activities push the documented beginning of Pentecostalism in Liberia back two full years from the date reported in every Pentecostal mission history of Liberia to date.[109]

Omenyo also conjectures that Harris "probably had contacts" with the Azusa Pentecostals.[110] Even Anderson, who strongly supports the indigenous roots of Pentecostalism in Africa, admits,

> There is the distinct possibility that he [Harris] came in contact with and knew the Pentecostal missionaries working with Kru people in the Cape Palmas area, Harris's home, especially as many of them were former Methodists. . . . It is also likely that Harris had heard of African American preachers of the Apostolic Faith Mission like Edward McCauley, who had a thriving Kru Pentecostal congregation in Monrovia from 1908 at least until 1913.[111]

Farther east, in Ghana, Classic Pentecostalism influenced Peter Anim. Anim,

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[107]Anderson, *Spreading Fires Missionary Nature*, 165.

[108]Robeck, *Azusa Street Mission Revival*, 7–8.

[109]Ibid., 272–73.

[110]Omenyo, "William Seymour African Historiography," 249–50.

[111]Anderson, *Spreading Fires Missionary Nature*, 163.

the father of Classic Pentecostalism in Ghana, subscribed to two magazines originating in the Unites States: *The Apostolic Faith* and *The Sword of the Spirit*. The former was published by a former associate of Seymour; the latter was produced by the John Dowie-related Faith Tabernacle in Philadelphia.[112] In the early 1920s, Anim left the Presbyterian Church and established Faith Tabernacle.[113] Later, in 1930, he changed his association to the Azusa stream of Pentecostalism, and named his church Apostolic Faith. In 1937, James and Sophia McKeown arrived from the United Kingdom to assist Anim. Conflict ensued and two separate Pentecostal groups developed. In 1953, McKeown broke with the British Apostolic Church and established the Church of Pentecost, which became the largest Pentecostal church in Ghana.

The growth of the classic version of Pentecostalism proceeded along similar lines in the rest of the region. In 1908, the precursor of an Assemblies of God mission was established in Liberia.[114] In 1914, Assemblies of God missionaries arrived in Sierra Leone. Burkina Faso followed in 1920.[115] Ghana and Nigeria missions were opened in 1931 and 1934, respectively. In 1939, the Togo mission was established at Dapaong in the north. In 1947, Assemblies of God missionaries entered Benin. The Côte d'Ivoire mission was established in 1968.

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[112]See Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity*, Studies in African Pentecostal Christianity, vol. 1 (Accra, Ghana: CPCS, 2001), 99, 103; Omenyo, "William Seymour African Historiography," 251–52; and Robert W. Wyllie, "Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism: Peter Anim and James McKeown," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 6 (1974): 109–13.

[113]For the influence of Faith Tabernacle on Anim, see Adam Mohr, "Out of Zion into Philadelphia and West Africa: Faith Tabernacle Congregation, 1897-1925," *Pneuma* 32 (2010): 56-79.

[114]Anderson, *Spreading Fires Missionary Nature*, 159.

[115]Pierre-Joseph Laurent, "L'Église des Assemblées de Dieu du Burkina-Faso: Histoire, transitions et recompositions identitaires," *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 105 (1999), [journal on-line]; accessed 13 June 2011; available from http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/assr_0335-5985_1999_num_105_1_1079; Internet.

Charismatic Renewal

One contributing factor to the rise of the AICs was the inability of the mainline churches to accommodate the Pentecostal practices that emerged in the first half of the century. When church members underwent the Pentecostal experience, they often were expelled and went on to create alternative churches that allowed the experience. By 1960, the mainline churches had begun to alter their response by incorporating some of the Pentecostal beliefs and practices into worship. Omenyo's 2002 study of the charismatization of the mainline churches in Ghana reveals that the Presbyterian Church had an established charismatic renewal group by 1965.[116] The Catholic Church, likewise, recognized a renewal group in 1970. His study found charismatic segments in all the mainline churches, including the Methodist, Anglican, Baptist, and African Methodist Episcopal Zion churches. This charismatization took five forms:

1. formally recognized charismatic renewal groups

2. informally recognized charismatic groups

3. prayer groups

4. charismatic congregations

5. healing and deliverance services and centers.[117]

Neo-Pentecostalism

While the Pentecostal tendencies of the AICs continued to foment during the 1950s and 1960s, the epicenter of the resurgence was Nigeria. In the early 1970s, several elements coalesced at the end of the Nigeria-Biafra war to create an environment conducive to a Pentecostal-type renewal movement. Ruth Marshall-Fratani attributes the renewal to an "intensification" of evangelism by British and American missionaries and

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[116]Cephas Omenyo, "From the Fringes to the Centre: Pentecostalization of the Mainline Churches in Ghana," *Exchange* 34 (2005): 39-60.

[117]Ibid., 45–46.

the creation of parachurch student organizations.[118] Kalu posits that three local ministries and two student movements formed the basis of the resurgence.[119] Another researcher, Ojo, traces the catalytic event to the University of Ibadan where students in the Christian Union were Spirit baptized and spoke in tongues.[120] Whatever the origins may have been, by the mid-1970s, Pentecostal practices had spread widely. This new movement grew especially among the youth through intense evangelism, crusades, Holy Ghost conferences, and literature. In the mid-1970s, American Pentecostalism's influence came to bear through literature and campaigns by American televangelists.[121] Benson Idahosa, a close follower of the Americans, promoted a Word-Faith version of Pentecostalism. His Faith Ministry Centre became the progenitor of similar Pentecostal and prosperity ministries in Nigeria, Ghana, and beyond. For example, one of his disciples established Christian Action Faith Ministry International in Ghana, which became one of the country's dominant Neo-Pentecostal churches.

By the 1980s, the movement had begun to mature. Some of the multitudes of small fellowships in Nigeria and Ghana consolidated and grew into large organizations.[122] As these new, independent Pentecostal-type organizations appeared, the

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[118]Ruth Marshall-Fratani, "Prospérité miraculeuse: Les pasteurs pentecôtistes et l'argent de Dieu au Nigeria," *Politique Africaine* 82 (2001): 28. See also Stephan Hunt, "'A Church for All Nations': The Redeemed Christian Church of God," *Pneuma* 24 (2002): 186.

[119]Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 88–94.

[120]Matthews A. Ojo, "The Charismatic Movement in Nigeria Today," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 19 (1995): 114-18.

[121]Azonseh Ukah clearly demonstrates the influence of American Word–Faith proponents on African Pentecostalism. Asonzeh Ukah, "African Christianities: Features, Promises and Problems," Working Papers, no. 79 (Mainz, Germany, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, 2007) 13–14 [on-line]; accessed 28 June 2011; available from http://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/workingpapers/AP79.pdf; Internet.

[122]I use the term *organization* because many of them took the label *ministère* rather than *church*.

religious landscape of the two countries changed dramatically.[123] Moreover, the organizations underwent changes in faith, practice, and organization. The organizations evolved from small parachurch fellowships to mega-churches or, in some cases, denominations. The message subtly shifted emphasis from "born again" and Spirit baptism to miracles, healing, and Word-Faith. Significantly, the organizations continued to demonize the AICs as syncretically compromised, and the mainline churches as spiritually dead. Leadership emphasized the prophetic role as opposed to a priestly or pastoral role. The consolidation of the 1980s laid the foundation for explosive growth in the 1990s. By the first decade of the 2000s, the largest organizations were fully engaged in global expansion.

The movement quickly enveloped the Anglophone countries. By 1980, the missionary fervor had evolved to more intentional efforts at spreading Pentecostalism.[124] For example, one of the earliest groups, Deeper Life Bible Church, established a training center for evangelists in 1980. The following year it had six hundred students from twenty countries.[125] Robert Mbe Akoko, writing about the situation in Cameroon, pines that many Pentecostal churches "started as spillovers from Nigeria, and the phenomenon has a clear Nigerian element."[126] In the early 1980s, the movement spread farther as evangelists went to Benin, Togo, and Côte d'Ivoire with the "born again" message; however, the growth in the Francophone countries proceeded more slowly.

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[123]See Elom Dovlo's review of the impact of the Neo-Pentecostal churches in relation to both the mainline churches and the AICs. Elom Dovlo, "African Culture and Emergent Church Forms in Ghana," *Exchange* 33 (2004): 28-53.

[124]See Ogbu U. Kalu, "Pentecostalism and Mission in Africa, 1970–2000," *Mission Studies* 24 (2007): 9-45.

[125]Ojo, "Charismatic Movement in Nigeria," 117.

[126]Robert Mbe Akoko, "New Pentecostalism in the Wake of the Economic Crisis in Cameroon," *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 11 (2002), 366 [journal on-line]; accessed 04 July 2011; available from http://www.njas.helsinki.fi/pdf-files/vol11num3/mbe_02.pdf; Internet.

In BBCT, the most significant early growth occurred in Côte d'Ivoire. By the mid-1980s, the movement had developed to the point that the Baptist Union and the Baptist Mission had significant differences. These differences were resolved in a memorandum of understanding that specified joint agreement on doctrine and practices related to Pentecostalism.

In Togo, government restrictions prohibited the growth of non-sanctioned religious groups until the beginning of the 1990s. Nonetheless, Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship, under the sponsorship of an existing church, appeared in the mid-1980s. Aglow International followed in 1989. By the mid-1980s, clandestine Pentecostal churches met just beyond the public eye. These low-profile groups included, among others, Christianisme Céleste, Church of Pentecost, and Deeper Life Bible Church.[127] Even so, the sanctioned Assemblies of God stood as the primary Pentecostal church until the early 1990s. Then, beginning about 1990, the country experienced a Pentecostal surge similar to that experienced by Ghana and Nigeria in the 1970s and Côte d'Ivoire in the 1980s.

Conclusion

The entry by IMB in the Francophone countries was facilitated by Yoruba Baptists already present in the countries. In every case, the first missionary assigned to a country was a veteran who transferred from Nigeria or Ghana. The language barrier and a different legal and cultural system, contrasted with Nigeria, posed difficulties. The initial emphasis on French language dominated the work for two decades. Until the 1990s, most

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[127]I encountered each of these in Lomé at some point prior to the loosening of the religious restrictions. The Church of Pentecost had a unique relationship with the government of Togo under what Comi Toulabor called "*œcuménisme eyadémistique*" (eyademistic ecumenism). Comi Toulabor, "Le Togo sous Eyadema," in *Religion et modernité politique en Afrique noire: Dieu pour tous et chacun pour soi*, ed. Jean-François Bayart, Les Afriques (Paris: Karthala, 1993). See also Noret, "Le pentecôtisme au Togo," 79–81.

missionaries functioned in French or English rather than the local languages.

While occasional reference can be found to a mission macro strategy, the high turnover of missionaries and the lack of new personnel tended to subvert any such strategy. Consequently, missionaries often redeployed to fill vacant positions, stations, and ministries. For example, one informant, a twelve year veteran of the 1980s, boasted that he never finished a term in the same ministry and location in which he had started. Oftentimes, IMB missions struggled to maintain their operations.

In terms of strategy, the IMB missions tended to employ the same strategies and ministries. The early work focused on students, with a heavy dependency on Bible Way Correspondence courses. Two other themes appear consistently in the primary documents. First, the missions promoted community development. The idea of nation building deeply influenced mission work and strategy. Second, the missions consistently emphasized evangelism. Nonetheless, one finds a paucity of references to discipleship; no clear, intentional effort at discipling believers comes forth in the documentation. By the late 1990s, storying had become a primary evangelism tool for the missions.[128]

Mission documents often mention leadership training as a great need. Yet, it, too, suffered from lack of missionary continuity. The IMB missions relied on four types of materials for discipleship and leadership development. The first, the *Bible Way* series, was used for both evangelism and new believer discipleship.[129] The second, *Survival Kit*, appeared in the late 1980s, as did the third, *MasterLife*.[130] Both study series were largely

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[128]Bill Phillips, the area director for West Africa in the 1990s, writes as early as 1994, "Realizing that 80% of the population of West Africa is non-literate, we're focusing upon the storying method, and it has become an important tool for the Holy Spirit to use in touching the hearts of those who practice African traditional religions and those who are from the Islamic faith." Bill Phillips, "Area Director Report," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1639, 10 October 1994.

[129]The *Bible Way c*orrespondence courses were developed by IMB missionaries in Zambia in 1963.

[130]Ralph Webster Neighbour and William N. McElrath, *Survival Kit for New Christians*

abandoned by the mid-1990s due to their lack of contextualization. The fourth type was the course material of EBTAO that consisted of the TEE books from CPE and CARIB. The four countries had similar enrollments at EBTAO.

The retrenchment of the IMB missions since 2000 may be linked to a tacit strategy of redeployment of missionaries from the coastal countries to the northern Muslim-dominated countries of the Sahel. Neither the national convention nor the missionaries seemed to have an understanding of the phenomenon. Consequently, no intentional plan of action for withdrawal appears.

The debate over the origins of Pentecostalism will likely continue because of the varying definitions and attributes one uses to identify Pentecostalism. Nonetheless, while scholars disagree about origins, they seldom dispute the extraordinary advance of the movement over the past century. The advance in Asia, Latin America, and Africa followed similar lines.

The historical expansion of the movement consists of three eras. In the first era, Pentecostalism burst forth in a form that emphasized the baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues. Thousands of unnamed evangelists propagated the Pentecostal message and experience. Many Azusa Street- inspired missionaries scattered into the world. The faith missions, and particularly the Christian and Missionary Alliance, welcomed these Pentecostal missionaries and often adopted Pentecostal practices. As Joe Creech claims,

> It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the CMA on the development of early pentecostalism, since the hymnody, healing doctrine, ecclesiology, and organizational structures of both the OAFM [Old Apostolic Faith Movement] and Assemblies of God were derived from this missionary and higher life organization.[131]

(Nashville, TN: Convention Press, 1979); Avery T. Willis, *Masterlife: Discipleship Training for Leaders* (Nashville, TN: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1982).

[131]Creech, "Visions of Glory," 417.

After the Second World War, the movement expanded into non-Pentecostal churches in a charismatization process. This surge accentuated the experiential aspect of worship that the mainline churches had failed to stress. In this way, the Charismatic movement functioned as a renewal sodality similar to the Pietist movement of the early eighteenth century. At the same time, the second era raised awareness of the need to contextualize faith and practice, which in many cases meant the de-Westernization of the mainline churches.

In the third era, the movement resurged in a form different from the original. The message emphasized healing, prophecy, and Word-Faith theology more than the initial evidence of speaking in tongues. Beginning in the 1980s, independent churches propagated rapidly around the world, particularly in Africa and Latin America. These Neo-Pentecostal churches adapted to diverse environments.

In West Africa, the interconnections between Classic Pentecostalism and the AICs in the early history create a complex matrix. The contacts between the two streams occurred as a fact of history; however, the interplay between the two streams remains to be researched thoroughly. The influence of non-Africans, both in the origin and development of Pentecostalism, may not be readily dismissed.

The significant feature of West African Pentecostalism lies in the Neo-Pentecostal resurgence, which began in Nigeria in the 1970s. As it swept the coastal countries, this student movement appealed to the upwardly mobile and brought about profound changes to the religious, social, and political landscapes. At first, Neo-Pentecostalism seemed to be a continuation of the older AICs. But, by the early 1990s, this uncritical assessment could no longer stand. A new type of church had arisen that was distinct from the Classic Pentecostals, the AICs, and the charismatic renewal groups within the mainline churches.

One of the consequences of the growth of Neo-Pentecostalism has been the demise of the older AICs and the stagnation of the mainline churches. Paul Gifford

observes that the Neo-Pentecostal "explosion has taken place at the expense of the other churches. This is particularly true of the classical AICs, which seem to be in headlong retreat before the charismatic advance."[132] Both the AICs and the mainline churches fared well in the 1950s and 1960s when the need for self-expression, independence, and nation-building were important themes. But then, as the African governments failed to deliver on the early promises of independence and well-being, widespread disillusionment ensued.[133] Pentecostals, in general, and Neo-Pentecostals, in particular, spoke to this disillusionment. In an effort to regain numbers, both the AICs and the mainline churches adopted a more conciliatory approach to the Neo-Pentecostals and incorporated some of their practices and theology.

The churches and ministries that have arisen adhere to varying forms of Pentecostalism. On the one hand, some ministries are little more than ATR with a Pentecostal vocabulary. On the other hand, some churches hold to patent Classic Pentecostal practices. In between, a large segment of churches reflect a transnational ethos that favors Word-Faith teachings. Many of the Neo-Pentecostal leaders maintain strong connections to U.S. televangelists. For example, Omenyo found that Ghana leaders were "significantly influenced" by outsiders, most of whom were from the United States.[134] Printed and electronic media from American sources proliferate. Moreover, Neo-Pentecostalism, even in the Francophone countries, promotes English as the preferred choice for Pentecostal practices, such as deliverances and prophecy.

In the Francophone countries, the Neo-Pentecostal movement led to the

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[132]Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 95.

[133]See John Clark's excellent survey of the political climate of Francophone Africa. Clark and Gardinier, *Political Reform in Francophone.*

[134]Omenyo, "Charismatic Churches in Ghana," 265.

creation of a plethora of *ministères*. These *ministères*, often highly eclectic, adapted and altered the Pentecostal message and practices.

CHAPTER 3

PENTECOSTAL IDENTITY IN AFRICA

This chapter treats the topic of Pentecostal identity in three parts. The first

section treats the complexity of the identity discourse in light of Pentecostalism's unity

and diversity. The second section offers various typologies of Pentecostalism. The third

section identifies common characteristics of Pentecostalism in West Africa.

Introduction

As noted in the previous chapter, Pentecostalism has taken root and thrives in a

variety of cultural contexts. In these diverse contexts, Pentecostalism demonstrates a

remarkable genius in adapting beliefs and practices to the local context.[1] Moreover, the

movement appeals to a wide variety of audiences, most of whom are female. In fact, this

adaptability to diverse cultural and social environments is one of the main reasons for

Pentecostalism's global ascendancy. Unarguably, diversity and adaptability characterize

the movement.

Yet, this wide diversity creates enormous and complex challenges for making

generalizations about the phenomenon. As the movement emerged and evolved,

Pentecostalism took different shapes, forms, and colors. "At the end of the twentieth

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[1]See Karla O. Poewe, ed., *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994); Harvey G. Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995); Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen, eds., *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel* (Oxford: Regnum Books Intl., 1999); André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, eds., *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); and David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

century," quips Murray Dempster, "there is little doubt that Pentecostalism, like the proverbial 'grey mare,' ain't what she used to be."[2] Ogbu Kalu insists more forcefully that Pentecostalism "does not merely adapt, it gestates."[3] Pentecostalism's evolution creates a quandary for identity. And, this quandary continues to pose the most important question of the Pentecostal discourse: *who is a Pentecostal*? A short, simple answer remains elusive because of the movement's global diversity and the competing claims to the label.

The Diversity and Unity of Pentecostalism

The diversity and unity of Pentecostalism create the intricate problem of establishing parameters for Pentecostal identity. A review of the literature reveals a wide variety of claims. Some definitions are so broad as to include components of non-Christians religions, while others are so narrow as to exclude all but a scant few Classic Pentecostal denominations in the United States. Oftentimes, the scholar's theological or ecclesiological prejudices favor definitions and criteria that distort the extent and composition of the movement. This section treats these two issues—the problem of defining Pentecostalism and the criteria for identifying Pentecostals.

The Challenge of Identity

Today, an extremely wide diversity of churches, groups, and movements are connected, willingly or unwillingly, to the Pentecostal label. The different religious and social contexts have shaped the form of the resulting entities. In most cases, an entity self-identifies with one of the common designations. In other cases, outsiders apply a

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[2]Murray W. Dempster, "The Search for Pentecostal Identity," *Pneuma* 15 (1993): 1.

[3]Ogbu U. Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 189.

label to the entity, even though the entity itself does not self-identify as part of the Pentecostal movement.[4]

Self-identity is just one part of the identity problem. Any attempt to profile Pentecostals is fraught with other substantial challenges. Three problems arise: usage of the terms, ecumenical influence, and essentialism.

Usage of terms. The problem begins with the terms themselves. *Pentecostalism, Charismatic, and Neo-Pentecostal* are used in both technical and non-technical ways. In short, the labels mean different things in different contexts. For example, the meaning of *Neo-Pentecostal* took a significant turn in the early 1980s as the new Neo-Pentecostal movement surged. In Ghana, *Charismatic* designates that which is considered *Neo-Pentecostal* in other places.[5] Obviously, the non-technical uses do not serve the purposes of academic research, yet they muddle the discourse.

Even when used technically, the meaning is often unclear. For example, in his monumental work, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, Allan Anderson uses the terms in a "broad sense to include all the different forms of 'spiritual gifts' movements."[6] In the literature, scholars use the terms to designate such diverse groups as American middle class rural churches, transnational megachurches, Chinese house churches, African Initiated Churches, and some quasi Christian indigenous churches. The nomenclature is

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[4]For example, David Barrett includes the *Third-wavers* as part of the Pentecostal movement even though they are "unrelated to Pentecostalism or the Charismatic Movement . . . [and] do not identify themselves as either pentecostals or charismatics." He insists on inclusion even though "in a number of countries they exhibit pentecostal and charismatic phenomena but combine this with rejection of pentecostal terminology." David B. Barrett, "The Twentieth-Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal in the Holy Spirit, with Its Goal of World Evangelization," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 12 (1988): 126.

[5]See Joel Robbins, "The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 119.

[6]Allan H. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 14.

employed in such varied manners that to be meaningful, it must always be qualified and clarified. For this reason, a few scholars, such as Peter Hocken, propose other appellations such as *Pentecostalisms.*[7]

The problem with the terms and their varied usages reflect the complexity of Pentecostal identity. André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani correctly observe,

> In any case, there is very little agreement among researchers about terminology, a situation which reveals not only the artificial nature of the appellations but also the multiplicity and diversity of religious practice which invariably slips through the spaces between even the best made categories.[8]

The global expansion of Pentecostalism with its incumbent diversity creates a significant problem for identity that involves more than just terminology. The adaptability of Pentecostalism accelerates its global growth and transnationalism, which creates new faces of the movement. Harvey Cox comments on this adaptability:

> On a global basis, Pentecostals incorporate into their worship patterns the insights and practices of other faiths—shamanic trance, healing, ancestor veneration—more than any other Christian movement I know of, albeit frequently without realizing it. Pentecostalism, I have come to believe, is "catholic" and universal in a way most Pentecostals do not recognize and many might even deny.[9]

This high level of contextualization creates new expressions of the movement, but also incurs continual evolutions of the movement. And, these evolutions require commensurate re-definition and re-categorization to account for the new developments.[10]

Ecumenical influence. At this point, two distinct, but interrelated, issues arise. The first issue is the ecumenical pressure to identify as many of these groups as possible

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[7]Hocken does not wholeheartedly endorse the alternative term. Peter Hocken, *The Challenges of the Pentecostal, Charismatic, and Messianic Jewish Movements: The Tensions of the Spirit* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 12–17.

[8]Corten and Marshall-Fratani, *Between Babel*, 4.

[9]Harvey G. Cox, "Some Personal Reflection on Pentecostalism," *Pneuma* 15 (1993): 31.

[10]See Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 13.

with Pentecostalism. The two leading advocates of ecumenism, Allan Anderson and Walter Hollenweger, have long assumed the inclusion of a wide variety of groups in the Pentecostal umbra. For example, Hollenweger includes Simon Kimbangu's movement while admitting that "neither in the strictly dogmatical nor in the historical sense" do they belong.[11] Likewise, Anderson advocates an inclusive definition that "will maximize the opportunities for ecumenism" in order to avoid "the bigotry of excluding those who do not agree with a particular understanding of Scripture."[12]

The second issue is the search for a unifying characteristic that encapsulates the various expressions of Pentecostalism in the global context. Researchers often conclude that the unifying theme lies in the personal experience of the Holy Spirit and the spontaneous empowerment by the Spirit. Anderson writes, "If we are to acknowledge the diversity of Pentecostalism, then we are also to recognize that this multifaceted movement has as its unifying characteristic an emphasis on the present-day working of the Spirit in the church."[13] This emphasis on the Spirit is the defining characteristic of Pentecostalism for most of the prominent (and ecumenical) scholars. Thus, today, the most commonly cited element of Pentecostal identity is some variation of the "experience of the Spirit."

Unfortunately, this ambiguous characterization has created more confusion than clarity. One immediate criticism of this broad definition is the often uncritical acceptance of spirit manifestations. Not all charismatic manifestations may be traced to

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[11]Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 54. Cf. D. J. Garrard who intentionally excludes Kimbanguism from his survey of Pentecostal groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo on doctrinal grounds. D. J. Garrard, "Congo, Democratic Republic Of," in *New International Dictionary of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard van der Mass, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002).

[12]Allan H. Anderson, "Diversity in the Definition of 'Pentecostal/Charismatic' and Its Ecumenical Implications," *Mission Studies* 19 (2002): 41, 48.

[13]Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 257.

the Holy Spirit; some are the result of evil spirits who imitate the Holy Spirit's work; and some are the result of an individual's own psychosis. Thus, the "experience of the Spirit" may actually be the experience of a spirit. While this distinction may be moot for sociological, historical and phenomenological studies, the theological implications may not be dismissed so easily.

Furthermore, the confusion over identity has been amplified by the categories used for statistical reporting. Perhaps the best example is the oft-cited statistics by David Barrett and Todd Johnson. Their fifty-nine categories encompass 524 million "Pentecostals, Charismatics, and Neocharismatics."[14] Their first category consists of Classic Pentecostals. The second category is dominated by Charismatic Catholics. The third, and by far the largest, encompasses an incredibly vast range of entities. Notably, the major component of this third group is "non-white indigenous neocharismatics," which include 66 million AICs, 23 million Brazilian/Portuguese grassroots neocharismatics, and 50 million Han Chinese indigenous groups, among others. Another interesting inclusion is the 14 million "hidden non-Christian believers in Christ."[15] Barrett and Johnson group together these variegated individuals and communities because they "share a single basic experience."[16] While these categories may be useful for statistical reporting, the underlying "cohesion" does little to clarify Pentecostal identity. The endorsement of the statistics without a careful examination of the definitions behind them has augmented the confusion about Pentecostal identity that has, in turn, led to triumphalist declarations about the growth of the movement.

This kind of broad usage of the terms prompted Corten and Marshall-Fratani's

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[14]David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Trends, AD 30-AD 2200: Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001), 284.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., 286.

earlier remarks about the artificiality of the appellations and the diversity of practices.

But, these two scholars are not alone. For example, even Allan Anderson, who otherwise

supports a broad usage, urges caution,

> The obvious difficulty with Barrett and Johnson's broad classification of "Pentecostal/Charismatic" greatly affects our understanding of the terms. The figures for "Han Chinese churches" and "African Independent Churches" are speculative and probably not very accurate. The global statistics are conditioned by the authors' interpretations of the meaning of their own categories and cannot be taken as the final word. But as these statistics are all we have, they have to be taken into consideration, and how "Pentecostal/Charismatic" is defined is crucial to understanding them.[17]

Assembly of God scholar Gary McGee offers a more candid assessment of Barrett and

Johnson's categories. He observes,

> This classification garners together a bewildering array of indigenous churches reflecting varying degrees of syncretism along with classical Pentecostal and Charismatic constituencies. Not surprisingly then, and assisted by a debatable research methodology (How does one count isolated radio Pentecostals?), the statistical totals of "Pentecostals" and "charismatics" run into hundreds of millions.[18]

After challenging the credibility of the statistics and their usefulness, McGee continues,

> Yet the very complexity of the issue should alert missiologists to the peril of loading the terms "Pentecostal" and "Charismatic" with this much diversity and then claiming the definitions derive from convincing commonalities. While Barrett and others, notably Walter J. Hollenweger, may find merit in such inclusiveness, I believe *it stretches the definitions beyond utility* [emphasis added].[19]

Certainly, Barrett and Johnson's diverse categories, and others like them,

highlight the diversity of Pentecostalism and the complexity of the identity problem;

however, they do not provide an adequate basis for identifying Pentecostals. While

Barrett and Johnson's effort to essentialize Pentecostalism under the rubric of a shared

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[17]Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 12. Anderson's remarks are interesting in light of his resolute insistence on the inclusion of the AICs.

[18]Gary B. McGee, "Pentecostal Missiology: Moving Beyond Triumphalism to Face the Issues," *Pneuma* 16 (1994): 276.

[19]Ibid., 277.

experience is laudable, they do not advance the understanding of Pentecostal identity. Their assignments rest on arbitrary categories that are driven by an ecumenical bias.

Essentialism. One of the reasons for the broad definitions lies in the ecumenical movement's abject disdain for essentialism. Ecumenism's approach privileges such a high level of non-essentialism that the unifying characteristic evaporates into a non-descript "experience of the Spirit." A viable definition or set of identifying criteria must rely ultimately on some form of essentialism.[20] The essentialist approach to Pentecostal identity seeks to simplify Pentecostalism to a few qualifiers. This "essence" creates the bounds by which Pentecostal identity is determined.

The early proponents of Classic Pentecostalism took an essentialist approach when they advocated the "full gospel" of New Testament apostolicity. This "full gospel" consisted of justification by faith in Christ, healing as provided for in the atonement, the premillennial return of Christ, and Spirit baptism as evidenced by speaking in tongues.[21] The last component garnered particular attention. Almost immediately, Pentecostals established the post-conversion experience of Spirit baptism as indicated by speaking in tongues as their essential, defining characteristic. Thus, initial evidence became the key qualifier and, consequently, established the limits of a highly restrictive bounded set for Pentecostalism. In this way, initial evidence allowed Pentecostalism to remain under the Christian umbrella while establishing its own distinct umbrella. Nevertheless, over time, initial evidence faded as the essential identifying characteristic of Pentecostals.

Other attempts to essentialize Pentecostalism followed. Kilian McDonnell

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[20]See André Droogers' excellent discussion on essentialism. André Droogers, "Essentialist and Normative Approaches," in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Michael Bergunder et al., The Anthropology of Christianity, vol. 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

[21]Some churches added sanctification by faith as a second work of grace.

identifies two progressions. He recounts an address by David du Plessis in 1952 when du Plessis identified the distinctive feature of Pentecostalism as "neither Evangelical zeal, nor healing, but the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the manifestation of the spiritual gifts."[22] Then, as McDonnell reports on the 1970 ecumenical dialogue, Roman Catholics and Pentecostals generated another definition. In the encounters, the defining essence was the awareness and experience of the Holy Spirit that leads to witness and worship.[23] Initial evidence is noticeably absent in both definitions. Moreover, both attempts to essentialize Pentecostalism presaged the development and domination of the "experience of the Spirit" as the essential qualifier.

Within the Pentecostal discourse, scholars seek to identify the essential characteristic of Pentecostalism under different rubrics such as a unique worldview, a historical lineage, a theological gestalt, and a sociological organization.[24] The commonality lies in the transformation of the individual wrought by the Holy Spirit. Ivan Satyavrata's contribution in the *Encyclopedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity* summarizes well the status of the essence of Pentecostalism:

> There is, however, broad agreement on what constitutes the single most distinguishing feature of Pentecostalism: the central place ascribed to a transforming experience of God the Holy Spirit. Pentecostalism is thus best understood as a family or network of global movements characterized by an immediate experience of the Holy Spirit that shapes their world view definitively.[25]

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[22]Kilian McDonnell, "Five Defining Issues: The International Classical Pentecostal/Roman Catholic Dialogue," *Pneuma* 17 (1995): 179.

[23]Ibid., 178–79.

[24]E.g., Michael Bergunder et al., eds., *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, The Anthropology of Christianity, vol. 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

[25]Ivan Morris Satyavrata, "Globalization of Pentecostalism," in *Encyclopedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess (New York: Routledge, 2006), 219.

The Criteria for Identity

The debate over Pentecostal identity turns on the criteria one employs for defining Pentecostalism. The discussion on Barrett and Johnson's statistics pointedly illustrates the practical results of differing criteria. For this reason, David Martin couched his estimates with a caveat: "How you estimate the overall numbers involved depends on the criteria you apply."[26]

The movement's phenomenal growth has attracted scholarly attention from sociologists, theologians, psychologists, church historians, and anthropologists. Obviously, their disciplinary boundaries dictate a defined set of criteria for defining Pentecostalism. Even within a discipline, scholars often differ on the appropriate criteria. Inevitably, the different criteria produce different definitions.

Three prominent approaches for identifying Pentecostals deserve mention. The earliest approach to Pentecostal identity concentrated on its historical roots. In the first half of the twentieth century, the impetus was clearly a providential view of identity. Accordingly, Pentecostal identity was determined by an individual or community's link to a divinely instituted Pentecostal center, such as the Azusa Street Mission. This link could be either diachronous or synchronous. In the diachronous linkage, a direct connection could be observed through such means as evangelists, missionaries, literature, and letters. Robert Mapes Anderson uses this criterion in his book, *Vision of the Disinherited*. He writes, "I have designated as 'Pentecostal' all groups, by whatever name they may use, whose origins can be traced to that [Azusa Street] revival."[27] The synchronous linkage consists of parallel developments that have no direct linkage, but manifest similar characteristics. Many scholars rely on the synchronous view when they

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[26]Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 1.

[27]Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 4.

posit multiple centers for the genesis of the Pentecostal movement. In this way, they validate a Pentecostal identity for entities that have no historical ties to the Azusa Street Mission. Whatever one's conclusion about the origins of the movement, the historical approach establishes the criterion for Pentecostal identity as a verifiable connection to one or more Pentecostal centers. For the most part, the historical approach fixes identity through the parent nodes of an ever-expanding nexus.

The second approach takes a social science view of identity. The variety of viewpoints is as vast as the social sciences. The earliest research focused on the relative deprivation theory.[28] Others have examined the movement in the rubric of a New Religious Movement.[29] Some have examined the movement in terms of the sociology of religion.[30] The transnational nature of the movement has caught the attention of other social scientists, and has come to dominate the social scientific discourse.[31] In this way, common features found among the vast global variations are identified and become the self-validating criteria for determining Pentecostal identity. For example, André Droogers identifies three features: (1) the central place given to the experience of the Holy Spirit, (2) the transformative conversion experience, and (3) the adoption of a particular dualistic worldview.[32] For the most part, the social science approach fixes identity

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[28]Ibid.

[29]E.g. Harold W. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movements* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1979).

[30]For example, Jean-Paul Willaime posits that Pentecostalism is nothing but an emotional form of Protestantism. Jean-Paul Willaime, "Le Pentecôtisme: Contours et paradoxes d'un protestantisme émotionnel," *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 105 (1999) [journal on-line]; accessed 13 June 2011; available from http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/assr_0335-5985_1999_num_ 105_1_1076; Internet.

[31]See André Droogers for an overview of the challenges facing a social scientist approach. André Droogers, "Globalisation and Pentecostal Success," in *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*, ed. André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

[32]Ibid., 44–46.

through conformity to a set of typical, attributed phenomena.

The third approach, theological, establishes identity on the basis of doctrine. In this approach, Pentecostals are identified by their shared beliefs. In the early days of the movement, initial evidence was often cited as the unifying doctrine. In time, initial evidence was abandoned as the unique criterion. The diversity of the movement and its adaptation to local contexts has led many scholars to attenuate theology as a defining criterion. Hollenweger follows this pattern in his designation of Pentecostalism. He observes in his monumental work,

> Doctrinally, Pentecostalism is not a consistent whole, still less if one subsumes under Pentecostalism the non-white indigenous churches and the Charismatic Movement. There are trinitarian and non-trinitarian, infant and adult baptizing Pentecostals, and many other variations.[33]

Not only does he decline a strong theological criterion, but he foresees a contextual theology that permits an increasingly wide divergence of belief:

> On the contrary they will develop their own theology, church organization and liturgy, whose future outline we can only guess. But one thing is sure: for them the medium of communication is, just as in biblical times, not the definition but the description, not the statement but the story, *not the doctrine but the testimony,* not the book but the parable, *not a systematic theology but a song*, not the treatise but the television programme, *not the articulation of concepts but the celebration of banquets* [italics mine].[34]

In brief, Hollenweger exemplifies the intent of many scholars to diminish theology, in favor of phenomena, as a set of criteria to identify Pentecostals. Hollenweger implies that, by its nature, Pentecostalism defies any doctrinal unity.[35] Moreover, attempts by

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[33]Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 18.

[34]Walter J. Hollenweger, "After Twenty Years' Research on Pentecostalism," *International Review of Mission* 75 (1986): 10.

[35]Hollenweger attributes the growth of Pentecostalism to its "black roots" which he describes as orality of liturgy, narrativity of theology and witness, maximum participation that produces a reconciliatory community, inclusion of dreams and visions, and an understanding of the body/mind relationship that generates healing and dance. He asserts that these elements were present in the Azusa Street revival. Moreover, he maintains that these five elements form the criteria by which to identify Pentecostals. If one were to apply doctrinal criteria, the list of Pentecostals would be severely reduced. Hollenweger, "After Twenty Years' Research," 18–19, Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 4–10.

evangelicals to hold forth a theological set of criteria that respects the authority of Scripture are dismissed as provincial, misinformed, or irrelevant.[36] For the most part, the theological approach fixes identity through conformity to a set of tenets.

By this point, a clear trend in the characterization of Pentecostalism becomes apparent. The global Pentecostal discourse frequently disparages the historical and theological frameworks for identifying Pentecostals while favoring the sociological approach. Anderson represents a large coalition of scholars when he declares,

> Pentecostalism is more correctly seen in a much broader context as a movement concerned primarily with the *experience* of the working of the Holy Spirit and the *practice* of spiritual gifts. Because Pentecostalism has its emphasis in experience and spirituality rather than in formal theology or doctrine, any definition based on the latter will be inadequate.[37]

The bias very clearly favors a phenomenological framework that allows the broadest inclusion. The criterion rests on the preeminent value of inclusion. As such, so the argument goes, other historical and theological criteria are inadequate because they limit Pentecostalism to a smaller corps. Unfortunately, much of the Pentecostal discourse on identity has been clouded by the ecumenical agenda that values inclusion over doctrine and historical roots. Consequently, tolerance pre-empts the doctrinal and historical criteria.

Yet, this elevation of phenomena as the prevailing criteria forces dilemmas such as Hollenweger poses,

> But a problem arises when the very same phenomena, which are thought to be exclusively Christian or Pentecostal, appear in other churches or even in non-Christian religions. As I see it, there are only two ways open to solve this problem. First, if this dichotomy is accepted, "Pentecostal phenomena" outside one's own plausibility structures have to be condemned as evil and ungodly. The alternative

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[36]Allan Anderson, in particular, dismisses such attempts. See Allan H. Anderson, "The Gospel and Culture in Pentecostal Mission in the Third World," *Missionalia* 27 (1999): 220-30; and Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 10.

[37]Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 14.

would be a thorough rethinking of the doctrine of the Spirit, seeing it much more as the *ruach Yahweh*, the life-giving and life-sustaining *spiritus creator*. This would open the door to accepting genuine religious experience outside one's own church and, in fact, outside Christianity.[38]

Hollenweger's solution to the dilemma poses substantial problems for evangelicals. This kind of reasoning, no doubt, prompted African scholar Ogbu Kalu's challenge to Allan Anderson's "phenomenological bias."[39] Kalu correctly advocates both theological and historical criteria in addition to the sociological.

In an effort to find unity in the midst of diversity, many scholars, such as David Barrett and Allan Anderson, have opted for the indistinct definition. They treat Pentecostalism as an amorphous movement that defies any attempt to create clear boundaries. As Anderson put it, "The debate about the meaning of 'Pentecostal' and 'Pentecostalism' must conclude that it is a definition that cannot be prescribed."[40]

In the end, the debate rages about the kind of model one uses for determining membership in a group. Paul Hiebert's contribution on categories and sets provides an informative guide to the discourse at this point.[41] Barrett, Anderson, Cox, and others demonstrate a clear preference for a fuzzy set model for determining Pentecostal identity. They insist on an ambiguous definition that is predicated on similarities *and* relationships that are common to the various entities. Harvey Cox expresses this position in *Fire from Heaven* when he asserts,

> The African independent churches constitute the African expression of the worldwide pentecostal movement. As the early pentecostal leaders insisted, pentecostalism is not a denomination or a creed, but a movement, a cluster of religious practices and attitudes that transcends ecclesiastical boundaries. These

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[38]Hollenweger, "After Twenty Years' Research," 7.

[39]See Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 68–75.

[40]Anderson, "Diversity in the Definition," 48.

[41]See Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 110–36.

churches qualify as pentecostal for two reasons; their *style* and their *origins*.[42] At the same time, the fuzzy set proponents refuse to identify specific features common to all variations. By this emphatic focus on phenomenological criteria, the fuzzy set allows the broadest inclusion of groups that diverge from the recognized centrist groups, such as the Classic Pentecostals and Charismatics. Contrariwise, a centered-set model that employs criteria based on the three approaches—historical, sociological, and theological—provides a more usable and reliable paradigm. Without such a model, most efforts to circumscribe Pentecostalism identity result in biased and arbitrary decisions about the criteria to be used.

A Typology of Pentecostalism

A typology offers a way forward in the identity difficulty. Through a typology, the complexity may be disentangled and the rival viewpoints situated.

Unarguably, every typology runs the risk of distortion by reductionism and superficiality. These incumbent risks must be recognized and addressed. First, a typology presumes to create a system of categories to which the many variations of Pentecostalism must conform. A typology accounts for exceptions in some way, thereby forcing what may be an artificial correspondence. Second, a typology distorts the phenomena by reducing the phenomenon to a priori categories of thought. These categories reduce the phenomenon to an arbitrary set of features used to set the different phenomena in relationship to each other. When rigidly applied, the categories may not reflect the continuity or discontinuity recognized by the entities themselves. Third, the disciplinary boundaries construct the conceptual categories in ways that may not reflect the current reality of Pentecostalism in all its complexity. As noted previously, the predominance of anthropological and sociological research tends to depreciate the religious heart of the

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[42]Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 246.

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movement, thus distorting the resulting typology by a one-sided emphasis on social or cultural particularity.

Despite the risks, a typology offers a means to elucidate the relationships among the various entities commonly associated with Pentecostalism. The classification system brings order out of complexity and disarray by identifying the essential features around which the different Pentecostal manifestations cluster. These clusters provide avenues by which relationships and connections are identified and analyzed. Moreover, a typology highlights those areas where resonance and dissonance, continuity and discontinuity, and heterogeneity and homogeneity exist. In this way, a typology enhances analysis of the frontiers of similarities and dissimilarities within the global movement, in general, and the West Africa movement, in particular. This analysis leads, then, to greater clarity of the phenomenon.

Furthermore, a typology provides a compelling basis for identifying Pentecostals. The competing definitions of the previous section demonstrate the subjectivity of the identity discourse. A major problem in the discourse lies in the lack of a well-constructed typology that identifies the essential features of the various sub-movements. A viable typology reduces the distortion of the movement by identifying these different clusters that lay claim to (or are forced into) the Pentecostal label.

The need for a viable typology becomes more compelling in light of the tremendous growth in number of these clusters over the past century. Charismatization and pentecostalization have changed the religious landscape of West Africa. Consequently, the previously proposed typologies do not always depict accurately the current Pentecostal reality because the lines of demarcation have shifted.[43] For example,

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[43]Paul Kollman reviews past and present classifications of African Christianity. He posits that Pentecostalism's influence requires a new, paradigmatic classification. Paul V. Kollman, "Classifying African Christianities: Past, Present, and Future; Part One," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40 (2010): 3-32; and Paul V. Kollman, "Classifying African Christianities: Part Two, The Anthropology of Christianity and

Bengt Sundkler's classic, single-axis typology (Ethiopian and Zionist) no longer accounts for the phenomenon in any meaningful way.

The following section presents a sampling of typologies. This sample serves four purposes. First, the sample illustrates the broad diversity of Pentecostalism and Pentecostal-like entities. Second, it suggests the varied approaches scholars take in categorizing and describing these various entities. Third, it provides some basis for identifying continuity and discontinuity. Fourth, it offers a starting point for making generalizations about the movement.

Unfortunately, many scholars avoid typologies altogether, even though they operate with casually implicit, descriptive typologies. These descriptions serve, nevertheless, to classify Pentecostalism, albeit tacitly. The subsequent section includes both the formal and the descriptive typologies.

Various Typologies

In the following survey of various typologies, one finds uniform consistency about the Classic Pentecostals and the Charismatics. The problematic area lies in the typing of the AICs and the Neo-Pentecostals. Some of the following examples do not explicitly name the Classic Pentecostals and the Charismatics; they focus, rather, on the AICs. See Appendix 1 for graphical representations of the following typologies.

Harold Turner. Turner's groundbreaking study of African religion endures as the standard from which other typologies draw.[44] He constructed his typology based on

Generations of African Christians," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40 (2010): 118-48.

[44]See Harold W. Turner, "A Typology for African Religious Movements," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 1 (1967): 1-34; and Turner, *Religious Innovation.* Arnold Bittlinger offered a three part typology in 1979, but his Neo-Pentecostal designation was so nuanced as to render it useless for contemporary studies. Arnold Bittlinger, "Charismatic Renewal: An Opportunity for the Church?" *Ecumenical Review* 31 (1979): 247-51.

the phenomena he observed in West Africa. Although his work is dated and sometimes employs pejorative terms, his typology inspired subsequent efforts. Therefore, an understanding of his categorization is necessary to situate the other typologies.

Turner insists that a typology should aim at "tendencies and emphases" rather than individual religious entities.[45] In this way, he identifies three broad categories in Africa: Primal Religions, New Religious Movements in Africa, and Missions and Older Churches.[46] The Primal Religions class refers to ATR. Within the New Religious Movements class, Turner identifies four main types that exist along a continuum: (1) Neo-Primal Movements, (2) Syncretist Movements, (3) Hebraist Movements, and (4) Independent Churches. The latter group, to which he devotes most of his attention, forms the focus of his typology pertaining to Pentecostalism. Turner uses *Older Churches* to designate the mission churches and those derived from them. *Independent Churches* includes "the whole range of modern religious movements that are recognizably Christian in some sense."[47] *Independent Churches* designates loosely that which this dissertation calls AICs.

Turner follows the lead of Sundkler's research and further divides the *Independent Churches* into two types based on their origins—secession (Ethiopian) and prophet (Prophet-Healing). Within the Ethiopian churches, he identifies a continuum that exists from *ecclesiastical* churches, which essentially mirror the older churches, to *evangelical* churches, which are revivalist and more akin to the prophet-healing type.[48] In the Prophet-Healing type churches, three distinctive emphases appear. Some churches

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[45]Turner, *Religious Innovation*, 80.

[46]Ibid., 3–13.

[47]Ibid., 86.

[48]Turner's use of *evangelical* stands in contrast to the way the term is used in this dissertation.

take a soteriological theme that emphasizes faith healing (*therapeutic*). Others highlight revelations with an emphasis on visions, prophecies, and possessions (*revelatory*). Turner writes,

> Both groups are Pentecostal, but for one the chief gift of the Spirit is healing, for the other prophecy. It is difficult to find satisfactory terms to denote these two emphases, the soteriological and pneumatological, and we suggest with some diffidence that they might be called "therapeutic" and "revelatory."[49]

A third class, *messianic*, has a similar emphasis on revelation and salvation, but exalts the founder to a position of messiah. Turner excludes those churches that are so messianic as to replace Christ as the center, which occurs more frequently in southern Africa than in West Africa.

Beyond the religious distinctions, Turner offers a sociological classification that consists of four types of corporate existence.[50] The first is the more "inchoate and unorganized" movement which influences people through a charismatic prophet, but does not offer a new community. The second type, congregational, follows the familiar form of church life. The third type, communal, consists of new villages or cities that are founded based on a theocratic-charismatic vision. The fourth type, clientele, consists of patients who are attached to a practitioner.

Walter Hollenweger. Hollenweger was one of the first to offer a specific typology of Pentecostalism. His typology, though simplistic, is the most commonly cited and followed typology in the discourse. In the mid-1980s, Hollenweger posited a three part typology consisting of classical Pentecostal denominations, the Charismatic movement within the mainline denominations, and the indigenous non-white churches.[51]

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[49]Ibid., 102.

[50]Ibid., 104.

[51]Hollenweger, "After Twenty Years' Research," 3.

He repeated the typology in his later work, *Pentecostalism*.[52] He argues that the classical Pentecostal denominations originated in the "encounter of a specific Catholic spirituality with the black spirituality of the former slaves in the United States," but quickly bifurcated in white and black denominations as the movement spread to the Majority World.[53] The second group, Charismatic movements, remained within the mainline denominations while embracing some of the elements of Pentecostal spirituality. The third class consists of the Majority World churches. These churches are similar to the early Pentecostal churches in that they live in tension with the mission churches established by the mainline denominations. Hollenweger acknowledges his use of Barrett's label for this third category.

Allan Anderson. Anderson's typology has evolved over the past two decades. In 1992, he identified three types of churches in South Africa: Pentecostal mission churches, Independent Pentecostal churches, and Indigenous Pentecostal-type churches.[54] The Independent Pentecostal churches are Black controlled. They have a Western influence and often promote prosperity theology. The Indigenous Pentecostal-type churches include the Zionist churches, which trace their historical and theological roots to Classic Pentecostalism. The majority of Black churches in southern Africa belong to the Indigenous Pentecostal-type churches classification.

A decade later, Anderson proposed a three-part typology of AICs built on Turner's categories. He explained that the schema is neither exhaustive nor definitive due to the on-going changes in the movement. This typology consists of the

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[52]Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 2.

[53]Hollenweger, "After Twenty Years' Research," 4.

[54]Allan H. Anderson, *Bazalwane: African Pentecostals in South Africa*, Manualia didactica, vol. 19 (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1992), 7–12.

African/Ethiopian, the Spiritual/Prophet-Healing, and the Newer Pentecostal/Charismatic churches.[55] The African/Ethiopian classification parallels the similar category in Turner, and designates the first AICs to appear. The second group, Spiritual/Prophet-Healing, emphasizes spiritual power. This type, which is the largest grouping of AICs, includes such churches as the Kimbanguists, the Harristes, Aladura, and the Zionists. The third type, Newer Pentecostal/Charismatic, appeared relatively recently and prefers the designation *charismatic* or *evangelical*. These churches maintain strong connections with North America, and particularly the Word-Faith movement. They oppose African traditional practices while embracing many Western cultural notions.

In his 2004 *An Introduction to Pentecostalism,* Anderson mentioned Hollenweger's typology in passing, but provided no further development. A few years later, in 2010, Anderson offers his clearest explanation in *Studying Global Pentecostalism.* The typology is based on a family resemblance typology centered around an emphasis on the Spirit and the spiritual gifts. The overlapping types reflect historical, theological, and cultural factors.[56] His typology follows Hollenweger's three types, but adds a fourth group.

Accordingly, Anderson's latest typology consists of (1) Classical Pentecostals, (2) Older Independent and Spirit Churches, (3) Older Church Charismatics, and (4) Neo-Pentecostal and neo-Charismatic Churches. As may be assumed, the Classical Pentecostals include those whose diachronous and synchronous links reach back to early Pentecostalism. This type consists of four sub-groups: Holiness Pentecostals, Baptistic or Finished Work Pentecostals, Oneness Pentecostals, and Apostolic Pentecostals. The last

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[55]Allan H. Anderson, "Types and Butterflies: African Initiated Churches and European Typologies," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 25 (2001): 107-13.

[56]Bergunder et al., *Studying Global Pentecostalism*, 16–20.

group has a substantial following in West Africa. The second type, Older Independent and Spirit Churches, consists of churches that usually have diachronous ties to Classical Pentecostalism. This classification follows closely Anderson's early designation of *Spiritual/Prophet-Healing* churches. The third type, Older Church Charismatics, designates those movements within the mainline churches. They typically have a sacramental view of Spirit baptism and the spiritual gifts. The final group, Neo-Pentecostals and neo-Charismatic Churches, consists of the churches that were birthed in the 1970s and later. They were influenced by both Classic Pentecostals and the Charismatic movement. Anderson identifies four kinds: (1) *Word of Faith*, (2) *Third Wave*, (3) *new Apostolic*, and (4) *different independent*. The latter group, which makes up the largest group, encompasses all those groups that differ significantly from the others in the typology.

Dean Gilliland. Gilliland's typology cautiously applies theological criteria to the AICs in order to answer the question: how Christian is the particular church and by what means does one make the evaluation?[57] He recognizes four types of AICs placed along a continuum: (1) Primary Evangelical-Pentecostal, (2) Secondary Evangelical-Pentecostal, (3) Revelational-Indigenous, and (4) Indigenous-Eclectic. The Primary Evangelical-Pentecostal type encompasses two kinds of independent churches, both of which have had some connection with Western mainline churches. The first kind consists of the churches that arose independently of Western missionary efforts, but, nonetheless, reflect a Western organization. Many have diachronous links to Classic Pentecostalism. The second kind consists of those churches planted by Western mission agencies that are now independent, but continue to relate to the founding agency. This type of church has a

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[57]Dean S. Gilliland, "How 'Christian' Are African Independent Churches," *Missiology* 14 (1986): 266–70.

high degree of organization and doctrinal features that place it in the evangelical spectrum. The group includes Benson Idahosa's network and Ghana's Church of Pentecost.

The Secondary Evangelical-Pentecostal is similar to the first, but has no connections to movements outside of Africa. Gilliland suggests an alternative name of *Indigenous-Pentecostal*. This type emphasizes African features and supernaturalism, such as dreams, visions, and direct revelation. The leaders are more charismatic and self-ordained. The Bible is revered, but interpreted inconsistently. This group includes many Aladura.

The Revelational-Indigenous type is independent and sectarian. Direct revelation to the leaders supersedes the authority of the Bible. Supernaturalism as manifested by dreams, visions, and prophecies takes an important role. The churches are pragmatic, directly connected to cultural practices, ritualistic, and ethnically defined. Among these groups, one finds Christianisme Céleste.

The Indigenous-Eclectic group resembles a church, but has such a close connection to traditional religion that the claim to be Christian remains dubious. The leaders resemble ATR practitioners in the way they employ Christian symbols and vocabulary. These groups reinforce the status quo of ATR.

Ogbu Kalu. Kalu proposes a modified Turner typology consisting of seven types that follow a chronological order and emphasize the expansion of Pentecostalism.[58] He challenges earlier typologies by positing an underlying continuity based on a pristine spirituality.[59] Type 1 consists of those movements where an ATR practitioner "accepts

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[58]Ogbu U. Kalu, "A Discursive Interpretation of African Pentecostalism," *Fides et Historia* 41 (2009): 74–80.

[59]See Paul Kollman's assessment of Kalu's distinctive system of classification. Kollman, "Classifying African Christianities Past Present."

the power of Christianity and urges the community to yield."[60] Kalu cites three examples, but offers little explanation.

Type 2 encompasses the early prophet-healers such as Garrick Braide, William Wadé Harris, Peter Anim, Joseph Babalola, and Simon Kimbangu. These groups emerged from Christian prayer groups during prophet-led revival movements. The prophets emphasized a holiness ethic, healed sickness, and asserted the supremacy of Christianity over ATR.

Type 3 groups arose during the first couple of decades of the twentieth century as groups emphasized the pneumatic aspect of Christianity. Some emerged out of the mainline churches, while others developed independently. The Zionists, Aladura, and Abaroho constitute the most well-known groups of this type. The groups institutionalized and deployed Christian symbols and varying degrees of ATR. Kalu identifies three sub-types. The *messianic* groups attributed Trinitarian characteristics to their leaders. The *revivalistic* groups held to the validity of ATR as a source of knowledge. The *vitalistic* groups emphasized occult powers. The *nativistic* groups were the syncretic groups that continued with ATR, but with the addition of Christian symbols and accouterments.

Type 4 consists of those renewal movements that originated in mainline denominations. Over time, some groups left the mainline churches to form independent churches or ministries, while others remained as sodalities within the church. This type also includes those groups which developed from Western influence such as Philadelphia's Faith Tabernacle and the Assemblies of God.

Type 5 includes those groups that originated by "external input." This type encompasses the groups that manifest a strong relationship with non-African bodies. It includes the results of missionary work by Classic Pentecostals. Beginning in the 1980s,

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[60]Kalu, "A Discursive Interpretation," 76.

Western influence became more pronounced in the development of African Pentecostalism. Kalu identifies twelve patterns of relationships.[61]

Type 6 spans the "African charismatic agency." These groups originated from the efforts of Africans to promulgate Pentecostalism either as classic missionaries or through migratory patterns.

Type 7 comprises the groups that developed since the Charismatic movement in the mainline churches. In the 1970s, young preachers catalyzed the movement. In the 1980s, the movement was characterized by an educated leadership, prosperity gospel, electronic media, and global contacts. In the 1990s, holiness re-emerged, along with mega-churches, episcopal polity, and apostolic anointing. In the first decade of the 2000s, the movements routinized and politicized.

While Kalu avoids labeling the components of his typology, the similarities between his classification and that of, for example, Anderson's system are unmistakable as Table 1 demonstrates.

Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi. In his study of Ghanaian Pentecostalism, Larbi identifies six "strands" as follows: (1) the Spiritual churches, (2) Classic Pentecostalism, (3) the Charismatic movement within the mainline churches, (4) parachurch organizations, (5) the Neo-Pentecostal movement, and (6) Pentecostal prayer camps. Like Gilliland, he emphasizes a theological criterion namely, salvation. Similar to Kalu's

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[61]Kalu writes, "from the 1980s on, the dynamics of African relationships with Western Pentecostal groups intensified into a complex permutation with about a dozen patterns: 1) invitation from non-Western believers; 2) indigenous leaders controlling a classical Pentecostal church; 3) indigenous groups funded externally; 4) networks of partners for outreaches; 5) an external operation that controlled leadership and funding; 6) an external operation that controlled leadership with locally-sourced funds; 7) Western-based partners that sponsored non-Western leaders to attend seminars, Bible school training, annual workshops, and opportunities to preach; 8) Western sponsors of deaconate services (socio-economic projects); 9) television and radio ministries, such as Trinity Broadcasting Network, 700 Club, Daystar, and others; 10) exportation of material culture: books, videos, and cassettes; 11) international fellowships that were run by indigenous leaders, such as the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship, Women's Aglow, and Gideons International; and 12) outposts of Western-based ministries." Ibid., 79.

Table 1. Comparison of Kalu's and Anderson's typologies

Ogbu Kalu	Allan Anderson
1. Conversionist	
2. Prophet	Older Independent & Spirit churches
3. Pneumatic recovery	
4. Charismatic renewal	Older Church Charismatics
5. External input	Classical Pentecostals
6. African Charismatic agency	
7. Contemporary	Neo-Pentecostal & Neo-Charismatic churches

classification, he mentions, albeit briefly, five of Kalu's six classifications. His main focus is the Neo-Pentecostal movement. The typology does not appear to be the result of considered academic reflection. His designations are ill-explained and poorly developed.

The first type, the Spiritual churches, originated between 1914 and 1930 under the inspiration of William Wadé Harris. Other typologies refer to this group as AICs.

The second type, Classic Pentecostalism, consists of the Western-oriented Pentecostal churches in Ghana. The classification includes four main groups: Christ Apostolic Church, the Gold Coast Apostolic Church, the Apostolic Church of Gold Coast, and the Assemblies of God. Less dominant Classic Pentecostals include the Four Square Gospel Church, Church of God (Cleveland, TN), Church of God (Anderson, IN), Church of God Prophecy, and Pentecostal Holiness Church.

The third type, the Charismatic movement, which Larbi characterizes as "an evangelical/pentecostalist revival," achieved nation-wide recognition beginning in the 1970s.[62] The movement is present in the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic

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[62]Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity*, Studies in African Pentecostal Christianity, vol. 1 (Accra, Ghana: CPCS, 2001), 88.

churches.

The fourth group, parachurch organizations, proliferated as a result of the Charismatic movement of the 1960s and 1970s. This type includes both student movements, such as Scripture Union and University Christian Fellowship, and "associations," such as Ghana Evangelical Society, the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association. The sixth group, Pentecostal Prayer Camps, is similar to the parachurch organizations. It consists of the healing centers operated by prophet-healers. While Larbi does not specifically use the term, his parachurch and prayer camp designations reflect that which this dissertation calls *ministères* in BBCT.

Larbi's fifth group encompasses the new independent Pentecostal churches that developed after the Charismatic movement. The class includes Idahosa's Redemption Hour Faith Ministry, Bob Hawkson's Jubilee Christian Centre, Nicholas Duncan-Williams' Christian Action Faith Ministry, and Mensa Otabil's International Central Gospel Church. Larbi divides the Neo-Pentecostal movement into two sub-groups. Both groups add an element to the "normal evangelical-Pentecostal message" (salvation, healing, Spirit baptism, and Second Coming).[63] The first group emphasizes the abundant life, which consists of material and physical well-being. The second group emphasizes deliverance.

Matthews Ojo. In his study of the Charismatic churches established since 1970 in Nigeria, Ojo detects six types: (1) Faith Seekers, (2) Faith Builders, (3) Faith Transformers, (4) Reformists, (5) Modernists, and (6) Deliverance Churches.[64] He classifies them based on four criteria that relate to a paradigm of piety and power:

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[63]Ibid., 301.

[64]Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World, 2006), 87–92.

doctrine, organizational structure, style, and character. Piety refers to the deepening of the members' religious experience, whereas power refers to the ability of members to confront and resolve their problems.

The Faith Seekers are groups that seek a re-orientation of the individual's life by which the person establishes a relationship with God who will grant power. Past identity and efforts are renounced as part of a religious conversion. These groups are heavily involved in personal evangelism.

The Faith Builders emphasize the realization of human potential to overcome difficulties. The majority of followers come from the urban, educated middle-class who seek wealth or social recognition. These groups emphasize a prosperity theology coupled with human effort and divine favor.

The Faith Transformers are missionary type organizations that seek socio-cultural or religious change among people groups or the nation itself. Employing a wide range of ministries, they concentrate on redemption of people. Their main focus falls on the rural areas and unreached people groups.

The Reformists seek the renewal and revival of their own non-Pentecostal denominations. Often functioning as sodalities, they endeavor to charismaticize existing denominations.

The Modernists are older AICs, such as Aladura, who adopt the worship style of Pentecostals in their own churches in order to modernize. They compete with the successful Pentecostal churches by imitating their practices.

The Deliverance churches concentrate on liberating people from the liens with traditional religion, such as demonization, ancestral curses, and the deities. Deliverance often involves spiritual exercises designed to liberate the individual from oppression. The deliverance groups attract members from mainline churches that have been unsuccessful in addressing felt needs. These churches are often client based and find it difficult to retain members once they are healed.

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Cephas Omenyo. Omenyo offers two typologies.[65] The first typology characterizes the Pentecostal movement in Ghana. The second typology focuses on the charismatization of mainline churches.

Omenyo presents, in list form, seven types, which he expanded from an earlier five part typology.[66] They are as follows: (1) AICs, (2) Classical Pentecostal churches, (3) Ghanaian Pentecostal churches of the 1920s, such as Christ Apostolic Church and Assemblies of God, (4) Neo-Pentecostal or charismatic/evangelical non-denominational fellowships, such as Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, (5) the Charismatic movement in the mainline churches, (6) The Neo-Pentecostal/Charismatic churches and ministries, and (7) Neo-prophetic churches and ministries. The latter type appeared in the 1990s and emphasizes a prophetic ministry.

In the second, more specific, typology, Omenyo identifies five renewal groups within the mainline churches. The first group consists of those sodalities that are formally recognized by the national church. The second group is similar to the first, except the sodality has not been formally recognized by the national body. These groups function within the local church. The third type consists of the prayer groups that meet regularly. They have no function or ministry outside the prayer group. The fourth type consists of the charismatic congregations that have embraced the Pentecostal ethos, yet remain within the denomination. This category typifies the charismaticized congregation. The fifth type consists of healing and deliverance services hosted by individual charismatics in a leader-client relationship. It also includes the various healing, deliverance, and prayer

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[65]Cephas Omenyo, "From the Fringes to the Centre: Pentecostalization of the Mainline Churches in Ghana," *Exchange* 34 (2005): 39-60.

[66]Cephas Omenyo, "The Charismatic Renewal Movement in Ghana," *Pneuma* 16 (1994): 169-85; and Cephas Omenyo, "Charismatic Churches in Ghana and Contextualization," *Exchange* 31 (2002): 264. See also Cephas Omenyo, "A Comparative Analysis of the Development Intervention of Protestant and Charismatic/Pentecostal Organizations in Ghana," *Swedish Missiological Themes* 94 (2006): 5–6.

centers.

          Asonzeh Ukah. Ukah identifies three types of "Christianities" in Africa: Mission Christianity, African Initiated Christianity, and African Pentecostalism.[67] Ukah follows the other typologies in his explanation of Mission Christianity. The AICs are those churches that broke away from the mission churches at the beginning of the twentieth century or were founded independently by Africans. African Pentecostalism consists of three strands. Classical Pentecostalism grew out of North American influence and missionary impulse. Indigenous/Independent Pentecostalism comprises those churches that were founded between the 1920s and 1960s without any relationship to Classic Pentecostalism. This group includes such groups as the Christ Apostolic Church and the Redeemed Christian Church of God. Newer Pentecostal Churches designates a new class of church that arose since the 1970s. This type promulgates a new message derived from the Word-Faith movement.

Proposed Typology

          The following is a working typology for BBCT with particular emphasis on Togo. The classification seeks to situate Pentecostalism and, so, includes the historic churches. Six identifiable entities compose the typology.

          The first type consists of the historic non-Pentecostal churches, such as Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Seventh Day Adventist, Baptist, and Lutheran. This type may be divided further into two sub-types based on ecumenical and evangelical orientation. Many of these churches are charismaticized.

          The second type consists of the historic, Pentecostal mission churches,

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[67]Asonzeh Ukah, "African Christianities: Features, Promises and Problems," Working Papers, no. 79 (Mainz, Germany, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, 2007), [on-line]; accessed 28 June 2011; available from http://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/workingpapers/AP79.pdf; Internet.

otherwise known as Classic Pentecostals. The most dominant churches are the Assemblies of God and the Church of Pentecost.

The third type consists of the older AICs. This designation includes all of the independent churches that originated prior to the rise of Neo-Pentecostalism in the 1970s. The most notable groups in the class are Christianisme Céleste, Harristes, and Aladura.[68]

The fourth type consists of the Charismatic movement within the historic churches of the first type. An integral part of the Charismatic movement is, in Ojo's terms, the Reformists. These individuals have as their mission the renewal of the church and the adoption of the Pentecostal ethos. This classification includes both the formally recognized and the unrecognized sodalities.

The fifth type encompasses the Neo-Pentecostal groups that appeared predominantly in the 1980s. These groups almost always originated outside BBCT, usually in Nigeria or Ghana. The main characteristic of this type is their connection with an international mega-church or network of churches. The class includes entities such as Deeper Life Bible Church and Winner's Chapel. Two partially distinct sub-types appear. The largest sub-type is the Neo-Pentecostal churches and ministries that were birthed in the 1970s and onward. The second sub-type consists of the churches that evolved from older AICs. These re-constituted or transitioned AICs make up a notable portion of Neo-Pentecostalism.

The sixth type consists of the new *ministères*. This class represents the most complex and diverse group in BBCT.[69] The type designates those entities founded and

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[68]In Togo, the number of churches in this category is very small. The 1978 government restriction on religious groups banned the AICs, the Jehovah Witnesses, and all the Pentecostal groups except the Assemblies of God. This ban remained in effect until the early 1990s when enforcement waned.

[69]The proliferation of *ministères* over the past two decades staggers the imagination. Yet, no in-depth study has engaged the phenomenon. Certainly, an ethnographic study would yield rich results in understanding and classifying the *ministères*. This typology of the *ministères* is built on anecdotal and impressionistic perceptions.

led by Africans since the advent of the Neo-Pentecostal movement. In this sense, these are new AICs, but they are characterized by a Pentecostal-like ethos. They are ecclesially independent, radically sectarian, theologically eclectic, and cultically utilitarian. Sociologically, they are almost always patron-client based. For the most part, the *ministères* reflect the personality and character of the founder who leads on the basis of his personal impulses. In general, the *ministères* follow closely Gilliland's Revelational-Indigenous type.

The overlap among the *ministères* is substantial. They exist, not along a continuum, but as intertwined clusters. Three kinds of *ministères* deserve particular recognition (See Figure A11 in Appendix 1). The first sub-type (Power-Deliverance) comprises the deliverance groups. These *ministères* are characterized by power themes that involve some form of deliverance from spiritual affliction. This type compares favorably to Ojo's Deliverance category. Combat prayer and deliverance services characterize these groups. The prayer camps operated by the Prophet-Healers also fall in this category.

The second sub-type (Prophecy-Revelation) consists of the prophetic groups. These *ministères* emphasize prophesy, dreams, and other sources of revelation knowledge that manifest in the context of problem-solving. The Word-Faith movement has a substantial influence in this type.

The third sub-type (Charlatan-Imitative) designates the inauthentic practitioners who imitate other successful *ministères*. These groups consist of the religious charlatans who profit from Pentecostalism's popularity.[70] Some of the

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[70]Turner recognizes this type in the independent churches when he writes: "We do no more than mention the lunatic and charlatan fringe of fraudulent healers, deluded messiahs, petty despots claiming divinity, and dealers in imported magic and occultism who are sometimes hard to distinguish at first sight from the more authentic forms." Turner, *Religious Innovation*, 193.

ministères are run by imposters who rely on showmanship, manipulation, deception, and false claims. Others are operated by ATR practitioners who adopt Pentecostal symbols, rituals, and accouterments, but invoke ATR processes.[71] This sub-type includes Gilliland's Indigenous-Eclectic grouping.

Distinctive Emphases of Pentecostalism in West Africa

As noted earlier, a common theme throughout the Pentecostal discourse is the "experience of the Holy Spirit." Yet, the question arises as to the precise meaning of the idea. What, exactly, is this "experience of the Holy Spirit" to which scholars often refer?

To begin, the African variations of Pentecostalism diverge from the North American varieties, which are dominated by Classic Pentecostalism. The characteristics and emphases of Pentecostal-like groups in West Africa range from prostration during prayer to ritual washings to anointing with holy oil to prayer handkerchiefs to secret words used for power acquisition. The ubiquitous banners and posters that adorn the urban centers advertise equally ubiquitous crusades. These banners and posters publicize the primary activities and orientations of popular Pentecostal preachers namely, healing, deliverance, prophecy, miracles, and Word-Faith.

The following section surveys the primary characteristics and emphases of

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[71]Adewale O. Ogunrinade provides examples of this practice in his study of a Nigerian church. He remarks, "Just as indigenous Africans would consult diviners (*Babalawo or Baba awo*) to know secrets about marital issues, birth of a child and its destiny, success in business and other related matters, so also African indigenous churches' leaders would gladly render this service to their members." Adewale O. Ogunrinade, "Predilection for African Indigenous Practices in the Pentecostal Tradition of African Indigenous Churches with Reference to Christ Apostolic Church Agbala Itura," *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* 18 (2009), sec. 1.3.1 [journal on-line]; accessed 11 June 2011; available from http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj18/adewale.html; Internet. Later, he writes, "For example, the way an *Ifa* priest throws his *Opele* or divination chain up and down and interprets the message of the *Opele* is somewhat the same way that a pastor or prophet might interpret a verse of the bible. The advent of mission Christianity derided this means of problem solving. When the indigenous churches came, a new and genuine dimension of incorporating these indigenous elements in indigenous Pentecostal Christianity developed." Although Ogunrinade does not direct his remarks specifically at *ministères*, his characterization fits a large number of them. Ibid., sec. 1.3.2.

West African Pentecostalism with emphasis on the particularities of BBCT. Obviously, not all Pentecostal groups manifest these characteristics, but these elements are sufficiently present to warrant their mention. The section divides these characteristics into five categories: ethos, doctrine, worship, manifestations, and organization.

A significant change in West Africa Pentecostalism occurred with the rise of Benson Idahosa and his Church of God Mission in Nigeria. His All Nations' Bible Seminary in Benin City "served as a breeding camp" for Word-Faith, thus helping to normalize the Neo-Pentecostal character in Africa.[72] In this way, his model became the norm by which others are judged. The following characteristics owe much to his influence.

Ethos

Although Pentecostalism emerged over a century ago in West Africa, the ethos of the movement today issues from the new Pentecostalism that has arisen since the 1970s, and particularly since the 1980s. The Neo-Pentecostal ethos overwhelmed that of the AICs and the mainline churches in West Africa. This new ethos is the essence of the charismatization of churches. The contemporary forms of Pentecostalism assert four notions.

To begin, their ethos maintains that the omnipotent God breaks into everyday life. Pentecostalism engages the African worldview by recognizing the daily struggles and dangers wrought by spiritual forces, and responds to this struggle by emphasizing God's intervention. ATR treats these forces as powers to be appeased and pacified. Mainline churches, prior to charismatization, discounted this spiritual reality; however, Pentecostalism engages the reality by claiming God's presence and incursion into the

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[72]Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 257. See also Ogbu U. Kalu, "Pentecostalism and Mission in Africa, 1970–2000," *Mission Studies* 24 (2007): 27–28; and Ojo, *The End-time Army*, 61–63.

cosmic struggle. So, God is both transcendent, as one who is above and beyond creation, and immanent, as one who is among his people. Simply, the same God who intervened in the Bible intervenes today. God's presence brings the supernatural to daily life. This experiential worldview permeates all aspects of the Pentecostal movement.

Further, Pentecostalism's ethos prioritizes the presence of the Holy Spirit as manifested in the charismata. Pentecostals experience God in tangible ways. The charismatic manifestations prove that the Spirit envelops the church. Unlike the mainline churches that tend to divide members into laity and clergy, Pentecostals foresee the widespread availability of the Holy Spirit and the distribution of the charismata to all members, not just the clergy. In this way, Spirit baptism yields conspicuous, visible results.

Next, the ethos highlights the conversion experience. The manifestation of the charismata accompanies and validates conversion. For Pentecostals, conversion is a dramatic, life-reorienting event that the "born again" metaphor aptly describes. Direction and values change for the individual. Moreover, conversion has a continuing effect which encompasses all of the believer's life. The rebirth has practical implications, not the least of which is abandonment of previously held customs, beliefs, and practices that are sinful or demonic.

Finally, the ethos vehemently denies modernity's conception of reality, and renegotiates ATR's conception of reality. This dissonance with both ATR and modernity requires a brief digression on ATR's conception of the cosmos.

West Africans, by and large, believe in a transcendent creator, a supreme being.[73] God acts as the ultimate, albeit unpredictable, savior.[74] Stories of God's

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[73]It is theologically presumptuous to equate the *Supreme Being* with the biblical *God*. Yet, I know of no case where a people group has chosen, itself, to use a term other than *Supreme Being* for the Christian *God*. Henceforth, following common usage, I will use the term *God* when referring to the *Supreme Being*.

intervention in time of famine, war, and other catastrophes fill local histories.[75] After the crisis passes, the supplicants offer thanksgiving for God's salvation. In a much more common manner, God's salvific acts consist of meeting the day-to-day needs of people. Yet, ironically, the nearness of God entails sickness, calamity, and even death so people petition him to remain aloof.[76] Two corollaries follow. First, God acts capriciously by causing famine, war, and other catastrophes. Second, God's transcendence often entails the use of mediators, especially ancestors, for appeals to him.

This mediation highlights another aspect of the ATR conception, namely, the continuity of the universe. ATR views the cosmos as a holistic, inter-linked web. In this spatial, contiguous web, the heavens, the earth, and the spirit world exist uni-dimensionally. These three realms are sacralized and exist in a living dynamism without sharp breaks. Edmund Hogan explains that ATR's "'primal vision' of the universe is unitary and all-embracing—there is only one plane of existence and everything is bound together in organic fashion."[77] In similar fashion, John Mbiti writes that "the spiritual universe is a unit with the physical, and . . . these two intermingle and dovetail into each other so much that it is not easy, or even necessary, at times to draw the distinction or separate them."[78] The practical implication of this uni-dimensional view, according to S.

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[74]The term *savior* is rarely applied to God. See John S. Mbiti, "God, Sin, and Salvation in African Religion," *Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 16 (1989): 66–67.

[75]John S. Mbiti, "Some Reflections on African Experience of Salvation Today," in *Living Faiths and Ultimate Goals: Salvation and World Religions*, ed. S. J. Samartha (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1974), 109.

[76]Evan M. Zuesse, "Perseverance and Transmutation in African Traditional Religions," in *African Traditional Religions in Contemporary Society*, ed. Jacob Obafẹmi Kẹhinde Olupọna (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 1991), 174.

[77]Edmund P. Hogan, "Reconciliation and African Culture," *African Ecclesial Review* 24 (1982): 74.

[78]John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969), 97. Mbiti combines the heavens and the spirit world (spiritual) in his comparison with the earth (physical).

A. Thorpe, extends to all creation:

> Trees, rivers, streams, rain are more than merely things to be utilised. They have a spiritual quality which unites them to human beings in a greater cosmic whole. The ancestors or living-dead continue to be a spiritual part of this greater cosmos even after they have ceased to exist as a physical part. The creator, and even creation itself, belong to this vertical or spiritual dimension of ATR.[79]

Since all creation exists interdependently, all events are causally explained and traceable to supernatural sources.[80] H. Joseph Adjenou, a former director of ESBTAO, concurs: "Behind a sickness or human distress, we see almost always an invisible hand: sorcery, anger of the venerated spirits, curse by the ancestral spirits, a fault of the victim himself."[81] Accidents, in the Western sense, do not exist.

Modernity's understanding of the cosmos stands in stark contrast to ATR. Modernity rejects supernaturalism in favor of a self-contained, self-sufficient, and self-ordering world.[82] Moreover, the Enlightenment privatizes religion, thus dismissing experience and feeling from consideration.[83]

Pentecostalism stands as a midpoint between these two antithetical worldviews. Pentecostalism rejects the naturalism espoused by modernity. In the same manner, Pentecostalism rejects the disengagement of God in the world espoused by ATR.

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[79]S. A. Thorpe, *African Traditional Religions: An Introduction* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1991), 5.

[80]Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi, "The Nature of Continuity and Discontinuity of Ghanaian Pentecostal Concept of Salvation in African Cosmology," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 5 (2002): 88.

[81]H. Joseph Adjenou, *La prière de délivrance dans le contexte africain: Approche biblique et conseils pratiques* (Lomé, Togo: Editions Petra, 2006), 44.

[82]Paul G. Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008).

[83]See David Bosch and Paul Hiebert for excellent discussions of the implications of the Enlightenment for Christianity. David Jacobus Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, American Society of Missiology Series, vol. 16 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 262–74; and Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews*, 141–264.

This ethos puts Pentecostalism at odds with both ATR and modernity.

Doctrine

The faith and practice of Pentecostals focuses on the experience of believers in resisting and overcoming the distresses of daily existence that are caused by spiritual forces. Pentecostals in West Africa hold four beliefs with fair consistency. Of course, the small independent churches and *ministères* often deviate in doctrine according to the whims of their founders. Assuredly, few Pentecostal groups consciously articulate their beliefs. Nonetheless, the following subjects represent the main streams of belief.

Charismata. First, and in accordance with their ethos, the personal experience with God holds a prominent place in Pentecostal belief. This experience is closely tied to Spirit baptism by which the individual believer receives the charismata. The charismata manifest the changed relationship with God. In this respect, Spirit baptism is a marker for Pentecostal identity. Although Spirit baptism and the charismata are prominent features of the experience of the Holy Spirit, they are not the sole experience. The belief in a personal experience of the Holy Spirit is encouraged, promoted, and expected as part of one's daily Christian walk.

Salvation. Second, salvation is an essential component of Pentecostal faith and practice. Well-being for today constitutes the main emphasis of salvation. Hence, salvation is understood primarily as freedom from powers-induced problems, such as sickness, poverty, misfortune, affliction, fear, and perturbed relationships.

Accordingly, salvation includes both therapeutic and prophylactic aspects. This concept of salvation is one of the most attractive features of Pentecostalism. On the one hand, salvation, as therapy, restores well-being. Healing applies to all aspects of life. Healing reverses sickness, adversity, interpersonal conflict, and failures. The therapeutic aspect also includes deliverance from affliction by evil spirits. Thus, salvation restores

physical, emotional, spiritual, and social health.

On the other hand, salvation ensures well-being by providing a shield of protection against anything that may threaten well-being. Abundant life includes success, prosperity, health, and peace. Notably, the Word-Faith movement has strongly influenced the prophylactic aspect of the salvation theme. Many, probably most, in all six types of Pentecostal groups espouse elements of the Word-Faith movement. The Pentecostal media present God as the God of success, breakthroughs, and possibilities. The Word-Faith movement overwhelmingly prescribes Neo-Pentecostal doctrine.

At this point, the significant differences between ATR and the mainline churches become apparent. ATR seeks to appease and manipulate the powers in order to bring healing and provide protection. The mainline churches offer a heavenly salvation for the future, and community development projects and medical care for the present. Neo-Pentecostalism promotes a present, immediate salvation of abundance and well-being by vanquishing the spirits.

Special people of God. Third, Pentecostals are the special people of God. In the first place, their view of salvation distinguishes them from other religious groups. Consistently, the Neo-Pentecostal movement has insisted on two separate components. For one, the believer is regenerated and sanctified. For two, Spirit baptism provides the external marker of the internal change, thereby setting the believer apart. In this way, Pentecostal believers are distinct from other Christians.

In the second place, as noted previously, Pentecostals situate themselves in opposition to other groups. They condemn ATR for its ungodliness. They condemn AICs for their syncretism with ATR. They condemn the mainline denominations for their modernity. Thus, their stance toward others segregates and differentiates them.

In the third place, Pentecostals consistently call for a clean break with the past.[84] Believers must break with their sinful past that includes wrong behaviors. Then, they must break the demonic chains of bondage within the immediate circle of relationships. Finally, they must break with their ancestral pasts that include covenants and curses in the family lineage that enslave succeeding generations.

In the fourth place, Pentecostals establish their uniqueness through a particular warfare worldview that reflects a dualistic understanding of the cosmos. They consider the world divided into two parts—God and his people who oppose Satan and his followers. Through salvation, the believer transfers from the domain of Satan into the domain of God. A new warfare worldview ensues in which the believer engages in the battle that rages between the two sides. This dualistic worldview stands in sharp contrast to ATR and the AICs, which largely acquiesce to the power of the spirit world. It differs, also, from the mainline churches that dismiss the spirit world as superstitious or primitive. The genius of Pentecostalism lies in its acceptance of the cultural understanding of the spirit world while engaging Pentecostal followers to wage war against the spirits. The warfare ethos underlies many Pentecostal practices.

Bible. The Bible is recognized throughout the various Pentecostal groups; however, its authority varies. In West Africa, Pentecostals rarely employ the historical-critical hermeneutic taught and advocated by the mainline denominations. Rather, they interpret the Bible with as much literalism as possible. Furthermore, the hermeneutic perspective coalesces around African spirituality and the well-being of the believer as expounded by the Word-Faith movement. For example, oftentimes, participants are told

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[84]See Matthew Engelke, "Past Pentecostalism: Notes on Rupture, Realignment, and Everyday Life in Pentecostal and African Independent Churches," *African Affairs* 80 (2010): 177-99; and Birgit Meyer, "'Make a Complete Break with the Past': Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28 (1998): 316-49.

to give an offering and expect a one hundred-fold return. Finally, while the Bible is recognized as the authority, it is not the final revelation. God continues to speak.[85] Both revelation and theology continue to develop as pastors, prophets, and apostles speak under inspiration.

Worship

The experience of the Spirit dominates worship. In this way, Pentecostal worship "reverses" the Western emphases, such as the centrality of the rational, calculated doing, articulate verbal skills, and doctrine.[86] Pentecostals enthusiastically anticipate supernatural intervention. This preoccupation with the supernatural not only characterizes worship, but drives it. Services are unscripted, Spirit-filled, expressive, joyful, spontaneous, exuberant, and loud. More than three decades ago, Turner characterized AIC worship as a "total response." His description accurately depicts Pentecostal worship today:

> We may mention the collective and active nature of worship in the independent churches and the signs of Christian joy in these people of God. Unlike so much of the worship in the older churches, there is a minimum of passive listening to a minister and of watching him do most things for the congregation. There is a total response in voice and action, through clapping, dancing, choruses, ejaculations, individual spontaneous prayers, and public thanksgivings.[87]

The "total response" that comes in anticipation of the supernatural engenders a variety of voluntary and involuntary gesticulations, such as dancing, clapping, finger snapping, prostration, jerking, and shaking. Articulations include shouts, shrieks, prophecies, and speaking in tongues. Sometimes, the services incorporate indigenous religious practices to the extent that the line blurs between appropriate and inappropriate

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[85]Cf. Kenneth J. Archer, "Pentecostal Hermeneutics: Retrospect and Prospect," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 4 (1996): 80.

[86]Poewe, *Charismatic Christianity*, 12.

[87]Turner, *Religious Innovation*, 167.

contextualization, between biblical practices and syncretism.

Beyond the gesticulations, worship includes prayer, testimony, preaching, and, above all, proper ritual. Worship invites the participants to engage in spiritual warfare. Proper ritual ensures that demonic forces are disempowered.[88] Prayer subdues the evil spirits that afflict both the meeting place and the participants. Testimony serves as an act-word event that reminds the participants of God's supernatural intervention in daily life. Preaching engages the congregation in the combat by demonstrating God's continual intervention.

Notably, preaching is a part, but not the climax, of the worship service. The sermon reminds the participants that the same supernatural experiences of the Bible are available to present-day believers. In this way, the focus of the message is the present, rather than the historical past. The experiences of the biblical characters are subsumed under the meaning of the passage for today. Furthermore, preaching requires the active participation of the congregation. Consequently, the hearers carry out actions during and after the message that enables the word to take effect. In summary, the immediate meaning and experience of the text trump historical-critical exegesis. The message excites, inspires, stimulates, and empowers.

Manifestations

Undoubtedly, the most noticeable aspect of Pentecostalism, besides its global expansion, is its visible manifestations. In West Africa, three kinds of manifestations—adoration, revelation, and power—are a normal and ordinary part of the believer's life.

Adoration encompasses speaking in tongues. This charisma serves as an

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[88]Pentecostals retain ATR's ontology and ritual engagement of the spirit world, but reject the assumptions of ATR. They employ familiar symbols that resemble the ATR engagement. Cf. Robbins, "Globalization of Pentecostal Christianity."

external marker to demonstrate and authenticate the supernatural element in the speaker's life. Speaking in tongues often accompanies the salvation experience, either as a concurrent event or a later, second experience. The manifestation also occurs as a part of private or public worship. In both cases, it focuses on praise and adoration. Oftentimes, when an interpretation is offered, the speaker is the interpreter.

Revelation encompasses three different kinds of manifestations: prophecy, discernment of spirits, and dreams and visions. Prophecy provides another avenue, besides the Bible, by which God speaks to people. Prophecies occur as spontaneous expressions during a gathering of the church and usually entail a warning, exhortation, or important piece of information, all of which affect future action. A prophecy may be given in tongues in which case the prophet or another person will interpret the message. Another form of prophecy, the word of knowledge or revelation knowledge, consists of a revelation about an impending event and the actions to take in response. Prophecy demonstrates that God can speak through anyone in the community at any time. This point is particularly important because, anecdotally, most spontaneous prophecies are done by women. Indeed, prophecy is a credibility enhancer for the prophet because of the perception that God uses the particular individual as a vehicle of revelation.

Another revelation manifestation, the discernment of spirits, serves to police the prophets. Discernment judges the validity of the prophecy or word of knowledge. At other times, this charisma is used to identify the presence of evil spirits.

The final kind of revelation manifestation, visions and dreams, consists of those personal revelations that provide direction or understanding. Notably, solutions to problems often arise from visions and dreams. They are commonly reported by the founders of churches and ministries. These visions also establish the direction of the church and contribute to the founder's authority.

The power manifestations relate closely to the idea of spiritual warfare. These power manifestations—prayer, deliverance, and anointing—precede or accompany signs

and wonders. The first, and most obvious manifestation, is prayer. Pentecostals pray! In their conception of reality, the spiritual battle requires warfare prayer. Therapeutic prayers call for healing and often assume miraculous intervention. Prophylactic prayers serve to protect the individual, church, town, nation or some other entity from spiritual affliction. Both of these types of prayers have specific contexts and usages that can never be divorced from spiritual warfare. As such, these prayers are accompanied by gesticulations that symbolically enact the combat. Pray-ers dramatize the battle with evil forces by stomping, clenching fists, punching the air, hitting a wall or bench, and finger snapping. The pray-ers cry aloud as they take authority over the spiritual forces.

A second kind of power manifestation is deliverance. Deliverance services focus on liberating demonized people from the power of evil spirits. Deliverance, like the power prayers, is ubiquitous in church life. Specialized deliverance ministries abound.

A third kind of power manifestation is anointing. *Anointing* stands as a central feature of West African Pentecostalism because of its association with power and sacrament. Individuals, events, and objects may be anointed. An anointing allows the Spirit to act—the greater the anointing, the greater the power. Through anointing, the preacher, prophet, apostle, or pastor manifests great power to effect signs and wonders. An object, such as oil, water, or a handkerchief, when anointed, can mediate power to its owner. Moreover, anointing may be conveyed from an anointed person to another person or object through physical, visual, or auditory contact. For example, anointing may be transferred through the radio waves. An ordinary bottle of water may be anointed and, thus, mediate grace and power to the one who possesses it.

Organization

Beyond the ethos, doctrine, worship, and manifestations, Pentecostals have five notable characteristics related to organization. In the first place, Pentecostals leverage media to promote their message. Besides the ubiquitous banners and posters,

Pentecostals employ electronic media to the fullest extent possible. The larger churches, such as The Redeemed Christian Church of God, include in their business portfolios television stations, studios, and internet service providers. The Pentecostal message has invaded the public space as increasing numbers of scholars have demonstrated.[89]

In the second place, Pentecostalism emphasizes and promotes a transnational network.[90] This network is enhanced by itinerant preachers from other countries, especially Ghana and Nigeria. The strength of this practice is seen in the increasing acceptance of English as the language of deliverance and formulaic prayer.[91] In this transnational network, churches range from small house churches with a few participants to mega-churches with hundreds of thousands of attendees.

In the third place, leaders promote an image of signs and wonders. Many West Africans determine the value of religious specialists by their therapeutic and prophylactic effectiveness. Religious specialists who perform well are valued; and those who do not are shunned. In a similar fashion, a Pentecostal leader's credibility rises and falls in direct correlation with his ability to produce signs and wonders. The inability to perform miracles, prophesy, and healing indicates a lack of spiritual power and, thus, diminishes the leader's prestige. Likewise, the presence of signs and wonders demonstrate that an

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[89]E.g., Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "Charismatic/Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28 (1998): 258-77; J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Anointing through the Screen: Neo-Pentecostalism and Televised Christianity in Ghana," *Studies in World Christianity* 11 (2005): 9-28; J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "'*Get on the Internet!*' Says the LORD: Religion, Cyberspace and Christianity in Contemporary Africa," *Studies in World Christianity* 13 (2007): 225-42; and Ogbu U. Kalu, "Holy Praiseco: Negotiating Sacred and Popular Music and Dance in African Pentecostalism," *Pneuma* 32 (2010): 16-40.

[90]E.g., Corten and Marshall-Fratani, *Between Babel*; Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); and Larbi, *Pentecostalism.*

[91]For example, in one deliverance service following the Sunday sermon, the preacher conducted the deliverance entirely in English. I interviewed three of the individuals who were delivered. None of them were English speakers, but all three said they understood the English used for their deliverance.

organization is both genuine and spiritually powerful. Consequently, leaders and organizations continually foster an image of power and credibility through signs and wonders.

In the fourth place, West African Pentecostalism promotes the "Big Man" motif of leadership. Idahosa introduced Word-Faith theology in the 1970s following his brief stay in the United States. He made it a cornerstone of his ministry and propagated its teachings. Subsequently, Word-Faith came to underlie much of Pentecostalism. As an outgrowth of Idahosa's teaching, the Big Man ideology took root and grew in the churches. In contrast to the mainline churches that have long taught humility, the Big Man concept esteems powerful, rich leaders who, because of their well-being, exemplify God's blessing. Asamoah-Gyadu reports,

> So unlike say the classical Pentecostals who preach a strong holiness ethic, the neo-Pentecostal churches have no problem with the icons of modernity—fashionable clothing, luxury cars, organising special programmes in five-star hotels, traveling first or business class, appearing in expensive jewelry, and so on—that other Christians may consider to be "worldly."[92]

In the fifth place, Pentecostals recognize five leaders: apostle, prophet, evangelist, pastor, and teacher. The apostle is held in the highest esteem.[93] He, along with the prophet, rules over the other leaders. In the larger groups, the apostle or prophet, as the case may be, appears as a CEO-type leader who manages assets and enterprises of substantial worth.

Conclusion

Pentecostal identity is a conundrum that is exacerbated by the presence of

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[92]Asamoah-Gyadu, "Anointing through the Screen," 13.

[93]See Appendix 2 for a photo of a diagram found on a chalkboard at ESBTAO. The apostle is positioned above the others. Notably, the prophet guides the ship, while the evangelist stands in the bow as a lookout. The pastor and teacher are accorded indistinct roles in the middle.

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AICs, a phenomenon that is largely absent in other parts of the world. Over the past half century, the AICs have comingled with Classic Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism to form a pluralistic religious environment. Some AICs have evolved into Neo-Pentecostals as Asonzeh Ukah demonstrates in his study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God.[94] Others have charismaticized or pentecostalized. Consequently, the lines of demarcation between the various religious expressions in Africa have blurred. Present-day Pentecostalism emerged from and through this pluralistic religious environment.

The dominance of the scholars who promote inclusivism and pluralism has tainted the discourse on Pentecostal identity. Oftentimes, these scholars project more similarities upon the movements than do the practitioners themselves. These academicians emphasize phenomenological and sociological similarities in a way that those with an emic perspective do not. This point becomes clear in the following sections as informants explain their understanding of the Pentecostal environment.

The competing agendas and disciplinary perspectives make any definition immediately suspect to those holding other positions. Thus, for example, when evangelicals propose a criterion that respects the authority of Scripture, others resist the doctrinal criterion because it precludes vast numbers of entities that subsume Scripture under tradition or experience. For this reason, the ecumenical scholars must necessarily limit or eliminate theological distinctions from their identity criteria in order to maintain a fuzzy set model.[95] The negative consequences of this bias cannot be underestimated. By suppressing doctrinal criteria, *Pentecostal* includes many who are decidedly outside the

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[94]Asonzeh Ukah, "The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), Nigeria: Local Identities and Global Processes in African Pentecostalism" (doctoral diss., Universität Bayreuth, 2003).

[95]See, for example, Karla O. Poewe, "Links and Parallels between Black and White Charismatic Churches in South Africa and the States: Potential for Cultural Transformation," *Pneuma* 10 (1988): 143.

limits of biblical Christianity. The use of phenomenology as the fundamental criterion results in the inclusion of large numbers of ATR practitioners who regularly exhibit similar phenomena.[96]

From an academic standpoint, the narrow definition provides a much simpler data set for inquiry and research. At the same time, the narrow definition creates difficulties by its exclusion of those with similar ethea and similar phenomena. In contrast, the broad definition provides such a diverse data set that one is forced to make ambiguous generalizations about the movement.

Michael Bergunder's proposal of a two part criteria provides a helpful schema for resolving the difficulty.[97] He advocates identifying Pentecostals by diachronous connections and synchronous interrelations. In this way, *Pentecostal* designates those who make the historical connection back to the beginning of Pentecostalism and are linked in the current synchronous communicative network.

The typology proposed in this chapter provides another means to advance the understanding of the movement. The typology seeks to balance the various competing criteria of Pentecostal identity. Rather than exclude theological considerations and ignore diachronous connections, the typology incorporates, to some extent, these elements.

Furthermore, the typology addresses the source of Spirit-type manifestations. The discourse on Pentecostal identity must necessarily distinguish between three groups: those individuals who are empowered by the Holy Spirit; those individuals who are empowered by evil spirits; and those individuals who exhibit psychotic behaviors. The

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[96]See also H. Newton Malony and A. Adams Lovekin, eds., *Glossolalia: Behavioral Science Perspectives on Speaking in Tongues* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and L. Carlyle May, "A Survey of Glossolalia and Related Phenomena in Non-Christian Religions," *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956): 75-96.

[97]Michael Bergunder, "Constructing Pentecostalism: On Issues of Methodology and Representation," in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, ed. Allan H. Anderson and Edmond Tang, 2nd ed. (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).

mere presence of a Spirit-like manifestation does not establish that the manifestation is Spirit derived. The typology allows this differentiation.

So, to what does Pentecostalism refer? Indeed, a normative, archetype of Pentecostalism remains elusive. Thus, "instead of looking for the movement's prototypical, uniform behaviour," suggests Everett Wilson, "the researcher needs to investigate the range of Pentecostal activities, approaches and styles."[98]

Neo-Pentecostalism, the dominant expression of Pentecostalism in West Africa today, has identifiable "activities, approaches and styles" that distinguish the movement. These distinguishing emphases appear both in the literature and in the field research. They encompass ethos, doctrine, worship style, manifestations, and organization.

In this way, West African Neo-Pentecostalism may be portrayed in six broad strokes. First, Neo-Pentecostals believe themselves to be the special people of God who alone are born again and sanctified, as manifested by Spirit baptism. Second, Neo-Pentecostals offer a comprehensive view of the cosmos by identifying the spiritual causes of all problems. Third, they offer healing, both as deliverance and prosperity, to address these causes. Fourth, while they practice an egalitarian approach to the charismata, the organizational structures are hierarchal with the apostle and prophet at the head of the entity. Fifth, they leverage media to proclaim their message. Sixth, their epistemology rests on a worldview that privileges the experience with God and the expectation of divine intervention in the natural world. Church of God theologian Jackie Johns characterizes this approach as experientially God-centered, holistic and systemic, transrational, and truth oriented.[99]

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[98]Everett A. Wilson, "They Crossed the Red Sea, Didn't They? Critical History and Pentecostal Beginnings," in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel*, ed. Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Oxford: Regnum Books Intl., 1999), 103.

[99]Jackie David Johns, "Yielding to the Spirit: The Dynamics of a Pentecostal Model of Praxis," in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel*, ed. Murray W. Dempster, Byron D.

These characteristics may be summarized simply: Pentecostalism places "Spirit things" in the hands of everyday people; privileges the Bible with a hermeneutic that asserts contemporary charismatic experience as the valid interpretive framework; desacralizes both the institutional church and the clergy; and emphasizes salvation as a transformative experience in which the Holy Spirit grants charismata, such as speaking in tongues, prophecy, visions, healing, and miracles. These "Spirit things" are valued and encouraged as a part of the daily Spirit-centered experience of believers.

While this description provides some helpful indicators for identifying Pentecostals, the task is immensely complicated by the pluralistic sea of religious expression in West Africa. The overlaps, influences, and variations challenge the researcher to distinguish among those who lay claim to the label. In this sea, a variety of Pentecostalisms impinge on and thrive in Baptist churches.

Klaus, and Douglas Petersen (Oxford: Regnum Books Intl., 1999), 74–75.

CHAPTER 4

THE NATURE OF PENTECOSTALIZATION

This chapter summarizes the results of the ethnographic research pertaining to the essential qualities of Pentecostalism among Baptists. The chapter treats five topics as follows: (1) the Baptist response to Pentecostalism, (2) a description of a typical church's activities, (3) the three privileged traits, (4) the influences on Baptists, and (5) the effects of pentecostalization.

Introduction

The interviews and participant observation unequivocally confirm the pentecostalization of Baptist churches. Every informant affirms the presence and practice of charismatic manifestations. This theme appears predominantly throughout the research. Baptist churches, explains one informant, "are, presently, entering into the rhythm of the Pentecostal churches."[1] Another informant speaks of the revival among Baptists: "It is now that the Baptist churches are awakened in certain things, in the manifestation of the Holy Spirit within their churches."[2] As a result, one church leader explains, "today, we see that, more and more, Baptist churches tend to resemble the Church of Pentecost, the charismatic churches, etc."[3] Another informant, who has been a Baptist for more than a quarter century, reflects on this rhythm, this awakening, this

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[1]Interview by author, transcript KA24. The transcript designation is an internal reference code that allows retrieval of the transcript. See "Ethics and Integrity" in chap. 1. I translate responses into English.

[2]Interview by author, transcript RA27.

[3]Interview by author, transcript RK52.

Pentecostal resemblance among Baptists:

> It [visible manifestations of the Holy Spirit] is everywhere. There are certain pastors who say that they do not want to hear talk of these manifestations of the Holy Spirit. But, the majority of the churches, nevertheless, are seeking out these things so that the faith of their members will be fortified, so that they will be reassured that truly God is at work. Therefore, we tolerate these things now, whereas, before, we were too allergic to them. We pushed these things away in the past.[4]

When asked to cite the differences between Baptists and Pentecostal churches, the pastor of one large church insists, "If we take Assemblies of God, if we take Baptists, if we take the Church of Pentecost, these three, especially these three, I do not see one difference."[5] He nuances his statement by noting small variations in practices, such as the order of worship and the Church of Pentecost's stronger preference for praying in tongues. In terms of beliefs, he sees no difference.

This research project began with the assumption that Baptists are pentecostalized. The research confirms the validity of the assumption. Informants persistently avow that Baptists and Pentecostals are essentially indistinguishable. So, what is the nature of this pentecostalization? How does one characterize this new face of Baptists?

Response Types

During the 1980s, Baptists witnessed significant growth in numbers of members and churches. During the 1990s, that growth slowed. By the first decade of the 2000s, the exodus of Baptists to other denominations and *ministères* had reached alarming proportions. As one informant explained, "We [Baptists] have good teaching, but if we do not have a good strategy to win people and teach them; that is, we can only

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[4]Interview by author, transcript RA37.

[5]Interview by author, transcript RA43.

teach those who are with us."[6] Consequently, this informant's church, like many others, adjusted its strategy to retain current members, attract new members, and reclaim strayed members. The strategy adjustment included the addition of Pentecostal practices.

The informants spoke of various responses to Pentecostalism among Baptists. The analysis of their responses reveals five kinds or types of responses. While no clear lines of demarcation exist, churches tend to cluster in their response to the Pentecostal movement. As such, these responses point toward type churches.

A Type 1 church stands as the historic, traditional Baptist church. This type of church does not promote charismatic manifestations as a core element of its corporate life. Nonetheless, all the informants from this kind of church provide multiple examples of charismatic practices. In one case, a church leader reports that such manifestations are "rare." Yet, at the same time, members from that church frequently attend *ministères* where such manifestations are the core of the meeting. In another case, a church leader admits that charismatic manifestations occur during the church's late night prayer meetings. In all these cases, the church has a manner of allowing manifestations without publicly endorsing them. Both the *ministères* and the late night prayer meetings provide an outlet. The Type 1 church is more charismaticized than pentecostalized, though the distinction is barely perceptible.

A Type 2 church restricts Neo-Pentecostalism. At some point, these churches have had a problem with charismatic manifestations that led them to implement tight controls that follow biblical patterns. They permit and advocate charismatic manifestations, yet quickly suppress any expression that fails to meet biblical qualifications or that introduces disorder. This group often cites the verse "and the spirits of prophets are subject to prophets" (1 Cor 14:32). In some cases, prophecies must pass

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[6]RK52, interview.

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by a church leader before being pronounced in the assembly. The worship services and other meetings may have speaking in tongues and an occasional prophecy, but these elements do not dominate the meetings. Moreover, the more spectacular manifestations, such as *tomber* (to fall), rarely occur.[7]

The Type 3 church embraces Neo-Pentecostalism. In these churches, charismatic manifestations are accepted, welcomed, and encouraged. Meetings routinely entail charismatic manifestations, especially speaking in tongues, prophecy, and deliverance. *Tomber* occurs frequently during intense prayer times, such as *réveils* (revival) or *veillées* (all night prayer vigils), though seldom during Sunday worship services. These churches have an acute awareness of the spirit world and the activity of evil spirits in the world. Thus, they take a combative stance of spiritual warfare that operates therapeutically and prophylactically. Consequently, combat prayer and deliverances occur frequently. These churches value manifestations and resist restricting them for fear of excluding the true while suppressing the false. Churches of this type often host Ghanaian or Ghanaian-influenced preachers and teachers. As a result, Ghanaian Neo-Pentecostalism exerts a strong influence. Correspondingly, Type 3 churches have a much closer contact with the components and practices of ATR while unequivocally rejecting ATR. Many of the practices in these churches resemble those found in ATR.

The Type 4 church, also, adopts the Neo-Pentecostal ethos, but with a decisive propensity to the Word-Faith movement. The most apparent characteristic of this church lies in the emphasis on prosperity. In particular, the pastor and his wife present themselves as the Big Man. The pastor manifests a prosperous lifestyle that includes both

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[7]See Appendix 3 for a glossary of French terms.

a vehicle and a villa.[8] He maintains contacts in the global community that encompasses, particularly, the United States from which he derives personal income during fund-raising trips. The pastor dominates the church as preacher and leader. The church targets and appeals to the upwardly mobile and, especially, the middle and upper classes. The church tends to have a more transnational nature as manifested by music, dress, and message. Moreover, media is an important element for promoting the church's public image and attracting people. These churches privilege charismatic manifestations such as speaking in tongues and prophecy. Deliverance occurs as a means of revoking the spiritual forces that thwart or threaten well-being, particularly prosperity.

A Type 5 church is imitative. This church, as the name indicates, mimics other churches. The leader observes the successes of others and copies their practices in order to draw people. Yet, these churches do not understand the reasons for their practices. They take a cafeteria-style approach to practices. As such, they are eclectic in practice and doctrine. They use whatever source is readily available for their teaching. Thus, one finds an abundance of materials from Word-Faith, Neo-Pentecostalism, Jehovah's Witnesses, and *ministères*. The result is a mixture that includes elements of ATR, Neo-Pentecostalism, and Baptist. The pastor, often ill-trained, is not doctrinally sensitive. His guiding principle is pragmatic: what draws a crowd or what can I do to provide income in order to feed my family? The participants in these churches have a high degree of movement between churches and *ministères*. The attendees frequent other groups simultaneously or consecutively.

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[8]In one way, the "Big Man" idea parallels the Roman Catholic phenomenon in Latin America. There, one finds enormous edifices in otherwise poverty-stricken communities. The edifice serves to dignify the community. In a similar fashion, the "Big Man" pastor dignifies the members who will forego other benefits, such as a building, in order to elevate the status of their pastor.

Church Activities

The informants provide a surprisingly consistent picture of the typical activities of Baptist churches in spite of the diversity among them. This section develops that picture by tracing the basic components of a church's weekly meetings and activities and by surveying a typical Sunday worship service.

Weekly Activities

Five corporate activities appear in all the churches studied. While churches may add other activities, these five are universally present. The five core functions are as follows: worship, prayer, Bible study, specialty groups, and special sessions. Churches follow a consistent pattern of meetings, but vary on the days and times of these activities.

Sunday services consist of two or three main activities. The Type 3 churches begin with the *groupe d'intercession* (intercessory prayer group) which intercedes for the Sunday activities. For example, in one church, the group meets at 4:00 a.m. "to put the worship service in the hands of the Lord, to prepare the worship service spiritually."[9] All the other churches begin with the *étude biblique* (Bible study), also called the *école de dimanche* (Sunday School). This Bible study lasts about an hour and precedes the worship service. For some informants, this study constitutes a part of the worship service. When asked to describe the *culte de dimanche* (Sunday worship service), they unhesitatingly began with the *étude biblique*. Even so, this segment is poorly attended and rarely begins at the designated time. The traditional worship service follows. Although the program calls for a two hour service, the more typical service lasts two and a half hours or more. On Sunday afternoon, some churches have gender or age specific groups, such as women and youth. Only one informant reported a Sunday evening activity.

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[9]Interview by author, transcript RA29.

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The next major activity, *enseignement* (teaching) or *étude biblique*, occurs most often on Tuesday or Wednesday evenings. These meetings usually consist of a teaching session lasting up to an hour, with another hour dedicated to prayer. Some churches provide only a short meditation before launching the prayer session.

Prayer occupies a major place in the life of the church. With few exceptions, Friday evenings are dedicated to prayer for the entire church. At least monthly, the Friday evening prayer session shifts to an all night *veillée* or *jeûne et prière* (fasting and prayer). Besides the main prayer meeting, specialized groups may have their own prayer sessions. For example, women often meet on Tuesdays. The *groupe d'intercession* usually meets on Monday or Tuesday night, as well as one other time during the week. In cases of deliverance, the *groupe d'intercession* is usually in a supportive role, if not the primary role.

During the week, the church building is home to a variety of other activities. In fact, at almost any given moment, one may find activity at the building. Specialized groups such as the *chorale* (church choir), the *groupe musicale* (worship music ensemble), and the church council meet. In addition, the pastor is often available at a specific time during the week to receive people who have particular problems for which they need counsel, prayer, or deliverance.

Finally, the church has special events, many of which center on prayer. For example, several informants reported that specialized groups host their own prayer session, often a *veillée*, at least monthly. Also, the church and the specialized groups have evangelism events at least quarterly. For the entire church, *veillées* and *réveils* are scheduled periodically. Usually, a *réveil* begins on a Friday evening with a *veillée* that ends on Saturday morning. The *réveil* continues with a Saturday evening *veillée* before concluding with the Sunday service. Many informants explain that a church schedules these events quarterly as a part of the church calendar; however, events are scheduled whenever someone feels the need for them. Notably, a *veillée* may occur without a *réveil*,

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but a *réveil* almost always includes a *veillée*. *Jeûne et prière* may accompany either event.

Worship Service

The worship service follows a consistent pattern among Baptists. Some of the elements may be re-ordered, but the elements and the practices remain relatively universal throughout the churches.

Every service begins with *adoration*. During this segment, "the people enter into themselves to worship the Lord from the bottom of their heart."[10] The congregation reflects on the magnificence and munificence of God. *Adoration* consists of a biblical text, singing, and corporate prayer:

> Someone reads a text, a text of call to *adoration*, a text that invites us to come into the presence of God. And, we invite the people to pray, in the first place, to make peace with God according to what happened in the past week. If there are improper things, to consider asking pardon, to renew contact with God before prayer, and to ask the Lord to permit us to communicate with him. And after this prayer, we also pray for the interruptions that might impede the correct flow of the worship service, to chase away everything that might be a distraction, everything that could be an action of the enemy, everything like that. We chase away everything like that before beginning the worship service.[11]

As in all cases, prayer is audible, in *haute voix* (loud voice) rather than in silence. The loudness of the prayers varies from church to church, ranging from murmurs to shouting. Nonetheless, prayers are usually quieter than during other prayer times because *adoration* is a solemn moment. Thus, the congregation stands, but does not exhibit the lively behaviors, such as dancing and clapping, that appear later in the service. Charismatic manifestations, such as speaking in tongues and prophecy, occur at this time, unless the particular church has a specified period later in the service. The important purpose of

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[10]Interview by author, transcript RA38.

[11]Interview by author, transcript RA50.

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adoration is to unblock impediments to communication and blessing. One informant explains,

> After the reading of the biblical passage, someone strikes up a song. Everyone sings and the worship leader asks us to pray. Therefore, in the prayer, we thank God. We pray for the pardon of sins. After having thanked God, we pray for the pardon of sins and we commend our needs so that in the worship service he will bless us.[12]

Adoration continues with a hymn sung by the congregation and concludes with a prayer by the *animateur* (worship leader) or his designate.

Following the *adoration*, the worship leader welcomes visitors by asking them to stand and introduce themselves. The visitors are greeted by the congregation, after which come the announcements.

Next, the congregation enters into *louange* (praise). The *louange,* which is led by the *groupe musicale,* stands as the significant highlight of a Baptist service. The *groupe musicale* specializes in Christian songs and modern musical instruments in contrast to the *chorale,* which specializes in traditional African language hymns and traditional African instruments. This part of the service is highly participatory with loud music, singing, clapping, and dancing. One informant explains, "We dance. We sing. Everybody parades, and according to the strength that the Lord gives us. We sing in a loud voice. Yes! With all our strength."[13] *Louange* reflects a joyful spirit subsequent to the introspection, confession, and prayer of *adoration*. Similar to the time of *adoration*, charismatic manifestations occur in this segment of the worship service as well.

The essence of *louange* is thanksgiving. As a young female informant succinctly states, "*louange*, it is, in fact, to thank God by songs and dance."[14] And,

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[12]RA43, interview.

[13]Interview by author, transcript RA31.

[14]Interview by author, transcript KA51.

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Baptists "dance indeed," vouches one informant, "to glorify God."[15] The two components

of dancing and thanksgiving express themselves in the act of giving. For this reason,

louange is not simply the occasion for collecting the offering. Rather, giving is the

essence of *louange,* whereby the participant thanks God for the blessings of the previous

week. This connection is very important to Baptists. One older pastor insists,

> We show them [the members] the importance of the offering. We show them that
> the receipts, it is *adoration*. We believe also that he who does not participate in the
> offering truly lacks worshipping God. . . . He who gives but does not want to or he
> who does not give according to the manner that he must. He insults God. He lacks
> respect.[16]

The offering serves as a concrete indicator of a person's relationship with God. The

public nature of thanksgiving and praise impinges on the way that offerings are collected.

Baptists parade by rows to the front of the sanctuary to place their tithes and their

offerings in the appropriate receptacle.

Furthermore, Baptists make a clear distinction between tithes and offerings. A

tithe is a payment of ten percent of a person's revenue, which "every Christian who

knows God must give."[17] In contrast, the offering is a voluntary gift in addition to the

tithe. One informant explains the ethos of giving:

> I come into the house of God on Sunday. I come. I cannot come and leave with an
> empty pocket. I bring something. It is not that someone forces me, but voluntarily, I
> come into the house of God. . . . I come to glorify, to worship the Lord. Therefore, if
> it is 25 franc [CFA], if it is 100 franc that I have to offer this day, I come and
> offer.[18]

Louange concludes with a prayer for the offering. The prayer calls for blessing

on those who gave freely. In one Type 3 church, the pastor requires all those who did not

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[15]Interview by author, transcript KA25.

[16]Interview by author, transcript RA20.

[17]RA38, interview.

[18]Interview by author, transcript RA35. At the time the informant spoke, 25 CFA equaled
about $0.05.

give to stand. He prays that God work a miracle in their life so they can give. This example illustrates well that the offering is a public manifestation of thanksgiving and praise that reflects one's relationship with God.

Although *louange* ends with the prayer, the idea of *louange* continues with testimony. In this segment of the service, people make known the manners in which they have witnessed the hand of God in their life. These testimonies recount all manners of miraculous interventions in which God brought well-being to the person. Topics include both prophylactic and therapeutic interventions. A pastor explains excitedly,

> I like something a lot. I'm very, very, very attentive at the time of testimonies, very attentive, because the people see there, the practice of God. God works with man. We see the practical and pragmatic phase. We see that truly God works with people. And the people are interested. They are interested to hear and note that if God does something with the people like that, that would mean that one day God can do something for me. It means that if God is able to do these things for others, he can also do it for me. And the people pay attention and are very interested and they applaud very loudly. And, truly, in this moment, I am very content.[19]

Testimony provides concrete evidence that God intervenes in the daily experience of people.

The conclusion of the testimonies marks a subtle shift in the worship service as attention turns to the message. This shift begins with the reading of the Scripture text for the sermon. Next, the *chorale*, in contradistinction to the *groupe musicale*, performs up to three numbers to prepare the congregation for the message. Their repertoire includes both traditional hymns and autochthonous songs. The older churches tend to have a *chorale,* whereas the newer churches tend not to have a *chorale*, but rely solely on the *groupe musicale*.

The message follows. Unarguably, the majority of messages use Scripture as a starting point. By nature, the messages do not take a historical-critical approach to the

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[19]Interview by author, transcript RA26.

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text. Rather, the *prédicateur du jour* (preacher of the day) emphasizes that the same God who acted in the past, acts today in the same way. The message requires action on the part of the congregation in order to activate the message. Thus, the preacher often requires the congregation to act or speak during the message. If the message calls for a specific action on the part of the congregation, the preacher will often launch an *appel* (invitation). Not all messages conclude with an *appel*, but a substantial majority of them do. The preacher calls those who want to activate the message in their life to come to the front of the sanctuary for the *ministère*.[20] An informant explains, "After the preaching, there is the *ministère*. According to the message, the *prédicateur* gives the *appel* for prayer. He invites those who saw themselves in the message, those who saw their needs in the message. He calls them and he prays for them."[21] The *ministère* is inseparable from the message because of the link between word and action. In other words, the message is null until it is activated by action. The *ministère* varies from a simple prayer for those who have a particular problem to specific laying on of hands for each respondent to deliverance in which evil spirits are cast out.

Another notable feature of the message is the *prédicateur* himself. The pastor of the church typically preaches two to three times per month. The other Sundays a guest *prédicateur* provides the message. The Type 2 and Type 4 churches tend to restrict guest *prédicateurs* to their own membership or Baptists of similar persuasion. The Type 3 and Type 5 churches tend to invite a diverse variety of *prédicateurs* who have a reputation in a given topic. A pastor explains,

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[20]Here, *ministère* refers to a specific segment of the worship service. The term does not refer to the organizations as defined in chap. 1. The *ministère*, as an organization, has a similar concentration on activating the word. A *ministère* accentuates and expands that which occurs during the invitation at a church.

[21]RA43, interview.

We choose them based on the testimony we hear about them. It depends on our theme. If it is a question on deliverance, someone tells us that a given person, he is good in deliverance. The questions of gifts, tithes and offerings; someone tells us that a given person is good at it. If it is someone to edify the church, we know that a guy over there, he can do it.[22]

The informants indicate that almost all churches invite Assembly of God pastors, at least occasionally. Some churches routinely use preachers from the Classic Pentecostals, the Neo-Pentecostals, and the *ministères*, as well as guest *prédicateurs* from Ghana and Nigeria.

The worship service concludes with a final prayer followed by a benediction. The benediction is usually ritualized as a pronouncement of blessing upon the congregation. In this ritual, members hold their hands before them, palms upward, in order to receive the blessing from God. After the benediction the congregation leaves the sanctuary. The process of leave-taking often involves a system of shaking hands with everyone else.

Privileged Traits

Three elements guide and define the activities of a pentecostalized Baptist church. Granted, a local church may stress other things, such as deliverance, healing, teaching or Word-Faith; however, these three traits appear consistently in the interviews. These features, above all others, characterize the nature of pentecostalization among Baptists.

Experience

Baptists live with the acute awareness of God's presence and his patronage. The informants respond in the interviews with stories and testimonies that recount God's interventions in everyday life. For example, one young man recalls his experience as a

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[22]RA26, interview.

law student. As final examinations approached, he fell ill, but, at the last moment, was healed:

> I know that the Lord is personally with me wherever I am. He is always with me. He is always present with me and it is him alone who heals me, who can do everything for me. You see, personally, it is a personal experience. When you have this personal experience you can decidedly feel the presence of God. Voilà.[23]

Several informants contrast the traditional Baptist view on experience with the new Baptist view. They speak of a formal relationship with God that failed to touch the heart. They knew about God cognitively, but they did not know him personally. Their descriptions and understandings mirror the ATR view of the transcendence of God who remains aloof from daily life. One recent seminary graduate contrasts these two viewpoints. He complains that Baptists have not really expected God to intervene even in such things as prayer:

> It is that we have been taught this in one sense. It is as if God who acted in the past, no longer acts in the same way. And I didn't say it; one had to say it in the past. I know that the heresies brought this [teaching] about, but we Baptists believe that God cannot perform the same miracles, the same things as he did in the past. Whereas the *ministères* bring God to the present and think that God can always continue to do it. It seems we should at least have the possibility to consider these things.[24]

The emphasis on the daily experience of God surfaces readily in the church's program. Church activities support the eminence of experience. The weekly and monthly calendar of the church reveals constant activities and meetings. A few churches have "spiritual" meetings (i.e., non-administrative functions, such as committee meetings) six days a week. Every church has a meeting three days a week, usually Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. Moreover, every church includes smaller group meetings that provide this daily experience. For some, the experience comes through early morning prayer. For

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[23]Interview by author, transcript KA33.

[24]RK52, interview.

others, the *groupe d'intercession* or other specialized prayer group provides the experience. Most churches provide a problem-solving session whereby people *exposent* (expose, explain, display) their problem to the pastor and receive prayer. The quest for a daily experience of God creates a flux in and out of the church building.

The Sunday worship service offers another window of insight into this idea of the experience of God. First, the service begins with *adoration* whose purpose is to eliminate the *blocages* (blocks) and impediments to the experience with God. When the relationship is not *en règle* (in order), the experience is hindered. For this reason, introspection and confession lead the worshipper to identify and dispose of the impediments. Importantly, sin is understood socially—not as moral failure—but as interruption of relationship with God. Second, *louange* celebrates and exemplifies the presence of God. The songs, dances, offerings, and testimonies extol God's present activity, his immanence, his interventions. Third, the message extols the experience of God and challenges the hearer to seek God. In short, worship enables, actualizes, celebrates, and embodies this experience.

An important aspect of this particular element of pentecostalization lies in the experience of the Holy Spirit. Baptists, by and large, seek a visible manifestation of the Holy Spirit. This emphasis on the experience of God, and specifically the Holy Spirit, explains the importance of charismatic manifestations. These manifestations prove that God is present. Every informant acknowledges the legitimacy of the charismata as a present day phenomenon. In other words, they are avowedly noncessationists. As one convention leader puts it, "We cannot at any moment limit God by saying, 'voilà, some things of which the Bible speaks, such as prophecy and speaking in tongues, that cannot be the case in our churches today, and that we must prevent them from happening.'"[25]

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[25]RA37, interview.

While the expression of the charismata occurs in the life of individuals, the main expression occurs in the corporate activity of the church. Notably, charismatic manifestations cluster during both *adoration* and *louange.* Moreover, the worship services, the prayer meetings, and the specialized group meetings all privilege the experience of the Holy Spirit.

Another area where Baptists privilege experience occurs in the understanding of and appeal to authority. No informant denigrates the Bible. In fact, many of them respond with reference to Scripture. For example, at one point I inquired about true and false prophecies by offering a hypothetical prophecy that permitted polygamy. The informant immediately retorted, "It is false. . . . The Bible does not approve it."[26] Yet, in spite of the articulated appeal to Scriptural authority, the implicit authority turns to experience. The same informant, who quickly declared the polygamy prophecy false, refuses to condemn other similar prophecies as erroneous. He leaves the decision to the congregation:

> We do not know. But we warn the congregation to pay attention, that everyone should examine the message which has come in the light of the Scriptures, and that everyone should do his part in light of Scriptures. We do not say to reject. We do not say to refuse. But we ask the congregation to pay close attention. We do not reject the prophets either. We do not say that what they said, "It is false." We do not say that what they said, "It is true."[27]

Another informant, a seminary trained pastor, admits his difficulty in understanding and evaluating the phenomena in his church. He explains,

> Spiritual things are complex. Me, I speak of experience. Huh! I say the Bible, training, and experience, these three, that's it. I speak of experience because there are things. Sometimes when they manifest it is difficult to explain it. . . . I do not understand, but what do I know?[28]

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[26]RA43, interview.

[27]RA43, interview.

[28]RA29, interview.

He, like many others, considers charismatic manifestations as self-validating. In this way, he attributes authority to the experience. Informants often express two common criteria for belief and practice. First, what do others in the immediate community say about it? Second, what makes sense?

How, then, do Baptists treat Scripture? Baptists are known for their Bible teaching. They have the reputation as "people of the Bible." Nonetheless, several informants point out the demise of Bible teaching among Baptists over the past decade. "In fact, Baptists were people who held to the Word of God, to Scripture," observes one informant. "But, today, it is gone. This has disappeared compared to what I know from the past."[29] His astute observation captures the shift that has occurred in the use of Scripture.

Among Baptists, Scripture is often subsumed to experience. This relativization of Scriptural authority may be seen in three ways. To begin, like Neo-Pentecostals generally, Baptists tend to interpret the Scriptures as literally as possible with little regard for the historical-critical context.

Next, experience drives the hermeneutic. Informants routinely cite Scripture to corroborate experiences with little critical assessment of the context or meaning in the Bible. For example, people are told to build altars of twelve stones in their homes because the Israelites did so.[30] One of the classic examples is the justification for dancing in worship. The Bible says David danced before the Lord with all his might.[31] Thus, so the argument goes, all believers must dance before the Lord. One *animateur* charges that the failure to dance is a sin, therefore the entire congregation must dance. In this example,

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[29]Interview by author, transcript RA21.

[30]Based on Josh 4.

[31]Based on 2 Sam 6:14.

the experience of dancing today is legitimized by a reference from the Bible. Yet, the hermeneutic renders irrelevant the reason, location, manner, and occasion of David's dance.

Finally, messages consist of personal musings, thoughts, and experiences. The preceding example highlights this common practice among preachers and teachers. In most cases, the Bible serves as a casebook that launches a message. The preacher or teacher applies the text however he wishes. "It is truly *libre cours* (free rein)," interjects one pastor.[32] Another pastor speaks of the emphasis on experience as the defining principle:

> Most of those who do that are not well trained. They have allegorical interpretations of certain biblical passages. You know, when I see people bring bizarre things to the church building. People bring handkerchiefs. Someone prays and one brings a handkerchief. That is, as we see in the Bible. Someone wants that to happen also. It is an experience. . . . The isolated experiences, people want these experiences to reproduce today.[33]

The prioritization of experience as the authority for faith and practice appears throughout Baptist life. In part, the prioritization of experience occurs as a result of the understanding of *parole de Dieu* (Word of God). Among Christians, *parole de Dieu* consists of any message perceived to be from God. As such, the *parole de Dieu* includes sources such as the Bible, prophecies, testimonies, sermons, Bible studies, tracts, literature, books, and audio or visual messages. For example, when introduced, the *prédicateur du jour* in one large Baptist church told the congregation, "I am the writing instrument of the Lord. I do not know what the Lord will write today."[34] This understanding of *parole de Dieu* accounts, in part, for the tendency not to disparage any prophecy, teaching, or testimony as erroneous. One informant explains that the Bible

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[32]Interview by author, transcript RA32

[33]Interview by author, transcript RA36

[34]Participant observation by author, transcript PO02.

consists of the "thoughts of God" given to man. As long as a message does not contradict these "thoughts," it is the Word of God.[35]

Manifestations

The frequency of manifestations among Baptists varies from rare to habitual. Although varied in frequency, the same three manifestations—speaking in tongues, prophecy, and deliverance—appear consistently. The first two of these manifestations are recognized charismata; the third one is a closely related phenomenon.

Several informants point out that manifestations must not be programmed, but must arise spontaneously. For example, when asked if the worship service had a specific moment for prophecy or speaking in tongues, one pastor quickly retorted,

> God, he is sovereign. He acts how he wants! He acts how he wants! Well, the fact to say "time for prophecy;" that is an error. Why? If you say it like that, "we have come to the time of prophecy. Those who have a prophecy prophesy," then you are going to push the people to give into falsities, to make falsities. . . . It is not said in the Word of God. There are times when the apostles [of today] say, "Come. Today, we will heal." We do not see that in the Bible! Therefore, we must leave it to the Lord. The Lord acts in his time.[36]

This idea of spontaneity is found in many, but not all churches. Although many churches refuse to designate a certain moment for manifestations, one can reasonably predict when the manifestations will occur. They cluster at specific points in particular meetings as seen, for example, in the Sunday worship service.

The spontaneity of the manifestations serves to desacralize the clergy and the institutional church. God speaks to whomever he wishes, whenever he wishes. In this way, the members have complete flexibility to follow the Spirit. One young informant who leads a *groupe d'intercession* remonstrates, "There is a fixed program on the

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[35]RK52, interview.

[36]RA29, interview.

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chalkboard that we follow. . . . The men [leaders] must change this mentality because every day we have the manifestation of the Spirit of God."[37] He explains further the need to allow the Spirit to manifest whenever he wants in a meeting rather than following a pre-determined schedule of events. By emphasizing the spontaneity of charismatic manifestations, the clergy loses its power to control the congregation. Type 2 churches often encountered the disorder wrought by impulsive outbursts. As a result, they restrict spontaneous expressions.

Speaking in tongues and prophecy. The two most common charismata are *parler en langues* (speaking in tongues) and *prophétie* (prophecy). These two gifts are distinct, yet often appear together. *Parler en langues*, without interpretation, is considered ordinary speaking in tongues. *Parler en langues*, with interpretation, yields a *prophétie*. Because of this close relationship, most informants do not distinguish between the two gifts. For them, prophecy is a part of speaking in tongues. In other words, informants view *parler en langues* as a single, discrete action of speaking in tongues, which may be followed by interpretation, at which point, speaking in tongues becomes *prophétie*. For this reason, prophecy appears under the larger category of speaking in tongues. In spite of this close connection, a prophecy may come directly in a known language without passing through tongues and interpretation. These two manifestations, when viewed as a discrete unit, begin with a person who speaks in an unknown language. When an interpretation follows, the manifestation is a prophecy. Oftentimes, the prophecy is interpreted by the speaker himself without the use of a second interpreter.

While tongues and prophecy are a common occurrence, the practice is limited to a relatively small number of people. A pastor in a Type 4 church identified eight

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[37]RA27, interview.

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people who prophesy in his congregation of 150. Other informants indicate that only a few practice these gifts in public. Several of the informants have never spoken in tongues, nor given a prophecy. By a large margin, women dominate these gifts. Only one informant indicates a balance between men and women.

Prophetic messages address multiple topics. The messages begin with a formula, such as "God, the Eternal One says. . ." or "The Lord revealed to me that you. . ." The prophecy ends with a declaration such as "I, the Lord, say it." The prophecy may strengthen the church, console someone in the church, correct a fault in the church, offer guidance to someone facing problems, instruct the church on how to solve an existing problem, set a path of behavior in order to avoid a yet-to-appear problem, demand corporate or individual repentance for a particular sin, or promise material blessing. One of the informants, a prophet, explains how he foresees the future.

> And often, something that is going to happen in five years, ten years, I see it. The Lord gives it to me. It is the gift of prophecy. And often, I say certain things that happen, certain things that will happen in two months, three months, four months, five months, a year, two years, five years. I see it."[38]

Sometimes prophets name a specific individual. For example, one prophet spoke about another church member who was deathly ill: "Komi is in the chains of the enemy. He must be brought here [to the church building] and someone pray for him."[39] Often, the message is for the church. For example, "My people. My people. I love you, but I say to you to be on guard for. . ." or "You do not fear me. You must fear me. You must obey me. I am in your midst." Other times, prophets address no one in particular. For example, "Repent. God asks you to repent. There is a sin in your midst." A common type of prophecy is to cite a Scripture verse such as John 3:16.

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[38]RA27, interview.

[39]Interview by author, transcript KA23.

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Some informants report that preachers offer prophecies during the message in which they declare a revelation from God regarding some particular point. Sometimes, the unknown language appeared at an earlier moment and the preacher simply recounts the manifestation. This usage occurs as a means of authenticating the authority of the message. While very common in the *ministères*, the practice has not taken firm root among Baptists. In a similar vein, known language prophecies often occur in close proximity to *adoration* and the message. They typically exhort the congregation to repent or heed the Word of the Lord.

The majority of informants indicate that tongues and prophecy pose a difficulty for the church. Informants identify several problems that arose in their churches of which four appear repeatedly. First, the manifestations are used by some to gain power in the church. Similar to the Big Man idea, manifestations demonstrate that the speaker is close to God, blessed of God, and a canal of blessing. Thus, the speaker appears more spiritually connected than others. Second, tongues and prophecy are used by some practitioners to manipulate the congregation in some manner. Tongues can re-direct attention from one thing to another. Moreover, prophecies exert pressure on behaviors. Third, several informants indicate that people learned or copied speaking tongues from others, in which case tongues introduces an imitative, not Spirit-inspired element into the church. In one case, a Baptist pastor taught his congregation to imitate him as he spoke in tongues. By the end of the service, everyone could speak in tongues. In other cases, members learned speaking in tongues in another church, such as the Deeper Life Bible Church or Church of Pentecost, and then sought to import the practice into their own congregation. In these last cases, speaking in tongues was motivated by a doctrinal consideration namely, a necessity for salvation. Fourth, tongues and prophecy are common practices in ATR, which some seek to import as a cultural, rather than Spirit-inspired, manifestation. One informant brusquely discounts this kind of manifestation: "We are in Africa and in Togo. There are people who have come out of their [traditional

religious] customs and they want to see the same kind of manifestations in the church. It is that which often motivates them to do these tricks."[40]

These problems have prompted many churches to implement restrictions on the practice. One meek pastor explains the way he deals with charismatic manifestations:

> Often, we have problems, especially with *parler en langues*. Several times, I have taught, but people say that Baptists do not like *parler en langues*. Well, people come here, speak things, fall in trances. The devil manifests very rapidly in that. These people are very susceptible to this sort of thing and they want to do it. But, we oppose it and we give them the reasons that if there is no interpreter, you edify yourself. But, if there is an interpreter, the church, the congregation, is edified. Therefore, when done like that, it is good. Yet people do not understand and when we seek to resolve the problems, there are always difficulties.
> [People say,] "But no, here [in this church] one does not speak in tongues. If it is like that, I will go where they speak in tongues."
> [I respond,] "If you want to go there, go there. But, we have our teachings and we have our principles by which we walk in order not to be a scandal." This is how we treat the problem, especially *parler en langues*.[41]

Three kinds of restrictions appear. Many, like the case just cited, require an interpreter other than the speaker. Without the interpreter, the manifestation is stopped. Others differentiate between personal and church edification. "If it is for your proper edification [i.e., without an interpreter], then do not disturb the person beside you," stipulates one pastor. "But, if it is God who has a message for the church, go ahead and announce it."[42] Still other churches have little to no restrictions. These churches are genuinely fascinated by the manifestations and offer no discernible control. The informants repeatedly highlight the tension churches have with the manifestations. People want to hear from God, but avoid false manifestations.

Deliverance. A related phenomenon of charismatic manifestations is deliverance. Baptists hold to a warfare worldview by which they are locked in a battle

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[40]Interview by author, transcript RA44.

[41]RA26, interview.

[42]RA32, interview.

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between the Lord and evil spirits. As the battle rages, Baptists seek to liberate those who are captives of the spirits. While this liberation applies to the community, the nation, and the world, the individual receives particular attention. Baptists regularly deliver spiritually oppressed people.

Deliverance occurs in both planned and random situations. One common occasion is the *ministère* after the Sunday sermon. In these cases, the preacher casts out the evil spirits of those who respond to the invitation. A second common setting is prayer meetings, both the regular and the *veillées*. In these settings, individuals may abruptly manifest symptoms that indicate the need for deliverance. In still other situations, a deliverance session may be scheduled for someone who has a particularly virulent form of demonization. These latter cases require intensive prayer and usually implicate the *groupe d'intercession*.

The candidates for deliverance include both regular attenders and non-attenders. About half the deliverance cases involve regular attenders. The other half involves outsiders who visit the church and have a symptomatic episode, usually, during the first month. Baptists, like others, contend with a significant movement of people who roam among the churches and *ministères* in search of solutions to their problems. Many of these people manifest symptoms that suggest demonization. The Baptist churches where deliverance is more common tend to have a higher percentage of these outsiders. The pastor of one such church confides, "The major part of cases is visitors. The regulars? No."[43] With notable exceptions, most insiders experience a single deliverance and have no further problems with demonization. Those churches where deliverance is more prominent tend to have a higher percentage of repeat deliverances. In terms of gender, the decided majority are female, although informants from two churches report a

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[43]RA43, interview.

male majority.

Deliverance occurs when people manifest certain symptomatic behaviors or conditions. Candidates, themselves, invite or provoke deliverance in one of five ways. The first group of candidates consists of those who know they are demonized. They have, at some time in the past, made an alliance with evil spirits. These people approach the church with an ardent desire for *liberté*. The leader of a *groupe d'intercession* provides the example of a recent case: "He knows consciously that he is bound. He knows himself. He is possessed by demons. Therefore, he comes and says to the church leader that he has this problem."[44]

The second group of candidates consists of those with a long-term or life-threatening illness. In these cases, the *malade* (sick person) disassociates, externalizes, and vitalizes the illness. Deliverance removes the sickness, the spiritual affliction. A pastor from a village church clarifies, "The person comes and says she is sick. Then, we talk with her. When we talk with her, we remark that it is a spiritual case. We determine that it is not physical as such. It is a spiritual case."[45]

A third group manifests un-humanlike contortions. The typical contortion is crawling across the floor on one's belly in snake-like motions. "You are going to see this person," explains a female informant. "She will slither rather than walk upright. You are going to see her. She will slither like a snake."[46] This kind of manifestation usually occurs during a prayer meeting.[47]

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[44]RA27, interview.

[45]RA26, interview.

[46]Interview by author, transcript KA30.

[47]Notably, my most vivid recollection of this manifestation occurred, not in a prayer meeting, but in a Sunday morning worship service. While I was preaching, a young man in his twenties slid from his seat to the floor and slithered up the center aisle toward me.

A fourth group invites deliverance by loud shrieks during a meeting. This individual cries out, usually in a voice not recognizable as the afflicted person's voice. A young male member reports, "When we pray, there are spirits which manifest in individuals by cries, 'I am this. This is my property. I have had her since her infancy.' There are spirits that speak through the person."[48] Deliverance of the individual requires the removal of the afflicting spirit.

A fifth group of candidates provoke deliverance by *tomber*. This manifestation is the most dramatic of the symptomatic behaviors and appears overwhelmingly in women, especially young girls age eight to ten, and teenage girls. At some indeterminate point, the girl falls to the ground. The act may or may not be preceded by cries. A pastor divulges,

> The cases of deliverance happen during the *jeûne et prière*, and the *veillées*, during the *veillées* when we are praying. We see certain people, especially the *jeunes filles* [generally, unmarried girls age sixteen to thirty], They cry out. They fall to the ground and we intercede until they calm down.[49]

A deacon in another church elaborates,

> Yes, at the time of prayer, there are people who fall into a trance, and we pray a long time for them, for their deliverance. We are praying, praising God. You hear a cry in the congregation. Someone has fallen. We are obligated to surround her and then pray until whenever, [until] she comes back to normal. This happens. Even on Sunday, sometimes, these kinds of things, they happen.[50]

The practice of deliverance has two aspects. The first aspect consists of prayer for the oppressed. In this perspective, deliverance relies solely on prayer for the demonized person. The second aspect consists of direct confrontation with the evil spirits.

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[48]Interview by author, transcript KA40.

[49]RA37, interview. This pastor, who sees a lot of falling among girls, contends that many of the episodes are not demon-caused, but Spirit-caused in response to immorality. He discloses, "They confess truly in their private life, they are not truly right with the Lord. Voilà. Therefore, I say that with these cases of sin, the Holy Spirit can, in a way, strike these persons so that they get their life right with the Lord."

[50]Interview by author, transcript KA39.

This aspect tends to follow the idea of exorcism, though no informant used the term. The deacon explains that they speak directly to the demon: "Yes, [we speak] to the demon. It is not the person because what is happening in the person is a problem of demons. We say that we must take authority over the demon."[51] In both aspects, the deliver-ers surround the candidate and employ the *prière d'autorité* (prayer of authority).

Deliverance is not a practice for the spiritually weak. One older lady warns, "It is very dangerous." She continues, "If you are weak, the spirit that we chase away, the demon will enter you. . . . You did not have it, but you can get it."[52] The deacon readily admits that he does not have the gift of deliverance, and has only attended one deliverance session. He advises, "It is very, very delicate, these kinds of things. If you sense that you are not able to confront these kinds of things, you back away. Simply that. Because we Africans, we know what happens in our families, the fetishes. Voilà."[53] The delicate nature of deliverance means that the *groupe d'intercession* plays a major role in the ministry. In some churches, the group takes full responsibility for deliverances. In other churches, the group vigorously supports the pastor's efforts. Understandably, then, scheduled deliverances are accompanied by *jeûne et prière*.

Prayer

Prayer stands as the unarguable core of the pentecostalization of Baptist churches. The two previous themes, experience and manifestations, pale in comparison. For instance, a word frequency analysis of the interviews shows the predominance of the prayer theme. Overwhelmingly, informants cite prayer as the main change among Baptists over the past couple of decades. Local church activities revolve around prayer

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[51]KA39, interview.

[52]KA25, interview.

[53]KA39, interview.

encounters.

Baptists view prayer as the primary weapon in spiritual warfare. By prayer, Baptists seek deliverance from affliction and protection from attack. Thus, the idea of therapeutic prayer and prophylactic prayer pervades Baptist life.

Within this therapeutic-prophylactic scheme, Baptists employ two kinds of prayer. The first kind, *prière normale*, "is to speak with God, to address him, to tell God that which is deep within you."[54] This "normal" prayer encompasses confession, thanksgiving, supplication, and praise. Pray-ers take various positions—standing, sitting, kneeling, or prostrating themselves. Kneeling and standing occur frequently as a means to glorify God. Spontaneous kneeling indicates that the pray-er has been "touched" by the Holy Spirit.[55]

The second kind, *prière de combat*, is used to fight against the powers. Thus, the *prière de combat* blocks or chases away evil spirits, thwarts the curses of sorcerers, breaks ancestral liens, heals spirit-caused sickness, and delivers demonized people. A young informant articulates the difference between the two types of prayer:

> I make a difference because when I pray to God, I speak to him like I speak to my dad, in a calm fashion. But, when I am before a diabolical, demonic manifestation, there, I am more authoritarian. I am more authoritarian. In basing myself on the authority that I received, I am more authoritarian. I command. But, when I ask, I speak to God, I supplicate God for something. My attitude is different and my tone must, naturally, also be different.[56]

The *prière de combat* has high visibility in Baptist life because it keeps the evil spirits at bay. By means of the *prière de combat*, the pray-er takes authority over evil spirits in order to chase them away. At this point, an unapparent, but significant difference arises. The *prière de combat* deviates from the normal definition of prayer as

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[54]Interview by author, transcript KA42.

[55]KA39, interview.

[56]RK52, interview.

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talking to God. Rather, the *prière de combat*, especially when employed as the *prière d'autorité*, addresses evil spirits. H. Joseph Adjenou writes about this deviation from the normal definition:

> The particularity of "prayers" of this [second] type is that they are not addressed to God, but *they are the expression of the believer's authority over a situation that is contrary to God's will or over the evil spirits.* It is a prayer of authority, of commandment, or of combat which consists of ordering an impure spirit or a situation contrary to the will of God to be eclipsed or erased in the name of Jesus.[57]

Only one informant explicitly articulates this difference, and he disagrees with Adjenou's understanding of prayer: "I do not think that there is a phase where one must cry out. That is not prayer, but rather the exercise of authority. It is different than to pray. The exercise of authority is different than prayer."[58] In the other interviews that probed this topic, the informants identify prayer as speaking to God and speaking to spirits with no differentiation. Informants do not explicitly differentiate the addressees of prayer.

In order to grasp the nature of the *prière de combat*, two elements merit examination: *tapage* and *groupe d'intercession*. In these two elements, one readily observes the Satan orientation of prayer. To begin, the *prière de combat* dramatizes spiritual warfare. One pastor describes it as "going against the enemy" and as "fighting against someone."[59] In this battle theme, the pray-er may not simply remain seated and quietly pray. Rather, he must engage, physically, in the battle. The pastor continues, "A person cannot go somewhere or fight and remain comfortably seated. Therefore, it truly

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[57]H. Joseph Adjenou, *La prière de délivrance dans le contexte africain: Approche biblique et conseils pratiques* (Lomé, Togo: Editions Petra, 2006), 75-76. In a footnote, Adjenou retreats from the strong language and suggests that his use of "prayer" results from the lack of a better expression. He states that "in the notion of prayer, there is always the idea of a person before a spiritual authority or other, who awaits a favor from him. In the case of exorcism, the Christian does not pray to the demons, but commands the demons in the name of Jesus."

[58]RA32, interview.

[59]KA42, interview.

demonstrates what he is saying and living. He is living what he is saying."[60] This

physical engagement involves gesticulations and audible articulations. When abundant

and exaggerated, they are known as *tapage*. "If we are in this *prière de combat*,"

exclaims one informant, "the people do *tapage*."[61] In fact, *tapage* and the *prière de*

combat are inextricably linked together.

 Tapage is a complex and pervasive practice among all Pentecostal groups.

Technically, the term conveys the idea of making noise or disturbing the peace. Yet, in

the BBCT context, *tapage* refers to a specific religious practice of praying with

gesticulations and noise. A person who does *tapage* manifests any or all of the following

characteristics:

1. He prays loudly with shouts and shrieks.

2. He looks around as if to spot the enemy.

3. He stands still and turns from side to side or shakes bodily.

4. He walks back and forth, jumps, and/or stomps his feet.

5. He makes gestures that include clapping his hands, beating the air with clenched fists, chopping the air with open hands, and hitting nearby objects such as walls, benches, or tables.

 In a session with *tapage*, the leader incites the congregation with commands to

pray *en haute voix*: "Open the mouth! Speak strong! The Lord wants to hear you. Don't

murmur. Speak loudly so the Lord will hear you."[62] Along with the commands, the

groupe musicale gets louder and more turbulent. The various elements combine to

suggest a battlefield. The cacophony rises in pitch, intensity, and volume so that, in the

words of one informant, "the place is shaken," an unmistakable image reminiscent of

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[60]KA42, interview.

[61]RA38, interview.

[62]See, for example, interview by author, transcript KA41; and PO02, transcript.

Acts 4:31.[63]

Beyond the dramatization of the spiritual battle, the role of *tapage* is widely disputed; informants disagree about its function. For many informants, *tapage* serves only to keep people awake and focused during prayer time. Another group holds that *tapage* proves that the Holy Spirit resides in the pray-er. A small group of informants believes that *tapage* forces Satan and the demons to flee. One informant sees the practice as a carry-over from ATR. Whatever the role, many informants claim that people believe *tapage* adds something to the efficacy of the prayer.

The practice of *tapage* varies among churches. All churches have, at least, a mild form of *tapage* somewhere among their activities. Some churches practice *tapage* routinely in their meetings. Over the past decade, the pandemonium created by unrestricted *tapage* in all-night prayer meetings generated a reaction by civil authorities that caused a crackdown on churches that disturbed the peace. Thus, for this reason, *tapage* has moderated over the past decade.[64]

The *groupe d'intercession*, also known as the *groupe de combat*, leads the church in the prayer battle. Once again, the Satan orientation lies at the heart of the group's mission. In one respect, the group members serve as the military arm of the church to defend the body against demonic attack, to attack the enemy by delivering the spiritually afflicted, and to clear the enemy from the territory. In another respect, they serve as the spiritual crisis intervention team.

Most churches have a group composed of six to twelve members, though the

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[63]RA37, interview.

[64]A few informants categorically deny doing *tapage*, yet when probed, they describe behaviors in their meetings consistent with mild forms of *tapage*. I speculate that the negative public reaction to unrestricted, all-night *tapage* causes churches to avoid using *tapage* to describe their practices. For example, the pastor of one church, which other informants identify as a well-known *tapage* church, adamantly denies that his church does *tapage*.

numbers vary from three to twenty-five. Young, single men tend to dominate the groups, though older adults and single women also participate. In most, but not all, churches, the group is as an invitation-only sodality, whose membership is tightly controlled.[65] Two qualifications appear frequently. First, the person must have the "spirit," "charge," "gift," or "love" for prayer that focuses on others, the church, and the advance of God's work. Second, the person must be a mature believer who is free of demonization, ancestral liens, and habitual sin.

Most groups meet at least twice weekly, schedule monthly *veillées*, and quarterly prayer retreats. The group prays for the church's priority needs as determined by the pastor. Individuals bring requests to the pastor who filters the needs and passes on the most pressing.

In most cases, the group prays by itself, though occasionally the pastor may send a person to the group's meeting for direct contact prayer, especially when deliverance is involved. In many churches, the *groupe d'intercession* serves also as the *groupe de délivrance*. During the regular services of the church, the group acts when charismatic manifestations, such as *tomber*, require the removal of the person from the meeting. In these cases, the group prays for the person until he or she recovers. At other times, the *groupe d'intercession* assists with the *ministère* that follows the Sunday sermon.

Influences

Multiple influences shape the process of pentecostalization of Baptists. The

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[65]In an interview with the leader of one very active group, I found that his group resembled a separate *ministère* more than a ministry of the church. His group functioned independently of the church. Moreover, he followed the model of a *ministère* he had once frequented for his group's activities and processes. I speculate that his *groupe d'intercession* will one day become an independent *ministère* of which he is the founder.

power of these influences lies in the natural propensity toward pluralism and ecumenical brotherhood. "We are brothers" is a commonly heard phrase. This brotherhood tends to ignore differences in faith and practice in order to maintain good social relationships, which compose a major part of the well-being value.[66] This value of community means that significant interaction and interchange occurs among the different parties. Leaders and members, alike, visit other churches and *ministères*, from which ideas, beliefs, and practices are borrowed. The *partage* (sharing) explains much of Pentecostalism's influence. In this way, the "we are brothers" value creates an environment conducive to further pentecostalization.

Pentecostalization occurs in one of three ways. In the first case, new churches launch with Pentecostalism as part of their DNA from the beginning. In the second case, a few older, historic churches pentecostalized abruptly following a catalytic event, such as a city-wide Pentecostal campaign (e.g., a Reinhard Bonnke campaign). This kind of abrupt pentecostalization occurred in three of the churches represented in the research. In the third case, most of the churches pentecostalized over time through the introduction of Pentecostal ideas and practices. Thus, over the course of a decade, Baptist churches adopted more and more Pentecostal practices and ethos.

The on-going, process of pentecostalization is readily observable in churches today. Through the choice of facilitators, *animateurs*, and leaders, churches accommodate pentecostalization. For example, in one worship service, the leader for the offering segment read Galatians. 6:7-9. Then, he told the story of a Christian who did not give all that he possibly could. On the way to the market, the man was killed when his truckload of charcoal overturned. The leader continued, "Give, and God will give his angels to

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[66]Well-being is a premier value. Chapter 6 explains this value more fully.

protect you. Give! Give much in order to profit."[67] In those few moments, the choice of text and the story colored the offering with a prosperity theme. In another example, a member of the *groupe musicale* stepped forward to lead a popular song about Holy Spirit power. In the middle of the song, he paused the singing and exclaimed, "Receive the Holy Spirit!" He then blew on the congregation. Many in the congregation visibly inhaled to receive the Spirit. The leader explained that they now had received the Holy Spirit and could sing more powerfully.[68] Cumulatively, small fragments, such as these, influence the congregation. Notably, several informants express a strong aversion to correct these kinds of errors.

The importation of different Pentecostal practices creates stresses within the Baptist social system at multiple levels—local church, association, and national convention. These external influences generate actions, reactions, and syntheses. Alignments form around these different influences. The five types of churches reflect the alignments.

One group of informants favors the ecumenical mainline churches and their approach to Pentecostalism. For them, the important concern is the status of the denomination in comparison to others, such as the Methodists and Presbyterians, who are part of the Conseil Chrétien (CC).[69] This group focuses on the standing of Baptists while ignoring pentecostalization. These informants are very insistent about the need for social services, an episocopal church polity, and organizational structure, but remarkably silent on the spiritual health of churches.

The second group inclines toward the Classic Pentecostals, such as the

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[67]Participant observation by author, transcript PO04.

[68]Participant observation by author, transcript PO10.

[69]The *Conseil Chrétien* is a consortium of Protestant churches that represent the needs of the denominations before the government. The group pursues an ecumenical agenda.

Assemblies of God and Church of Pentecost. These informants report considerable interaction with the Classic Pentecostals. An overwhelming number of informants insist that Baptists and Assemblies of God have almost identical practices. Unarguably, the differences between the CBT and the Association of Baptists for World Evangelization churches are more apparent than the differences between the CBT and Assemblies of God churches.[70]

The third group, the *ministères*, exerts tremendous influence on Baptists. These independent groups have a potent allure for Baptists. While some Type 1 churches militate against the *ministères*, for the most part, Baptists quietly acquiescence to their presence. Notably, some Baptist pastors are unconcerned that their members attend the *ministères*. At other times, Baptists adopt practices of the *ministères*. For example, one very theologically conservative church leader recounts how he prayed for a young girl who was healed from a life-threatening illness. He then went to the mother and asked her to *faire quelque chose* (do something) financially for him because she would have paid a *ministère,* a charlatan, or a health care worker far more. He admitted that he copied the practice of the *ministères*.[71]

The fourth group, the Word-Faith movement, appears ubiquitously throughout the churches. The doctrine permeates West African Christianity. Abundant literature and broadcasts offer Baptists an appealing way to overcome difficulties. The Word-Faith emphasis has created an addictive expectation not too dissimilar to the national lottery. No one openly advocates Word-Faith principles in an interview, yet many informants subtly hold to and promote Word-Faith principles.

The fifth influence, ATR, remains in the background of pentecostalization. At

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[70]The ABWE churches are another branch of Baptists in Togo.

[71]Interview by author, transcript RA28. Incidentally, the mother refused to pay the pastor.

times, informants cannot distinguish between an ATR-inspired and a Spirit-inspired practice. The emphasis on prophecy and speaking in tongues parallels ATR practices, especially in the sense of divining the future. Careful participant observation reveals ATR artifacts, such as amulets to protect children, among Baptists.

Effects

Pentecostalism profoundly affects Baptist practices. A visit to any worship service, much less a prayer service, convinces even the most hardened skeptic of the movement's influence. Yet, Pentecostalism has penetrated more deeply than mere practices. Pentecostalism alters Baptists in five fundamental ways.

Emphases

In the first place, Baptists have shifted their emphases in four areas. First, Baptists emphasize salvation as a present experience. An anecdotal survey of the literature of the 1980s and 1990s, especially evangelistic tracts, reveals a common theme in evangelism namely, *avoir la vie éternelle* (have eternal life). While the idea of a present salvation appeared, the thrust of the message was futuristic, i.e., *aller au ciel* (go to heaven). Today, Baptists employ more frequently the idea of the present *vie abondante* (abundant life). Moreover, when used, *vie éternelle* carries the sense of a qualitative life here-and-now rather than a future home in heaven. The future aspect of salvation is largely missing from contemporary Baptist thought. Unquestionably, Baptists focus on the here-and-now.

Second, in this here-and-now perspective, the spirit world occupies a central place. In contradistinction to the days when the TBM dominated, Baptists today are more overtly engrossed with the spirit world. Thus, the warfare worldview permeates Baptist life. This warfare worldview derives from Neo-Pentecostalism's bridge to the African worldview.

Third, the warfare worldview exudes an obligation to work at the destruction

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of the enemy. The idea of *le salut par les œuvres* (salvation by works) lies implicit within Baptist practices. One informant makes the explicit connection between the multitudes of activities and salvation: "Therefore, sometimes I have the impression that . . . for people, it is *le salut par les œuvres*. Therefore, one must fight. One must do this or that. When I do this, I will have that [salvation]."[72] The emphasis on works appears particularly in the *prière de combat* and the *groupes d'intercession*, both of which function as protective and therapeutic hedges around Baptists. The victory of the combat depends on the efforts of the pray-er to rout the enemy.

Fourth, the Word-Faith movement's influence appears frequently throughout the interviews. Baptists appropriate four elements of the movement namely, epistemology, the consequences of the atonement, the understanding and practice of faith, and, of course, prosperity. The influence of the Word-Faith movement appears in every type church, not just the Type 4 churches.

Message

In the second place, Baptists have redefined their fundamental message. The progression appears to have moved from *aller au ciel* (go to heaven) to *la vie abondante* (the abundant life) to *la solution à votre problème* (the solution to your problem). An informant in a large Type 3 church laments about the changed message,

> We can add, equally, that our sermons don't touch anymore this aspect of the thing [i.e., evangelism]. And the content of our messages do not envision anymore lost souls nor raise awareness of the faithful members to arise and obey this supreme order of our Lord. . . . For a long time, we haven't spoke of the mission. Men, women, and the young are only interested in their problems. This is such that our activities are oriented towards one and only direction: what to do or how to program so that the members have solutions to their problems. The souls who die without Christ are no longer our concern.[73]

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[72]RA21, interview.

[73]Correspondence to author, transcript DO01.

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As the informant suggests, this changed message has a substantial effect on evangelism. On the positive side, evangelism takes a holistic approach that treats more adequately the uni-dimensional view of reality. On the negative side, evangelism has shifted to providing solutions for personal problems. In this way, healing stands as the dominant evangelistic process. Immediate pressing problems preempt biblical emphases, such as regeneration, conversion, and justification.

Identity

In the third place, Baptists have surrendered their identity. In the past, Baptists had the reputation for Bible teaching. Yet, this reputation eroded to the point that Bible teaching is no longer a strength for Baptists. For example, when asked to compare Baptists with other Christian groups, one informant confides,

> Today, we are a little behind the others. But, in the past, we were ahead of them. Huh! Me? This is what I know about Baptists. I attest that Baptists were attached to the Word of God, to Scripture. But, today, that has disappeared. That has disappeared compared to what I know from the past.[74]

Indeed, many Baptists still cling to the reputation as Bible teachers, and other groups continue to identify Baptists as Bible teachers. Nonetheless, the shift to an experiential orientation contributes to the decline in both the quality and practice of Bible teaching. In short, the Baptist distinction as outstanding Bible teachers no longer holds the place it once did.

Two developments contribute to this loss of identity. To begin, Baptists suffer from a growing dissonance between faith and practice. Since the early 1990s, Pentecostals have promulgated the belief that speaking in tongues manifests one's spirituality, i.e., the presence and filling of the Holy Spirit. In other words, only those who speak in tongues are spiritual Christians. Moreover, Pentecostals emphasize visible

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[74]RA21, interview.

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charismatic manifestations as proof of God's presence and the Holy Spirit's power in the church.[75] In the past, Baptists disagreed. They held that speaking in tongues is an indicator neither of salvation nor of spirituality. Furthermore, they argued that visible manifestations do not prove God's presence and the Holy Spirit's power. In return, Pentecostals accused Baptists of not having the Holy Spirit. This accusation troubled Baptists profoundly. Over time, many Baptist churches responded by privileging speaking in tongues and other visible manifestations in order to counter the accusations and to demonstrate individual and corporate spirituality and power. So, while Baptist leaders continue to deny the accusations as erroneous, the churches capitulate to the accusations and incorporate the practices. Repeatedly, informants intimate that charismatic manifestations demonstrate the spirituality and power of their church. This dissonance between articulated doctrine and practice pervades the churches and contributes to the identity crisis.

Furthermore, the proliferation of imitators and charlatans in *ministères* has created a backlash of public opinion against religious workers of all kinds. One pastor observes,

> There are falsities in what is going on. And now, they [the public] put everyone in the same basket. They think that every pastor, every church is like that. . . . And now, when someone says that the person over there is a pastor, people begin to mock him, "Ho! Avoid the false pastors! Avoid the pastor over there![76]

The public perception creates further tension in identification. Now, the adverse reaction against the abuse common to *ministères* encompasses Baptists. In this new turn of social and religious hierarchy, Baptist pastors face a more hostile environment because of their identification with the Pentecostal movement. This hostility has led to some reservations

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[75]RA37, interview.

[76]RA43, interview.

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about identification with the movement.

Through pentecostalization, Baptists lost their most distinctive characteristic, i.e., Bible teaching. Moreover, they have, as a body, fragmented into various alignments with different interests, dogmas, and practices. This fragmentation and resultant loss of identity plagues the churches. One astute informant observes,

> Today, we see that, more and more, Baptist churches tend to resemble the Church of Pentecost, the charismatic churches, etc., etc. . . . One must say that, particularly in Togo, the Baptist church does not have a truly stable, common point of reference that was conveyed from the beginning of the Baptist movement in Togo until today. This means that everyone, the people, invented. The people interpreted wildly certain passages.[77]

The loss of identity is systemic. For example, in one interview, a convention leader repeatedly refers to Baptist principles. When asked to name these principles, he identifies the CBT's organizational structure and four doctrines: (1) faith in Christ, (2) eternal security, (3) regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and (4) the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.[78] He can cite no other characteristic, faith or practice, that distinguishes Baptists from other denominations or *ministères*. Moreover, his four doctrines are not distinctive when compared to other evangelical groups.

Informants repeatedly affirm the homogeneity of Baptists and Pentecostals. The leader of a Type 2 church concedes that Baptists and Assemblies of God are indistinguishable. "When you enter the service," he advises, "you are going to believe that you are in a Baptist church, except that they have their logo. By that, I know that I'm in an Assemblies of God church."[79] At the same time, and for the most part, churches wish to retain the Baptist label. Yet, the label, while cherished, lacks clarity and

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[77]RK52, interview.

[78]RA35, interview. While the informant heralded the convention's organizational structure, he deprecated congregational polity in favor of episcopal polity. If possible, he would change CBT's polity to episcopal.

[79]Interview by author, transcript RA44.

definition.

Informants express, both explicitly and implicitly, confusion over Baptist identity. On the whole, Baptist churches, other than Type 2, do not articulate a clear identity. One informant aptly characterizes Baptists as Assemblies of God with "*modération*."[80]

Polity

In the fourth place, Baptists have withdrawn from a commitment to congregational polity. In the late 1980s, a few members of the TBM taught and advocated an American form of congregationalism. As one missionary persistently preached, "The local church is an autonomous democracy." The efforts to create democratic and autonomous churches did not fare well. In practice, the local churches, associations, and national convention functioned with a quasi-congregational polity. In recent years, this form of church government has come under intense pressure with the rise of Neo-Pentecostalism.

Many of the informants advocate a shift to an episcopal form of government. In particular, advocates want the associations and the CBT to control the placement of pastors. Furthermore, they want the associations and CBT to manage problems within the local churches. Certainly, the debate is complex and driven by multiple factors. Yet, pentecostalization contributes, in part, to the movement away from congregational polity.

The analysis of the responses reveals four motivations for the polity shift. In the first place, an episcopal polity presumably contributes to church growth. The close alignment with the Pentecostal groups, particularly the Assemblies of God, evokes a particular interest in their polity. Baptists often cite the polity employed by Neo-

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[80]Interview by author, transcript RA47.

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Pentecostals as a contributor to the Pentecostals' success. Enamored with their growth, Baptist leaders want to adopt their form of government, particularly the placement of pastors.

In the second place, an episcopal polity allows greater freedom to intervene in local church affairs. Pentecostalization has provoked discontent and disorder. In some cases, church members have sought to introduce new practices, which the pastor blocked. Frustrated, these members rebelled and created problems for the church. In other cases, the pastor introduced practices that the members tried to block. In still other cases, the church incorporated radical Pentecostal practices that went beyond the norms of Baptist practices. In all three scenarios, outside authorities (i.e., the association or CBT) needed to intervene, but, under congregationalism, lacked real authority to do so.

In the third place, an episcopal polity allows the national convention to respond to government authorities and the ecumenical movement. The rise and influence of unregulated *ministères* and exotic practices create a need for the stricter controls. As the public becomes increasingly discontent with the excesses, local and national bodies come under government pressure to regulate such expressions in the local Baptist churches. In a similar way, greater control allows the national body to align the convention with the ecumenical movement.[81]

In the fourth place, an episcopal form of government allows the process of pentecostalization to progress. The placement of pastors serves to remove pastors that resist pentecostalization and reward pastors that do. For example, an informant in a Type

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[81]The convention leadership is committed to the ecumenical movement. This fixation on the ecumenical movement overshadows the inroads of Neo-Pentecostalism among Baptists. Interviews with past and present convention leadership reveal a lack of awareness of the nature, depth, and extent of pentecostalization. The CBT leadership does not articulate an understanding of the difference between charismatization (which occurred in the other mainline denominations) and pentecostalization (which has occurred among Baptists.) While the leadership follows the lead of the mainline, ecumenical denominations, the response to Neo-Pentecostalism has not yielded the same (charismatization) results.

4 church specifically names two long-term pastors of Type 2 churches. The informant claims these two should be removed from their churches "in order to bring a new vision."[82] Notably, both of these churches had, at one time, embraced Neo-Pentecostalism (Type 3), but instituted restrictions due to the disorder brought by excessive manifestations.

The drive toward an episcopal polity continues strongly. At least one association (Agape) has already adopted an episcopal polity for the placement of pastors and management of local church problems. In this association, the local church no longer chooses its own pastor. The convention leadership promotes such a form of government. No wonder one church leader declares that episcopal polity "is even now coming to the level of the Baptists."[83]

Church Planting Model

In the fifth place, Baptists have adopted a new model for church planting and evangelism. In the past, the church planting model revolved around a church or association which sent a church planter to a specific place to start a church. The assistance varied, but the idea of a body sending the church planter remained consistent.

Today, church planting is bifurcating. The older model of a sending body remains. In addition, a new model has arisen that reflects the *ministère* model. In the new model, an individual, with no sending body, establishes his own church in a fashion similar to the *ministères*. The individual may be a Baptist church member or a pastor. Oftentimes, problems within an existing church provoke the departure of the founder and the establishment of the new church. Unlike the *ministères*, the church retains the Baptist

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[82]RA36, interview.

[83]KA40, interview.

label. Yet, the new church functions independently with little connection to the association or convention. Importantly, this model is practiced most by Type 4, Word-Faith churches. The DNA of these new churches reflects that of the independent *ministères* and their autocratic founders.

Conclusion

The revival winds of Pentecostalism have profoundly altered Baptists. As Baptists are "entering into the rhythm of the Pentecostal churches," one can discern two similar, but distinct cadences, which reflect the two sources of Pentecostalism.[84] The majority of churches oscillate with the Azusa Street origin as expressed by the Assemblies of God and the Church of Pentecost. A smaller group of churches pulsate with the Aladura source as expressed by the *ministères* and some AICs.

These new rhythms among Baptists have generated five clusters of response: historic, restricted Neo-Pentecostal, engaged Neo-Pentecostal, Word-Faith, and imitative. The informants represent all five clusters, with the majority coming from the restricted and engaged Neo-Pentecostal churches (Types 2 and 3).

Church activities absorb Baptists. The church building is the epicenter of continuous events that create a sense of the on-going presence of God and activity of the Holy Spirit. The Sunday worship service is built on the triad of *adoration*, *louange*, and the message, inclusive of the *ministère*. The boisterous event demonstrates the presence of God and the power of the Holy Spirit to solve the problems encountered by the worshippers.

Three dominant traits characterize the pentecostalization of Baptists. Baptists privilege the experience of the Holy Spirit. They live in the awareness of his daily

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[84]KA24, interview.

presence and intervention. Thus, they privilege three manifestations. Speaking in tongues, prophecy, and deliverance demonstrate the reality of the power and presence of the Holy Spirit. Finally, and most importantly, Baptists privilege prayer. Prayer stands as the primary weapon in spiritual warfare as demonstrated by *tapage* and wielded by the *groupe d'intercession*.

The process of pentecostalization is on-going. Churches have pentecostalized abruptly and slowly. Moreover, some churches began with a DNA of Pentecostalism. The various influences incumbent upon Baptists have provoked actions and reactions that contributed to the five clusters of alignment.

Beyond the apparent changes in worship style, activities, and privileged elements, five foundational effects accompany pentecostalization. Baptists are evolving in terms of their emphases, message, identity, polity, and church planting model.

CHAPTER 5

THE FACTORS FOR PENTECOSTALIZATION

This chapter explores the various factors that contribute to the

pentecostalization of Baptists. It seeks to answer the question, *what are the contextual*

factors that created the environment for pentecostalization? The chapter answers the

question by identifying the factors in three distinct eras.

Introduction

Pentecostalization is a long-term process that accelerated rapidly around the

beginning of the new millennium. The process began decades ago when the first churches

were planted and the first believers came to faith. The members of the TBM and the

CBT, individually and corporately, contributed to the creation of a Baptist personality.

The organism known as Baptist formed from the intermingling of innumerable elements,

such as missiology, strategies, emphases, teaching content, pedagogy, missionary and

pastor personalities, and selection of leaders. The confluence of these events, influences,

and developments generated the current reality of pentecostalization.

The initial stage began in the mid-1980s with exposure to Pentecostal

teachings. Then, in 1990, several events and developments suddenly coalesced to

accelerate Pentecostal expansion. During the ensuing decade Pentecostalism gained a

foothold in mainline denominations, including Baptists. *Ministères* and new Pentecostal

churches proliferated. In this era, a few pre-existing churches, including Baptists,

embraced the new movement. Many others allowed Pentecostal segments to exist within

the congregation. At this point, Pentecostalism thrived among Baptists in the form of the

Charismatic Movement. Unarguably, the tension of Pentecostalism remained ever-present

throughout the 1990s. Then, around 2002, Baptists began an era of wide-scale pentecostalization.

The scope of the research does not allow the interviewers to probe deeply the factors that contributed to the process at both the macro and micro levels. Even so, the analysis of the responses reveals more than twenty contributory elements for pentecostalization in its various stages. The analysis of the factors does not yield discrete, distinguishable categories that encompass the entire process. Nonetheless, discernible themes appear in three eras.

The factors in this complex have varying degrees of influence and effect. Yet, together, they provide the basis for the phenomenon. In the first era, Baptists were exposed to Pentecostalism because of social and religious changes. In the second era, Pentecostalism gained a foothold because Baptists were ill-prepared to address the movement. In the third era, Baptists pentecostalized because of shifting priorities and influences during a critical transition. The following survey explains more carefully these broad generalizations.

Era 1: Upheaval in the System

In this first era, social upheaval contributed to the rise of Pentecostalism in the public space. In the 1960s, Africa experienced a wave of liberation from the colonial powers. A quarter century later, a second wave of liberation swept the continent. In this second wave, Africans tried to remove the leaders who had served them poorly. This second wave of liberation sets the context for the rise of Pentecostalism.

In the 1980s, the international community sometimes referred to Togo as the "Switzerland of Africa" because of its political stability under a military ruler and single party system. General Gnassingbé Eyadema retained his power through co-optation

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prebendal politics, a personality cult, threats, and terror.[1] The end of the Cold War spelled a reduction in foreign aid. Moreover, like many West African countries, the underlying economic system declined steadily during the 1980s. The international economic community insisted on economic reforms as part of the structural adjustment programs designed to improve the economy and reduce external debt. As the fiscal situation deteriorated, the government lacked the financial means to appease the opposition. With the failure of co-optation, the government turned to repression.[2]

The Eyadema regime came under increasing pressure. Fiscal austerity and demands from the international community to democratize produced political stresses that forced the government to relax its political control. Equally important, the overthrow of dictatorships in other parts of the world allowed Togo's opposition to imagine a similar end to Eyadema. These winds of change brought high expectations reminiscent of the 1960s when France relinquished its colonies. In 1990, a mobilized population peacefully overturned neighboring Benin's government. The success of Benin's National Conference prompted the Togolese opposition to further action. The various ingredients intersected in 1990. Togo erupted. Public demonstrations called for a multi-party system of democracy; however, repression increased. In October 1990, the sentencing of two men for distribution of seditious literature provoked riots that were violently suppressed. Violence continued until Eyadema agreed to a National Conference in 1991. Yet, much to the chagrin of the opposition, the hoped-for results did not materialize, and Eyadema retained power. Efforts to dislodge him continued, culminating in a nation-wide strike in November 1992 that lasted for several weeks before troops reportedly killed several

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[1]John R. Heilbrunn, "Togo: The National Conference and Stalled Reform," in *Political Reform in Francophone Africa*, ed. John Frank Clark and David E. Gardinier (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997), 227–228.

[2]See John Heilbrunn for a succinct review of the political developments in Togo. Ibid.

hundred people in January 1993. This incident prompted the flight of tens of thousands of people to the interior of the country, and to Ghana and Benin.

The political upheaval caused fundamental and lasting social and economic change. The on-going violence traumatized the population. The 1992 strike and subsequent exodus pauperized tens of thousands of people. The political disillusionment, the social change, economic shift, and physical insecurity created a kind of social psychosis that opened the door for a new religious expression and, particularly, Neo-Pentecostalism. As the crisis deepened, people sought God. A pastor explains,

> What was the problem of Togo, of the Togolese at that time? The Togolese were seeking God. The years '90, '91, '92, '93, '94 were times of trouble, of socio-political troubles. Those were times of suffering because in '92, 16 November '92, the unlimited strike began and a lot of people saw their job stolen from them just like that. They became destitute just like that. Therefore, it caused people to seek God. It is God alone who could bring a solution.[3]

Indeed, the crisis disempowered people. Matthews Ojo rightly identifies the centrality of power in African life when he writes, "I am convinced that nothing occupies the attention of Africans as much as power, particularly its manifestation, whether in the form of material wealth, political and social statuses, traditional privileges like chieftaincy titles, colonial heritage, etc."[4] In two short years, these forms of power were lost for thousands of families. Neo-Pentecostalism promised new forms of power to the individual. In this sense, Neo-Pentecostalism offered a survival strategy. More importantly, as it turns out, Neo-Pentecostalism offered a way forward. The same pastor continues his explanation,

> There were lots of manipulators, of newly created churches. These new churches truly manipulated the population at that time. It sufficed only to create a charismatic ambiance such that people would say, "Ah! It is there that our solution is found."

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[3]Interview by author, transcript RA36.

[4]Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World, 2006), 89.

And they [i.e., "new churches"] said, "No. But come to us. The Lord is going to heal. The Lord is going to do something." When one hears a message like that, one says, "Ah! We are going to claim this message." You see, the charismatics, all the charismatic churches leaped ahead of the Calvinist [i.e., Baptist] churches.[5]

Furthermore, the political maneuvers accompanying the social upheaval helped to establish Neo-Pentecostalism in the public space. As briefly noted in chapter 2, the Eyadema regime had banned all but a few religious groups in 1978. Among Pentecostals, only the Assemblies of God remained. Yet, during the 1980s, banned Pentecostal groups remained active. Clandestine *ministères*, *études bibliques*, and *groupes de prière* proliferated.[6] By the end of the 1980s, these banned Pentecostal groups, most of which were Neo-Pentecostal, were thoroughly entrenched in the capital city and especially the national university. For example, the university student group, Groupe Biblique Universitaire, was thoroughly Neo-Pentecostal in practice and teaching. Through this group, Neo-Pentecostalism spread throughout the country. Moreover, many Pentecostal groups, such as the Neo-Apostolic Church, met openly in the villages of the interior.

The influence of the banned groups also affected Baptists. Indeed, Neo-Pentecostalism and the Word-Faith movement had made inroads before the 1990 upheaval. A Baptist leader among the youth in the late 1980s explains how he and the other youth considered Kenneth Hagin to be the most important evangelical in the world: "We drank his preaching as if it were water. We copied his teachings. We taught his teachings." This same informant spoke of a video in the ESBTAO library in which a Togolese pastor espoused Hagin's teachings. The video was popular among seminary students and youth.[7] By the end of the 1980s, Pentecostalism had a noticeable presence

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[5]RA36, interview.

[6]Joël Noret identifies several of these groups and explains the political implications of the movements. Joël Noret, "Le pentecôtisme au Togo: Eléments d'histoire et développement," *Autrepart* 31 (2004): 79-81 and passim.

[7]Interview by author, transcript RA48.

among Baptists. In the most apparent case, two Baptist churches adopted Pentecostal-like practices, which prompted the TBM to disassociate with them in 1989.[8]

For a few years, the government had had difficulty managing the Conseil Chrétien. As the political situation intensified, those difficulties grew. The CC politicized and became an influential participant in the National Conference. In order to counter the influence of the CC, the government, officially and unofficially, favored the expansion of Pentecostal groups, much to the consternation of the CC. For example, Eyadema relished attention on Reinhard Bonnke during Bonnke's 1991 crusade in Lomé.

Following the National Conference in 1991, the government officially endorsed religious liberty. This endorsement had two effects. First, it diminished the influence of the CC as a united voice for the Protestant churches. Second, it legitimized the Pentecostal groups in the public space. Consequently, those who had participated in the clandestine groups began to work openly and aggressively. Many of them held leadership positions in local churches and introduced Pentecostalism into the mainline churches. In addition, Neo-Pentecostal missionaries arrived from Ghana and Nigeria. The clandestine prayer groups and Bible studies metamorphosed into *ministères*. Pentecostal groups expanded explosively.[9]

Yet, the endorsement of religious liberty had a counter effect. This new found religious liberty introduced social disorder because of the noise of worship and all-night prayer meetings. The government then turned to the CC to rein in the *ministères*, which the CC refused to do because it considered the founders of the *ministères* to be

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[8]Minutes of the Meetings of the Executive Committee of the Togo Baptist Mission, 19 December 1989, in the author's possession. One of the churches reportedly had practices that were demonstrably ATR in form. The other church reportedly privileged extremist Pentecostal-like practices imported from Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire. The TBM perceived that these two churches had moved beyond Baptist faith and practice.

[9]Both Classic Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal groups profited from the new found freedom of religion and seized the opportunities to extend their ministries and influence.

undisciplined rebels from the existing churches. Religious liberty had the direct effect of legitimizing and promoting Neo-Pentecostalism, while diminishing the established mechanism (i.e., the Conseil Chrétien) for regulating radical or extremist religious groups.

Another factor for the establishment of Neo-Pentecostalism is religious fervor. From 1990 to 1993, this fervor peaked because of two developments. First, the upheaval provoked a spiritual revival. Traumatized, impoverished, disillusioned, unprotected, people sought God. In their uni-dimensional worldview, the upheaval reflected an imbalance of the cosmos that could be repaired only through spiritual agency. The problems had a spiritual origin; the street battles were as much spiritual as physical. Thus, people turned to religious means, especially prayer, to restore the imbalance. Also, the impoverishment created a new reliance on God to meet daily needs.

Second, the theme of democracy, of liberty, ignited a latent disobedience. The opposition rallied around the cry for *démocratie*. People conceived democracy to be unrestricted liberty in which people could say and do as they please without respect to the social order. Recalls one older man, "The word *liberté*. It is a word that rang out in its political, religious, and cultural entirety. But it was terrible! Do you see? This affair of *liberté*. It was what we could call *liberticide*. *Liberticide* is that which has no brakes." He continues, "We were not ready for that. The political leaders, the leaders did not prepare the Africans. We were not prepared. We thought that *démocratie* was the synonym for *liberté*. Therefore, we destroyed the walls. We destroyed the streets. We destroyed."[10] People intentionally engaged in behaviors that had been categorically forbidden in the past. Long repressed disobedience, rebellion, and anger burst forth uncontrollably.

This idea of unrestricted liberty had profound implications for religious fervor.

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[10]RA48, interview.

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First, church members challenged authority in the existing churches. Members who had long submitted to authority followed the pattern of free expression and action they observed in the larger society. For example, in the past, churches disciplined members and leaders for moral failure, doctrinal aberration, or some unacceptable attitude or behavior. In this new environment, members and leaders rebelled against authority and discipline. Thus, countless numbers of disgruntled individuals departed and founded their own *ministères*. Disorder in the streets found a parallel disorder in the churches. One informant reflects on the period of 1990-93,

> This period was a period where *liberté* reined in its entirety, in every dimension, notably, on the religious level. Therefore, some people left their churches to create *ministères*. Some already had the germs in them of this religious fervor. I recall that certain people thought that prayer had to be noisy, that everyone had to pray in tongues, to pound, to shout. It was true disorder in some of our churches.[11]

Second, this new found liberty allowed people to explore and adopt the previously "forbidden" religious expressions. The mainline churches had failed to deliver the country from oppression. The older AICs and Neo-Pentecostals, which were suddenly thrust into the public space, offered alternative solutions. They cast the conflict differently than did the mainline churches. Furthermore, an individual's involvement with these forbidden groups became an expression of *liberté* and *démocratie*, a subtle rebellion against authority. Thus, Neo-Pentecostalism arose both as a consequence of and a catalyst to the religious fervor.

Era 2: Ill-prepared for Challenges

The Neo-Pentecostal movement took both the TBM and the CBT by surprise. Neither organization was prepared—missiologically or theologically—to address the movement. Simply, Neo-Pentecostalism confounded Baptist leaders.

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[11]Ibid.

In one respect, the CBT's confusion and inconstant response are understandable. At that time, the CBT was still in its infancy. The CBT leadership consisted almost exclusively of lay people, not pastors. As such, the CBT lacked capacity to address the problem, and the TBM offered little help. "I want to say something about the mission plan of the Baptist Mission of which you were a member," declares an informant. "You did not know to orient the church, to push it towards this opening, this opening of religious fervor. You weren't able. You didn't do it. That is why when the [religious] *liberté* came, it exploded. Do you understand me? . . . I speak of this help. It was necessary to guide us, to prepare us."[12]

The lack of guidance occurred, in part, because the relationship between the TBM and the CBT was ill-defined and evolving. The TBM had various ideas about how to guide the young convention, but no clearly articulated conception of how the relationship would or should evolve. Accordingly, even a casual reading of the documents from that era reveals dominance on the part of the TBM. Notably, three of the key CBT leadership positions were held by TBM missionaries, i.e., General Secretary, Department of Church Development, and Women's Missionary Union.[13] In some ways, then, the response of the CBT was a response of the TBM.[14]

Under the umbrella of factors for pentecostalization, the research reveals four domains that deal with the lack of preparation. These factors provide the framework for understanding the means by which Pentecostalism gained a foothold among Baptists.

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[12]Ibid.

[13]Missionaries held the position of General Secretary from 1987 until mid-1991. The other two positions were held by missionaries until 1996. A Togolese who had worked alongside the General Secretary missionaries was named General Secretary in 1992, after serving as interim.

[14]The research did not probe the response by the local churches or the association. Rather, it concentrated on the response by the mission and convention leadership.

Slow and Fractured Response

To begin, the TBM lacked an awareness of the larger trends and developments taking place. This lack of awareness may be portrayed in two broad strokes. Prior to 1990, the TBM paid little attention to the Pentecostal movement's influence in the churches, especially in Lomé where the problem was most pronounced. Then, during the 1990-93 crisis, and for years afterwards, the mission was pre-occupied with its own turmoil. These two elements account for the fractured response. Upon closer examination these two elements yield eight factors that contributed to the slow and awkward response.

First, the TBM mistakenly considered the problem to be unique to Lomé. Some missionaries outside the capital believed the "excesses" to be limited to the Lomé churches. In reality, they were not. One informant corrects this mistaken notion when he recounts his conversion through the influence of a GBU disciple in Dapaong, a town in the far north of the country.[15] The informant unhesitatingly speaks of GBU's influence and the charismatic manifestations in the Baptist churches in the north. In the east of the country, the Neo-Apostolic Church had a strong influence in the areas of the TBM's development work.

Second, the TBM failed to understand the nature of the phenomenon. The mission misinterpreted the practices in one of three ways. Some missionaries responded to the movement as a syncretic carry-over from ATR. Thus, all versions were categorically declared syncretic and rejected. This view was provoked, in part, by the experience with a couple of churches that reportedly introduced practices and accouterments of ATR. Other missionaries confused the phenomenon with other groups that bore similar names or profiles. For example, one missionary stationed in Lomé praised the Deeper Life Bible Church as a positive addition to the churches because of its

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[15]Interview by author, transcript RA32.

emphasis on the Bible. "We should welcome and encourage La Vie Profonde. Even their churches are named Eglise *Biblique* de la Vie Profonde."[16] Unfortunately, he confused the local manifestation of Deeper Life with that of the Higher Life movement in the United States. Still other missionaries viewed the movement as little more than an emphasis on speaking in tongues common to Classic Pentecostalism. One informant, who did not speak in tongues himself, saw no reason to oppose the charismatic gift. Undoubtedly, all three kinds of phenomena occurred—some syncretic practices emerged; churches experienced genuine renewal; and some of the expressions reflected Classic Pentecostalism. Yet, on the whole, the TBM did not grasp that the Neo-Pentecostal movement drove the changes.

Third, missionaries remained isolated from the situations where charismatic manifestations occurred most commonly. By and large, missionaries in Lomé limited their church activities to Sunday morning worship services and special events such as conferences and weddings. They seldom ventured into the evening meetings where charismatic manifestations first appeared and grew. Until well after the endorsement of religious liberty, the Pentecostal practices remained a phenomenon of the smaller, less-public meetings, such as evening Bible studies and prayer meetings. Consequently, the manifestations were largely absent in the Sunday services and, thus, beyond the purveyance of missionaries. This distance precluded an awareness of the movement's inroads, and a considered, appropriate response to it.

Fourth, the TBM lacked sensitivity to the theological content of teaching and practices. Generally, the TBM was unaware of the influence of the Word-Faith movement, in particular, and that of the Neo-Pentecostal movement, in general. For example, the proliferation of Hagin's teachings among Baptists, as previously cited, went

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[16]Conversation with the author, 1989.

unnoticed by the TBM. The nuances were so slight as to escape notice except by the critical listener.

This lack of sensitivity to faith and practice was compounded by the lack of language competency. In brief, the language skills of the TBM were notoriously low. For example, Larry Vanderaa's 1990 study of the missions and churches in Francophone West Africa warns, "As in Benin, the percentage of missionaries who speak a local language is extremely low, the lowest in the West African countries surveyed. Only 33% of the church planters and those involved in church support ministries can speak a local language."[17] While Vanderaa's report encompasses all missions, his conclusion accurately depicts the TBM. This lack of local language skills meant that the TBM remained unaware of the undercurrents flowing freely in the churches. Moreover, the lack of language skills had direct consequences for the mission's ability to understand and address critical worldview issues incumbent on the gospel.

Fifth, the eruption in 1990 further clouded the TBM's awareness of the Pentecostal movement's prominence. The TBM, along with the Togolese, reeled from the upheaval. The TBM personnel experienced, to a lesser extent, the trauma, social distress, economic shift, political turmoil, and physical insecurity of the crisis. Nonetheless, throughout the decade, the TBM remained occupied with its own struggles and agendas. Personnel were displaced. Ministry patterns were shattered. Leadership was discontinuous. The TBM's preoccupation with the inner turmoil overshadowed the Pentecostal infiltration. While the TBM was little concerned with the movement's effect on the churches prior to the upheaval, they were even less concerned after the upheaval.

Sixth, the TBM lacked the incentive to address the Pentecostal movement in a

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[17]Larry Vanderaa, *A Survey for Christian Reformed World Missions of Missions and Churches in West Africa* (Grand Rapids: Christian Reformed World Missions, 1991), 12.

coherent fashion. The topic rarely appears in the written records of the mission. Three explanations emerge. The TBM consistently viewed evangelism as the primary task of the mission. While the understanding of this task obviously varied among the personnel, the repeated insistence on evangelism seems to exclude the probability of addressing the phenomenon as it developed in the 1990s. The value placed on evangelism created such a single focus that other issues, such as pentecostalization, were swept aside as distractions from the main task. Pentecostalization was, in common parlance, off the radar. The record gives no indication that churches were planted and then left to themselves. Yet, pragmatically, the way the Pentecostal movement evolved among Baptists indicates that the TBM, in fact, took this approach.

In a similar fashion, the TBM lacked intentionality in strategic planning. The written records indicate shifting strategies and directions. The work of the mission was made in response to immediate and urgent needs, and then abruptly changed. The Pentecostal issue did not appear as a strategic or urgent matter for intentional consideration.

Another explanation for the lack of incentive pertains to plausibility structures. While no direct evidence surfaces in the research, one may reasonably speculate that the phenomenon was outside the plausibility structures of the mission. Caught unprepared, the TBM simply lacked the wherewithal and the competency to address the unfamiliar. The mission's attempt to address the problem floundered for lack of an understanding of the phenomenon. So, the mission did not respond. Confusion, rather than coherence, characterized the TBM's reply because the phenomenon lay outside the missionaries' own maps of reality.

Notably, the Assemblies of God response was more robust. One informant explains that some Assemblies of God pastors forbid altogether speaking in tongues in

their churches.[18] Another source indicates that the Assemblies of God seminary forbid speaking in tongues in their chapel services and prayer meetings.[19]

Seventh, the Neo-Pentecostal strategy, especially in the period of 1988-95, targeted existing churches and believers. In this era, Neo-Pentecostals seemed not to evangelize the lost, but revive the saved.[20] This strategy heightened tensions because of the nature of church properties. The TBM purchased property for churches and assisted with building construction. The revival of churches dictated a shift away from traditional Baptist faith and practice. In the eyes of the TBM, this shift constituted a grave breach of confidence. In a few cases, small congregations were overwhelmed by a sudden explosion of new members. Then, a few months later, the old members were disenfranchised and the new members seized control of the property. While the number of takeovers was relatively limited, the action left Baptists bewildered as to the appropriate response to make. This kind of strategy left Baptists with a deep conflict over autonomy of the local church, respect for Baptist faith and practice, and the financial investment in churches. For Baptists, the question arose: should we idly allow these takeovers or fight to recover "stolen" property?

Eighth, the Neo-Pentecostal ethos of "special people of God" blocked dialogue and conflict resolution. The inadequate response was due, also, to the anti-mainline church position and by the hermeneutic employed by the Neo-Pentecostals. Efforts to dialogue were blocked by a stated belief that Neo-Pentecostals had the truth and that those who did not manifest the charismatic gifts were unworthy of respect and attention.

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[18]Interview by author, transcript RA44.

[19]Interview by author, transcript RA112.

[20]According to Ojo, the Deeper Life Bible Church employed this strategy in Nigeria: "In its early year, Deeper Life set out to revolutionise Christian presence in Nigeria because its evangelistic activities were directed more to Christians rather than to non-Christians." Ojo, *The End-time Army*, 148.

This perception on the part of Neo-Pentecostals was enhanced in 1992 by a city-wide crusade in which participants were told to seek removal of their pastor if he did not speak in tongues because "only those who speak in tongues are spiritual leaders."[21]

Moreover, when Baptists sought to counter the teachings espoused by the Neo-Pentecostals, the Neo-Pentecostals rejected the historical-critical hermeneutic. Baptists were unprepared for a movement that did not respond to the logic employed by historical-critical exegesis. In this respect, Neo-Pentecostals followed a pattern similar to that of primitive Pentecostals in the US as described by Pentecostal historian Grant Wacker: "the really operative principle of interpretation was the conviction that exegesis is best when it is as rigidly literal as credibility can stand."[22] The claim that Neo-Pentecostals had an inviolable hold on truth appalled Baptists as presumptuous and arrogant. The claim by Baptists that historical-critical exegesis provided the truth appalled Neo-Pentecostals as ungodly modernism.

Over the course of the decade, the CBT increased in strength and capacity. In fact, the convention, not the mission, became the stabilizing influence. For example, the Togolese general secretary served almost continuously throughout the 1990s. In contrast, the TBM had at least six different mission administrators between 1990 and 1997.[23] By mid-decade, the CBT had begun to recover from the initial onslaught and respond more constructively to the movement. In the end, the CBT, not the TBM, took the lead. One informant explains,

> You know that man is always someone looking for the sensational, the spectacular. You can see that, perhaps, in that period. But, starting in 1994, it [the Neo-Pentecostal excesses] began to filter. The *evolution* [i.e., the new movement] filtered

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[21]Conversation with the author, December 1992.

[22]Grant Wacker, "The Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism," *Harvard Theological Review* 77 (1984): 365.

[23]The count includes part-time, full-time, and interim mission administrators.

itself. . . . We try to put things in perspective. There was a time when one bribed, one deceived the people. . . . Today, people have put things in perspective because there are teachings which have been developed [by us].[24]

Lack of Discipleship

The lack of discipleship among Baptists presents another factor for

Pentecostalism's inroads. In the 1960s and 1970s, discipleship, in the form of a pre-

baptism class, was firmly established. A missionary from that era assesses the efforts in

this way,

> I would say there was really a strong effort at discipleship. Like I said, part of the policy in all of our missions at that time was to take them through [*Croyances Baptistes*], at least to a certain level. Some would go all the way through. Of course, this is maybe a negative point. The Yoruba churches were very strong on taking them through that and it was not clear that that...well, they had to complete that and it would go on for months before they ever baptized. And so I don't know if some of them going through that just felt like it was a hoop they had to jump through to get baptized or if they understood. It was so slow. We had a lot of discussions about how fast we ought to do that. Even whether or not we should just baptize some immediately when they made a confession of faith. That's when we started shortening that time frame. At least spending enough time to know that they had made a clear decision for Christ. They were expected to continue the new believer's class. And they did.[25]

Yet, by the mid-1980s, the attention given to discipleship had waned considerably.

In the 1980s, Baptists prioritized evangelism, church planting, and

humanitarian work. Importantly, evangelism was understood narrowly and primarily as

eliciting decisions.[26] This concept of evangelism appears readily in the strategies

employed during the 1980s and early 1990s. The most common strategies included

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[24]RA48, interview.

[25]Interview by author, transcript RA56. NB Three ellipses without spaces indicate the informant paused, did not complete the sentence, or left the thought open-ended. Three ellipses with spaces follow the customary pattern of academic writing and indicate that I have intentionally omitted a part of the informant's statement.

[26]As the next chapter will demonstrate, the idea of evangelism shifted under the influence of Neo-Pentecostalism. Increasingly, the churches adopted a more holistic view of salvation that altered their evangelism strategies. Thus, during the 1990s, the TBM and CBT bifurcated in their understanding and practice of evangelism.

crusades, Bible Way Correspondence courses, and student centers. All three strategies aimed toward a call for decision. For example, crusades featured alternating nights of evangelistic films and preaching. The evangelist urged attendees to "*demander le pardon de Dieu*" (ask for pardon from God) and to "*suivre Jésus*" (follow Jesus). The pattern followed, in typical fashion, the pattern established by high-profile Western evangelists, such as Billy Graham. The main focus of evangelism was decisionism that consisted of a propositional statement of the gospel followed by "praying a prayer."[27]

Evangelism was viewed mainly as a step in church planting. For example, IMB emphasized consistently "evangelism that results in churches." In 1989, the TBM responded to the "70-30" directive with a limited definition of evangelism that tied it to church planting:

1. "Communication of the gospel, seeking to elicit a response and a decision."

2. "Starting fellowships of believers, leading to the establishment of indigenous churches, and then repeating the steps in a new location."

3. "Field working with others to evangelize and plant churches."[28]

Discipleship was noticeably absent from the understanding and practice of evangelism. Neither the TBM nor the CBT emphasized discipleship after the initial decision. In part, the absence of discipleship as a key element of mission is not surprising. The mission persistently privileged evangelism and humanitarian work. A review of the mission documents, for instance, reveals these two themes consistently at the top of the discourse. In another example, the Program Based Design that guided the mission from

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[27]See, for example, Paul Chitwood's review of the "sinner's prayer" approach to evangelism. Paul Harrison Chitwood, "The Sinner's Prayer: An Historical and Theological Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2001).

[28]Minutes of the Meetings of the Executive Committee of the Togo Baptist Mission, 1 August 1989, in the author's possession. The 70-30 directive called for the reallocation of human resources so that seventy percent of IMB missionaries gave at least fifty percent of their time to evangelism. The TBM sought to interpret *evangelism* in the broadest terms possible in order to comply with the directive.

the mid-1980s until 1997 explains the purpose of the TBM as follows,

> We believe that the Togo Baptist Mission exists to minister to the people of Togo. This means first and foremost bringing as many as possible to a personal acceptance of the salvation and lordship of Jesus Christ and leading them to organize themselves into churches conforming to New Testament principles. Such churches should, in their turn, lead other Togolese to do the same. While such activities of evangelism and church development represent our over-riding purpose, our ministry extends beyond these.
> Jesus ministered to the whole person. The truth of His message was underscored and validated by His care for people. To the extent that our capabilities and resources permit and as God's Spirit directs, we too want to minister to the whole man: spiritually, educationally, and physically. Such ministry should be both for edifying God's people in Togo and for validating the message of God's love to nonbelievers.[29]

This guiding document sets evangelism and humanitarian work as the raison d'être of the mission. Discipleship was not a priority of the mission or convention.

The claim that discipleship was not a priority of the mission or convention must be nuanced. Training and theological education were substantial, albeit not priority, ministries. These two terms occur regularly in the documents and interviews. And, it is under this umbrella that discipleship subsisted as it was then understood. In the era under consideration, new believers received some training in a *cours de baptême* (baptism course). This course employed *Croyances Baptistes* (*Baptist Beliefs)* or, in some regions, a similar catechetical booklet, for its content.[30] The new believers learned to recite tenets of Baptist doctrine. New believers sat through a few months of exposition prior to baptism. Thus, discipleship consisted of information transfer. Baptists learned to repeat doctrinal affirmations without specific application of those affirmations to everyday life. In this manner, cognitive changes were emphasized, but the affective and effective

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[29]Togo Baptist Mission, "Program Base Design of the Togo Baptist Mission," Lomé, Togo, 1992, 18.

[30]Tom Small, *Croyances Baptistes*, 2nd ed. (Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire: Centre de Publications Baptistes, 1992). The book originally appeared in English.

changes incumbent on a new believer were not intentionally addressed.[31]

At the very end of the 1980s, written materials for discipleship began to appear in greater number. The most notable were *Le Chemin du Maître* and *Suis-moi*.[32] Even then, only a very small percentage of Baptists used these materials, much less completed the studies. For the most part, the available materials did not address the needs of the individual believer in an African context.

The lack of discipleship had two important consequences for Pentecostalism's foothold among Baptists. In the first place, discipleship should serve as a filter to identify those who had not made a genuine decision for Christ. The elicit-a-decision approach to evangelism meant that many were simply stating their acceptance of the message and were not truly born again. As a result, many Baptists continued to practice ATR in a kind of two-level Christianity. Without viable discipleship, lost people could (and did) become members and leaders in the churches. In any case, the quality and purity of Baptist church members were diluted. Some of these members were quick to embrace the most extreme forms of Pentecostalism. They also founded some of the syncretic *ministères*.

In the second place, the lack of discipleship prepared Baptists for Pentecostalism. Baptists operated with the notion that spiritual growth would occur without intentional effort and with exposure to doctrine. On the eve of 1990, Baptists had grown from a small handful to several thousand. The annual percentage growth continued at a breathtaking rate. Yet, this vast number of believers was largely undiscipled.[33] This

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[31]The *cognitive* aspect encompasses thinking, knowledge, doctrine. The *affective* aspect encompasses feeling, character, being. The *effective* aspect encompasses doing, practice, actions. Cf. Paul Hiebert's exposition of cognitive, affective, and evaluative dimensions in worldview analysis. Paul G. Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008). Cf. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, eds., *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951).

[32]These two studies were translations of popular Southern Baptist materials, *MasterLife* and *Survival Kit.*

[33]As area director Bill Bullington noted in 1988, "The partnership between Togo and North

situation had been created by rapid growth and by the lack of attention to discipleship. Thus, in the midst of the upheaval, Baptists lacked both the spiritual discernment to "filter" the movement, and the spiritual depth to stand firm in the storm. Pentecostalism provided Baptists with a missing element, i.e., practical tools for daily life in the chaos. Baptists offered abstract truth; Pentecostals offered manifest power. By de-prioritizing discipleship and by settling for doctrinal discourse, Baptists left open the door for Pentecostals who spoke to the heartbeat of Africans.

Poor Contextualization

A third factor for the establishment of Pentecostalism among Baptists lies in contextualization. To begin, the TBM did not value cultural anthropology. Consequently, worldview discovery received little attention. This lack of awareness and consideration for worldview bore significant consequences in the communication of the gospel.

The TBM treated contextualization as the translation of information from one language to another. Thus, the idea of contextualization in the 1980s and 1990s focused, for the most part, on translating materials from English to French and adjusting the illustrations and stories to fit an African context.

As noted earlier in this chapter, the language capability of the missionaries was remarkably low. About 1990, IMB leadership began emphasizing language and culture acquisition, which provoked increased attention on language learning. While the records carry glowing reports of success in language acquisition (i.e., the achievement of designated levels of competency), the day-to-day capacity of missionaries to function in

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Carolina has ended, but . . . the Christian witness expands into new areas with each passing week. The greatest need now is for assistance in discipleship training and leadership training. Church growth among Togolese Baptists has been remarkable in recent years." Billy L. Bullington, "Report to the Board," Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Foreign Mission Board, IMB Archives, no. 1362, 8 February 1988.

an African language or, in some cases, French remained very low.

The divergence between language and culture acquisition increased as the gulf between stated language competency and the reality of language acquisition grew. The purpose of the emphasis on language was to improve communicative competency, which, of course, includes an understanding of worldview. Yet, the objective was subverted by the attention given to language alone. Language acquisition was not intentionally tied to understanding culture. One informant recalls,

> It was not really the idea of learning culture through language. The emphasis was on how to translate word for word rather than communicate thoughts and ideas. It was an activity to endure and pass to meet mission requirements, never to communicate. I recall only one or two persons who used it [i.e., an African language] in ministry. Teachers taught to pass a test. We memorized activities to pass the test.[34]

The consequences of the lack of fluency in language had significant implications for worldview understanding. First, lack of language fluency isolated missionaries from the social, religious, and cultural life of the Togolese. For the most part, missionaries remained aloof from daily life and entered only superficially the social and religious world of the population because of weak language skills.

Second, the lack of language fluency precluded easy access to the worldview understanding. The lack of language skills meant that nuances of the worldview remained beyond reach because worldview is, to some extent, embedded in language. Thus, the TBM remained mostly oblivious to the worldviews of the different ethnicities with which it worked.

These two factors meant that TBM missionaries did not and could not address worldview issues in a meaningful way. On the one hand, they lacked appreciation for cultural anthropology and worldview studies. They were disinterested and unconcerned. On the other hand, they lacked access to the worldview because of weak language skills.

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[34]Interview by author, transcript RA57.

Consequently, the gospel was malformed. In a general way, missionaries did not understand that which the converts sought. Moreover, missionaries did not understand that which they asked the converts to do.

The malformation began very early with a communication strategy that relied on translation. As explained in chapter 2, the IMB missions in the Francophone countries concentrated on winning and teaching the educated youth, especially young men. The Francophone missions believed the young men could, in turn, communicate the gospel to their own people.[35] This approach rested on two assumptions. First, it assumed that the gospel had a certain supra-cultural element that could be translated in a word-for-word manner. Second, it assumed the educated youth could and would contextualize and pass on the gospel. Unfortunately, these two assumptions reveal a misunderstanding of the nature of contextualization. The translation, rather than the communication, of the gospel had the direct effect of allowing Pentecostalism to gain a foothold.

Another aspect of this malformation appears in the lack of contextualized teaching and training. Pedagogically, training followed Western thought processes. While orality had yet to gain the attention it has today, at least one study circulated that challenged the patterns used by the mission.[36] Nonetheless, Western pedagogy dominated the training, and in turn, rendered the gospel incomprehensible to some degree. Baptists gave increasing importance to education as a part of ministry. Thus, terms, such as *training*, *teaching*, *literacy*, *conferences*, and *theological education*, appear frequently in the interviews and records. The reputation as the "people with the Book" seems to have

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[35]See, for example, Foreign Mission Board, *West Africa 1973* (Richmond, VA: Foreign Mission Board, 1973), 47.

[36]Orality, as a communication paradigm, was first promoted among IMB missionaries in West Africa in the May 1991 storying conference. The short paper presented findings on field independent and dependent learners in East Africa. Dorothy N. Bowen and Earle A. Bowen, Jr., "Contextualization of Teaching Methodology in Theological Education in Africa" (paper presented at the Accrediting Council for Theological Education Conference of Theological Educators, Limuru, Kenya, 16 June 1988).

developed in this era. By the early 1990s, education had become a foundation of the TBM's missiology.

The emphasis on translation, already apparent in the language acquisition process, continued to be a cornerstone of the mission. English language literature, though often culturally and worldview inappropriate, was translated in mass amounts. In part, the surge in translation activities resulted from the surge in numbers of Baptist members. The mission turned to readily available resources regardless of their applicability and appropriateness.

The neglect of viable contextualization had important consequences in three areas. First, the failure to communicate clearly the nature of the gospel allowed the continuance of an ATR-shaped understanding of the gospel. The most apparent aspect of this element is a works-based salvation upon which ATR rests. One man points out,

> If you see the African mentality, what we have lived, that is, our background, it is this that follows us and that which we did before conversion. You went to see the charlatan. That is in the African context. There, one makes a sacrifice. One has to pay something. . . . But when we say, "Good! Come freely. Don't pay anything, but God will heal you." The African thinks to himself that this cannot be good for him.[37]

Second, the world of the spirits went unheeded. The uni-dimensional worldview includes a vast world of spirits that impinge on daily life. This conceptual framework contrasted sharply with that of the Western missionary and, consequently, the mission did not aggressively address this spirit world in evangelism or teaching. For example, ESBTAO did not offer a textbook on the Holy Spirit until 1995. Even then, it was a workbook that had been translated from English. Moreover, the guide did not address the Holy Spirit in relation to the spirit world. The critical issues of demonization, spiritual warfare, and affliction were categorically absent. As a further example, a course,

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[37]Interview by author, transcript KA40.

the World of the Spirits, was taught only twice between 1980 and 2000. The failure to address the spirit world in Baptist teachings meant, substantively, that Baptists had no grasp of the problem.

The chaotic situation of the 1990s indicated the need for new tactics in dealing with the spirits. Baptists, like other denominations, were inclined to seek other solutions. The entry of Pentecostalism into the churches came, in part, because the old ways of dealing with the spirits no longer worked. As a result, Pentecostal-like approaches made their way into Baptist life. For example, two oft-photocopied documents provided laypeople with step-by-step instructions for deliverance.[38] For Baptists, the Holy Spirit dwelled within the believer and made one holy while preparing the believer for his heavenly home. For Pentecostals, the Holy Spirit entered the fray, actively, daily, and powerfully. For them, the Holy Spirit was involved in the battle.

Third, the inattention to contextualization meant that teaching and training did not fully engage the needs and questions of the African context. The emphasis on education and the application of a Western pedagogy had far-reaching implications. The presentation of Baptist doctrine as systematic, logically sequenced, abstract dogma did not relate well to the real world that Africans experienced. The gospel, though translated, did not fully engage the real questions of the local context. Moreover, the literature and textbooks came from other contexts and, naturally, addressed different questions. A review of course materials, textbooks, literature, and even the sermons preached indicates this propensity to preach and teach in ways dissonant to the African context. Allan

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[38]In the author's possession. The eight and sixteen page documents have no title, author, publisher, or date. The longer document includes instructions such as: (1) requiring exorcisms be conducted only for those who belong to charismatic churches, (2) telling spirits that the exorcists are anointed by God to exorcise spirits, (3) avoiding exorcisms on holidays because these are satanic days, (4) writing Bible verses on the walls, and (5) demanding that God send angels with canteens and bottles in which to confine the evil spirits.

Anderson articulates the nature of this problem when he writes,

> Africa is illustrative of this tension, where many people regarded western missionaries with their logical presentations of "theology" as out of touch with the real, holistic world that Africans experienced. Their deepest felt needs were not addressed and their questions remained unanswered. Because the real implications of the questions arising from the African worldview were not fully grasped by much of the theology taught in Africa, the full significance of the Christian answer was also overlooked. In contrast, Pentecostal and Spirit churches were motivated by a desire to meet the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of Africa, offering solutions to life's problems and ways to cope in a threatening and hostile world.[39]

The Pentecostal message resonated with Baptists because it promised understandable, practical solutions to the present felt needs created by the upheaval. The message demonstrated better contextualization. Impoverishment, insecurity, and sickness were not merely assigned to the present-day sufferings in an abstract hope for the future as Baptists had done. The Pentecostal lessons and sermons were plain, simple, reasonable, and concrete. The Pentecostal message proclaimed a here-and-now salvation that addressed oppression, suffering, evil spirits, sorcery, power, fear, and social relationships. This message resonated more fundamentally than the cognitive, future-hope, somewhat spiritualized, gospel that Baptists had been taught.

The TBM did not take seriously and intentionally the contextual factors for mission. As a result, Baptists were ill-prepared for the rise of Pentecostalism. The movement found in Baptists a ready audience. Cephas Omenyo's admonition fits well the Baptist situation,

> "Immigrant" religions have to consciously make efforts at offering responses to the questions the world-views of the host cultures raise, in order to be relevant and meaningful to their adherents within their particular cultural milieu. Consequently, the whole business of contextualization of the gospel in Africa is to a large extent, the ability of a Christian church or a movement to successfully reconcile Christianity with African world-view, or using the Christian message to offer responses to the questions that are raised by the world-view of an African people.[40]

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[39]Allan H. Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 199.

[40]Cephas Omenyo, "Charismatic Churches in Ghana and Contextualization," *Exchange* 31

In summary, Pentecostals understood and appropriated the plausibility structures of

Africans in a way that Baptists did not.

Polity

The fourth factor related to the ill-preparation of Baptists pertains to church

polity. From the late 1980s until mid-1991, a major message streaming forth from the

TBM stated succinctly, "A Baptist church is a democracy." The theological issues about

ecclesiology and the priesthood of the believer aside, the communication of this message

was ill-timed. One older pastor, with enduring animosity, recalls,

> What the Americans left us, excuse me, the form of democracy that someone
> inserted into the Baptist church in the beginning was, in part, misunderstood and the
> experience until today has been disastrous, if I can say so. Because we have realized
> that a lot of the professionals that we had through the correspondence course when
> they were in junior high, high school, today they are Assemblies of God, many of
> our professionals. . . . because in the early days, the criticisms and the form of
> democracy that we had in the Baptist church did not create peace. . . . We are
> continually under the scheme of attacks, of criticisms, of belittlements, of
> humiliation. The situation was such that certain churches still are not stable.[41]

Many informants marked the democratization of the local church as a negative

development that destabilized the churches prior to and during the upheaval. The

democratization and the endorsement of religious liberty joined to create an untenable,

yea, ungovernable state in the churches. As the above informant indicates, this disaster

had long-term consequences.

At the heart of the matter lies a misunderstanding of democracy as the right to

say and act in whatever manner one chooses. This misunderstanding created disorder in

the churches as well as the larger society. When proponents of Neo-Pentecostalism began

to insist on changes in the churches, the leadership structure was handicapped by the

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(2002): 254.

[41]Interview by author, transcript RA50.

TBM's call for democracy, which was perceived and interpreted as the right to say and do whatever one wanted. The Neo-Pentecostal proponents shouted down the Baptist leaders. One leader reflects on the foreignness of democratization,

> I want to speak of the Americans who brought and spoke of autonomy. One cannot say that over there [in the US] that the hierarchy is not respected even in the church. . . . I am not condemning, but I am saying that your structure was at a level and you understood some things because of the American structure or the American education. From a young age you understood and grew naturally within this system and understood it. But for us in Africa, we grew up in a given structure and when one comes and, for example, one brings this idea of autonomy and one doesn't take the time to explain it to the people, to show the people that autonomy does not mean independence, nor that one has no responsibilities towards the big house that covers you.[42]

As a result of the confusion over polity, Pentecostals established a foothold. At the time, and for years afterwards, the misunderstanding about church autonomy and democracy created disarray at the local church, association, and convention levels. Pentecostals availed themselves of the years of disarray to instill a Pentecostal ethos.

Era 3: Re-alignment of Direction

In the second era, Pentecostalism gained a foothold among Baptists. Yet, for the most part, churches maintained an overt Baptist face in terms of faith and practice. In contrast, Baptists embraced Pentecostalism during the third era. The major factor for pentecostalization lies in the realignment of Baptist identity in a transitional period. In this realignment, the vision, direction, and emphases of Baptists shifted at three levels. In short, Baptists reached a tipping point at which time pentecostalization became a viable and desired outcome.

Background

The effects of the turmoil of the early 1990s continued throughout the decade.

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[42]Interview by author, transcript RA35.

As the decade progressed, the TBM's influence with the CBT decreased. On the one hand, the TBM believed that the CBT should take a greater responsibility for its affairs and so became less imperious in its demands. On the other hand, the TBM was pre-occupied by its own internal disarray resulting from the upheaval.

In 1997, the SD-21 reorganization of IMB led to a transition period. The reorganization had multiple effects, three of which directly impinge on pentecostalization. First, the re-organization fundamentally changed the direction, nature, and emphases of the TBM. SD-21 replaced the country missions, such as the TBM, with people group teams. As such, the TBM ceased as an organizational entity. The missionaries of the TBM were assigned to two separate administrative zones—north and south—which were under the oversight of two different strategy facilitators, i.e., administrators. The people group teams operated as independent entities under the loose supervision of a strategy facilitator. The teams were instructed to concentrate uniquely on the assigned people group and not to interact with other teams or the CBT.

Second, the re-organization fundamentally changed the way that IMB related to the CBT. The re-organization removed the structural mechanisms by which IMB and CBT communicated and cooperated. The position of mission administrator was dissolved, and with it the point of contact. One of the strategy facilitators had responsibility to relate to the national convention, but was only marginally able to do so due to the geographical separation and his workload. The reorganization dismantled the primary structural connection between the two organizations. In short, the two organizations, which had previously had close relationships, were cast as two independent organizations with no viable channel for collaboration.

Third, the reorganization led to a restructure of the resource flow. Until SD-21, the TBM subsidized heavily the CBT's work at both the national and associational level. As part of the reorganization, IMB and CBT agreed to a declining subsidy over fifteen years beginning at about fifty thousand dollars annually. Before the reorganization, the

TBM exerted significant influence in which departments and ministries to subsidize. With the restructure of the subsidy, the CBT assumed full responsibility for the management and allocation of funds.

Dissolution of the TBM

When the SD-21 re-organization process began in 1997, the TBM had just completed an intensive self-study that offered a way forward following the internal disarray of the first half of the decade. SD-21 discarded the study proposals and went in a different direction. The dissolution of the TBM occurred suddenly and without a transition period for mission and convention relationships. This development had four outcomes for pentecostalization.

The first outcome is the loss of initiative. The TBM initiated and carried out many of the ideas, strategies, and ministries. Until the SD-21 reorganization, the CBT had, to a large extent, been a participant observer in the work of the mission. This reality becomes clear when the TBM makes "recommendations" to the CBT about the CBT's work. For example, in 1991-92, the CBT began a process of placing home missionaries. The TBM intervened and recommended the locations, salary, and supervisors for the home missionaries to be employed by the CBT. In one case, they "recommended" that the CBT change the location of missionary placement that the CBT had chosen. In another case, the TBM threatened to veto at least one candidate for home missions.[43] The point is that the idea and implementation were directed by the TBM. An informant from a rural area testifies about the consequences,

Our dependency was pushed too much. We felt too dependent on the Mission, on

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[43]See Minutes of the Meetings of the Executive Committee of the Togo Baptist Mission, 1 August 1991, in the author's possession; Minutes of the Meetings of the Executive Committee of the Togo Baptist Mission, 16 October 1991, in the author's possession; and Minutes of the Meetings of the Executive Committee of the Togo Baptist Mission, 11 February 1992, in the author's possession.

the Baptist Mission to the point that we did not quickly learn to take initiatives because we had a habit that we learned from watching the missionaries who did almost everything. And this is such that to take initiatives, well, it is a big burden, an extraordinary thing. [We have this idea] that we can do absolutely nothing. . . . Due to the fact that someone else always did that before, we are not in the habit of doing it. You see, it means that even though people have the means, they haven't learned to do it themselves. Someone else did it for them. That's it. Little by little we try to take away this mentality. What we can do, we must do ourselves.[44]

As the informant indicates, the CBT depended on the mission for ideas and the implementation. When the TBM dissolved, the primary initiator for both the ideas and the work disappeared.

The second outcome is the loss of missionary vision. Just as the initiative came from the TBM, so also came the vision. The evangelism ethos faded with the dissolution of the TBM. Many informants commented on this loss of vision for missions and evangelism. One informant complains,

There is a great *relâchement* [i.e., negligence], total discouragement before the Great Commission, just as I said. Each person is occupied by his corner, his church, and one doesn't think of the whole, what one can do for others, what one can do for the country, for Africa, for the world. We're no longer concerned. And this is truly bad for me that people no longer have a very large vision. [They have] a very limited vision for the[ir] corner.[45]

One astute informant attributes the cause of this loss of vision to the TBM's failure to create self-sufficiency.[46] In short, the TBM cast the vision, but, as the history shows, the CBT did not own the vision. This lack of ownership becomes apparent when the emphasis on evangelism gave way to the emphasis on warfare prayer.

The third outcome is loss of response to local church needs. The TBM, by its presence throughout the country, maintained a relatively close link with the associations and churches. This large network allowed the TBM to understand the needs and provide resources at little or no cost to the churches. Thus, churches had access to such things as

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[44]Interview by author, transcript RA37.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Interview by author, transcript KA23.

literature and training. "We believed that everything could be free," concedes a pastor. "We had easy access to things and after their departure, it weighed on us in that the church, itself, had to take responsibility in lots of areas. It was difficult."[47] The dissolution of the TBM meant that the TBM network ceased to function. People group teams no longer had a collaborative mechanism for identifying and meeting these needs. Furthermore, the funds and initiative to provide these resources passed to the CBT leadership.

The fourth outcome is the loss of a trustworthy partner. In the power-fear paradigm of West Africa, trust is a valuable asset. Churches and individuals knew that missionaries were, by and large, trustworthy. They were not so sure about their fellow Baptists who might curse them or misuse funds. When the TBM dissolved, churches lost a partner they could trust. An informant from a highly pentecostalized church testifies, "I believe that before all else, we trusted the missionaries for their assistance in a lot of areas, including financial areas."[48] IMB presumed that the TBM leadership loss would be quickly assumed by Africans leaders. On the contrary, the trustworthy partner did not arise in the CBT. Most of the interviews include accusations against the CBT leadership reflecting deep distrust.

The SD-21 reorganization had a profound effect on Baptists. While a couple of informants express contentment with the dissolution of the TBM, most express discontent because of the four outcomes. Notably, these outcomes tie directly to dependency. The TBM, often unknowingly, created a fundamental dependency by its desire to initiate, to cast vision, to respond to needs, and not to disciple so as to build trustworthy people.

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[47]Interview by author, transcript RA34.

[48]Ibid.

Reconstruction of the CBT

The CBT underwent significant change concurrent with the dissolution of the TBM. While missionaries remained in the country, the mechanisms for formal collaboration ceased. No formal structure existed for the integration of work between the two organizations. Reconstruction involved five aspects—vision, Neo-Pentecostal influence, ecumenical participation, resource allocation, and distrust.

First, the CBT shifted its vision. With the passing of the TBM, the evangelism and Bible teaching emphases diminished. In its place, the CBT leadership adopted a two-prong vision inspired by Neo-Pentecostalism. The informants consistently cite money as the dominant theme and preoccupation of the CBT leadership. The functional vision is stated succinctly as, "Donnez beaucoup d'argent" [Give lots of money]. The second prong of the vision consists of warfare prayer. This theme appears as an implicit motif of the convention, even though it is never specifically articulated. Informants vary in their interpretation and assessment of the new vision. Some informants see the development as positive because the CBT embraces and owns its own vision. Other informants see the new vision as a betrayal of Baptist foundations. Very few informants speak positively of the financial prong.

Second, concurrent with the vision delineation, the CBT leadership admitted Neo-Pentecostal-inclined churches and individuals into its body. One of the most notable developments pertains to the re-admission of the Cocoteraie church. The church had been excluded from the CBT for about a decade due to inappropriate faith and practice. In the early part of the first decade of the 2000s, the CBT readmitted the church. Several informants spoke of the event as a decisive turning point. The following report reflects the widely held viewpoint about the event:

> I think it was 2003. There were some people that, with the presence of the missionaries, we had sent away because of their very dirty doctrine. Now, our leaders of the year, they said, "Well, whereas we have a need, the subsidy is going to end, whereas we need lots of money, we will invite everybody."
> And when these people came back, we asked the question, "Why did we send them away? Someone brings them back now. Has their doctrine changed?"

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[The leaders responded,] "No. We don't need to talk any more of that. We need money. Give money."[49]

The new vision did not proceed quietly. The favored status of Neo-Pentecostals by the CBT leadership introduced *désordre* (disorder), as many informants labeled it. The disorder pertains to the new financial vision as the above informant continues to explain,

> And every sort of disorder, they came with it. Yes. It entered. And in the following years, they were the leaders. They only served to infest the church with these things. I see that rather than a missionary vision developing, it was a financial vision which developed.[50]

On the surface, the new vision and favored status of Neo-Pentecostalism appear as a financial issue. Yet, beneath the surface, the overture to Pentecostal-like churches results from the CBT's understanding of faith and practice. Two informants close to the matter reveal that the inclusion of Cocoteraie and other like-minded groups proceeded because of a belief about the rightness of their faith and practice. According to these two informants, the exclusion of the Cocoteraie church in the early 1990s was unjust *persécution*.[51] Accordingly, Cocoteraie and others like them are acceptable and should be included.

Taken together, the evidence suggests that the CBT leadership sought to expand the Neo-Pentecostal footprint among Baptists. Within a short time span, individuals with strong ties to Neo-Pentecostalism assumed leadership positions in the CBT. By 2002 or 2003, Neo-Pentecostals had gained favored status; CBT leadership consisted of strong Neo-Pentecostal elements; and evangelism and Bible teaching had faded. By all accounts, the new vision was firmly entrenched by this time. While more research is needed, the interviews suggest that the CBT leadership endeavored to expand

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[49]KA23, interview.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Interview by author, transcript RA204; and RA36, interview.

Neo-Pentecostal influence in the churches. Thus, they, directly and intentionally, expedited the pentecostalization of the convention and its churches.

The third aspect of the reconstruction of the CBT lies in its ecumenical participation. While this theme does not have a strong emphasis, the repeated references to other denominations and the interchanges that take place play a role in pentecostalization. The CBT, as a whole, took a decided turn toward ecumenism. A spirit of ecumenism, which values unity and brotherhood more than belief and practice, nourishes access to other groups and denominations. This participation in the ecumenical movement exposes the CBT to other Pentecostal groups. An older informant elaborates,

> The fact that there are many religious denominations, that we have this [ecumenical] liberty, that Christians meet in conferences, in seminars, in crusades, in marches for Jesus (because we have the March of Jesus that we have sponsored for a long time). The fact that people meet means that barriers are broken down, people copy each other, trick others, etc. All that we ask and what we do and counsel is *modération*.[52]

The connections and the lack of critical assessment permit and even favor the adoption of faith and practices that may or may not be biblically sound. Notably, this influential informant does not look to biblical authority as the measure of acceptability. Rather, he advocates a vague criterion of *modération.* Notably, this criterion of *modération* appears often in the interviews.

The fourth aspect is the reallocation of resources consistent with the new vision. One of the most sensitive issues raised by informants pertains to the use of financial resources. The initial windfall of subsidy allowed a rapid and extensive expansion of the CBT's work. As the subsidy gradually declined, a greater percentage went to the maintenance of convention bureaucracy and its ecumenical and Neo-Pentecostal image. The decreased amounts of resources caused tensions with the churches, which saw fewer and fewer resources available to support their work.

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[52]RA48, interview.

The fifth aspect is the distrust of the CBT leadership and a consequent decline in morale. The majority of informants express much discontent with the leadership. The distrust stems from a perceived misuse of the subsidy. The informants see the leadership as spending the funds on personal perks rather than church growth. One informant typifies the wide dissatisfaction:

> I say lack of experience because they took the money of the convention to pay for transportation, visits [to other countries], telephones, things like that; not to help the churches. No church benefitted from the help of the convention—for development, for literature. No. They went to visit [other countries], go overseas, international meetings. "Be international" is the theme of the vision. I think, perhaps, they want to go to the big meetings to look for financial partners, but we haven't seen anything. The money that the Mission gave for subsidy has been put to personal use. They used the money for personal business. It was not to help the churches grow.[53]

This discontent has caused an erosion of income from the churches to support the convention, which, in turn, has reduced the convention's capacity to serve the churches.

Moreover, the dissatisfaction has demoralized the churches to the point that Baptists express deep pessimism about the CBT's future. For example, a deacon concludes a long history of the past decade with "Nothing is going right. I assure you, nothing is going right. It is a reality."[54] A former leader in the convention claims that "the convention is dying."[55] "The convention is sick! The convention is not doing well!" exclaims a current convention leader.[56] Informants consistently shift the blame to others. Non-leaders blame the leadership for the problems. Past leaders blame current leaders. Current leaders blame past leaders. The demise of the CBT provides an opportunity for further pentecostalization.

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[53]Interview by author, transcript RA49.

[54]Interview by author, transcript KA39.

[55]RA36, interview.

[56]RA35, interview.

Transformation of the Churches

The dissolution of the TBM and the reconstruction of the CBT had profound implications for the churches. These two developments contributed to the increased pentecostalization of churches. As the mechanism and structures for the support of the churches declined, the local churches became more independent of the CBT. Moreover, the lack of support led to an increased emphasis on prosperity as the churches sought to be self-supporting. These macro-factors encouraged the pentecostalization of the local church. This tendency may be observed in two ways.

First, the churches turn to other sources for inspiration, teaching, and vision. The dissolution of the TBM meant that churches, especially outside the capital city, lost a partner who offered initiative, vision, and resources. In the end, the reconstruction of the CBT meant that the CBT could not be counted on to meet the needs of the churches. One pastor laments, "The Baptist convention is at its knees because of the problem of embezzlement. I cannot find a leader to be my mirror, to be my model. No!"[57] This leadership vacuum creates tensions in the churches, which, in turn, lead the churches to seek other sources that provide initiative, vision, and resources. Positively, the most readily available resources are Neo-Pentecostal. Thus, Baptists turn to their literature, cassettes, videos, Internet, television, and radio. These media are ubiquitous among Baptists and provide the primary sources for the local pastor and his church.[58] Moreover, conferences and seminars by Neo-Pentecostals offer training for Baptists everywhere. Finally, many Baptist church leaders and members go to institutes run by *ministères* because they offer affordable, short-term training.[59]

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[57]KA23, interview.

[58]I often observed these booklets and other forms of Neo-Pentecostal media during the interviews. Interestingly, several pastors showcased their seminary textbooks in a bookcase. Yet, the well-used literature on their desk or in their briefcase was Neo-Pentecostal.

[59]One informant attended one of these institutes. The cost was less than fifty U.S. dollars for six months of training.

The problem is compounded by inadequate training offered by Baptists. This complaint focuses on both availability and content. For example, the training offered at the seminary comes under attack as impractical and abstract. One graduate of ESBTAO complains, "That's what I'm saying. The experience. It is the experience. A lot of practical ministry things are not taught at the seminary. A lot of things are not taught."[60] Another informant working outside the capital brings a similar perspective:

> They say *école supérieure,* but the church is not superior. They are training superior pastors. They are doing that for themselves. We need pastors who are trained. I do not know how to say this. When they say superior training—bachelors, doctorate, masters—in our schools. When you leave with their title of *Bachelor*, the title of *Doctor in Theology*. I do not know where you are going to work in developing a church.[61]

Informants routinely complain of the lack of trained pastors, especially outside the capital where "there are very few trained Baptist pastors."[62] Another informant declares forthrightly, "A problem? Baptist churches are led by lay people. They do not have trained pastors."[63] While the statement is not entirely correct, it accurately reflects the opinion of many Baptists. At the end of one interview, an informant exhorts,

> Our doctrine, we have to master it. Often, it is because we have not mastered our doctrine that we see *tapage* here and there. We do not understand why people do *tapage*. If you do not master the thing, you are going to do *tapage,* too. But if you know how to teach to your members the Bible, doctrine... "This thing is like that. This is that. Speaking in tongues is done this way. Biblical prophecy is like this." If the members understand, they will never leave even if there is a church across the street. They will never leave to go there. We need people to come and speak again about this, to do refresher courses so that truly we do not lose our identity. As it is, a lot think that we do not do our work well. They are charismatic. We are not. In their churches, things move, money pours in, things like that. I have the impression that a lot of colleagues say that [i.e., we are not doing our work well]. It is necessary to teach the Word of God to people such as it is. The Lord will do the rest.[64]

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[60]Interview by author, transcript RA29.

[61]RA49, interview.

[62]Interview by author, transcript RA21.

[63]Interview by author, transcript RA107.

[64]RA44, interview.

Without adequate training, a pastor more readily imitates faith and practices that he observes. Untrained, he lacks the capacity to address the Pentecostal movement and the influence it exerts on his church. He is unable to disciple adequately his members. Consequently, pentecostalization occurs, if for no other reason, because of its overwhelming presence.

Second, the churches are redefining mission and success. This redefinition results from two factors. First, the typical Baptist pastor faces a practical dilemma. The typical Neo-Pentecostal pastor emphasizes money and the Big Man idea. Because he is well-funded, he is available to the members as well as the general population. Contrariwise, Baptist pastors are often bi-vocational and not always available to the members. A church planter explains the practical consequences, "[When] pastors are not full-time, his members go to the available pastors, especially the Assemblies of God, the Pentecostals, and the *ministères*. When an Assemblies of God church comes to the neighborhood, the Baptists leave. The [other] pastor is always there."[65] The dilemma has very practical implications for the survival of the Baptist congregation. One informant attributes the closure of many churches to the erosion of membership over this problem of availability of pastors.

Second, the CBT leadership and the pastors of the churches are increasingly concerned with lifestyle and finances. The money vision replaces the missionary vision. This emphasis on lifestyle troubles one informant, who alleges,

> Most pastors, excuse the term, are no longer concerned for the well-being of their church. He must have all the instruments, the necessary equipment, sophisticated sound systems, drum sets; the things that are very expensive. And, oh, beautiful

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[65]RA107, interview. Another aspect of this dilemma pertains to the *respect* accorded to the pastor. In the traditional profile, a Baptist pastor "identifies with his people. He and his members are the same. They are friends." Interview by author, transcript RA28. This identity as friend rather than "guru" diminishes respect for the pastor. The research did not probe the role of the pastor and its implications in a hierarchal-based social structure.

buildings and a good salary. When he thinks about all these things, all these efforts, the money, tithes, offerings, he is going to concentrate on these things rather than on going out to buy a lot [for a church building], or sending someone regularly to evangelize a soul, or constructing a *hangar* [i.e., a low-cost, crude building for worship], or buying benches, those things. Pastors prefer to use money for the church itself, rather than spend it elsewhere for mission and evangelism. This is one of the causes [of lack of evangelism]—the search for personal interest, of well-being, of being in a good job with all the comforts of the church and personal life. It is this which most preoccupies our colleagues and which diminishes the missionary zeal.[66]

Other informants describe the trend as the commercialization of pastors. For example, an observer avows that "a mercenary system is developing at the level of the clergy; that is to say, money takes a major place in the life of the servants and even the members."[67]

This emphasis on prosperity and lifestyle has evoked accusations of corruption and loss of spirituality. Informants recount numerous examples of misuse of funds, moral failure, arrogance, and anger. Routinely, informants link the emphasis on prosperity to these negative characteristics.

The redefinition of mission and success has three main implications for pentecostalization. First, and obviously, the emphasis on lifestyle and prosperity is, itself, an aspect of pentecostalization. As the Word-Faith emphasis grows among the churches, pentecostalization grows accordingly. The acceptance of the premises of the Word-Faith movement promotes further pentecostalization as the movement integrates itself in the churches.

Second, the redefinition of success means that financial concerns drive a church's mission. Thus, the size of the audience and amount of the offerings are the key indicators of success. For this reason, church leaders observe the most successful Neo-Pentecostal churches and *ministères*. Then, the church offers a similar experience in order to attract crowds. The emulation of other successful groups further pentecostalizes the

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[66]RA37, interview.

[67]KA23, interview.

church.

Third, the redefinition of success means locations that offer the greatest potential are hotly sought. "Every pastor," protests a deacon, "wants to be in Lomé in order to be well paid."[68] The capital city offers a better opportunity for drawing large crowds and receiving large offerings. The attraction of Lomé as a fertile ground for success creates a dearth of pastors outside the capital. The new churches that are planted in the hotspots have a Pentecostal DNA from their beginning.

Conclusion

Social upheaval in the late 1980s and early 1990s produced fundamental changes in the society. These changes profoundly altered the nature of Baptists. Even before the 1990 upheaval, Baptists had some encounters with Neo-Pentecostalism and the Word-Faith movement at the grassroots level. The endorsement of religious liberty and a growing religious fervor allowed Neo-Pentecostalism to surge forward as a meaningful solution to the social problems afflicting the country and individuals. The emphasis on democracy provoked a latent rebellion by which members challenged the existing church authority. In this era, the TBM considered itself the keeper of doctrine, vision, and action.

Neither the TBM nor the CBT was prepared for the upheaval. This ill-preparedness allowed Pentecostalism to gain a foothold. To begin, Baptists were slow to respond to the changes for multiple reasons, including their inability to assess accurately the significance, extent, nature, and missiology of the movement in relation to Baptists. Next, the emphasis on evangelism without a viable form of discipleship meant that large numbers of Baptists continued to hold worldviews that had not been transformed. Then, an inability to understand the worldview contributed to poor contextualization by the

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[68]KA39, interview.

TBM. This lack of understanding meant that key elements of everyday life were not addressed in communicating the gospel and developing the churches. Finally, the emphasis on Baptist polity as democracy stood in dissonance with the traditional authority patterns of the society, and hampered the ability to address the Pentecostal influence. In the early stages of this era, the TBM dominated, but as the CBT aged, the TBM's influence decreased. These four factors set the stage for the full pentecostalization of the churches.

In the third era, the factors for pentecostalization revolve around the dissolution of the TBM, the re-alignment of the CBT, and the transformation of the churches. The dissolution of the TBM removed an element of Baptist structure that provided close contact with the local churches. Consequently, initiative, vision, resources, and a trusted partner disappeared. The CBT, during this transition, moved aggressively to cast Neo-Pentecostalism as an appropriate vision of Baptist faith and practice. The leadership projected an image of prosperity while neglecting to provide resources to the local churches. The lack of viable training, the discontent with leadership, and an obsession with finances diminished the CBT's influence. The changes in both the TBM and CBT caused the churches to turn to other sources of training and inspiration. These sources, usually Neo-Pentecostal, further instilled the Pentecostal ethos and practice in the churches. Furthermore, the churches redefined mission in terms of financial success. In this way, churches emulated successful Neo-Pentecostal groups in order to attract an audience.

The factors identified in this chapter worked together to create an environment conducive to pentecostalization. Together, these factors provided a context that led, inevitably, to pentecostalization. In retrospect, the over-emphasis on the cognitive aspects of faith and practice meant that the gospel was malformed. Baptists lacked a key ingredient namely, the experience of God in everyday life. The lack of stable, knowledgeable, competent leadership over the past twenty years ensured that Baptists did

not respond well to the movement. Unlike other mainline denominations which created space within their churches for the movement, Baptists lacked the control, understanding, and leadership capabilities to manage the process to a soft landing. Thus, Baptists are not simply charismaticized, but pentecostalized. Consequently, unlike other mainline churches, the historic mission agenda of evangelism and Bible teaching waned in favor of the Neo-Pentecostal emphases, such as financial prosperity and warfare prayer.[69] Finally, the sudden loss of the TBM, in spite of its many shortcomings, left a substantial void that Neo-Pentecostalism filled. In many ways, the local churches were left to fend for themselves.

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[69]J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu observes a similar phenomenon in Ghanaian churches. Although, he uses the term *pentecostalization* to describe what this dissertation calls charismatization, his observation accurately depicts the phenomenon. He writes, "By creating space within their own churches for renewal groups to function, the historic churches managed to bring under control the drift of their members into independent churches. The parallel 'pentecostalizing' process that occurred within historic mission churches meant that the independents served as pointers to the direction in which African Christianity as a whole was actually heading. In many senses therefore, the 'pentecostalization' of historic mission churches, adopted as a defensive mechanism in the face of the independent church challenge, partly ensured the survival and sustenance of the mission agenda of historic churches into the twenty-first century." J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Pentecostalism in Africa and the Changing Face of Christian Mission: Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal Movements in Ghana," *Mission Studies* 19 (2002): 24.

CHAPTER 6

THE APPEAL OF PENTECOSTALISM

This chapter explores the appeal of Pentecostalism for Baptists. The first section sketches the social and religious background in order to appreciate Pentecostalism's adaptation to the context. Then, the remainder of the chapter develops the four themes of appeal; that is, Pentecostalism engages the African worldview, contemporizes well-being, reframes problem-solving, and promotes religious fervency.

Introduction

The contextual factors played an undeniable role in the pentecostalization of Baptist churches. In particular, the social and religious upheaval of the 1990s created an environment favorable to the growth of Pentecostalism. These contextual factors constitute the macro conditions. Yet, they, alone, do not explain the inclination toward pentecostalization. Another related question arises—*Why do Baptists embrace Pentecostalism*? The simple answer is that Pentecostalism appeals to Baptists. The movement provides elements that are missing in Baptist faith and practice. These missing elements constitute the micro conditions. The contextual factors joined the inherent attraction of Pentecostalism to reshape Baptists into the form they have today. Pentecostalism secured deep roots among Baptists because of its compelling appeal.

The interviews probed the question, *why do people find Pentecostalism appealing*? Stated differently, what draws people to the *ministères* and the Neo-Pentecostal churches and why do Baptists adopt Pentecostalism? In the conceptual category of "appeal," four themes emerged. These four themes stand in close proximity to each other. As a broad generalization, Pentecostalism appeals to Baptists because of its

adaptation to African life and ethos.

Before continuing with the main sections, two minor appeals deserve attention. They appear in the data, but do not fit easily in the four themes. First, curiosity draws some people to Pentecostalism. The aura of the *ministères* and churches attracts people. Crusades, *veillées*, loud music, testimony about miracles, and other such displays entice the curious passers-by. One church leader confides that members from his church attend the *ministères* occasionally, "They want to go see what people do there. Curiosity. They are curious. The want to go see what they do and when they come back, they recount what they saw."[1] While curiosity appears in the data, it does not account for the deep appeal of Pentecostalism.

Second, Pentecostalism offers a means to rebel. Pentecostalism brings disorder to the religious space in a way similar to the disorder in the public space. Just as the political opposition introduces disorder in the political realm, Pentecostal proponents introduce a similar upheaval in churches. Pentecostalism provides a way to protest against ecclesial authority. The plea for *modération* suggests this attractive element of disorder and rebellion. The call for *modération* says, in effect, "You may express your rebellion through a disorderly Pentecostalism, but do so with *modération*. This finding substantiates David Martin's conjecture that Pentecostalism occasionally takes on an oppositional nature. He writes,

> The charismatic churches appeal to young men and women, representing their ethos and interests over against older generations and older elites. When mainstream churches are co-opted as non-governmental organizations, Pentecostals and charismatics can constitute a religious opposition, and when mainstream churches offer a critique they, by contrast, may offer a legitimation. . . . They simultaneously draw from the mainstream and the independent churches, and also influence the mainstream bodies, especially Baptists.[2]

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[1]Interview by author, transcript RA44.

[2]David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 149–50.

Indeed, the conflict expressed by the informants establishes that Pentecostalism

constitutes a religious opposition among Baptists. Grant Wacker observes a similar

disruptive element in early Pentecostalism,

> The forces that animated primitive pentecostalism were also profoundly disruptive. In its defiance of social conventions, in its bellicosity and zealotry, in its ecstatic excess and deliberate scrambling of the glory of human language, the movement embodied a primordial urge toward disorder. And this too was part of its secret.[3]

In the 1990s political uprising against established authority, Pentecostalism appealed to

Baptists because it provided a similar avenue to oppose and disrupt the religious

authority. Yet, even today, the rebellion continues. Several of the informants obviously

relish the disorder that their Pentecostal practices bring to the local church and the

convention. They delight in the tension. Unarguably, Pentecostalism establishes itself

among Baptists as the religious opposition.

Background Considered

The appeal of Pentecostalism may not be fully appreciated without an

understanding of ATR and the African religious and social world.[4] Four markers

circumscribe this world. First, social relationships occupy a major place in African life.

Participant observation and interviews testify to the preoccupation with proper social

relationships. In particular, relationships, not time, dictate the course of one's life.

Second, spiritual powers threaten the supreme value of well-being. Problems

originate with the spiritual powers, and these problems, by definition, subvert well-being.

The attribution of cause rests with spiritual forces. As an older church leader put it, "there

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[3]Grant Wacker, "The Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism," *Harvard Theological Review* 77 (1984): 375.

[4]For a general description and analysis of traditional religion, see Paul G. Hiebert, R. Daniel Shaw, and Tite Tiénou, *Understanding Folk Religion: A Christian Response to Popular Beliefs and Practices* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999).

is no such thing as an accident."[5] For him, as for others, adversity has spiritual causes, and this adversity contravenes the good life.

Third, people manage problems through the manipulation of spiritual powers. Problem solving always begins with the question: who caused it? Once the originator is known, the powers are manipulated to diminish or remove the problem.

Fourth, a belief system's value lies in its functionality. ATR stands as a highly utilitarian religion that provides solutions to everyday problems. People discard those belief systems or those practices that do not provide effective solutions. Thus, the functionality of religion contributes to eclectic systems of problem solving as demonstrated by the innumerable *ministères*.

The World

Admittedly, no single all-encompassing African worldview exists. The diversity of ATR leads Baptist scholar Solomon Ishola to declare, "Traditional religions are, in reality, best described than defined!"[6] Nevertheless, within this complexity of descriptions, shared themes emerge that show salient consistency among the different ethnic groups. The following synopsis reflects these shared themes of ATR, especially as expressed by the Ewé, which is the most populous ethnic group in Togo.

God is the creator of everything, including man and the deities. He is the supreme, omnipresent, unsurpassable power who controls all things. He is remote and, hence, unconcerned with the small things of daily life. As the controller of all things and the epitome of life itself, God imparts life, in the form of health and prosperity to man. On the ethical side, God values peace, kindness, generosity, respect for life, and truth.

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[5]Interview by author, transcript RA111.

[6]S. Ademola Ishola, "Christianity Vis-à-Vis Traditional Religions," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 44 (2002): 46.

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Similarly, God heeds the major happenings in the world, particularly man's ethical behavior, and stands as man's ethical model. Importantly, the person who emulates God's ethical behavior is a child of God. In this way, the child of God demonstrates calmness, goodness, generosity, and hospitality. Furthermore, he respects the life of his neighbor, lives in peace with others, maintains good social relationships, and respects truth.

The deities serve as intermediaries between God and man. They also contribute to clan and family unity. The deities provide protection, healing, health, and fertility for the village and the clan according to the deities' degree of power and geographical reach. Some deities are limited to a village or an area close to the village while others operate over large areas. Similarly, a village may have multiple deities. Specialists may invoke one deity in the village to constrain a deity of lesser power. Deities have varying requirements for sacrifices, ceremonies, totems, and taboos.

God is at the pinnacle of the spiritual entities, but he is neither unique nor exclusive. His relationship with the deities manifests most clearly this aspect of God. God and the deities have the same nature, but God is greater and has a higher ethical character, especially in terms of peace, generosity, patience, and purity. Unlike the deities, he does not reside in a specific locale, nor does he need man in order to subsist. Contrariwise, the deities need sacrifices and offerings.

The ancestors stand between the invisible and visible worlds. The ancestors, unlike the deities, reincarnate. The ancestors and man exist in a symbiotic relationship. Having passed into the invisible world, the ancestors understand the nature and causes of happenings in the visible world. Man relies on the ancestors for protection, social order, and fertility. In addition, the ancestors may invoke difficulties or benefits on people in the visible world. Consequently, man must preserve firm alliances with the ancestors through prescribed rites, ceremonies, offerings, and sacrifices. Through different specialists, ancestors offer hidden knowledge about the past and immediate future, the causes of events, and the means to avoid or remove adversity.

Man exists quasi-eternally with God. Man is a created being whose creation precedes his birth. Notably, man is not created in the image of God, nor for his glory. In the beginning, God and his creation lived harmoniously. John Mbiti describes this pristine world as "one in which God is among the people, His presence supplying them with food, shelter, peace, immortality or gift of the resurrection, and a moral code."[7] At a given point, a rupture occurred due to man's disobedience, man's negligence, God's boredom with man, or an animal's capricious act. God withdrew and man lost his happy state.[8] Man resides with God and, upon birth, enters the visible world. Death brings a translation back into the invisible world of God where, much like the visible world, one eats, marries, and parties. The cycle continues indefinitely. The ideas of original and moral sin are absent, hence no final judgment awaits. Rather, sin consists of disobedience to God's will and of behaviors that disrupt social harmony. Man exists to achieve his own personal destiny. His destiny and success in the visible world require appropriate mastery of the natural and spiritual powers. These powers provide protection and an avenue to harass one's enemies.

Finally, time consists of events. This concept stands in sharp contrast to the Western abstract, chronological view of time. Mbiti's classic explanation clarifies the idea:

> Time is simply a composition of events which have occurred, those which are taking place now and those which are immediately to occur. What has not taken place or what has no likelihood of an immediate occurrence falls in the category of "No-time." What is certain to occur, or what falls within the rhythm of natural phenomena, is in the category of inevitable or *potential time*.
> The most significant consequence of this is that . . . time is a two-dimensional

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[7]John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969), 127.

[8]The Ewé commonly attribute the rupture to God's annoyance with man. According to the story, heaven was so close to earth that women continuously hit heaven with their pounding sticks. Men wiped their hands on heaven after eating and after bodily functions. Finally, people cut a piece of heaven to prepare their meals. At that point, God, irritated, removed himself and heaven to the high heavens.

phenomenon, with a long past, a present and virtually no future.[9] Consequently, the eschatological future is irrelevant. Indeed, the idea of time as past and present permeates the African cosmology at profound levels. For example, one's direction, orientation, security, and identity lie in the past. The primary orientation of Africans rests solidly in the present and past.

Well-being

The preeminent value is personal well-being as exhibited by health, wealth, and longevity. These three values reflect the understanding of the munificence of God. He bestows his blessings on those whom he approves. Conversely, one who lacks these things, lacks God's approval, and incurs his disinterest or malediction. Herein lies a key understanding; that is, problems are those things that negate well-being. Ultimately, the lack of well-being (i.e., the presence of problems) originates from God's disapproval or disinterest. These elemental values deserve further explanation because of their inherent relationship with problem resolution.

For the most part, health pertains to the physical body. In a world fraught with spiritual powers, health is one of the first vulnerabilities of man. In order to maintain health, people employ ceremonies, rites, amulets, magic, and benedictory prayers by ATR, Christian, and Muslim specialists. As noted previously, sickness results from spiritual causes. Only a few people accept the idea of a physical or psychological cause.[10] Even then, these physical and psychological categories represent an etic view imposed by contact with the non-African world. In the absence of a flesh-spirit dichotomy, spiritual

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[9]Ibid., 21–23. Most scholars accept Mbiti's event view of time, but many contest his view of the future. Cf. Benjamin C. Ray, *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual, and Community*, Studies in Religion Series (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 40–42.

[10]One informant, a forty-one-year-old blind woman holds an exceptional viewpoint in this respect. She attributes her blindness to a physical condition, i.e., glaucoma, as diagnosed by her doctors. She repudiates any spiritual causation. Interview by author, transcript RA105.

forces produce sickness. In this way, sickness is projected, vitalized, disassociated, and externalized.

The other two values, while important, do not carry the significance of ever-threatening sickness. Wealth concerns the possession of goods sufficient for life. For the most part, people are content with a sufficient amount of possessions to live. In its extreme form, one finds the amassment of possessions—houses, land, vehicles, wives, and money. Often, a family will invest in a villa to demonstrate to the community God's blessing upon the extended family. These monolithic structures serve, in a sense, as memorials to their builders. They also serve as the social center for the family by providing a refuge for family members in need.

Longevity emphasizes the respect accorded to elders. Africans are adult-centered. They value elders over youth because elders possess valuable wisdom and knowledge. To die old, rather than young, attests to a lifetime of God's favor.

These three values and the religious beliefs coalesce with the social relationships. In this world of the seen and unseen, the social relationships among humans, deities, and ancestors must maintain equilibrium. Failure to maintain balance puts well-being in jeopardy.

Problems

For most people, all problems can be traced to the unseen world; all problems have a spiritual basis. Further, every problem has a social implication in its origin, its effect, or its solution.

The research identifies more than thirty problems that people encounter. Informants often identify a problem by a formulaic expression, "*C'est un problème*" (It is a problem). The formula usually concludes a story or explanation. Problems are grouped in three subdomains: resource deprivation, social conflict, and affliction by unseen powers. These subdomains function in a cause-effect relationship. Accordingly, social

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conflict is a result of resource deprivation and spiritual affliction; resource deprivation is a result of social conflict and spiritual affliction; and spiritual affliction is a result of resource deprivation and social conflict.

Resource deprivation encompasses problems that result from lack of sufficient resources to maintain well-being. The primary element of this category is the lack of money due to unemployment. Notably, unemployment is defined as not having the job for which one is destined and for which one has a diploma.[11] As expected, this lack of money has implications for housing, food, health, and school fees, all of which appear regularly in the data. In short, endemic poverty prevails.

Social conflict encompasses the problems people encounter with their family, neighbors, and colleagues. These problems commence with an individual's aberrant behavior. Thus, people must deal with others who are angry, accusatory, jealous, greedy, untrustworthy, and malicious (in order of occurrence). Moreover, the individual behaviors generate larger, more extensive social problems. At the onset of any adversity, accusations of sorcery abound. Anything that impedes well-being generates a corresponding accusation against someone in the social network. Accusations and other subversive behaviors exacerbate the social stress. This social conflict appears particularly virulent in polygynous family units where problems include inter-spousal jealousy, accusations, maledictions, violence, subversion, bitterness, and murder. At another level, community expectations for events such as funerals and marriages create other problems. Informants bemoan the problems inherent in social conflict and the constant and careful attention social relationships require.

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[11]A common belief holds that a person has a particular task for which he is destined and must accomplish. For example, a young man apprentices as a plumber. He can only do the work of a plumber, and not another. If the man does not find work as a plumber, but as a taxi driver, he considers himself unemployed.

Spiritual affliction encompasses the direct actions of the powers. The unseen powers cause sickness, failure in endeavors (e.g. school, business, and farming), sterility, suffering, and death. A church leader recounts the following story about one of his problems:

> It is the disappearance of my dog at the house. He got sick by something he ate. He was poisoned and I gave him medicine so he would vomit it up. He did better. Two days later, he disappeared. The neighbors say that the dog learned of our [coming] *malheur* [misfortune]. They say that the *malheur* is going to pass from the dog to the family—me, my wife, or the children. I say that thieves poisoned the dog, but the neighbors say no. They say, "If it were thieves, the dog would die at the house. The dog knows the *malheur* [is impending] and ran away." I must find the dog's corpse. The children are afraid that the misfortune will come. The dog is called Lulu.[12]

The informant does not readily accept the explanation of the dog's disappearance offered by the neighbors; however, the possibility of affliction by the unseen powers, as generalized by *malheur*, strikes terror in the children and dictates the informant's search for the dog's body. Evil spirits appear in dreams and nightmares. They terrorize their victims, especially at night. Undoubtedly, many Africans live in constant fear of spiritual affliction, especially when it comes to that which the Ewé call *nɔ agbe nakpɔe* (remain in life to see it). In this state of direct spiritual affliction, brought on by a curse, the individual remains alive, but suffers immeasurably. The most common afflictions include paralysis of the legs, blindness, insanity, failure (e.g. business, academic, and farming), death of children, or alcoholism. The unseen powers strike fear in people.

African Worldview Engaged

The attractiveness of Pentecostalism lies, first, in its recognition of the African social and religious realities. Unlike the mainline churches that tend to exclude the middle zone of spirits, Pentecostals enter the African uni-dimensional worldview. In this respect, Pentecostalism accepts the existence and influence of the spirit world as well as

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[12]Interview by author, transcript RA107.

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the inter-relatedness of the cosmos. This engagement of the worldview permeates the

Pentecostal ethos and impinges on both practice and faith.

Pentecostalism approaches the worldview from a religious and charismatic

perspective. Consequently, Pentecostalism creates a religious space that appeals to

African culture and spirituality. In particular, Pentecostals tap the pneumatic emphasis of

the African worldview. Omenyo concurs,

> Part of the attractiveness of Pentecostalism in Africa is due to its response to
> African spirituality. In other words, the Pentecostal movement finds fertile ground
> in Africa because most of its practices take the African worldview seriously. As the
> diffusion of innovation has demonstrated, the Pentecostal experience is compatible
> and observable and has relative advantage for most Africans. Therefore, it will
> continue to be popular and spread among them.[13]

In his study of global Pentecostalism, Harvey Cox concludes that Pentecostalism has

succeeded because it speaks to the "primal spirituality" of people.[14]

The engagement of the worldview means, first, that Pentecostals promote an

atmosphere familiar to Africans, an atmosphere reminiscent of ATR, an atmosphere that

excites the primal spirituality. Every observer will testify to the clamor of Pentecostal

worship and prayer services. The cacophony reflects African life. One observant pastor

comments,

> People want to find the cultural practices in the church. . . . People look for that.
> They don't find it. They prefer some place [i.e., a Neo-Pentecostal group] where
> they do that. For me, when I analyze it, that is a little of what I see. Is that not the
> cultural context? . . . The African loves ritual. He loves noise.[15]

Ritual, noise, tongues, prophecy, ecstatic experiences, animation, *chaleur*, dance,

shouts—these are common forms found in ATR that Pentecostalism captures. In this

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[13]Cephas Omenyo, "William Seymour and African Pentecostal Historiography: The Case of Ghana," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 9 (2006): 256.

[14]Harvey G. Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995), 81–122.

[15]Interview by author, transcript RA32.

way, Pentecostalism resembles the experience that participants find in traditional religion. The atmosphere and the forms are familiar, which allows the participants to understand and enter the movement in natural ways.

Yet, the adaptation moves beyond a surface imitation of forms. The engagement of the worldview means, second, that Pentecostals attach new meaning to the forms and processes. The genius of Pentecostalism lies in its full acceptance of the legitimacy of the worldview while rejecting its conclusions. In this respect, Pentecostalism appropriates the forms, processes, and components of the worldview, but casts them in a Christian framework. The importance of the processes comes into glaring focus in the comment of one deacon. He explains that people have a *mentalité* shaped by ATR practices: "People always have, that is to say, this habit or this way of doing things that says, 'it is like this that one must necessarily do it.'"[16] Pentecostals accept the *mentalité*, "this way of doing things," but re-form the meaning. This reformation of meaning stands in stark contrast to the mainline approach that typically denigrates the *mentalité* as superstitious, pagan, or irrelevant.

The engagement of the worldview means, third, that Pentecostalism answers the questions posed by the worldview. Pentecostalism and ATR wrestle with the very same human problems. At this level, Pentecostalism excels. The historical appeal of ATR has been its efficacy in answering and solving human problems. Similarly, Pentecostalism taps "the unending struggle for a sense of purpose and significance" as Harvey Cox put it.[17] Pentecostalism connects to the ATR questions by accepting the realities of the worldview and the ATR means of addressing those realities. At the same time, Pentecostalism provides a viable alternative for dealing with the powers. And, this

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[16]Interview by author, transcript KA42.

[17]Ibid.

alternative provides a key component that ATR lacks. ATR practitioners can only appease and manipulate the powers. Pentecostals promise to vanquish the powers.

The engagement means, fourth, that Pentecostalism provides viable answers to critical questions and, in so doing, provides a common-sense understanding of the cosmic conflict. For this reason, Pentecostalism does, indeed, reflect many of the ATR practices. For example, people treat the Pentecostal pastor as a religious "guru," as some informants remark. A village pastor who lives in the tension between ATR and Neo-Pentecostalism gives the following example,

> For example, a man has a bizarre dream. He goes to the charlatan who interprets the dream. He [i.e., the charlatan] interrogates the deities for interpretation. The Christians go to their pastor for the interpretation. They await a prophetic prayer which gives the interpretation. If the pastor does not give it, people say that the church is dead.[18]

The pastor performs a function similar to the diviner, charlatan, or traditional healer. The similarity resides in the effort to address the same problem of spiritual affliction. They both have a solution that seeks to negate the spirits that are afflicting the individual. Yet, at this point, the similarity often ends. ATR and Pentecostalism provide two different answers. ATR seeks to appease the spirit by offering a sacrifice or to overrule the spirit through the help of a more powerful spirit. Pentecostalism seeks to vanquish the spirit through Holy Spirit power. In this way, Pentecostalism nuances the warfare worldview.

The engagement means, fifth, that Pentecostalism adapts the Word-Faith movement as a paradigmatic reconstruction of the cosmic conflict. In the cosmic war, well-being occurs when the powers are vanquished. When well-being is absent, the spirits must be vanquished. Asamoah-Gyadu summarizes the practical implications of the Word-Faith paradigm,

If you live in Ghana, you cannot fail to observe the relationship between the African

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[18]RA107, interview.

charismatic emphasis on prosperity, and the proliferation of healing and deliverance ministries. When the formula for prosperity does not work, witches, ancestral curses, devils and demons offer ready answers about why people remain oppressed, unemployed and barren, and why businesses continue to fail even when people pay their tithes regularly.[19]

Thus, Word-Faith, as appropriated by the Neo-Pentecostal movement, offers a simple, reasonable alternative to ATR that aligns well with the worldview emphasis on well-being.

In summary, ATR developed ways of explaining and managing such things as sickness, poverty, and affliction. Western-derived Christianity discouraged and, often, condemned these traditional means for problem resolution. On the eve of the Neo-Pentecostal rise, Baptists lacked viable answers to critical worldview questions. During evangelism and church development, the TBM tacitly avoided those issues not found in its own worldview. The operative solutions package, such as it was, reflected the missionaries' own two-tier worldview, which dismissed key components of the African worldview, especially the middle zone.[20] The questions the TBM answered were not the questions asked by the Africans. For example, one medical worker recounts the time when he diagnosed a child with malaria. The child's mother asked who caused the illness and what spirit was involved. The medical worker joked about the woman's ignorant, superstitious belief in evil spirits. He conveyed that the cause of the illness was malaria, nothing more.[21] Most TBM personnel were not as blunt as this one, and some identified with the African worldview. Yet, for the most part, the TBM influenced the development of Baptists in a way that created a worldview gap. Thus, Baptists, when faced with the inadequacies of the Baptist answers, either resigned themselves to the inadequacy or

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[19]J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "'Faith, Healing and Mission': Reflections on a Consultative Process," *International Review of Mission* 93 (2004): 376.

[20]See Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), chap. 12.

[21]Interview by author, transcript RA110.

returned to ATR for solutions.

The engagement of the worldview allows Pentecostals to address the worldview issues in ways that Baptist churches could not. As noted in the previous chapter, the TBM emphasized cognitive, systematic doctrine, and ultimate realities. In contrast, Pentecostalism heeds the existential issues and influence of the spirits. Pentecostals create bridges to ATR in order to address the same questions with biblical answers. Thus, Pentecostalism addresses better the existential problems, such as sickness, poverty, and affliction. Allan Anderson agrees,

> Pentecostals in the Third World proclaim a pragmatic gospel that seeks to address practical needs like sickness, poverty, unemployment, loneliness, evil spirits and sorcery. In varying degrees and in their many and varied forms, and precisely because of their inherent flexibility, these Pentecostals attain an authentically indigenous character which enables them to 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.[22]

Neo-Pentecostalism removes the inherent dissonance created by the denial of the spirit realm. This penetrating engagement of the worldview appeals to Baptists.

Well-being Contemporized

The attractiveness of Pentecostalism lies, second, in the contemporization of well-being. For Neo-Pentecostals, well-being and salvation are closely related, if not synonymous. Like ATR and Baptists, Pentecostalism affirms salvation as an important objective. Emmanuel Larbi agrees,

> One common aim of these various strands [of Pentecostalism] is: *the Achievement of Salvation.* Whether this idea of *Salvation* is interpreted primarily in terms of the *here and now*, or the *hereafter*, or a combination of both, they have basically emerged as a result of social and religious encounter.[23]

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[22]Allan H. Anderson, "The Gospel and Culture in Pentecostal Mission in the Third World," *Missionalia* 27 (1999), 229.

[23]Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity*, Studies in African Pentecostal Christianity, vol. 1 (Accra, Ghana: CPCS, 2001), 90.

At this point, the difference between Baptists and Neo-Pentecostals becomes clear. Neo-Pentecostals contemporize well-being in a manner similar to ATR. In short, salvation is for today. Salvation in the hereafter remains a secondary emphasis.

ATR understands life as tenuous, fraught by every form of misfortune. As noted earlier, everything has a spiritual cause; behind every event stands a spiritual force. The appeasement of the evil forces forms the backdrop of well-being. In ATR, amulets, sacrifices, rites, taboos, and other observances counteract the powers. By mollifying the powers, one regains harmony, fortune, and well-being.

Pentecostalism adopts the ATR goal of well-being as exemplified by the warfare motif. The concrete realities of today's battle form the nucleus of salvation, well-being, and warfare. In this sense, Pentecostals orient salvation to this-world, rather than the other-world. This orientation corresponds well to the African orientation of past and present. Thus, Pentecostals are concerned with present well-being and with the warfare necessary to ensure *bonheur* (i.e., well-being, happiness, joy) today, rather than in the unknown future.

The here-and-now perspective has three implications. First, in the ATR perspective, the consequences of sin supervene in the present. God punishes people for sin immediately, not in the hereafter.[24] In other words, a person's present fortunes or misfortunes indicate his current state of obedience and disobedience.

Second, salvation is framed by the concrete realities of day-to-day life. Salvation addresses the physical and immediate dangers that threaten well-being. The warfare motif expresses this idea in two ways. First, the therapeutic and prophylactic themes emerge as the effort to deliver from evil and protect from future affliction.

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[24]See, for example, Daniel Kasomo, "An Investigation of Sin and Evil in African Cosmology," *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 1 (2009): 153.

Second, the provision theme emerges with the notion of victory over evil spirits. Once evil forces are vanquished, a person is free to enjoy well-being so long as he does not disobey God's commands.

Third, the here-and-now orientation couples salvation with well-being namely, health, prosperity, longevity, and fecundity. Consequently, salvation is joined to success. According to the argument, God blesses those with whom he is pleased, assuming, of course, that the powers have been neutralized. Contrariwise, God withholds blessing or, in extreme cases, curses those with whom he is displeased. Whereas misfortune signals sin, success corroborates salvation. Success marks the absence of sin or, theologically stated, declares one righteous. Thus, success stands as the fruit, the primary visible indicator, of one's salvation. Emmanuel Asante describes the consequences of this reasoning as the "sacralization and sanctification" of success.[25]

The expression of Pentecostalism found among Baptists reflects strongly this fundamental nature of salvation as power over spiritual forces. The forgiveness of personal sin is not the main focus. Rather, confession exists primarily to ensure the removal of *blocages* to God's blessing. At this point, the contrast between the traditional Baptist and the current view of salvation becomes apparent. The Neo-Pentecostal view, while remaining fully anthropocentric, focuses primarily on the cosmic aspect, whereas the traditional Baptist view concentrates on the anthropological aspect.

Unlike traditional Baptists, Pentecostalism eschews escapism. Instead, it reanimates people with courage to face the harsh realities of the world.[26] Larbi's research on Pentecostalism in Ghana supports this contention. He offers, "Because of their life

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[25]Emmanuel Asante, "The Gospel in Context: An African Perspective," *Interpretation* 55 (2001): 359.

[26]See Chirevo V. Kwenda, "Affliction and Healing: Salvation in African Religion," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 103 (1999): 2.

experiences, what really attracted them to join the church was the concrete and material help that Jesus provides in the here and now."[27] In brief, Pentecostal salvation concentrates on the present situation rather than eternal destiny. Prior to pentecostalization, Baptists managed problems by projecting a better future and improving the community's infrastructure.

Hence, the major appeal of Pentecostalism lies in its treatment of salvation as a present reality rather than a future hope. The idea of a future salvation in heaven does not appeal to those with an ATR background because of their past and present orientation. Future time is *No-Time*. Consequently, the orientation of salvation to the eschatological future diminishes the appeal of salvation. Moreover, in ATR, the cyclical nature of life ensures a return to God. As Ogbu Kalu insightfully articulates, "The past and the present are very dynamic, but the future is attenuated; the notion of eternity or *eschaton* is foreclosed by the myth of eternal return."[28]

The appeal of a present salvation is, of course, interpreted as the promise of *bonheur*. This *bonheur* is interpreted primarily in the context of physical and immediate needs. An older man who has wandered in and out of churches and *ministères* for years contributes,

> In any case, in the *ministères*, what I often saw. We preach too much on *bonheur*. It is such that people are attracted more by these messages than talk of conversion, talk of correction. That is what I understand. In the *ministères*, we preach a lot on *bonheur*. "If you do this, you will be blessed." That attracts people a lot. The population is oppressed financially—everybody has needs, everybody wants to gain something, to have money. When we preach on material wealth such as, "Do this. You are going to have this." That attracts them. That is what I have noticed about the *ministères*. You are going to see that often they are completely full. There are a

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[27]Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi, "The Nature of Continuity and Discontinuity of Ghanaian Pentecostal Concept of Salvation in African Cosmology," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 5 (2002): 98.

[28]Ogbu U. Kalu, "Preserving a Worldview: Pentecostalism in the African Maps of the Universe," *Pneuma* 24 (2002): 119.

lot of people—more than in the churches.[29]

As he indicates, the promise of prosperity produces a strong attraction for people who are poor, who want to see their condition improved. As a seminary student blurted out in class one day, "We must have the prosperity gospel because we are poor."[30] Thus, "People go automatically," interjects one man. "They go. Perhaps God is going to do a miracle for their situation. God is going to change their situation. Psychologically, they go there even if they do not find it. They go anyway."[31]

This here-and-now emphasis appears equally in the Pentecostal hermeneutic. For instance, Pentecostals accept, at face value, the miracles, the healings, and the faith found in the Bible. Simply, the God of the Bible is a God who intervenes. Furthermore, these supernatural interventions by God continue today. In place of a historical-critical hermeneutic, Pentecostals offer a simple, reasonable, understandable interpretation of the Bible. Passages and verses are consistently isolated from their context and applied to contemporary situations. One need not understand the context in order to make an application. Thus, the interpreter may freely reenact the passage however he chooses. This approach allows anyone to interpret and apply Scripture, which constitutes a further appeal of Pentecostalism—the de-sacralization of the clergy as the interpreters of Scripture.

Informants provide multiple examples of the interpretation and use of Scripture. An older woman, a deaconess, explains how her *groupe d'intercession* employs Scripture in deliverance,

> We take Bible passages for prayer. . . . Isaiah 27 is an example. [She read Isa 27:1.] After having read it, now, you say, "Lord, kill that monster which is in the ocean. Kill that monster which has attached on to your child. Kill the monster." With these

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[29]KA42, interview.

[30]Interview by author, transcript RA113.

[31]Interview by author, transcript RA50.

verses, we pray and you will see the person squirm like a snake and afterwards, she is tranquil, calm, and delivered.[32]

By linking power to Scripture and isolating biblical passages, Pentecostalism appropriates the Bible as a resource for meeting current needs.

Pentecostals contemporize well-being by appropriating the time orientation of the uni-dimensional view of the cosmos. Pentecostalism promises well-being for today by tendering deliverance and protection from misfortune and affliction. Unlike the historic churches, Pentecostalism refuses to rationalize away and project well-being into the future. The oft-repeated phrase, "Today is the day of salvation," takes new meaning in the Pentecostal context.[33] And, that meaning is immensely appealing.

Problem-Solving Reframed

The attractiveness of Pentecostalism lies, third, in the way that problems are understood and solved. The promise of solutions constitutes the second most common appeal of Pentecostalism according to the informants. To begin, the quest for solutions dominates African religion; people seek solutions to their problems. Furthermore, they place their problems and solutions in a spiritual framework. The search for solutions characterizes and invigorates the Pentecostal movement.

Three Themes

The response of a former Assemblies of God member provides a launch point for understanding this problem-solution appeal of Pentecostalism. The young wife relates the typical experience of a woman, who has a chronic problem such as sterility or poverty:

Finally, in her church, the people are not interested in her any more. She goes

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[32]Interview by author, transcript KA30.

[33]See 2 Cor 6:2.

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looking in a prayer center where they say to come, pray. She goes and looks and prays. The pastor lays on hands. The pastor says there is an unction. (I never attended there, but I hear talk from time to time.) The pastor says there is an unction. He sells it. [He says,] "When you buy it, you will have what you want." It is better there. In her church, one does not say a thing about her problem. At least here, someone says to do this, and you will have this. Because of the problem, which is over her head, she will find that. [She thinks,] "No, this is the better solution." And, she is going to join with them. It is such that, in the end, we will not find her any more in her church. And she runs from prayer center to prayer center to prayer center.[34]

The informant highlights three important themes: (1) the pattern of going from place to place in search of a solution, (2) the compelling burden of problems, and (3) the availability of a perceived "better solution." These three themes deserve further attention.

First, the pattern of going from place to place in the quest for solutions staggers the imagination. The respondents report a massive flux of seekers. Members and non-members alike pass from church to church and from *ministère* to *ministère* in search of help. Only a very few informants do not clearly confirm this pattern within their own churches.[35] This finding accords with Omenyo's research in Ghana:

> In general, Africans have shown a high propensity to adapt and accommodate new religions and religious denominations as long as they are perceived as having the resources to meet their pressing needs. Consequently, there is a dynamic process of adherents changing over from one religious system to another. This change is prominent within Ghanaian Christianity as is evident in a significant exodus from the mainline/historic Western missionary-founded churches, initially to the African independent Churches (AICs), mainly in the 1950s and 1960s, then to Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s.[36]

Second, this people movement demonstrates the quest for solutions to compelling problems. The interviews probed the question, "Why do people go to the

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[34]Interview by author, transcript KA53.

[35]One pastor said he had no knowledge of members visiting other groups and would not speculate about it. Interview by author, transcript RA46. Another church leader said that only two or three members attended the *ministères*, but in an interview with one of his members, the member spoke freely of members regularly visiting the *ministères*. RA44, interview; and Interview by author, transcript RA38.

[36]Cephas Omenyo, "Pentecostal-type Renewal and Disharmony in Ghanaian Christianity," in *Global Pentecostalism: Encounters with Other Religious Traditions*, ed. David Westerlund, Library of Modern Religion Series, vol. 45 (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 57.

Pentecostal churches and *ministères*?" The second most common group of responses fell in the sub-domain of problem-solution. In short, people turn to Pentecostalism in search of solutions to chronic or urgent problems. The following three excerpts characterize the nature of this flux of people seeking answers. The young wife continues with the female perspective:

> She leaves [her Baptist church]. . . . She finds that, no, the solution is not here. She prefers to look elsewhere. I see this for most of the women because women encounter too many difficult times. In the home, there is no child. It is the woman who is accused the most. So, in Africa, it is like that. In Togo, that is what we live. When there is no child in the home, the woman is accused. We don't look to see if it is the cause of the man. It is the woman who is directly accused. And the in-laws mistreat her in all manners. If there is this problem in the home, even if she is married in the church, she will look elsewhere to find the solution to her problem. Women go from church to church. It is that which pushes them to do so.[37]

The pastor of a small, plateaued church continues,

> They have problems, difficulties in their life and in these [Neo-Pentecostal] churches, they preach a lot about prosperity, "Come with your problems. All your problems will leave. All your problems will go. All your sicknesses will leave. The financial problems will leave." And for those who lack patience, courage, perseverance to remain with his God as a Baptist, they will run quickly toward those who publicize in order to find quickly the solution to their problem. So, you see, it is that which pushes impatient people who are not courageous and perseverant enough to await the moment when God himself will bring the solution to his desires, difficulties and pressing needs. They prefer to go to the people who speak of Jesus but who say, "Voilà, the solution, in five minutes." They run there to see if it will work for them, it will resolve there. You see. So, it is that which pushes some Baptists who are impatient to find a response to their desires, their difficulty, their need.[38]

A member of a once large Baptist church reports on the exfiltration of members to nearby Classic Pentecostal churches,

> What attracts them? They are charismatic. [They say,] "Come! You will see the solution to your problems." *Tapage* attracts them. . . . The Assemblies [of God] really practice that! So, "We are going to pray. You will be delivered of your problems, all that. Your ancestral liens will be cut. All that." That attracts.[39]

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[37]KA53, interview.

[38]Interview by author, transcript RA37.

[39]Interview by author, transcript KA39.

In short, people are motivated by deep needs. When it comes to problem-solving, today's Baptists are utilitarian. They begin with their own church. If a solution is not immediately forthcoming, they turn to another church, pastor, prophet, or *ministère* that has a reputation of powerful, effective problem-solving.

Third, people turn to Pentecostalism because of its ability to provide a "better solution." This "better solution" is the heart of the appeal. Pentecostals insist on concrete actions that involve prayer warfare, faith, and healing instruments such as holy water, sanctified handkerchiefs, and anointing oil. This "better solution" contrasts sharply with the Baptist solutions package. This contrast can be seen in the two ways informants view problems. One group treats problems by rationalizing and spiritualizing them. Typical responses cluster around the idea, "Trust God. Pray. Persevere. Be courageous. Wait for God's time." The theme emphasizes resignation to the sovereignty of God. The second group treats problems concretely. The responses emphasize action, prayer, and faith. The idea of warfare prevails. For instance, *tapage* occurs more readily. While the sovereignty of God remains clear, human actions, such as rebuking the evil spirits, breaking ancestral liens, and praying fervently, move God to intervene. The second group, representing Neo-Pentecostalism, reframes the solutions and the problems.

The gulf between the two perspectives widens. While no quantitative evidence exists, the qualitative evidence suggests that Baptists of the first group go outside their churches more often than those of the second group. Notably, when Baptists of either persuasion seek solutions, they typically by-pass the Classic Pentecostals and go directly to the *ministères* that have the highest perceived effectiveness and charismatic power. They are prompted by the testimony of a friend or acquaintance that was healed or experienced a miracle.

The pastor of a Type 2 church readily reveals the dissonance, "No. They [i.e., Baptists] do not abandon their church. They continue with their church; but when there are problems, they go there [to the *ministère*] to tell their problems to the evangelist and

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not their pastor."[40] This pastor's claim reflects a current reality in Baptist churches. In this reality, members maintain some loyalty to the church, but turn to Pentecostal groups for problem resolution. Churches that do not provide concrete solutions lack appeal.

The other perspective treats problems concretely. The deacon of a Type 3 church where miracles are commonplace recounts his own experience,

> Yes. God, being sovereign, in his sovereignty, heals some brothers, some sisters. Me, personally, I suffered from heart pains. I had for a long time gastric ulcers. I consulted local doctors. I consulted even more the herbalists who made a mixture of fetishism and all that. I continually consulted doctors, but I did not find any help whatsoever. But by prayer, one day I came back here, a Sunday. I came back here and we were here. The pastor was praying and he concentrated on me. And, it was if my feet were no longer on the ground. And after that, I said to myself, "No. I am going on high. I am going to fall." I awoke. But when I awoke, I began to yawn. I yawned in front of the church.[41]

The deacon continues to relate the physical manifestations that followed and then declares forthrightly, "And, it is finished." He maintains the sickness is gone. He goes on to recount multiple others who have been healed miraculously. In this second perspective, problems are placed in full view and addressed as concretely as possible. The growing reputation of this particular church, consequent to its concrete approach, helps to retain members and attract non-members.

Three Implications

When Pentecostals reframe problem-solving, the sermon style and content change. Preachers do not expound abstract truths, but provide concrete solutions to life. Sermons do not consist of a biblical story followed by carefully exegeted spiritual truths. Rather, preachers address people's problems and reenact the story in the present day in a

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[40]Interview by author, transcript RA21. Many informants claim the loss of untold numbers who have left for the Pentecostal groups. Even so, this pastor's claim reflects a current reality within Baptist churches.

[41]Interview by author, transcript RA31.

way that inspires and is understood and grasped easily. The hearer reasons, "If it can happen to him, it can happen to me." Thus, preaching is often followed by a *ministère* that consists of casting out spirits.

Furthermore, Pentecostals reframe problem-solving by requiring individuals to participate actively in their own well-being. Through deliverance, people need not live in fear, which, of course, is a portentous component in the fear-power paradigm of African life. Evil spirits negatively influence life and thwart salvation. The all-powerful Spirit vanquishes these spirits, thus delivering people from bondage. Unlike traditional Baptists and ATR, the spirits are neither ignored nor appeased, but cast out. But, the individual must take an active part. He is not a victim of his own problems, but a conqueror of the powers that cause them.

Finally, Pentecostals reframe problem-solving by empowering individuals. To begin, Pentecostalism empowers the religious specialist. The power exhibited by pastors, prophets, and apostles repeatedly surface as an attraction of Pentecostalism. The man of God is a holy person with spiritual power. The power to heal, cast out spirits, and remove spiritual *blocages* are his defining qualities. This power person stands in stark contrast to the Baptist pastor who is a friend and servant. For example, an older man, who leads a very small church, highlights the differences:

> But the Baptists are not like that. The Baptists identify with their people. He and his members are the same. But the men in the *ministères* and perhaps the other denominations such as the Assemblies of God and the others, they do not do that. They do not identify with their members. They are not friends of their members. They are at another level. They are on the platform and the members are below.[42]

The traditional Baptist pastor profile as one who is the same as his members does not coincide with the cultural understanding of a man of God. In the cultural understanding, this one-of-us pastor is spiritually impotent. Asamoah concurs,

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[42]Interview by author, transcript RA28.

In African eyes, religious functionaries are expected to be people of spiritual power who are in touch with the divine realms of existence. In that way, they are able to facilitate communication and interactions between the two realms of existence and this is the advantage that independent Pentecostal leaders are perceived to have over their counterparts in older denominations.[43]

Furthermore, Pentecostalism empowers the individual believer. The ubiquitous banners promise individuals the power to be free from bondage and to succeed. In ATR, the diviner, prophet, and charlatan offer power to people. In Pentecostalism, that power is directly available to the believer. All power comes from God, and Pentecostalism provides access to that power in the Holy Spirit. The pentecostalized Baptist has the power to combat evil spirits that inhibit well-being.

Herein lies an important appeal of Pentecostalism. Power is interpreted in terms of visible, concrete, supernatural manifestations. Baptists have shied away from such manifestations, whereas Pentecostals not only allow them, but privilege them. In this way, Pentecostal solutions remain as they were in the past when "Pentecostalism offered invincible certitude that the supernatural claims of the gospel were really true, not the old fashioned gospel of the nineteenth century, but the awesome wonder working gospel of the first century."[44]

In summary, Pentecostalism appeals because it reframes problem solving in light of the ATR background. It offers a better solution—concrete, pragmatic, and understandable. Rather than emphasizing quiet, patient, intellectualized faith, it promises deliverance, miracles, healing, guidance, protection, and success. Pentecostalism provides something that Baptists did not; that is, the *liberté* to do something about the evil powers, the affliction, the sickness, the poverty, and all the other burdens of African life. While the Baptist sits and prays quietly, the Pentecostal leaps up. He conquers fear, spirits, and

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[43]J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Pentecostalism in Africa and the Changing Face of Christian Mission: Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal Movements in Ghana," *Mission Studies* 19 (2002): 18.

[44]Wacker, "Functions of Faith," 361.

other threats.

Religious Fervency Promoted

The attractiveness of Pentecostalism lies, fourth, in the fervency that it

promotes. Pentecostal churches are characterized by religious fervor, by vitality. They are

alive! They move! They have *chaleur* (heat) and *feu* (fire)! The informants consistently

identify the fervor of the churches as the preeminent appeal of Pentecostalism. A pastor

elaborates,

> What some people are looking for they do not find with us; that is, the fervor, the
> ardor, the heat, which they experience and see with the others. They see that it is not
> truly in our churches, and that is what pushes some of our members to join with
> those kinds of people because they see the heat, the fervor that they want to
> experience, want to live. We do not encourage that in some of our Baptist churches
> and that is the reason they leave to join the *ministères* where they seek God with
> ardor, with fervor,...the face of God.[45]

Indeed, Baptist churches that do not manifest this ardor are *froide* (cold) and

consequently plateaued or declining. A deacon proclaims, "A Pentecostal is going to say

that the Baptist church is a cold church. It is a cold church. It is a church that does not

believe in the Holy Spirit."[46]

Two themes help explain this religious fervor. First, prayer lies at the heart of

this vitality. Pentecostals pray. Explains one pastor,

> The prayers, the prayers are heated, heated, heated there. Often, people think that
> those who shout pray better. So, when the pastor does not shout when he prays, they
> think that he does not pray, that he is not really efficacious. So that is often the
> reason they like to go there. They say, "When he preaches..." Even the manner to
> preach... When he preaches, we say that he preaches with fire.[47]

The fire carries over into prayer, which carries an intensity, a fervency as illustrated by

tapage. Another pastor adds that "it is *tapage* that shows that one is hot, boiling hot for

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[45]RA37, interview.

[46]Interview by author, transcript RK52.

[47]RA21, interview.

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God."[48] The *prière de combat* requires exertion. The battle is hot and noisy. The *groupe d'intercession* charges into the battle as fighting warriors in battle array. In the din of the battle, warfare prayer defeats the enemy.

This kind of heated, fervent prayer contrasts with that as traditionally practiced by Baptists. One informant quotes the commonly held opinion of Baptist prayer: "to come and pray is a waste of time."[49] Another church leader reveals, "I know a lot of people who, for example, have left here. The reason they gave is often the pretext that we do not pray a lot."[50] An older pastor concurs, "When the new churches began appearing, they began with prayer, hot prayers. But our pastors did not truly open their hearts to pray, to invite our members to pray a lot as all the *ministères* do. For this reason, our members began to flee."[51] When asked about the difference between a Pentecostal and a Baptist prayer meeting, a young man responds this way,

> The one difference about prayer . . . is faith, to incite the member to the expression of his faith. For the Baptist church, we tend to think of the answer to prayer as a cause-effect principle. Yes. A principle of cause and effect. It is a principle—if you ask, you will receive. But for a *ministère*. . . . one leads the member to an imperative. It is what he must do to have. He must have it and he must reclaim it and he must receive it. It is more active in the *ministères*. In the Baptist church, it is suppler. First, we pray. The manner of praying is supple, calm. Whereas, in a *ministère*, one is more active, hot to receive. And this is a personal impression. I have the impression that the Baptist does not always believe that all his prayers are addressed to God. That he is obligated—forcibly—that he must have a response.[52]

The fervency of prayer implies the second theme: Pentecostalism actuates the individual. The individual is not a spectator, but a frontline warrior who engages in the battle. He does not observe others who pray or worship. Rather, he is a full, active

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[48]RA32, interview.

[49]KA53, interview.

[50]RA32, interview.

[51]Interview by author, transcript RA49.

[52]RK52, interview.

participant in worship, in prayer, in spiritual warfare. For this reason, the worship leader

is called the *animateur.* He animates the worship. The participants participate. They

enhance the religious fervency as they sing, clap, shout, dance, prophesy, speak in

tongues, and testify. They take part in the message as they carry out the instructions of

the preacher. Pentecostals do not observe placidly the conflict from afar, but join in

resisting the evil forces. The action adds something to the faith of the participant.

Obligation, zeal, vigor, heat, action, movement—this ethos makes Pentecostalism

appealing.

Conclusion

The appeal of Pentecostalism lies in the coherence it offers to African social

and religious life. The four themes coalesce around a single idea; namely, Pentecostalism

adapts to the African worldview and ethos. It accepts the conceptual world of Africans,

but refuses to embrace the answers offered by ATR. Grant Wacker's assessment of early

Pentecostalism in North America provides a superb summary of the appeal of Neo-

Pentecostalism today:

> But when the movement was young, and still effervescent with the original religious
> vision, it offered certitude about the reality of the supernatural and afforded
> coherence and meaning for ordinary lives fragmented, perhaps, by more than the
> ordinary share of human troubles. Beyond this it offered a worldview that was
> exempt from adverse judgments drawn from the history of the Church, insulated
> from rational refutation based on relativistic cultural premises, and protected from
> empirical disconfirmation by a future that did not yet exist. By defining the world in
> the traditional terms of a folk religion, pentecostals shielded their lives from the
> ambiguities of historical existence. They lived in the 'ancient order of things,' in
> that mythic realm where the Divine and the Satanic are locked in a terrible struggle
> and the frivolous pleasures of modern civilization are seen for what they really are.
> The movement flourished, in short, not in spite of the fact that it was out of step
> with the times, but precisely because it was.[53]

Pentecostalism appeals to Baptists because it starts with an experiential, rather

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[53]Ibid., 374.

than a cognitive, logical, explanation of the world. It subsumes the text-based approach to the experience of the Holy Spirit. In this way, Pentecostalism shifts the emphasis away from a book, the Bible, to the Holy Spirit.[54] Karla Poewe characterizes this shift as a reversal in emphases:

> Charismatic Christianity reverses the emphases that we have taken for granted: the centrality of the rational, of calculated doing, of articulate verbal skills, of doctrine, and of things Western. It does not deny nor reject these things. Rather it comes to them in unexpected ways. A charismatic Christian comes from the nonrational to the rational, from happening to doing, from experience to talk, from sign to metaphor, from spiritual gifts to utility, from receptiveness to action, from demonstration to theology, from indigenization to globalization. It is often the African, the Chinese, the Latin American who leads the Western nominal Christian to experience the Holy Spirit and tongues. For the devoted charismatic Christian, tongues, not exegesis, is the explicit language of worship, healing, and turning people around.[55]

This reversal in emphasis means that Pentecostalism more closely engages the African world. The lack of worldview engagement by Baptists became apparent when Baptists did not find answers to profound questions about problems. These unanswered questions created a latent dissonance that made Pentecostalism appealing. Pentecostals understand and answer the critical questions imbedded in the worldview.

Pentecostalism also appeals to Baptists because it places salvation in the present, rather than the future. The promise of well-being today holds a much stronger appeal than a future heavenly salvation. Moreover, well-being is the major value and determinative factor for African life. The Baptist tendency to project well-being as delayed gratification holds less appeal.

The orientation of salvation to the future and the dismissal of the middle zone had immense implications for problem-solving. Baptists framed problems primarily in

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[54]See also Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 19.

[55]Karla O. Poewe, ed., *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 12.

terms of resource deprivation that could be solved through increased resource availability. Pentecostals take the ATR approach and place the matter in a spiritual framework. Problems result from the activity of the powers. Thus, Pentecostalism casts problem-solving as spiritual warfare. Then, it calls the individual to fight for his own well-being. In short, the Pentecostal solutions package appeals because of its understanding of the worldview.

Above all, Pentecostalism appeals because of its religious fervor. The Holy Spirit is alive and active. A young church leader provides an important insight when he says, "The Baptist thinks that the Holy Spirit is there. He is not an added value to his Christian faith. But the Pentecostal thinks that the Holy Spirit is an added value. So, when he is there, he necessarily manifests himself in worship."[56] Indeed, charismatic manifestations garner attention.

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[56]RK53, interview.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the dissertation. The first section summarizes the research results. The second section suggests implications of the study. The third section offers possible responses to the phenomenon of pentecostalization. The fourth section identifies areas that need further research. The final section offers concluding remarks.

Introduction

Baptists have undergone a paradigm shift over the past four decades. This paradigm shift of pentecostalization differs fundamentally from the charismatization of other mainline churches. Most West African mainline churches, such as the Eglise Evangélique Presbytérienne, created space within the denomination while maintaining their original mission and historic foundations. In so doing, they ensured the survival of their historic mission.

In contrast, Baptists embraced and adopted Neo-Pentecostalism. The initial assumption that Baptists had pentecostalized was confirmed throughout the research.[1] Substantively, Baptists converted. To a high degree, they relinquished their traditional Baptist identity in favor of a Neo-Pentecostal mission. As one middle-aged man tells me,

> When you take the missionary type church coming out of your mission in '64, that, that does not exist anymore. You know, you cannot simply go, and then sing a hymn, and then leave. You are obligated to clap your hands, to dance, etc. You cannot simply say that a single person prays during the worship service. No. You

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[1]The Type 2, 3, 4, and 5 churches have pentecostalized unequivocally. The few Type 1 churches vary between charismatization and pentecostalization.

are obligated to offer the opportunity for each person to intercede. . . . Today, one cannot find that [old practice] in Togo any more—in the Togo Baptist Convention, in the churches.[2]

Another older leader states proudly, "You know. That which Baptists refused in the past has entered in fully; that which we refused yesterday, today we practice."[3] The pastor of a large urban church avows forthrightly, "We are not the Baptists of yesterday. We are Pentecostals. We are Assemblies of God. We are charismatic. We no longer remain in the principles of Baptist doctrine."[4] The initial assumption that Baptists are pentecostalized was borne out in the research.

Yet, the focus of the research was not the fact of pentecostalization, but the nature and factors surrounding the phenomenon as indicated by the two research questions:

1. What is the nature of the pentecostalization of Baptists in Francophone West Africa?

2. What factors contribute to the pentecostalization of Baptists in Francophone West Africa?

The first question seeks to identify the depth and extent of Pentecostalism among Baptists with a particular emphasis on practices. The second question seeks to identify the attraction of Pentecostalism with the emphasis on contextual factors and the reasons Baptists embrace Pentecostalism. Stated otherwise, the questions are as follows: *What is the nature of pentecostalization*? *How did it come about*? *Why are Baptists attracted to the movement*?

Summary of Analysis

The following section summarizes the major findings in each of the three areas

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[2]Interview by author, transcript RA48.

[3]Interview by author, transcript RA36.

[4]Interview by author, transcript KA23.

(nature, factors, attraction) that form the core of the qualitative research.

Nature of Pentecostalization

Baptist churches show remarkable consistency in their worship patterns and weekly activities. In all churches, *louange* constitutes a central component of worship. Yet, the evidence shows that Baptists lack intentionality in their adoption of Pentecostal practices. They waver between popularly accepted, pragmatic expressions and a theology that impugns pure utilitarianism. As a result, pentecostalization has proceeded differently among Baptists. Five types of churches are distinguishable—traditional Baptist, restricted Neo-Pentecostal, Neo-Pentecostal, Word-Faith, and imitative.

The churches stress three traits. The experience of living in God's presence forms a cornerstone of church life. The prioritization of experience means that Scripture—its authority and interpretation—is subsumed to experience. The second trait, charismatic manifestations, focuses on spontaneous expressions through speaking in tongues and prophecy. Deliverance is another manifestation, which often comes under the responsibility of the *groupe d'intercession*. The third, and most important, trait is prayer. The *prière de combat* emphasizes the warfare worldview of Pentecostalism as seen in *tapage* and the *groupe d'intercession*. *Tapage* dramatizes the cosmic conflict. The *groupe d'intercession* leads in the battle to vanquish Satan and his evil spirits.

The influences on Baptists created varying degrees of pentecostalization in time and depth because of the value placed on pluralism and ecumenism. Today, new church plants begin with a DNA of Neo-Pentecostalism. Established churches continue to pentecostalize because of the influence of their leaders and the presence of other Pentecostal groups, which exert significant pressure and influence.

While a change in practices is the obvious effect of pentecostalization, the process takes deeper roots among Baptists. First, four emphases have emerged: (1) a preoccupation with present salvation, (2) the adoption of a warfare worldview, (3) an

active role of humans in the defeat of evil spirits, and (4) the appropriation of the Word-Faith movement. These emphases suggest the subtle shift in the dominant concern of Baptists. The resolution of personal problems has replaced evangelism and church planting as the focal point for Baptists. Second, pentecostalization created identity issues for Baptists. The reputation for Bible teaching has diminished. All informants, except for those of Type 2 churches, fail to identify distinctive characteristics of today's Baptists. Third, pentecostalization led to difficulties over church polity. Baptists are intentionally moving from a congregational to an episcopal form of government. Fourth, the church planting model has shifted as individuals follow the *ministère* model of independent founders.

How does one summarize the nature of pentecostalization? Chapter 3 presented five distinctive emphases of Pentecostalism in West Africa. To what extent do Baptists embrace these emphases?

In terms of ethos, Baptists concur with the West African version of Neo-Pentecostalism. Baptists see God as breaking into everyday life. Moreover, they prioritize the presence of the Holy Spirit as manifested in the charismata. The understanding of conversion as a break with the past varies among Baptists. Some churches emphasize the break, but the majority seems reluctant to make the break as indicated by consistent moral failures and the carry-over of ATR practices. A distinctive element of Neo-Pentecostalism among Baptists lies in the intense emphasis on problem-solving as opposed to the clean break with the past motif.

Doctrinally, Baptists hold the same views as Neo-Pentecostals on the charismata, salvation, and the Bible. Additionally, Baptists fully embrace the warfare worldview of Neo-Pentecostals. Yet, as a whole, Baptists differ in their understanding of the special people of God. While some informants clearly demonstrate a sense of uniqueness, the majority do not. In part, the lack of concordance lies in the loss of identity.

For worship, Baptists follow Pentecostal practice almost exactly. Only two exceptions appear. First, Baptists do not insist that everyone must pray in tongues. Second, Baptists tend to hold preaching in higher respect than the typical Neo-Pentecostal group. Yet, like Pentecostals, preachers emphasize the meaning and experience of the text, rather than historical-critical exegesis.

In terms of manifestations, Baptists follow the Pentecostal pattern in varying degrees. Some churches, especially Type 3, embrace strongly almost all aspects of the manifestations.[5] Most churches, to the contrary, adopt the manifestations with *modération*. A deacon explains, "This kind of charismatic manifestation? We believe in it *sous réserve* [i.e., with reservations]. You understand? *Sous réserve*!"[6] Two manifestations do not appear commonly namely, revelation knowledge and anointing. While both are present and recognized, they have yet to become a significant practice among Baptists.

For the organization, Baptists incorporate Pentecostal practices. Although limited by funds, media use is growing. Also, many of the churches and pastors pursue connections in the English-language transnational network. In terms of public image, many churches project themselves as centers for signs and wonders and Word-Faith theology. While Baptists recognize the five leaders found in Neo-Pentecostalism, they have yet to elevate the prophet or apostle to the highest position. Even so, the trend suggests diminished authority for the pastor in favor of the apostolic-prophetic figure.

During the interviews, informants often posed the question, "*Les Baptistes: qui sont-ils?*" (Baptists, who are they?) They answered the question tacitly in their

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[5]For a few informants, every problem is the result of evil spirits and every Pentecostal-like manifestation is the result of the Holy Spirit. Thus, a few churches categorically and always cast certain types of problems as demon-caused and certain types of charismatic manifestations as Spirit-driven.

[6]Interview by author, transcript RA38.

description of Baptist life. Baptists are praying people. The responses and descriptions evoke mental images of Aladura, the Praying People. Prayer, experience, spirit manifestations—these are the key traits of Baptist life today. This momentous transformation of Baptist identity continues. The old identity as Bible teachers fades. The new identity as prayer warriors emerges. So, who are Baptists? In answer, Baptists are Neo-Pentecostals who struggle to apprehend, own, and embrace a new identity.

Factors for Pentecostalization

The pentecostalization process progressed in three stages or eras, each of which presented a cluster of distinctive factors. The political upheaval of the first era created immense pressures on the fledgling CBT. The main consequences of the upheaval lies in the government's privileging of Pentecostalism as an offset to the Conseil Chrétien's politicization, the social and economic impoverishment of the population, and the legitimization of rebellion within the churches. In the end, the first era brought together a combination of largely uncontrollable variables.

In the second era, Neo-Pentecostalism gained a foothold among Baptists. As a broad generalization, Baptists were ill-prepared for the Neo-Pentecostal movement that swept West Africa in the 1980s. This ill-preparedness appears first as a slow and fractured response on the part of the TBM. Furthermore, the emphasis on evangelism without a corresponding emphasis on discipleship resulted in church members who were either spiritually unconverted or immature. In either case, their worldview remained steadfastly ATR-influenced. Baptists were taught what to believe, but not how to live. Another factor lies in poor contextualization of the gospel. Functionally, contextualization consisted of translation. The low culture acquisition by TBM personnel precluded deep understanding of the worldview and, in particular, an appreciation of the excluded middle zone. The result was a malformed gospel message. Again, functionally, the TBM operated with a supra-cultural view of the gospel. The final factor of this era

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consisted of church polity. The TBM's introduction of democracy as the polity model led to disorder within the churches. The disorder resulted from the widespread misunderstanding of *démocratie* in the volatile social and political environment. In the disorder, Neo-Pentecostals established a foothold.

In the third era, the churches pentecostalized. While some churches abruptly pentecostalized in the early and mid-1990s, the major thrust started at the beginning of the new millennium. At this point, three inter-related factors converged. The SD-21 reorganization changed IMB's relationship with the CBT by dissolving the TBM and by consolidating the various subsidies. The windfall of a consolidated subsidy provoked internal conflict within the CBT over the allocation and use of the funds. As part of the reconstruction of the CBT, leadership embraced a new direction and vision that favored Neo-Pentecostalism. The developments in the TBM and CBT provoked changes in the local church, as well. The local churches lost a trusted partner in the TBM. The CBT leadership failed to respond to the local church needs. As a result, the churches turned to other readily available (i.e., Neo-Pentecostal) resources for inspiration, teaching and vision. The problem was exacerbated for the local churches because of the lack of effective theological training.

In retrospect, three controllable factors contributed to pentecostalization. In the first place, the TBM created vulnerable churches because of its failure to grasp the deep structures of culture, to develop an effective communication strategy, to present the gospel accurately, and to apprentice church leaders appropriately. In terms of the deep structures of culture, the TBM did not penetrate beyond the culture's surface levels of artifacts, processes, products, myths, and rituals. The TBM did not broach the belief systems, much less the epistemology, categories, and logic of the deep structures of culture. These elements were not addressed because the TBM's Western-influenced plausibility structures did not correlate with those of the African context. The clearest example of the penetration failure lies in the treatment of the middle zone. While the

TBM and the resulting churches did not reject the middle zone, they rationalized it away or avoided it altogether because of the dissonance it created with the TBM's functional worldview. In contrast, Pentecostals held a worldview that accommodated these plausibility structures, and particularly the excluded middle zone.

Furthermore, the TBM was oblivious to the worldview framework for its communication strategy. Thus, the TBM missionaries communicated in a way that made sense to them, but not fully to the people they sought to reach. The words were translated, but not the ideas. While the evangelism strategies exemplify this point, the clearer evidence appears in discipleship, which relied on a linear, high-cognitive, non-apprentice approach. Simply, the message was text-oriented among a non-text-oriented audience; non-oral people sought to reach oral people with non-oral methodologies. The pedagogy did not fit the audience.

In terms of gospel communication, decisionism dominated evangelism. The approach of "eliciting decisions that results in churches" neglected key elements of conversion and healthy church growth. The failure to emphasize disciple-making as an integral part of evangelism yielded a large pool of Baptists who lacked the capacity to live out the gospel in their context.[7] Thus, Baptists were highly susceptible to new religious movements that offered more viable frameworks.

In terms of apprenticeship, the TBM modeled missions and cast a missionary vision, but failed to engage Baptist church members in the task.[8] In the end, Baptists were

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[7]James Bledsoe came to a similar conclusion in his study of short term mission initiatives in East Africa. James Bledsoe, "Outcomes of Southern Baptist Short-Term Missions among the Sukuma People and Implications for Future Short-Term Initiatives" (Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2011).

[8]Substantial and intentional apprenticeship of Baptists in church planting occurred in only one region. The research data are insufficient to determine the extent to which the churches in that region are pentecostalized. The sparse data suggest that pentecostalization has occurred less noticeably. The few informants in that region tend to represent Type 2 churches. Even so, the CBT leadership is not drawn from this region so the level of apprenticeship in the region does not significantly impinge on the main argument about ill-preparedness for the task.

spectators of the TBM's work. Consequently, they were, as a body, ill-prepared to assume abruptly the many responsibilities incumbent upon the convention.

In the second place, SD-21 was a catalytic event that disrupted the relationships between the TBM and the CBT. The abrupt nature of the rupture created multiple gaps in the overall work of Baptists and, at the same time, deprived the convention of assistance in the transition.

In the third place, pentecostalization continues because the churches choose to continue the process of pentecostalization. The large subsidy created internal conflict within the CBT. While the exact sequence of events and motivations remains unclear, the outcome is apparent. The CBT's leadership privileged and continues to privilege the Neo-Pentecostal movement. The CBT churches acquiesce to this emphasis. While several informants express dissatisfaction with the state of affairs, the process continues due to inaction on the part of the churches.

Appeal of Pentecostalism

The essence of the appeal lies in the question: where have Baptists failed to connect to the heartbeat of Africans? The contextual factors create a "push" by creating an environment favorable to Neo-Pentecostalism. The appeal of Pentecostalism creates a "pull" factor because of the movement's attractiveness. As a broad generality, Pentecostalism's appeal lies in its adaptation and inculcation of African ethos and practices. Pentecostals understand the African worldview, particularly as it pertains to salvation and problem-solving. This understanding emerges in the four themes that constitute the appeal of Pentecostalism. These four elements stand as the root incentive for pentecostalization. Without them, Baptists would not have pentecostalized.

Pentecostalism engages Africans in profound and extensive ways by accepting the social and spiritual realities of the worldview. This engagement means that the atmosphere, forms and processes, questions, warfare paradigm, and appropriation of the

Word-Faith movement create a framework for understanding that fits the context better than the framework held by Baptists. In particular, Pentecostals accept the plausibility structures and the excluded middle zone.

As part of the worldview engagement, Pentecostals adopt the ATR conception of well-being as the preeminent aspect of salvation. Furthermore, as in ATR, Pentecostals emphasize the present-day nature of well-being, rather than the future hope of heaven. This contemporization of salvation appeals to Baptists because this characterization reflects more accurately the day-to-day struggles of people. Also, the contemporization of salvation brings the spiritual conflict of the cosmos into better perspective. Today's Baptists have a theological basis for spiritual warfare by which they fight for well-being. Thus, spiritual warfare finds a valid place in the soteriological discourse. The appeal lies also in the personal involvement in salvation. Baptists actively engage in working out their own salvation, which is an implicit tenet of ATR.

Unarguably, problem-solving constitutes a dominant, all-encompassing theme. Pentecostalization may be grasped fully only in the problem-solution framework. The solutions package inherited from the TBM and employed by Baptists lacks appeal and effectiveness. The flight to Pentecostal churches and *ministères* demonstrates that Baptist churches do not provide that which the community considers effective solutions to life's everyday problems. Essentially, the TBM understood problems as resource deprivation, not spirit-caused. Community development projects sought to ameliorate the resource imbalances. Otherwise, Baptists are left with delayed gratification, an enduring, quiet faith, as permanent solutions are projected into the eschatological future. This strategy for problem solving does not appeal. Pentecostals offer an active engagement that promises miracles, deliverance, guidance, protection, and success in the present. Consequently, Baptists flock to the *ministères* for solutions to social conflict and spiritual affliction when solutions are not forthcoming in their own church. While all five types of churches offer some variations of the Pentecostal solutions package, the Type 3 churches have

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pentecostalized the most in this respect.

Finally, the most important appeal is religious fervency. Ardent worship appeals. Hot prayer appeals. Fiery messages appeal. Zealous involvement appeals. This intensity stands in contrast to the characteristic church life established by the TBM. With little thought to contextualization, the TBM created a church life that reflected, to a large degree, the time-centered, reflective, evangelistic services of the missionaries' own church experience. Rather than diners at a banquet and spectators of a drama, Pentecostalism engages people as warriors on the battlefield.

In short, Pentecostalism connects to the African heartbeat because it provides a coherent framework that makes better sense to Africans. The visible manifestations concretize the abstract. Power and spirituality take tangible, real, embodied form that an oral background audience understands and appreciates. This more captivating (i.e., contextualized) framework entices Baptists toward Pentecostalism. As a result, Baptists turn to Pentecostals for inspiration and guidance. Baptist churches, following the lead of Pentecostals, increasingly engage the African worldview, contemporize well-being, reframe problem-solving, and promote religious fervency. In so doing, they create their own appeal.

Implications of Analysis

The research raises questions about the effectiveness of Southern Baptist missionaries in planting and developing baptistic churches. The informants, themselves, often voiced uncertainty about their identity as they self-identified with Pentecostals. The observable and radical changes in faith and practice over the past two decades have a substantial implication for current and future Southern Baptist church planting efforts. Among the many questions raised by the research, one question stands above the others: how can missionaries plant baptistic churches that are resistant to the kind of evolution that appears in the research? In other words, how can one avoid planting churches that

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have a propensity to pentecostalize? The following six implications for evangelism and church planting favor critical contextualization and promote the establishment of baptistic churches as traditionally understood. These six implications encompass contextualization, vision, contextual exigencies, leadership, transitions, and polity.

Contextualization

Throughout the analysis, the issue of contextualization appears repeatedly. The initial point for pentecostalization lies in the superficial treatment of the worldview, which precludes the establishment of contextually relevant and vibrant churches. This issue emerges in two ways. First, language acquisition alone does not provide the necessary capabilities to understand the worldview. The TBM's emphasis on language resulted from the field leadership's mandate on communicative competency. Reluctantly, the TBM engaged in the activity of language acquisition, but ignored the greater objective of communicative competency. The mission neglected the thought processes and worldview, which, in the end, thwarted communicative competency. Language acquisition is a mere tool in the larger objective of acquisition of culture and worldview understanding.

Second, the analysis clearly demonstrates the inadequacy of a translation model for contextualization. In effect, a formal correspondence translation model dominated, probably, because of the lack of language skills and worldview understanding. Thus, the TBM appropriated materials from its own Western context under the mistaken assumption that materials appropriate to one context are appropriate in another. In this way, the TBM expended much energy and money in the translation and distribution of English language, U.S.-derived literature. The translation projects often replaced illustrations and pictures with those more appropriate to an African context, but the content reflected the worldview and pedagogy of the context from which the material came.

The superficial treatment of worldview has catastrophic consequences, particularly, for presentation of the gospel and discipleship of believers. Effective proclamation requires a clear understanding of the gospel, the evangelist's own worldview, and the worldview of the audience. Eugene Nida made this point in his three culture model of communication over half a century ago.[9] More recently, Paul Hiebert emphasizes this theme in *Transforming Worldviews*.[10]

The research clearly shows that evangelism was a high value for the TBM and the CBT; however, evangelism without adequate contextualization produces a malformed gospel. Two examples suffice. In the first place, a malformed gospel misconstrues conversion. A common evangelistic phrase demonstrates this malformation. "Acceptez le Seigneur Jésus!" (Accept the Lord Jesus) bears different meanings. For the evangelist, it may carry the sense of spiritual conversion. For the audience, it may convey the idea of agreement that Jesus is a more powerful deity. The confusion of meanings results in a dislocation of the nature of conversion.

In the second place, a malformed gospel misplaces the appeal of salvation. Until the first decade of the 2000s, evangelists appealed to the future aspect of salvation, i.e., the avoidance of hell and judgment, and the assurance of eternal life in heaven.[11] Yet, in the ATR context, that construction lacks compelling appeal because of ATR's conception of time and the belief in eternal return.

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[9]Eugene A. Nida, *Message and Mission: The Communication of the Christian Faith* (New York: Harper, 1960).

[10]Paul G. Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008).

[11]For example, a popular tract, *The Two Roads*, used for personal evangelism depicts life as a road in which people are bound by chains of sin. The people on this road are headed to "hell." People are invited to take a different road that leads to "heaven." The tract emphasizes and appeals to salvation as a future state of glory with God. In contrast, Neo-Pentecostals re-interpret the message and present salvation as a present-day relief from burdens and chains.

Furthermore, effective discipleship demands careful attention to the deep structures. Admittedly, discipleship received little attention from the TBM, and when it did, it concentrated on skills and doctrine. When asked what he did to help people in their daily walk with Christ, one former missionary answers,

> Something like discipleship? Not much. Nothing was ever done with me. Actually, that's kind of a new concept—discipleship. Like courses or something like that. The Holy Spirit, the Word of God, and attending worship, and copying everything about the leader that was leading you at that time. So, these guys, leaders developed, emerged, from among them. . . . They influence others, maybe a whole lot by osmosis. . . . These guys didn't stay idle. Going to others was in their DNA. But, we had no... That step was missing. Conversion. Discipleship. Work. They went right from conversion to work. . . . And discipleship comes a lot from putting this paper in their hands. "Here is this study. This is how we handle church government. This is how we handle this. This is how we preach. This is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. This is the doctrine of prayer."[12]

While this particular informant had a more intentional approach than many others, he, nonetheless, recognizes the missing step of discipleship.

An erroneous assumption lay at the heart of the matter; namely, knowledge of truth will provide the answers to fundamental worldview questions and will effect changes in beliefs, skills, and character. Unfortunately, that faulty assumption has profound and undesirable consequences. The research highlights the long-term effects of evangelism and church planting without corresponding, intentional disciple-making that treats the worldview questions. The negligence of disciple-making is a primary contributor to pentecostalization.

Leadership Development

The second implication applies to leadership. At this juncture, two distinct implications appear. The first implication pertains to local church leadership. Effective leadership development requires an appropriate pedagogy and content. Even a cursory

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[12]Interview by author, transcript RA58.

survey of the available materials in the 1980s and 1990s, reveals that most of the literature used in leadership development was designed and written for other contexts. The material was translated and taught with minimal efforts at contextualization. The pedagogy and content did not, on the whole, reflect the context of the pastors and leaders. While theological education was offered to those literate in French, it focused on information transfer rather than apprenticing leaders. Skill development received some attention. Character development in terms of Christ-likeness received much less attention.

The second implication pertains to the CBT leadership. At the end of the 1990s, few of the leaders had a grasp of the vision and the skills to achieve the vision. This weakness became apparent with the SD-21 transition in 2000. During the transition, IMB made few concrete efforts to assist the CBT leadership for the multiple challenges of leading a convention spread over an extended geographical area and consisting of churches from a variety of ethnic groups, some of which had historically been at odds. Notably, since 2000, the CBT has established educational requirements for CBT leadership. Skills and character are minimized in favor of academic degrees.

The implication, then, lies in the need for leadership development at both the local church and national levels. In the case at hand, leaders contributed to pentecostalization by their inability to foresee, understand, and manage the developments. On the whole, both the TBM and the CBT leaders were ambivalent toward Pentecostalism during the 1990s. On the one hand, the TBM provided little assistance to the young convention due to its own internal disorder. On the other hand, leaders in CBT did not quickly assess and respond to the macro factors. The lack of capable leaders creates an environment that favors pentecostalization.

Contextual Exigencies

The third implication concerns contextual exigencies. External developments play an important role in pentecostalization. Certainly, it is not easy to foresee

developments such as the political crisis of the early 1990s or the sudden implementation of SD-21. Yet, these uncontrollable variables constitute the realities faced by mission agencies worldwide. Preparation for these external events requires attention to the foundations that are built so that when the contextual exigencies arise the churches are able to manage them with minimal disruption.

The implication, then, lies in the need for an awareness of the macro developments in the political, social, economic, and religious realms. Neither the TBM nor the CBT confronted the current reality. Rather, they were distracted by the urgent, micro issues, and ignored the larger reality. The research indicates that leaders acted reactively and insouciantly, rather than proactively, in the confrontation with Neo-Pentecostalism. This micro focus on the urgent issues precludes an effective response to the contextual exigencies. The lack of awareness of the global and macro realities accommodates pentecostalization.

Vision

The fourth main implication lies in objective and vision. A clear, unifying, and articulated vision and objective does not appear for either the TBM or the CBT. In the 1980s, "evangelism that results in churches" guided the TBM to some extent. In the 1990s, a similar theme guided the CBT. Yet, this theme represents a slogan more than an articulated vision that determined mission intent. Concrete actions to achieve the mission intent were lacking. Consequently, cross currents weakened both the resolve and the direction of Baptist work. In the past decade, similar cross currents within the CBT have led to a dysfunctional convention.

The objective of church planting and development originated with the TBM. For the most part, missionaries promoted this idea of "evangelism that results in churches." And, they sought to instill this ethos, this vision, this objective, this mission intent in the churches they planted. In short, they cast a vision, the TBM vision. They

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failed to facilitate the growth of the CBT's own vision. In the end, the CBT did not own the vision; it remained the vision of the TBM.

The implication, then, lies in the necessity of assisting national bodies and churches in vision acquisition. At this point, vision-casting is suspect. Rather, the more appropriate steps would be to facilitate the development and growth of the national body's own vision and mission intent. The failure to acquire, own, and implement a clear, unifying vision and objective invites pentecostalization.

Transitions

The fifth implication of the analysis concerns the transition prompted by the SD-21 reorganization. The void created by the dissolution of the TBM, though not immediately evident, left the churches without support in critical areas of church development. In poorly planned and implemented transitions, resource delivery suffers. When expected resources are not forthcoming, churches turn to those that are readily available. Neo-Pentecostals, through their media efforts, fill the void and influence the faith and practices of Baptists.

Another aspect of the poorly implemented transition pertains to fiscal resources. The various departmental subsidies created a subtle reliance on the TBM. By providing the bulk of the necessary expenses, the subsidies ensured that the CBT had the funds to function well. Yet, the ready availability of substantial outside funds lessened the need to develop the CBT's own financial capacity.

The SD-21-prompted transition led to the aggregation of the various departmental subsidies into a single large sum. The CBT leadership used the subsidy to promote Neo-Pentecostalism among the churches. Moreover, the sudden windfall provoked tensions within the CBT over resource allocation. The conflict, which continues to de-stabilize the CBT, contributes to greater distrust of the CBT leadership and a further diminution of financial resources as the churches withhold contributions

from the CBT. The churches turn to the readily available Neo-Pentecostal sources for inspiration, guidance, and assistance because of the disunity, disinterest, and distrust within the CBT.

The implication, then, lies in the necessity of carefully crafting and implementing transitions. Outside resources, when reduced or withdrawn, create unanticipated voids and dependencies, which generate environments conducive to outside influence, which, in this case, was Neo-Pentecostalism.

Polity

The sixth implication of the analysis pertains to polity. For the informants, polity is a volatile topic. Disorder, conflict, and turmoil surround the issue. The volatility of the topic appears in three areas. To begin, the definition of church varies considerably. The *ministère* model has disrupted the ecclesiology of Baptists. Groups of people fail to coalesce into a New Testament church. While church-like activities abound, the more significant aspects, such as fellowship, mutual accountability, mission, leadership, and vision, do not develop. The flux of people in search of solutions undermines the nature of church. As one church leader put it,

> There are a lot of people here because we are here, but not everybody is a true member of our church. There are visitors who come, but until now, they have not declared themselves to belong to our church. You see, so these people come to see what happens here. They are here for a time. If they hear something here or there, they go there. . . . They return. So these people go from left to right and take things like we are talking about.[13]

The nature of church shifts subtly from the body of Christ to that of a place for problem resolution and charismatic manifestation.

Next, the organizational structure of the CBT poses immense difficulties. The structure and leadership concepts are drawn from an American organization (i.e., the

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[13]Interview by author, transcript KA40.

Southern Baptist Convention) without conscious efforts to build an organization appropriate to the context. The resource overhead to maintain the organization proves to be beyond the capability of the CBT churches as the current economic crisis and internal conflict demonstrate. Moreover, the legal status of the CBT follows the lines of other mainline non-congregationalist denominations. The CBT, not the local churches, is the recognized legal entity and owner of church property. The inability of the CBT to control local churches reflects negatively on the CBT and is a potential legal liability for the denomination. The autonomy of the local church does not fit well with Baptists' legal status. The movement toward an episcopal form of polity reflects financial and legal needs as well as cultural concerns.

Finally, the TBM introduced a third element in the mix. The TBM related to both the CBT and the local churches. The TBM had an advantage in its relationship with the churches because of its neutrality, as many informants attest. As such, the churches often turned to the TBM as much as they did to the CBT. The dissolution of the TBM disrupted the patterns of relationships. Presently, the geographical distance between the convention headquarters and the churches in the central and northern regions of the country contributes to a distrust of the convention leadership. This distrust is augmented by the perception of misuse of funds and divergence from what many believe to be the original vision and mission of Baptists.

The implication, then, lies in the necessity of addressing Baptist polity in an African environment. The polity issue unsettles the CBT. Baptists, by their polity, appear especially susceptible to pentecostalization.[14]

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[14]See also David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 150.

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Response to the Phenomenon

The response to the phenomenon takes two paths. On the one hand, how should one respond to the already pentecostalized churches? On the other hand, how should one proceed in order to avoid pentecostalization of yet-to-be-planted churches?

Pentecostalized Churches

The research reveals five types of responses to pentecostalization among churches. Among the five types, the Type 2 church provides helpful insights into the management of Neo-Pentecostalism. The Type 2 church had often adopted Neo-Pentecostalism, but later retreated because of the excesses and disorder. While these churches remain pentecostalized, they take a restrictive approach that limits pentecostalization. Interviews with the leaders of these churches suggest their restrictive Neo-Pentecostal position arises from two elements. First, they all hold to in-depth Bible study. A pastor explains,

> I take the example of prayer. At the beginning of my church, we prayed noisily because of the origin of certain people who came into the church. Until then, I did not make a problem of it. But afterwards, I engaged to study the thing and I saw what must be done. Now, when you come into the church here, when I say to pray, you will not hear noise. . . . I said what? It is the study.[15]

The Type 2 churches are more likely to follow a hermeneutic that accepts the contributions of the historical-critical approach. They insist that passages must not be isolated from the context. Moreover, they subsume experience under the authority of Scripture. These churches have a high respect for and use of Scripture.

Second, they all emphasize mission as their raison d'être. The Type 2 churches do not embrace the Word-Faith vision of prosperity or the Neo-Pentecostal problem-solution paradigm as their defining attributes. They unequivocally denounce the fallacy of the Word-Faith movement. Furthermore, they recognize the problem-solving

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[15]Interview by author, transcript RA204.

paradigm, but do not use it as their point of appeal. Rather, they emphasize evangelism and Bible teaching. A church leader elaborates,

> We have remained somewhat fixed. We have not been rocked too much. We have not followed this movement too much. I am happy with that. What I have described to you is what we live. We are content. Our faithful do not covet anything because we see the hand of God in what we do. Because of that, I am very content to be here. We understand the lesson of grace, the notion of giving oneself to the Lord, and of serving the Lord. Everyone is a servant of the Lord. *In any case, we keep the vision that we must take the gospel of God to the unreached* [emphasis added].[16]

The authority and use of Scripture lie at the heart of the matter for pentecostalized churches. Based on these two elements, the way forward for pentecostalized churches lies in a two-fold emphasis. One begins with the insistence on the authority of Scripture and a hermeneutic that does not isolate passages from their context. One continues with an emphasis on a mission vision and objective consistent with Scripture. In other words, the way forward lies in the re-affirmation and firm insistence on the final authority of Scripture for faith and practice.

Pentecostalization Avoidance

As much as anything, the research highlights two explicit weaknesses in the church planting process. The first weakness, poor contextualization, negatively affects the characterization of the gospel. The second weakness, poor church development, negatively affects the DNA of the church. Yet, underlying these two weaknesses, lie two other problems namely, an inadequate grasp of the gospel and an inadequate understanding of the changes necessary for a follower of Christ. These weaknesses leave Baptists vulnerable to pentecostalization. The question arises: how can one reduce the vulnerability to pentecostalization? Four areas deserve attention.

Orality. First, church planters need a high level communicative competency in

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[16]KA23, interview.

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oral background cultures. The cognitive, text-based approach to evangelism and discipleship introduced by the TBM continues today. Yet, oral background people theologize and understand the world differently than non-oral people. Douglas Burton-Christie testifies, "The search for meaning unfolding within the context of oral discourse has its own distinctive character and differs in important ways from the search for meaning that takes place between a reader and a text."[17] This fundamentally different way of processing information accounts for the lack of penetration into the worldview in the past. Effective church planting requires a shift from a focus on texts—books, documents, brochures—to narrative and speech.[18] Although orality awareness and training have the potential to enhance church planter effectiveness, the shift from a non-oral mindset to an oral mindset remains the major obstacle. Simply, a non-oral person finds it extremely difficult to shift to the perceptual framework of an oral person. The two think differently. Even those church planters who earnestly seek to bridge the gap often fail to do so as they unconsciously rely on their known non-oral methods.[19] The oral and non-oral conceptual worlds are not bridged easily. In order to diminish vulnerability, Baptists need to function more fully in the perceptual frameworks of oral background people. This shift has profound consequences for pedagogy and, especially, the concrete versus abstract nature of communication.

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[17]Douglas Burton-Christie, "Listening, Reading, Praying: Orality, Literacy and Early Christian Monastic Spirituality," *Anglican Theological Review* 83 (2001): 199. See also Walter Ong's foundational study. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 2002).

[18]The focus on narrative and speech in no way suggests a lack of exegesis or study of Scripture. In fact, church planters must carefully attend to exegesis and study in oral settings in order to assure that narrative and speech are biblically sound.

[19]Historically, many Westerners consider literacy the prerequisite to discipleship. The emphasis on education during the colonial period proves the point. Others advocate "oral discipleship methods" that often amount to literate methods without printed materials. At the present time, discipleship of oral people follow one of four patterns: 1) the oral person is taught to read in order to use printed materials, 2) printed materials are read and the oral disciple repeats the words back, 3) oral materials are employed with a non-oral pedagogy, and 4) evangelism story sets are reviewed.

Cultural anthropology. Second, Baptists, particularly evangelists and church planters, need skills in cultural anthropology in order to understand and value the conceptual framework of the audience. Baptist churches were vulnerable to pentecostalization because of the lack of understanding of the conceptual framework of the African audience. Over the past several decades, missiologists have treated extensively the topic of contextualization and worldview studies. Yet, oftentimes, field practitioners do not apply the known principles. Without a strong understanding and practice of cultural anthropology, church planters are limited in their ability to understand and speak to a different conceptual framework. In his magnum opus, Paul Hiebert rightly exclaims, "people live not in the same world with different labels attached to it but in radically different conceptual worlds."[20] A weakness of Baptists—past and present—lies in the lack of attention to these radically different conceptual worlds. A gospel presentation and a discipleship plan appropriate to one conceptual framework may not be translated word-for-word and assumed to fit another conceptual framework. For this reason, church planters need high proficiency in cultural anthropology. Without this proficiency, they lack the capacity to address the essentials of worldview and to disciple the worldview. The resulting churches will be vulnerable to alternative formulations (such as Pentecostalism) until the gospel is formed in a way that speaks to the deep worldview issues and questions. The deep worldview, not just the surface, questions must be answered.

Missiology. Third, Baptists need leaders who understand the missiological issues of pentecostalization, and who will lead in addressing those issues. The TBM and CBT leaders did not demonstrate an awareness of and application of sound missiological

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[20]Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews*, 15.

principles. Without a clearly defined, articulated, and guiding missiology, the operational strategies, emphases, methodologies, and objectives are subject to the vagaries of feelings, micro-events, personal penchants, pragmatism, and expediency. Informed missiologists grasp the macro forces and global realities that impinge upon churches and Baptists; they articulate the vision and the foundations upon which that vision rests; and they establish the mission intent. Without a sound missiology, churches are ill-prepared for unexpected, external developments such as the surge of Neo-Pentecostalism.

Ecclesiology. Fourth, Baptists need to contextualize ecclesiology. During the rapid expansion of the 1980s, churches were planted and developed haphazardly. Ecclesiology and the idea of instilling a particular DNA in the local church were not part of the discourse. Church planters must instill intentionally a sound ecclesiology. Baptists are desperate for an ecclesiology that is appropriate to the context. This effort requires the careful and considered attention of theologians and missiologists. The primary issues are summarized by the following three critical questions.

First, how does one balance traditional Baptist servant leadership with the hierarchal structure of traditional African society? The contextualization issue of servant leadership versus authoritarian leadership surfaces many times in the interviews. Notably, Neo-Pentecostalism employs an authoritarian style of leadership that allows it to expand rapidly while maintaining unity. Neo-Pentecostalism also introduces a rebellion ethos that desacralizes the clergy. Baptist ecclesiology is ill-equipped to manage this development. Almost every informant speaks of persistent leadership struggles and secessions, which are attributed, directly or indirectly, to the tension of servant leadership versus authoritarian leadership. As a result of the on-going conflicts, many churches have seceded in practice, if not in fact.

Second, how does one balance autonomy with the legal status of churches? Congregationalism, as presented and established, is under pressure due to its inability to

address the cultural and legal issues facing a Baptist congregation. The research reveals widespread discontent with traditional Baptist polity. Baptists need to devote themselves to resolving polity issues in non-Western contexts.

Third, how does one balance the quest for solutions with the biblical mandate to make disciples? The current model of church rests on a problem-solution foundation. Unfortunately, a church appears as one of many alternatives for problem resolution. Once the problem is resolved, the person often withdraws until the next problem arises. This flux of people in search of solutions creates pragmatic difficulties in building a strong and biblical DNA. Notably, the Type 2 churches consistently emphasize the disciple-making DNA. The other churches do not. At the base of this difference is ecclesiology. The contextual issues surrounding the nature of the church as disciple-making versus problem-solving body requires attention.[21]

Gospel. Fifth, Baptists need to accentuate the aspects of the gospel that speak to the worldview. The Word-Faith movement, the *ministères*, and imitative churches have skewed the understanding of the gospel among a large portion of the population. This widespread distortion calls for a concentrated effort to understand and proclaim a contextually relevant, biblically correct gospel.

Neo-Pentecostalism recognizes the pitfalls of ATR while offering ATR-based correctives.[22] Regrettably, the Neo-Pentecostal soteriology remains connected to ATR.

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[21]Another element of this tension lies in the dynamics of the society. Disciple-making requires trust, and openness—qualities that are rare commodities in a society built on fear and power.

[22]Ogbu U. Kalu, "Preserving a Worldview: Pentecostalism in the African Maps of the Universe," *Pneuma* 24 (2002): 136–37. Kalu assesses Neo-Pentecostalism's connection to the African worldview in a positive way. He argues that Pentecostalism has appropriated the African worldview and added Christian elements. See also David Tonghou Ngong, "The Material in Salvific Discourse: A Study of Two Christian Perspectives" (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 2007), 104-07, and passim. Kwabena Amanor recognizes this close association when he writes, "In reality, the Pentecostal/Charismatic faith in Ghana and the African culture are soul-mates rather than antagonists. The Pentecostal faith, probably unknowingly, has ridden on the back of the African religious worldview to grow and expand." Kwabena J. Darkwa Amanor, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches in Ghana and the African Culture: Confrontation or

Emmanuel Larbi summarizes,

> The traditional African understanding of salvation and the biblical motif about God's desire to intervene to rescue people in desperation has continued to form much of the background of the way Pentecostals in particular and African Christians in general, perceive, appropriate and experience the concept of 'salvation.'[23]

The Neo-Pentecostal-inspired gospel, as encountered in the research, suffers from the following distortions. In order to reduce vulnerability to pentecostalization, these five distortions must be addressed. The skewed understanding begins, first, in the denial of the depravity of man. Sin is primarily *fautes* (faults), *erreurs* (errors), or *désobéissance* (disobedience) that impedes God's blessings. Consequently, Neo-Pentecostalism fails to tackle the fundamental problem of man's personal sin as rebellion against God.

Second, the ultimization of the material world misconstrues the place of creation. In contradistinction to the biblical cosmology, Neo-Pentecostalism places supreme value on the material world. Rather than pointing to God, the material world stands as the end. This ultimization of the material becomes most blatant in the identification of salvation with physical well-being. Moreover, the ultimization of the material erases the distinction of purpose between Christians and non-Christians. Rather than Christians uniquely seeking the glory of God, they join in the pursuit of personal well-being and success.

In the third place, the ultimization of power skews salvation. Generally, pentecostalized churches promote power. Accordingly, the death and resurrection of Christ emphasizes the personalization of God's power, rather than atonement for sins.

Compromise?" *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 18 (2009): 126.

[23]Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi, "The Nature of Continuity and Discontinuity of Ghanaian Pentecostal Concept of Salvation in African Cosmology," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 5 (2002): 104.

Obviously, the fault of this caricature lies in the appropriation of power for human interests. In this way, power becomes the motivation for salvation. In his study of Neo-Pentecostalism, J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu readily admits, "God's salvation is given active expression as a salvation of power meant to be experienced."[24] While salvation may not be divorced from power, the corruption of that connection leads to an imbalanced theology. Oftentimes, in practice, Jesus and the Holy Spirit are cast as spirits whose power exceeds that of the other spirits. Christians place their faith in Christ who, in turn, conveys the Holy Spirit. Once the Holy Spirit's power is unleashed, the evil spirits are vanquished. In folk practice, the distinction between the Creator (Jesus and the Holy Spirit) and the creation (the spirits) often fades. By elevating power as a primary objective of salvation, Neo-Pentecostals feed the quest for power. In this paradigm, salvation conveys not redemption, but power to succeed. To cast salvation primarily as power acquisition fails to treat fully the biblical material.

In the fourth place, the here-and-now emphasis leads to an over-realized eschatology. *No-Time* results in a view of salvation that remains singularly tied to the present. Since the future has no reward or punishment, salvation occurs as an immediate possession. Consequently, faith supersedes hope. Millennialism is entirely absent in the research. Neo-Pentecostals lack teaching and preaching on eschatology and ultimate accountability for one's walk with Christ.[25]

Fifth, Neo-Pentecostalism makes no place for the doctrine of preservation. Salvation depends on the circumstances of life and of the community. One may gain or lose salvation according to the vicissitudes of the cosmos and one's own therapeutic and

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[24]J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Signs, Wonders, and Ministry: The Gospel in the Power of the Spirit," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 33 (2009): 45–46.

[25]Neo-Pentecostals in the anglophone countries have sought to close this gap. The francophone countries have not at all emphasized this aspect of salvation and the gospel.

prophylactic efforts. Notably, several informants from the Type 2 churches specifically mentioned assurance of salvation as a distinctive feature of Baptists.

Summary

The correction of the distortions and the proclamation of a meaningful gospel stand as the challenge for Baptists. In the past, Baptists proffered a salvation from something that Africans, for the most part, do not see as something from which they need to be saved.

The response to pentecostalization, real and potential, requires the intentional hard work and reflection, not of missionaries with a smattering of theological education, nor of theologians whose world is bound by the walls of academia, but by missiologists who have the field experience and the theological foundations to think creatively, innovatively, and contextually. If this response is successful, if the blueprint is forthcoming, if the leadership is committed, pentecostalized churches will be attracted to Baptist faith and practice and non-pentecostalized churches will be less vulnerable to pentecostalization. In both cases, churches will be better prepared to face the next new religious movement.

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Avenues for Further Research

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In the course of the research, numerous related questions arose that deserve further exploration. Yet, the scope of the project precludes treatment of these secondary questions. This project establishes a starting point in anticipation of further research. Collateral topics in five areas merit treatment in order to develop further the nature of pentecostalization among Baptists.

To begin, corroborative studies are needed to establish the continuity and discontinuity of the phenomenon in similar and dissimilar settings. The first set of corroborative studies should examine the phenomenon among Baptists in West Africa. One study should follow a similar methodology among Baptists in another Francophone

setting such as Benin, Burkina Faso, or Côte d'Ivoire. A second study among Baptists in Ghana or Nigeria would provide further insights. A third study should focus on the same phenomenon in Togo, but from the perspective of the CBT with particular emphasis on the period beginning in 1995.

A second set of corroborative studies is needed to explore the phenomenon in dissimilar settings. One helpful study would examine the same phenomenon from a Classic Pentecostal perspective. In other words, how did Classic Pentecostals in Togo, such as the Assemblies of God, respond to Neo-Pentecostalism? This third study would complement the findings of my research (Baptist) and those of Pialo Maditoma (Eglise Evangélique Presbytérienne). Farther afield, pentecostalization needs to be studied in traditional religion environments worldwide in order to identify similarities and dissimilarities in contextual factors, appeal, and pre-disposition to Pentecostalism. In other words, does pentecostalization follow similar patterns in traditional religion settings?

The second main area for inquiry pertains to contextual factors. Two questions arise. First, to what extent do individual contextual factors contribute to pentecostalization? In Togo, several factors converged to create an environment conducive to Neo-Pentecostalism. Would pentecostalization have occurred in the absence of one or more of these factors? A corollary question asks, Did the rise of Neo-Pentecostalism in Ghana and Nigeria dispose BBCT Baptists to pentecostalization as an inevitable development?

Second, how do denominations with different polities respond to Pentecostalism? Research on this topic needs to determine the extent that polity predisposes a church to pentecostalization. Corollary questions arise, as well. For example, what polity is appropriate to African culture and worldview? And, to what extent are Neo-Pentecostal churches and pentecostalized Baptists vulnerable to other new religious movements because of their polity?

The third main area for research encompasses faith and practice. The present research project focuses on practices. Four topics merit further study. First, an unexplored question concerns the beliefs, explicit and implicit, that Baptists hold. How do these beliefs compare to the beliefs of other groups, such as Classic Pentecostals, Neo-Pentecostals, charismaticized churches, various *ministères*, and ATR? Second, research is needed on the view and use of Scripture, especially in an oral background setting. Hermeneutics constitutes a major component of pentecostalization. A third area that needs attention is leadership. Two questions surfaced during the project: what are the nature and style of leadership in the different types of churches? How do pentecostalized Baptist leaders compare to Neo-Pentecostal, Classic Pentecostal, and *ministère* leaders? The fourth area pertains to the warfare worldview. Two sub-topics merit attention. In the first place, what are the fundamental beliefs of the warfare worldview and how are they expressed in practice? For example, how does the warfare motif shape the doctrine and practice of prayer? Or, how does the warfare theme frame salvation? Next, how does the warfare motif held by Baptists compare with that of different groups, such as Classic Pentecostals, Neo-Pentecostals, charismaticized churches, *ministères*, and ATR? Too, to what extent does the warfare motif become a form of Christian animism?

The fourth main area for inquiry pertains to the *ministères*. The proliferation of *ministères* deserves considered academic inquiry. The *ministères* exert much influence on the religious realm. Yet, sociologists of religion and missiologists have largely overlooked their significance in BBCT.

The fifth main area for inquiry pertains to problem solving. African religion is primarily concerned with the quest for solutions to everyday problems. This quest has provoked the proliferation of *ministères* and the shift in orientation of ecclesiology. This topic includes the various understandings of problems, the ways people seek solutions, the various means by which people resolve problems, and the different approaches by ATR, Neo-Pentecostals, *ministères*, and Baptists to problem resolution.

Closing Remarks

Over the past two decades, Francophone Baptists have undergone profound changes. Today, Francophone Baptists self-identify with Pentecostals. They accept and expect charismatic manifestations.

This dissertation is the first in a line of research that explores the influence of Pentecostalism on Baptists. Obviously, not all the questions and issues can be resolved in a single work. I recognize that the present focus on practices is but one side of this complex phenomenon. An equally important aspect of the phenomenon is the beliefs that accompany pentecostalization. In the research, I avoid a formal doctrinal evaluation in order to explore more deeply and thoroughly the Pentecostal *practices* among Baptists. In so doing, I open myself to criticism for failing to provide a critical assessment of the doctrines. Hopefully, other researchers will further develop our understanding of pentecostalization by treating the doctrinal side. They will answer the question, *At what point does a Baptist church cease to be Baptist in its core beliefs and practices*?

My choice not to probe beliefs and doctrines does not mean my opinion on this matter is equivocal. In fact, my doctrinal concern and bias as a Baptist appear explicitly and implicitly in the research. I have encountered beliefs and practices that are clearly beyond those of traditional Baptists, which troubles and grieves me.

My negative assessment, however, contrasts sharply with many informants who embrace positively the shift. Like David Barrett, some informants characterize this phenomenon as a renewal. One enthusiastic young man declares emphatically,

> It is good because it is a good step towards the perfection that the Lord Jesus promised. Because this manifestation works so that the church moves now. The church is alive now. Because there are revelations. There are visions that come forth. Because in the walk with the Holy Spirit, there are many things. And the churches, the activities of the church go forth normally as they ought with this revival. Because now Christians do not sleep any more. They are truly conscious of their call and they are awakened to that which they must do before the return of the Lord Jesus. They are really soaked. This revival has supported a change in their

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being.[26]

The enthusiasm among Baptists is far-reaching. Pentecostalization is not a phenomenon unique to Francophone. The pentecostalization of Baptists worldwide provokes a fundamental question: what is the gospel and what are its implications for believers? Indeed, Baptist leaders have not given as much attention to this question as they ought. The failure to heed this topic means that many Baptists are drawn to Pentecostalism. Paul Hiebert correctly identifies this missiological problem when he writes,

> Conversion may include a change in beliefs and behavior, but if the worldview is not transformed, in the long run the gospel is subverted and the result is a syncretistic Christo-paganism, which has the form of Christianity but not its essence. Christianity becomes a new magic and a new, subtler form of idolatry. If behavioral change was the focus of the mission movement in the nineteenth century, and changed beliefs its focus in the twentieth century, then transforming worldviews must be its central task in the twenty-first century.[27]

I have seen and heard some of the excesses of the Neo-Pentecostal movement and pentecostalized Baptists. We have a right to fear and to condemn these excesses, but, at the same time, we must appreciate the efforts of Neo-Pentecostals to engage the worldview at more than a superficial level. We can learn from them by studying their weaknesses and their strengths. More importantly, we can learn from their innovations and creativity.

Unfortunately, Baptists in BBCT face an uncertain future. Informants concur. For example, a deacon observes,

> Baptists are not advancing. It is a reality. These other denominations are advancing rapidly. They win all our Baptist members. Especially, they see that Baptists have good teaching, therefore they drain these [Baptist] people into their *ministères* because the Baptists study the Bible well. It is easy to employ them in the *ministères*. It is that. In Togo, there is a lot to do. It is the reality. Actually, in five

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[26]Interview by author, transcript RA27.

[27]Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews*, 11–12.

years, the Baptists? It will be as if they do not exist, especially our convention.[28] Baptists drain away. Why? Obviously, the factors and the attractions vary, but the failure to answer the deep questions of the worldview lies at the heart of the matter.

The twentieth century began with the birth and extraordinary expansion of Pentecostalism. The twenty-first century began with the extraordinary pentecostalization of Francophone Baptists. What does the rest of this century hold for Baptists? Fortunately, the answer lies not in strategy, methodology, or contextualization, but in witnesses who are empowered and filled by the Holy Spirit.

The face of Baptists is changing. Will Baptists dismiss the phenomenon as misguided fanaticism, as something unworthy of attention, as the object of pathology? Will it take a half century before mainline Baptists awaken to the changing face of Baptists? Will Baptist leaders and missiologists ignore or confront current reality?

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[28]Interview by author, transcript KA39.

APPENDIX 1

TYPOLOGIES
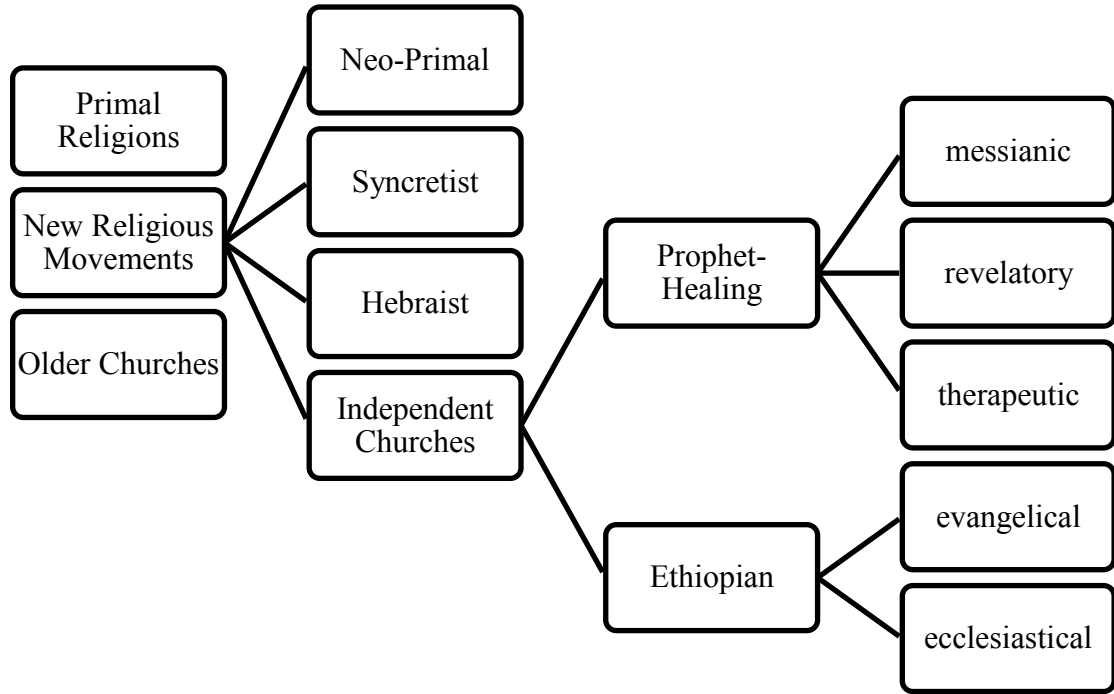
Figure A1. Harold Turner's typology of modern African religious movements

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│   Classical Pentecostal │
│     Denominations       │
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│   Charismatic Movement   │
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│  Indigenous Non-white   │
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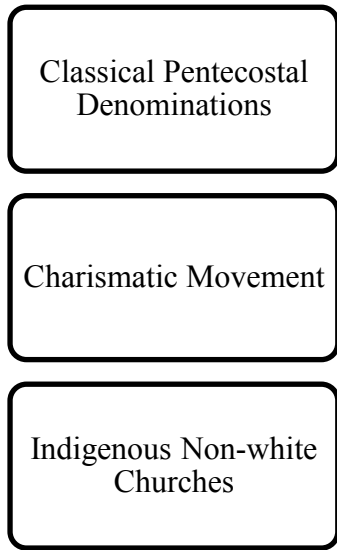
Figure A2. Walter Hollenweger's typology
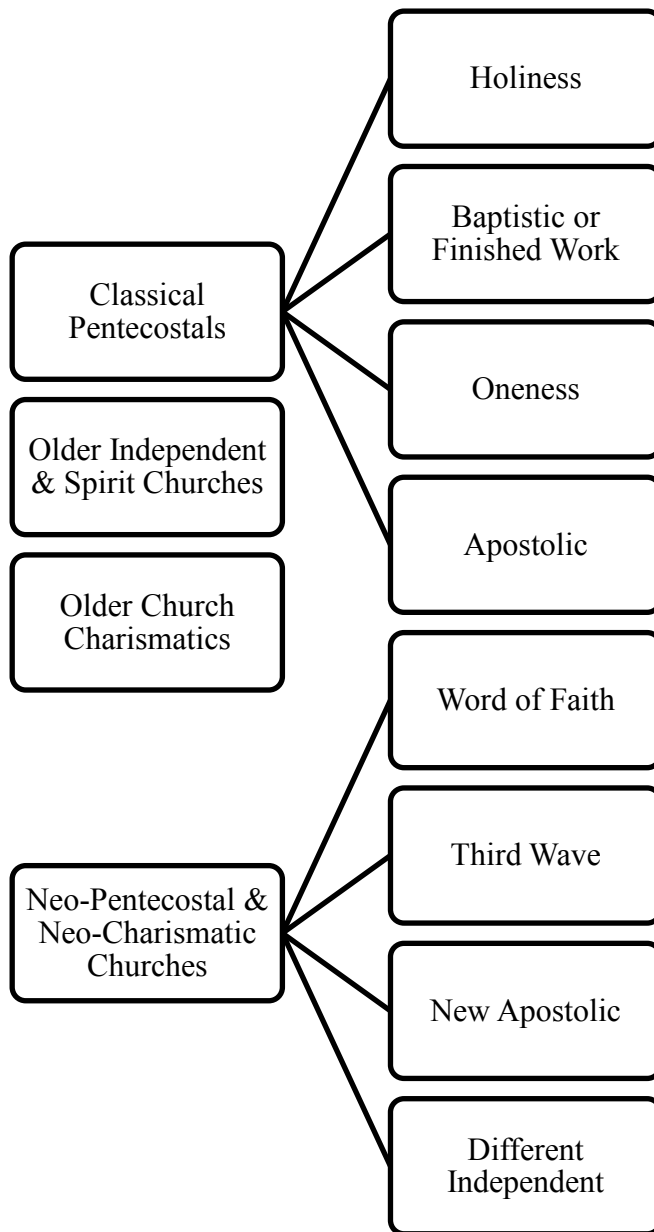
Figure A3. Allan Anderson's family resemblance typology

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│    Primary      │────────────────────│   Independent   │
│  Evangelical-   │                    │   Pentecostal   │
│   Pentecostal   │\                   └─────────────────┘
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┌─────────────────┐  \─────────────────│     Mission     │
│   Secondary     │                    │   Pentecostal   │
│  Evangelical-   │                    └─────────────────┘
│   Pentecostal   │
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│  Revelational-  │
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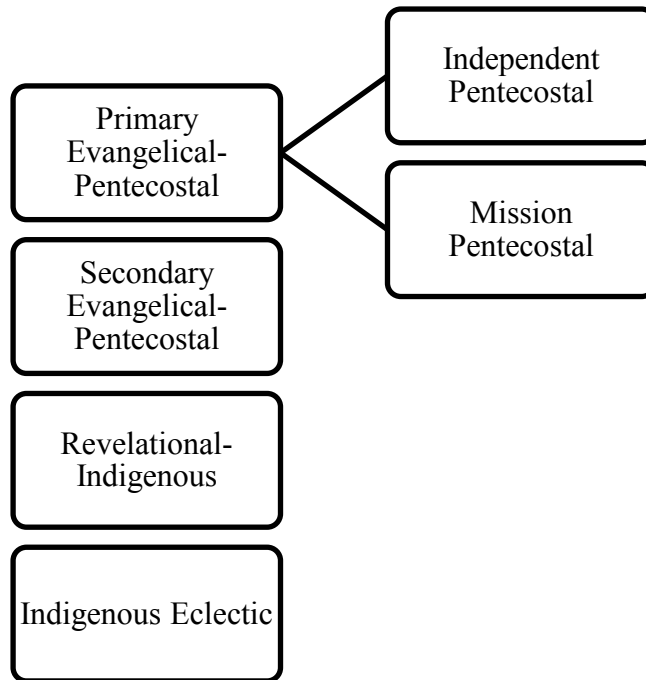
Figure A4. Dean Gilliland's AIC typology
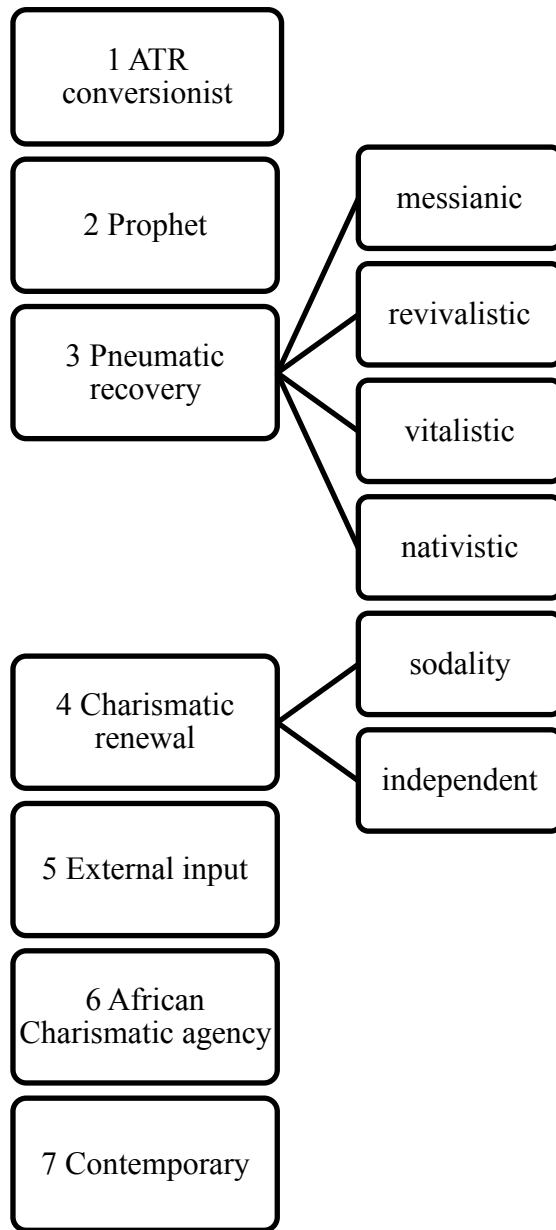
Figure A5. Ogbu Kalu's renewal typology

Spiritual churches

Classic
Pentecostalism

Charismatic
movement

Parachurch
organizations

Neo-Pentecostal
movement

Pentecostal prayer
camps
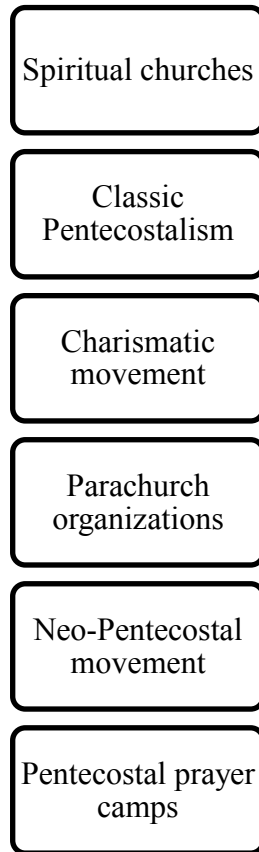
Figure A6. Emmanuel Larbi's six-strand typology

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│    Faith Seekers    │
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│   Faith Builders    │
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│ Faith Transformers  │
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│                     │
│     Reformists      │
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│     Modernists      │
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│     Deliverance     │
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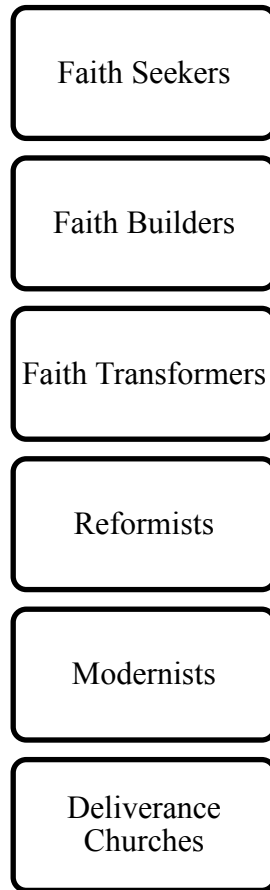
Figure A7. Matthews Ojo's piety and power typology

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│   Classical Pentecostal churches│
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│                                 │
│   Ghanaian Pentecostal churches │
│              (1920s)            │
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│        Neo-Pentecostal or       │
│   charismatic/evangelical non-  │
│    denominational fellowships   │
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│                                 │
│       Charismatic movement      │
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│   Neo-Pentecostal/Charismatic   │
│      churches and ministries    │
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┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│     Neo-prophetic churches and  │
│             ministries          │
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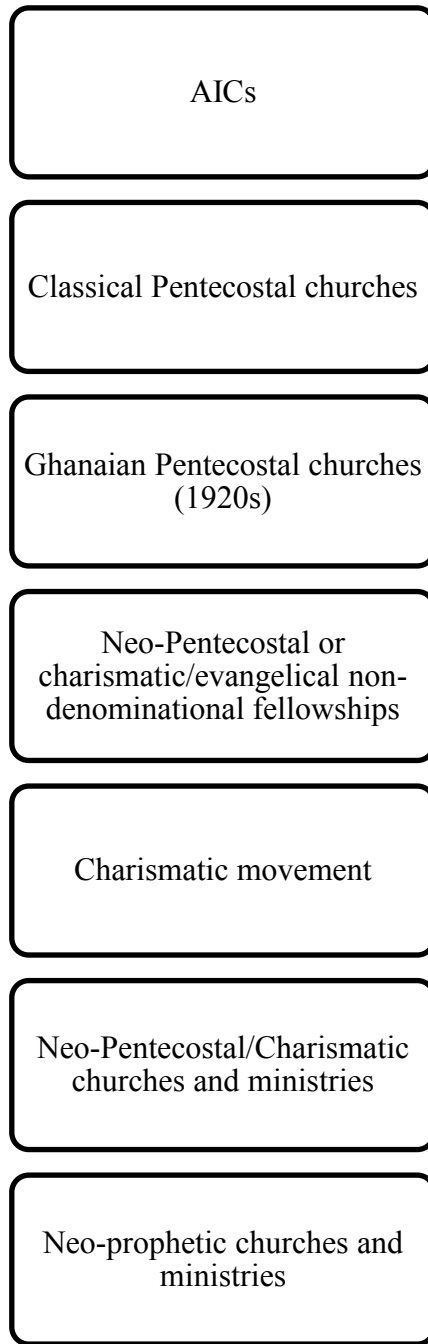
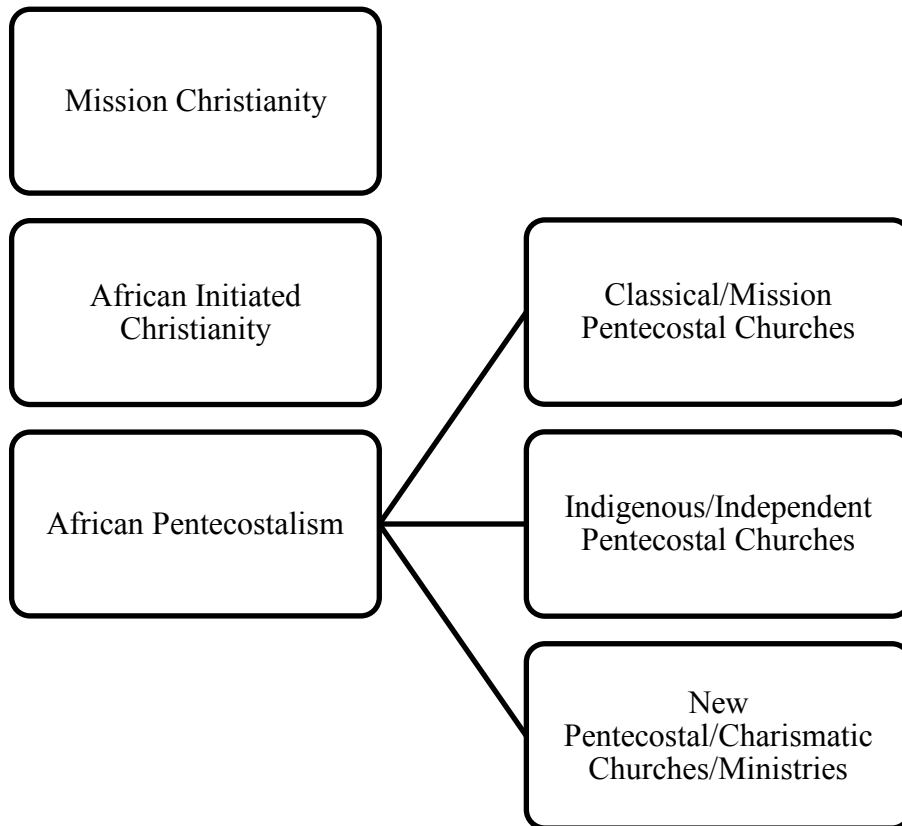Figure A8. Cephas Omenyo's Ghanaian typology
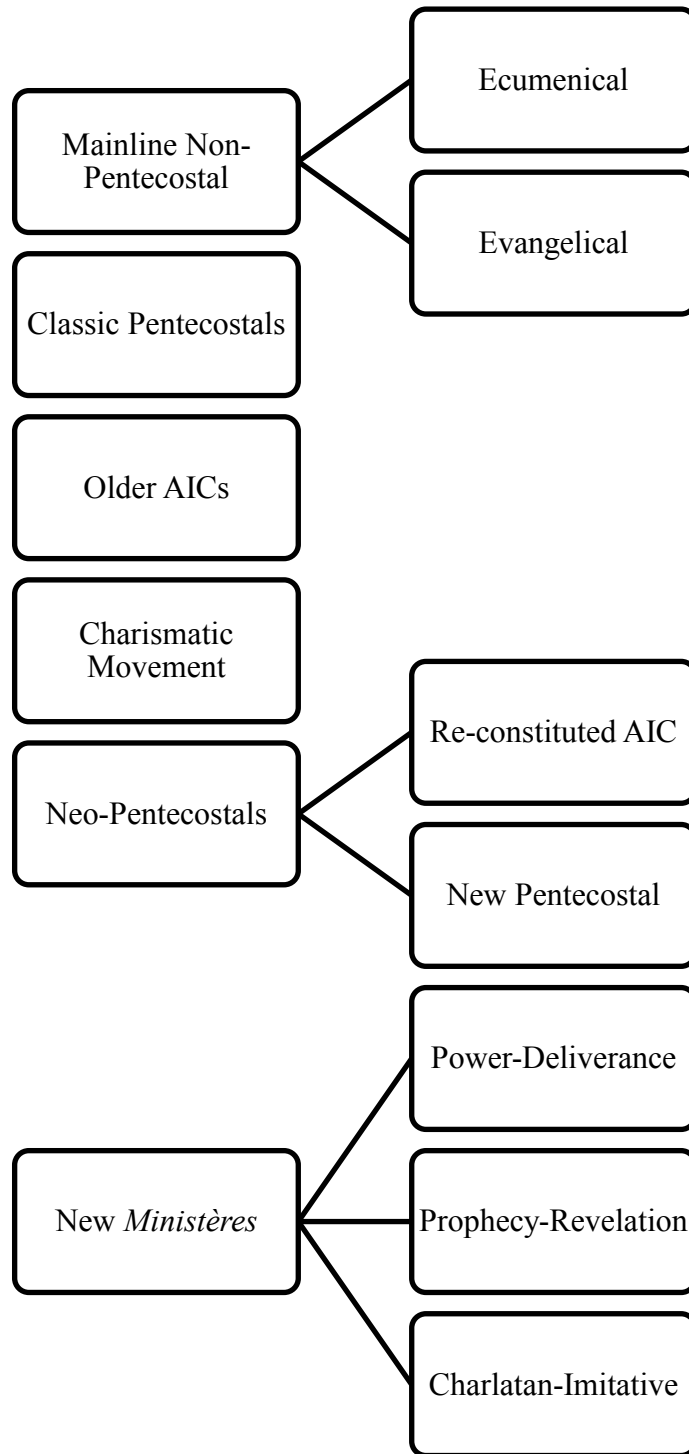
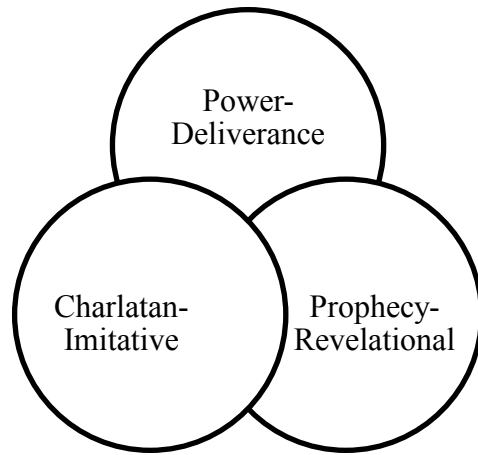Figure A9. Azonseh Ukah's typology

Figure A10. Proposed typology

Figure A11. Proposed *ministère* typology

APPENDIX 2

LEADERSHIP

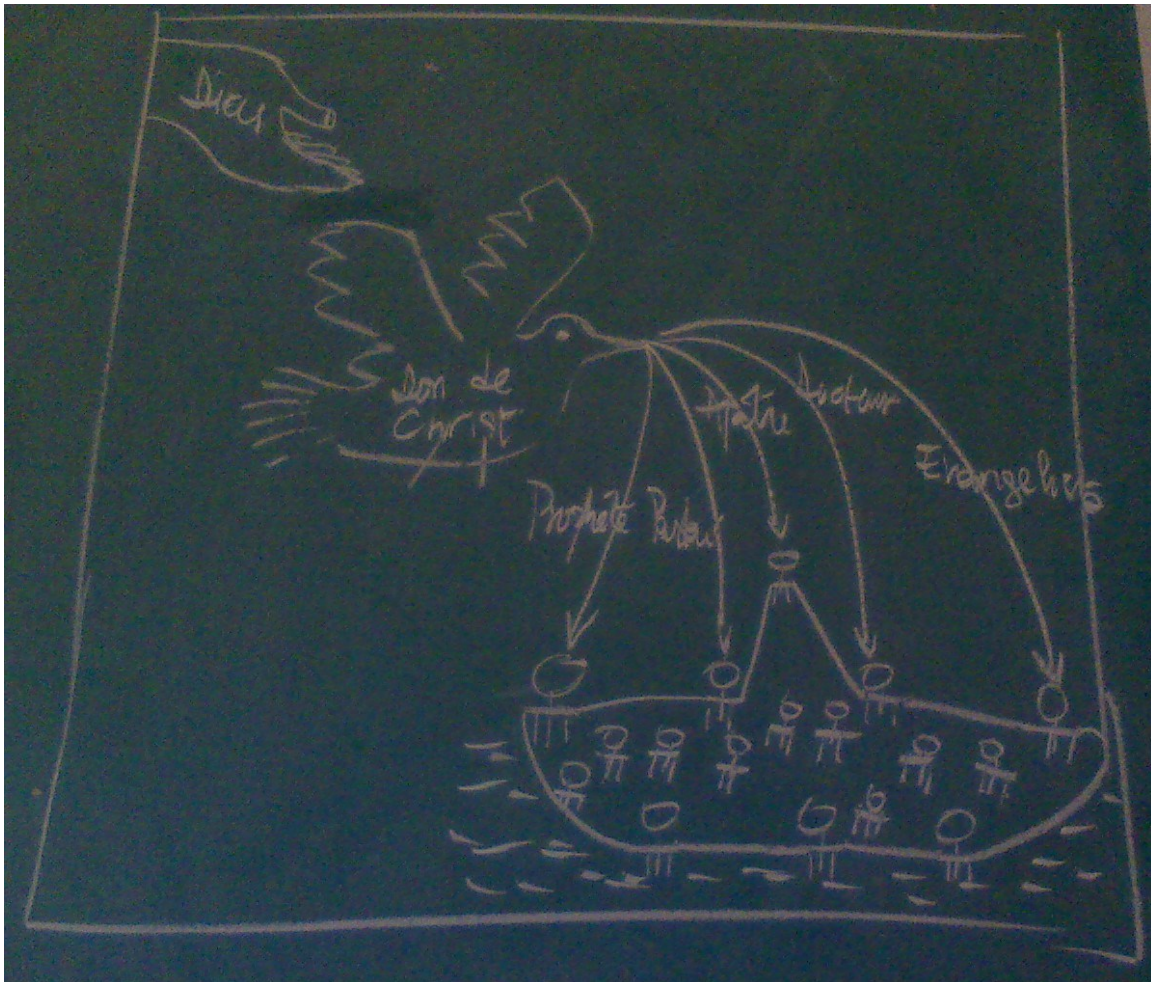Figure A12. Leadership schemata

This photo was taken at ESBTAO on 08 April 2011.

APPENDIX 3

GLOSSARY

Adoration	a part of the worship service for prayer, introspection, confession, and acknowledgment of God's munificence
Animateur	worship leader
Appel	*call* or *invitation*; denotes particularly the invitation at the end of a sermon.
Blocages	*blocks, impediments*
Bonheur	*well-being*; closely linked to the idea of salvation; a premier value
Chorale	a traditional church choir, which uses traditional songs and instruments
Cours de baptême	a study course required for baptism
Ecole de dimanche	*Sunday School*
Etre en règle	*to be in order*; to have proper social and spiritual relationships
Etude biblique	*Bible study*
Feu	*fire*; denotes (1) animated prayer, worship, and preaching or (2) a spiritually powerful person
Groupe d'intercession	*intercessory group*; a specific group, usually a sodality, responsible for intense, persistent prayer and deliverance
Groupe de combat	*combat group*; another name for the groupe d'intercession
Groupe de délivrance	*deliverance group*; the groupe d'intercession often serves in this capacity
Groupe musicale	*musical group*; this group employs contemporary songs and instruments
Groupe de prière	*prayer group*; a general term for a prayer group; usually not the groupe d'intercession
Haute voix	*loud voice*; denotes speaking loudly, especially in prayer

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Jeûne et prière	*fasting and prayer*
Jeune fille	an unmarried female, usually between the age of sixteen and thirty.
Liberté	*liberty, freedom*; denotes freedom to act independently of established authority
Louange	a part of the worship service devoted to praise and thanksgiving for God's blessing
Ministère	refers to (1) independent, non-church-based entities or (2) the prayer "ministry" after the sermon
Parler en langues	*to speak in tongues*
Parole de Dieu	*word of God*; any message perceived to come from God; not limited to the Bible
Prière d'autorité	*prayer of authority*; addressed to evil spirits in order to assume authority over them
Prière de combat	*combat prayer*; addressed to evil spirits in order to vanquish them
Prière normale	*normal prayer*; prayer addressed to God
Réveil	*revival*; a specific time period for spiritual renewal
Salut par les œuvres	*salvation by works*
Tapage	refers to the practice of praying with gesticulations and loud articulations, usually in the context of combat prayer
Tomber	*to fall*; a manifestation where an individual falls to the ground in a trance-like state
Veillée	all night prayer vigil
Vie abondante	*abundant life*

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ABSTRACT

PENTECOSTALIZATION:
THE CHANGING FACE OF BAPTISTS IN WEST AFRICA

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Over the past century, Pentecostalism has risen from obscurity to ascendancy in global Christianity. This ascendancy appears prominently in West Africa where Neo-Pentecostalism has transformed the religious landscape. Very few studies have examined the effects of the movement in the Francophone countries of Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Benin, and Togo.

Over the past two decades, Baptists in these countries have undergone a transformation. This transformation differs fundamentally from the charismatization of other mainline churches. Many denominations created space within the churches for Neo-Pentecostalism while maintaining their historical mission and foundations. In contrast, Baptists did not create space for Neo-Pentecostalism, but embraced and adopted the Neo-Pentecostal ethos; Baptists pentecostalized.

This qualitative study examines this pentecostalization phenomenon among Baptists with particular attention on Togo. Most of the interviews were conducted in 2011. In addition, I draw on twenty-five years of experience with a Baptist missions agency in Francophone West Africa.

Following an explanation of the research methodology and the historical context, I survey Pentecostal identity in Africa and identify five distinctive emphases of West African Pentecostalism—ethos, doctrine, worship, charismatic manifestations, and organization.

The first core section treats the nature of pentecostalization. I identify five typical responses by churches; the characteristic practices of pentecostalized Baptists; three privileged traits—experience, charismatic manifestations, and warfare prayer; the influences on pentecostalization; and five effects of pentecostalization in terms of emphases, message, identity, polity, and church planting model.

The second core section treats the contextual factors during three eras. In the first era, Baptists were exposed to Neo-Pentecostalism because of social and religious changes. In the second era, Neo-Pentecostalism gained a foothold because Baptists were ill-prepared for the movement. In the third era, Baptists pentecostalized because of shifting priorities during a critical transition.

The third core section treats the appeal of Neo-Pentecostalism for Baptists. Neo-Pentecostalism secured deep roots among Baptists because it engages the African worldview, contemporizes well-being, reframes problem-solving, and promotes religious fervency.

The final section of the dissertation summarizes the findings, suggests six implications of the analysis, proposes a response to the phenomenon, and offers avenues for future research.

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