

THE MAKING OF PENTECOSTAL ZAMBIA: A BRIEF HISTORY OF PNEUMATIC SPIRITUALITY

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ABSTRACT

While Zambian pentecostalism has existed since the mid-1940s, the movement only started making its presence felt from the late 1980s. The declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation by President Fredrick Chiluba late in 1991 accelerated the growth of pentecostalism in the country. This paper seeks to explore the ecclesiastical and theological transformations that have taken place within Zambian pentecostalism and also to highlight the factors that helped create an environment in which greater numbers of Zambians have come to embrace this form of spirituality.

Keywords: Zambian pentecostalism; theology; Christian nation; history; four-wave approach; spirituality

INTRODUCTION

The rise of pentecostalism¹ has revolutionised the Zambian Christian landscape to the extent that there is no talk of Christianity without a conscious or unconscious reference to pentecostalism. Since the mid-1990s there has been unprecedented expansion in Zambian Christianity, which in 2010 was the religion practised by 86.95 per cent of the

1 Throughout this paper the terms “pentecostal,” “pentecostals” and “pentecostalism” are used in reference to the broader, multiple and diverse communities that identify with the pentecostal movement (first wave: classical, second wave: Neo-Pentecostal and third wave: Charismatics (both Protestant and Catholic)) who emphasise the ongoing missional activity of the Holy Spirit in the world. The terms “Pentecostal” and “Pentecostalism” are used in reference to a specific community such as Pentecostal Assemblies of God – Zambia.

population, that is, 11 997 000 people out of a population of 13 917 439 (Mandryk 2010, 892). In the early 1980s less than 5 per cent of Zambia's Christian population embraced pentecostalism, yet only a decade later this grew to about 23.6 per cent (Johnson and Zurlo 2016). These statistics are confirmed by Operation World, which cites the number of Charismatics in mainstream Christianity as 25.8 per cent (3 413 874) and Evangelical-Pentecostals as 25.7 per cent (3 406 297) (Mandryk ed. 2010, 892). According to these figures, if Charismatics in mainstream Christianity were included, over half of Zambia's population subscribe to a Pentecostal-Charismatic form of spirituality, and this form of spirituality could be said to represent the character of Zambian Christianity. In his article, "Stretching Out Hands to God," Allan Anderson (2015, 54) makes the observation that "what is not often appreciated in these statistics is that there is not only remarkable growth in Pentecostalism but also a change in the character and orientation" of Zambian Christianity. In the 1980s, while the Western form of Charismatic Renewal continued in the Roman Catholic Church, there was no official African-informed Charismatic movement in most Zambian mainline churches owing to discrimination against and the marginalisation of pentecostals and pentecostal spiritualities on the grounds that they were unorthodox and an accommodation of pagan practices (Tar Haar 1992).

In an interview, Apostle Dr Danny Pule (June 11, 2016), one of the earliest converts to pentecostalism in 1977, explained:

We were treated as non-believers by Roman Catholic Church and mainline churches because we were pentecostals. There was a time we experienced persecutions as pentecostals because we were so few. Now the impact of pentecostalism is so much and they cannot ignore us. They now accept us as equals; even want to have what we have.

This observation correlates with information supplied by Apostle Robert Bwalya, another of the earliest converts to pentecostalism. He converted in 1975 and was expelled from the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) for trying to introduce Charismatic worship at a local church at which he was pastor. He (April 25, 2016) recalls:

In ... 1977, I started a ministry called Christ Gospel Center Ministry in Nfuwe. Christ Gospel Center Ministry was the first, what I mean by the first, first ministerial ministry in Zambia to be registered under the society act as one of the pentecostals. It was very new, it was very strange, and because of that, I was even arrested on an allegation for forming a political party called born again under Christ Gospel ministries disguise. It was not easy to be pentecostal in those days. We were hated and persecuted.

Bwalya's assertion is affirmed by Zambian scholar, Austin Cheyeka, who states that some established historical churches demanded that pentecostals be denied registration by the Registrar of Societies (Cheyeka 2008, 152). The story of the persecution of pentecostals in Zambia is not unique: pentecostal historiographies have documented similar stories in various parts of the world, exposing the marginalisation and persecutions that pentecostals suffered at the hands of mainstream churches because of their beliefs and practices (Synan 2001; Cartledge 2003; Anderson 2014; Brogdon

2015). Pentecostals continue to be maligned and psychologically victimised. For instance, Rev. Conrad Mbewe (2014) of Kabwata Reformed Baptist, in his 2014 article, “Why is the Charismatic Movement Thriving in Africa?” cautioned that “this movement is not a powerful visitation of the Holy Spirit,” and “We need to sound the warning that this is not Christianity.” Despite such religious stereotypes and discriminations, it is indisputable that *Zambian Christianity as a whole* – comprising the Catholic, Anglican, Protestant and African Initiated Churches – has undergone a radical paradigm shift in the direction of pentecostalism (Anderson 2015, 54).

Pentecostalism at present constitutes a significant social movement that is a fast-growing, politically active force, and its spirituality continues to affect a large portion of *Zambian citizens* in significant ways. It constitutes the greater part of what is now one of the largest practising Protestant communities in Zambia. However, in Zambia, unlike other parts of the continent, there is no adequate academic historical theology of the phenomenon. The scholars who have attempted to provide historical accounts have done so from religious studies, anthropological or sociological perspectives and have religiously followed the three-wave institutional creation approach.² This approach is suited to Western study of the history of pentecostalism, which seems to have developed in linear form.

Even though not explicit, three-wave historiographic perspective appears to be grounded in three approaches, fleshed out as follows: first, chronological (also include Allan Anderson’s ‘multiple Jerusalem’ or Walter Hollenweger’s ‘black origin’) – emphasise continuity of the movement with each new wave building on the previous one (e.g. Hollenweger 1997; Anderson 2004; Miller 2005). Second, the reactionary – this emphasis the difference about each new wave and how the new wave is characterized by new approach (e.g. baptism in the Holy Spirit with initial evidence of speaking in tongue, gifts of the Holy Spirit, prophetic etc.) (Omenyo 2006; 2013). Finally, third, the generational, highlights that each new generation tends to think differently about the movement. Thus, they often resist or reject essentialisation and father figure dominance within the movement. Therefore the young people have been at the cutting age in engendering new waves (Kalu 2008).

However, it is neither easy nor obvious how each wave is situated within the matrix wave. Some of the core ideas that form each approach above are observable with the *Zambian context* in which pentecostal developments have followed quite a distinctive trajectory. This trajectory emphasises the flexibility of pentecostalism in its adaptation to *Zambian cultures*, in what Cephas Omenyo (2006, 252) have called, “diffusion of innovation,” which suggests that socio-cultural context has to a large extent dictated the historical development of each wave-trend.

2 Cheyeka (2008), for example, has focused on the history of pentecostalism in Zambia, but does not deal with its theological development (See also Haynes 2012). Naar M’fundisi (2014: 32) is one of the few scholars to have extensively documented the history of pentecostalism in Zambia.

In this paper I follow a four-wave diffusion of innovative historical development, with each wave overlapping with others. The first is wave within the wave eruption. The original wave of classical pentecostalism which started in Azusa and was brought by missionaries to Zambia did not result in contextualisation, dynamism, innovation and expansion of pentecostalism. In other words, the wave of classical missionaries in Zambia did not make serious impact. It was largely an instigating wave. It was the eruption of indigenous wave that charted pentecostalism suited to African imagination. Clearly, the indigenous wave within the classical wave maintained a hostile attitude to both African cultures and African Christianity in ways that sometimes were destructive. However, it rescued pentecostalism, which was largely a shadow of mainline Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, from disintegrating into a mere exhibition in museum of long forgotten religions. The second wave begins with the mainline churches seeking renewal from within. The third wave was an urbanised phenomenon initiated by indigenous ministers; most of them were either classical secessionists or born again in the period most of the indigenous clergy in classical wave within the wave were also born again. The fourth wave comprises prophetic movements, which have functioned in the way the charismatic movement did in the mainline churches as renewal movements within pentecostalism. These tend to reject hegemonic clergy dominance, reinterpret certain Christian claims and insist on the pastor's unlimited access to God. I use the concept of "waves" in much the same way as Paul Freston (1995, 120) uses it, to emphasise "Pentecostalism's versatility [and continuous self-criticism, however unconstructive that might be], but also the way each church carries the marks of the era in which it was born."

THE RISE OF PENTECOSTAL ZAMBIA: A FOUR-WAVE PANORAMIC VIEW

Classical pentecostalism arrived in Zambia over four decades after the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles. Historians have traditionally dated the origin of classic pentecostalism from two important revivals that occurred at the turn of twentieth century in the United States of America (USA). The first was in Topeka in 1901, under the auspices of Charles F. Parham. The second took place in Los Angeles, California under the leadership of an African American, William J. Seymour. However, it was Seymour's revival that became a "symbolic" epic point that was to ignite the spark of worldwide pentecostalism. I say "symbolic" because African pentecostalism has African foundations, being rooted in African religious revivals which were taking place as a continuous search for "power and identity" (Kalu 2008, 5). As already argued, the wave of classical pentecostalism that missionaries brought to Zambia remained marginal throughout 1950s to much of 1980s (Chalwe 2008). Yet this does not in any way intended to negate the role played by various missionaries. To emphasise the diverse histories of the movement is to demonstrate the "many tongues" of pentecostal

emergence. For example, Ogbu Kalu (2008, 41) argues that “many of the early classical Pentecostal groups came into Africa on the invitation of the indigenous Christians.”

Indeed, even within the Western world pentecostalism did not emerge in a vacuum, but rather as a result of the adoption of and adaption to a number of religious currents that existed at that time (Stewart 2015, 23). The early classical pentecostal theologies must be understood in the context of this background. The initial theological imaginations are thought to have been rooted in Keswickian theology and the Wesleyan theology of holiness: Keswickian theology emphasised the renewing power of the Holy Spirit in order for the believer to live a “higher life” of victory over the power of temptation (Stewart 2015, 23), and the Holiness movements branch of Wesleyan theology were committed to the idea that conversion ought to be followed by another landmark spiritual experience called baptism in the Holy Spirit. Freston (1995, 121), writing from the Brazilian context, notes that “The doctrinal synthesis which enabled it to arise as a distinct movement was achieved by 1900: tongues were evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.” Spirit-baptism was regarded as biblical and an essential experience for maintaining a victorious life over sin and temptation in the present age. The pentecostals proclaimed baptism in the Holy Spirit as being imbued with power from on high for witnessing and demonstrating the gospel through healing and miracles. The baptism of the Holy Spirit was understood as being experienced subsequent to salvation and a clean heart. They upheld holiness of heart through the demand for radical separation from the world and its sinfulness. Baptism in the Holy Spirit was interpreted as a significant sign of the imminent return of Christ (Womack 1968, 88). Thus, pentecostal eschatology and Spirit-baptism were inexorably intertwined, and classical pentecostalism maintained a political distance from secular politics. The resistance to the world and other-worldly imagination that pentecostals took was political in nature. This initial non-conformist and divergent nature of pentecostalism resulted in the unequivocal marginalisation of pentecostalism as heretic.

Freston cautions against reducing the movement to speaking in tongues as source of its newness. He (1995, 121) states, “The novelty in Pentecostalism was not tongues-speaking itself but the doctrine which gave it theological and liturgical centrality,” and argues that its Protestant emphasis on a coherent doctrinal system, a law-governed cosmos and subordination of charismatic phenomena to Biblical revelation demarcates it from some African Initiated Churches (AICs) which sought to subordinate the Bible to African cultures. Adriano Chalwe (2008, 12) argues that “the rootedness of the Pentecostal Church in Zambia is, for the most part, a matter of gratifying the worldview of the recipients of the message and not necessarily a tribute to the triumph of American missions. In other words, a perfect accommodation or adjustment to the Zambian way of life was the secret of the Pentecostal faith.” The argument here is that the mainline Roman Catholic and Protestant churches were very rigid and held strictly to their inherited European church canons and doctrines. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century European missionaries introduced a type of Christian spirituality formed in the mould of the Enlightenment and its rationality. This type of Christianity sought to replace the

African worldview with the Western mechanistic view of reality. The introduction of classical pentecostalism, which began with the white missionaries, was much more open to the spiritual dimensions of traditional African life. This openness to traditional spiritual reality made the movement more appealing to most Zambians, functioning within a neo-primal worldview (Tembo 2012, 320).

In 1989 a pentecostal revolution took place, with hundreds of thousands of young people adopting its spirituality. It became nationalised, contextualised, popularised and a rapidly expanding phenomenon. With the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation by President Frederick Chiluba in 1991, pentecostalism became unavoidable in its presence and political visibility. Chiluba's pentecostal spirituality signalled the pentecostalisation of Zambian Christianity, national life and traditional costumes and cultures. By 1992 local political meetings and all other public meetings opened and closed with prayer. Christian tags permeated daily speech and ordinary conversation.

For instance, Bishop Joseph (known as Joe) Imakando (3rd June 2016), the founder and senior pastor of Bread of Life International and former General Secretary of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) argues "It became fashionable to be 'born again'. Everyone wants to be pentecostals." Dr Nevers Mumba (30th November 2016), the first Zambian televangelist and former Vice President of Zambia, concurs "before Zambia was not declared a Christian nation, Zambia was not 89% Christian as it is now. The pentecostal movement was not as rampant, and churches were not at almost every corner of this country." Dr Danny Pule (11th June 2016), founder of Dunamis Church and the former minister in Chiluba's government and president for Christian Democratic Party, also affirmed this assertion. He recalls that "pentecostals ... we were so few, now the impact of pentecostal is so much. You know Baptists and others cannot ignore us, they now accept us probably as equals. If not even want to have what we have."

The pentecostalisation of Zambia has made it increasingly difficult to distinguish between traditional religions and Christianity. Rev. Derek Mutungu (2016), the team leader of Sentinel (the word means watchman) Team (the S-team) – a team evangelising traditional leaders, indicated that "Chiefs are coming to Christ. Forsaking the witchcraft rituals of their ancestors, they demand a new path of deep rooted obedience to Christ as he demands at Psalm 2:8–12." He indicated "over 70 or so of Zambia's chiefs are now born again." He (2015, 2–3) mentioned the paramount chief Chitimukulu of the Bemba people, the senior chief Mumena of the Kaonde, chieftainess Nyakalenga of Lunda and Chiaba (misspelt Chiawa –of the Goba) and others want to see the manifestation "of presence of Christ in their chiefdoms". Most of these traditional leaders during traditional rituals have started using Christian prayers exclusively, at least in public spaces (Simbao 2014, 40–57). Some traditional leaders have renounced their traditional customs and declared their respective kingdoms Christian kingdoms (Ignatius Kashoka whose royal name is Chief Ngabwe 2014). Chief Ngabwe (2014, 1) of the Lamba-, Lenje- and Lima-speaking people of Central Province, refused traditional rituals during his coronation. He invited (the S-team) to conduct his coronation. He was also installed by Bishop Chali Kasonde of New Beginnings Christian Church, a Neopentecostal-Charismatic Church.

Chief Ngabwe declared his kingdom, on April 8, 2014, as “a Christian kingdom, married only to the Lord Jesus Christ and none other” (2014, 1). He (2014, 1) further declared;

I reject and renounce every known and unknown evil covenant made by my parents, grandparents and forefathers of this land, every divination made on behalf of the people of this land to marine and underground water spirits ... Lord Jesus, you are the groom of this kingdom wedding and I enter this marriage between you and Ngabwe. My Father and my Lord, the land and people enter into this covenant in the blood of Jesus Christ forever and ever until you come back to rapture.

Indeed, many traditional leaders profess to be Christians and support the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation (House of Chiefs 2009). One of the main proponents of the pentecostal brand of Christianity and the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation is Chief Chipepo of the Tonga people of Gweembe district in Southern Province. He affirms that Zambia being a Christian nation requires its citizens to walk in Christ in all their dealings (Musika 2016).

It was also during 1990s that scholars began paying attention to pentecostal engagement with social issues in Zambia. The history of any religious tradition is vital, but it was Paul Gifford’s publication of a chapter on Zambia in his book, *African Christianity* and “Chiluba’s Christian nation: Christianity as a factor in Zambian politics 1991–1996,” both in 1998 that appears to have initiated a conversation and attracted the attention of some scholars to pay academic attention to the history of pentecostalism in Zambia. However, some scholars have not fully understood the reason why pentecostalism in Zambia is a latecomer in political involvement. For instance, M’fundisi (2014, 82) criticises pentecostals for lack of political commitment in connection during in 1960s and 1980s. She argues that “that civic engagement was not part of [pentecostal] religious consciousness.” This argument is obviously informed by appealing to the historical trajectory that Western pentecostalism took as a movement from being politically distant to secular politics to political awaking. This becomes clear in the way she analysed the interviews. She (2014, 82) stresses that “from various interviews I conducted with a number of Pentecostal pastors who became pastors from the 1960s to the 1980s was that the focus was more on proselytizing and ensuring that people were ready for the second coming.” Although it is true that pentecostals were not politically active during this period, it is not at all correct to argue that apolitical imagination was the reason for disengagement. This is a gross misinterpretation of the history of Zambian pentecostal political engagement, which ignores the fact that these movements were in their infancy during the period under discussion. Some of the key informants M’fundisi mentions were born again between 1970 and 1985. For example, Bishop Joe Imakando (1974), Apostle Robert Bwalya (1975), Bishop Dr Joshua Banda (1977), Dr Danny Pule (1977), Dr Nevers Mumba (1977), Bishop Bernard Nwaka (1978), Rev. Charles Kachikoti (1980), Bishop George Mbulo (1976). In actual fact, most of these were born in late 1950s to early 1960s and form the foundational indigenous Zambian pentecostal leaders who have advanced pentecostalism and also influential in political arena.

Coming back to the point, historical theology of pentecostalism in Zambia has remained unsystematised and obscured in sociological and anthropological archives, and there has been little study of the evolution of Zambian pentecostal theologies and their relationship to society. Despite excellent studies by sociologists and anthropologists, there is still a woeful lack of information on many pentecostal churches, with only the large churches seen as a dynamically evolving theological habitus. It must be acknowledged, however, that historical research on pentecostalism in Africa is not easy, as in the case of many of these churches have no culture of documenting their experiences. Thus, either no or few written sources exist.

Naar M'fundisi uses the oral history approach to the history of pentecostalism in Zambia. The major shortfalls of this approach, however, are the inconsistencies in accounts of the periodisation of movements. While oral history is valuable in supplementing written records, a number of issues must be borne in mind. First, the depth and quality of people's recall of a past that they did not initiate is always subjective and dependent on the nature of the relationship they had with the pioneers. Second, as Freston (1995, 119–120) argues, “the official memory of an organization always reflects the demands of some segment within it. In addition, pentecostalism has a tense relationship with history. Named after the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, it sees itself as a return to origins.” Third, initially most pentecostals were unconcerned about history: for most, experience was not something that could be subjected to and analysed through social sciences. Freston (1995, 120) observes that “despite the Christian principle of incarnation, the official organ of the Assemblies declares that Pentecostalism ‘is a movement of the Holy Spirit and, consequently, immune to the natural factors which condition human societies’.”

It is important to remember that while M'fundisi has written an extensive history of Zambian pentecostalism, it is mostly for a few who continue to dominate the public spaces. The first classical pentecostal church entered what was then Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) around the mid-1940s. It is also important to acknowledge the strategic position of South Africa in the establishment of the major classical pentecostal churches in southern and central Africa, Zambia in particular. Kalu (2008, 54) observes that South Africa “served as a nodal point from which black and white missionaries sallied forth into the region.” Beginning with the earliest movement, which originated in South Africa, the history of Zambian pentecostalism could be viewed in terms of a “four-wave” approach rather than the three waves as understood by Western historians of pentecostalism. It is important to note that these four waves did not progress in linear fashion, but that there were instead significant overlaps between them.

FIRST WAVE: CLASSICAL PENTECOSTALISM

From the late 1940s to the mid-1990s, a number of classical pentecostal churches were planted in Zambia.

The first was the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), founded between 1946 and 1947 in what was then Northern Rhodesia. AFM came through Afrikaner expatriate workers from South Africa, working in the mines on the Copperbelt (M'fundisi 2014, 32). One of the most significant African personalities in the establishment of AFM is a Malawian evangelist, Joel Chinzakazi Phiri. The church started on the Copperbelt in Mufulira, and spread to Northern Province in Isoka. Although the AFM arrived in the country earlier than all classical pentecostals, it has failed to make a significant impact there (Lumbe 2009, 32). In fact, it was only in 1997, when leadership was given to Zambians that the church began to show some signs of growth. Before that, AFM was rent by a number of schisms, the most notable of which resulted in the formation of the Word of Life Church and Gospel Outreach Fellowship. It was a male-dominated church, and only started ordaining female pastors in 2005 (M'fundisi 2014, 41). In 1956 AFM established Kasupe Bible College. In 2002 it counted 50 000 members in 30 major assemblies (Fenza 2010)

The second, the Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC), was established in 1948. M'fundisi records that a number of migrant Zambian miners in South Africa were converted as a result of PHC evangelism. This inspired some missionaries to expand their mission efforts to Central Africa, including Zambia (M'fundisi 2014, 42).

The third, the Church of God, came to Zambia in 1951³ under the name Full Gospel Church of God (FGCOG), through South African white expatriates who came to work in the mines in what was then Northern Rhodesia. They used their homes to expand the church in the country. From the time it started until 1964, the church was under the supervision of the South African mission board. It is represented in most major cities in Zambia. In 1976, the church decided to move away from the supervision of the Full Gospel Church of God of South Africa, and came under the direct supervision of the Church of God World Missions Department of the Church of God with its headquarters in Cleveland, Tennessee, USA. Despite being re-registered in 1983 as Church of God in Zambia without the phrase "Full Gospel", the Church is still under Peter A. Thomas, a German missionary as its Field Director and Bishop Charles Karangwa from Uganda as Regional Superintendent for North and South Central Africa. Bishop John Mambo, the former oversea is uncomfortable with this organisation. He (2017) argues "In my time, I spoke strongly against such maladministration. It should be Africans who should be responsible for Africans and not a German who does not even live in Africa. People in Central Africa should have a leader from Central Africa and not from East Africa." He (2017) lamented "It is extremely sad that one of the so called concerned sources in the Church of God wrote to the National Overseer that they have nowhere to [go] except to be part of the American Church." Bishop Mambo questions, "How can a fully grown man who claims to be an ordained Bishop utter such a statement? This is a sign of brainwash. You mean Zambians can't do ministry except by leaning on the Americans? This is an epitome of disgrace." The National Overseer Bishop Booker T.W. Munampelu who

3 According to M'fundisi's oral history, it came to Zambia in 1964.

Bishop Mambo (2017) argues “was duly elected by the Church of God in Zambia with overwhelming majority vote”, has been sued “for allegedly masquerading as church overseer for Zambia following the revocation of his appointment on April 25, 2017, failure to adhere to directives of his superiors and gross misconduct by inciting people to rise against the church leadership to an extent where the leaders were terribly beaten by people he allegedly organised” (Chipulu 2017). Priscilla Chipulu (2017) reports “the Lusaka High Court has granted Bishop Munampelu an order for interim injunction pending the hearing and determination of the matter.” Bishop Mambo (2017) believes “The Americans and the Germans wanted bootlickers to be overseers so that they can continue exploiting the natives as they have always done. God forbid, I will not tolerate that.” It is clear that the church has been having leadership challenges which will only be solved by giving autonomy to local clergy. The church has a Bible College called Bethel Bible College in Lusaka which was started in 1977, with 12 students.⁴ It is now under the directorship of Bishop Duncan Mboma, from Malawi.

Fourth is the Pentecostal Assemblies of God – Zambia (PAOG-Z), which was established at Mwambashi Pentecostal mission station in 1955 by Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) missionaries.⁵ Bob Skinner was the first resident missionary to Zambia. The PAOC model of mission⁶ was based on the notion of an indigenous church following the three-self formula (self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting) borrowed from mainline Protestantism; this idea was popularised by Melvin Hodges, an Assemblies of God missionary to Nicaragua, in the early 1950s in his book, *The Indigenous Church* (Hodges 1953). Hodges believed that the church should share the life of the country in which it exists, and saw dependency on foreign funding as engendering paternalistic patterns leading to unhealthy, weak national churches. He emphasised the need for flexibility and for shaping the principle to fit the local situation. However, PAOG-Z remained predominantly a missionary church run by expatriates. In 1974, PAOG-Z started a Bible college at Mwambashi for PAOG-Z pastors. By the time the college closed in 1977, only eight small churches had been planted, and it would take a missionary from the West Indies, Rev. Winstone Broomes, with an understanding of three-self model to equip a core group of indigenous pastors to become pioneers in establishing indigenous churches. In 1978, Broomes established the Pentecostal Bible College in a house at Kanyanga in Kitwe with seven indigenous students, who graduated with diplomas in 1980. Among them was Bishop George Mbulo, who later became the first Zambian principal of the college, which had become the Trans-African Theological

4 Bill George (2010: 220–223) provides an excellent historical account of the Church of God.

5 There is no agreement as to the specific date on which PAOG-Z was introduced in Zambia. The institution itself cites 1955. For debate regarding the date, see Chalwe (2008) and M’fundisi (2014).

6 Most missionaries felt that the three-self model was not sufficient to make an indigenous church. They argued that a fourth self, self-theologising, is needed to complete the formula. The PAOG-Z has added the fourth element, although it remains weak in self-theologising (Easter 2014).

College (now the Trans-Africa Christian University, or TACU).⁷ Bishop Mbulo (March 2016) recalls, “It was really a pioneering stage of an institution that has blossom very well today, in training many, many ministry leaders.”

The PAOG-Z (no date, 1) defines itself not as a denomination, but as a fellowship of “self-supporting, self-governing and propagating Assemblies which believe, obey and propagate the full gospel message.” The autonomous nature of PAOG-Z has forced the movement to uphold a variety of worship systems, from the classical to the neo-pentecostal type of spirituality. Some congregations are extremely wealthy, while others are extremely poor and marginalised. Nevertheless, PAOG-Z is the largest single pentecostal church body in Zambia, with over 1700 congregations distributed throughout all the provinces and a membership of 453 333 in 2010 (Mandryk ed. 2010, 892–893). Most of this growth has taken place from the 1990s. The most notable and politically engaged pastor since that time is Bishop Joshua Banda of Northmead Assembly in Lusaka, National House of Prayer Advisory board chairman, president of the Southern Africa Region Chapter of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Africa (PAOA)⁸, former chairman of the National AIDS Council of Zambia and past principal of TACU. Bishop Robertson Nonde became Chief Bishop in 2012, succeeding Bishop Harrison Sakala who was both Chief Bishop of PAOG-Z and chairperson of the Pentecostal Alliance of Africa of World Pentecostal Alliance.

Fifth is the Apostolic Church of Zambia (ACZ), which defines itself as Charismatic/Pentecostal and was founded by the Danish Apostolic Church (DAC), an offshoot of the Welsh revival in Pengrose in 1957. The policy of the ACZ is similar to that of the PAOC, which is to establish an indigenous church, with many assemblies, in each country. In Zambia, the ACZ started in the Copperbelt from Luanshya and over the years has spread throughout the country. Anne Thomsen was the pioneer missionary in Zambia. Through him other missionaries would later come to Zambia, among them Peter Pedersen and his wife, Clara-Marie, early in 1971 (ACZ no date). In 1973 the Pedersens were joined by Peter’s brother, John Pedersen, with his wife, Elizabeth. John was a teacher at Mpatamatu High School in Luanshya. Their missionary approach focused on education for young people, and they went from school to school, supplying textbooks and various materials to aid education (M’fundisi 2014, 99). The brothers subsequently established Kaniki Bible College (now Kaniki Bible University College, known as Kaniki) in 1983, and the focus shifted from Luanshya to Kaniki, which became the ACZ headquarters for a while (Pedersen 2011, 60).

Kaniki had a very strong Danish influence in its theological orientation, and its stated mission was to raise “an army of prophets for the kingdom of God” (Mwilambwe

7 The university now offers a Master of Arts in Bible and Theology and Diploma in Education, with a mandate “To raise Spirit-filled servant leaders for evangelization and community transformation in a dynamic environment” (TACU no date).

8 The PAOG-Z is regionally affiliated to the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Alliance (PAOG-A) and on the African continent to the Pentecostal Alliance of Africa (PAOA).

2016). In 1990, Kaniki emphasised a North American brand of theology of deliverance and spiritual warfare. John Pedersen (2011, 131) reveals that he was influenced by the teaching of the evangelist, Derek Prince. Among the courses that Pedersen (2011, 131–132) taught during his twenty-three year lecturing career at Kaniki were deliverance and breaking of curses and iniquities. Rev. Derek Mutungu (2001) who was academic dean at Kaniki, also taught “Spiritual Warfare Today”. In this course Mutungu (2001, 10) concluded that “The people of God are locked in oral mortal combat against forces of evil, both spiritual and human. But we are not alone. The battle belongs to the Lord. He goes before us, sends angels, and supernatural equipment.” Because of its focus on deliverance and spiritual warfare, during 1990s Kaniki became the apex of the theological pyramid, and played a key role in producing some of the key pentecostals pastors and key players in the apostolic leadership. Among them are Apostle Dr Rodwell Simukonda (the first Zambian principal of Kaniki Bible College in Ndola), Apostle Asini Mwale (president and founder of the Kingsway Destiny Ministries), Apostle Bishop Robert Bwalya (founder and overseer of the former Bethel City Church International, now known as Bethel Church International), Bishop Dr Benard Jehu Nwaka (founder and Bishop of Living Waters Global Ministries), Bishop Alick Malama and the late Apostle Lennard Bunda (who was Senior Pastor of Lusaka City Cell Church, now known as Breakthrough Worship Centre). These remain entrenched in teaching of deliverance and spiritual warfare. Kaniki also played a key role in the process of declaring Zambia a Christian nation (Pedersen 2011, 60). It can be argued that Kaniki theology of spiritual warfare and deliverance, reinforced Peter Wagner’s theology, which recognised the presence of high-ranking demonic forces classified as “territorial spirits”. The very strong emphasis on spiritual warfare and deliverance has contributed to the current surge of extremism and militant spirituality among some new prophets in Zambia.

Kaniki was also a locus of revival. Apostle Robert Bwalya (April 25, 2016), a former student at Kaniki, recalls:

Kaniki Bible College produced students that started to revive the Apostolic Church in Zambia in the 1990s; although it was one of the earliest pentecostal churches and, came into the nation in 1957, had no impact. The ACZ began to grow significantly in 90s with the development of indigenous pastors.

During this period the ACZ became a leading force in spearheading revival and missions in Zambia. As of 2010 ACZ had over 150 congregations and preaching points with a staff of 120 recognised ministers. Bishop Jacob D M Mubanga of Shalom Worship Centre in Kitwe became overseer in 2014.

Sixth is the Elim Pentecostal Church, established by Elim Pentecostal missionaries from the United Kingdom and Ireland in 1995. It exists mainly on the Copperbelt with around 20 churches mainly in Ndola, Kitwe and Luanshya, the headquarters church being the Itawa Elim Church in Ndola. The church has established a Bible school, a pre-

school and a book shop. The Elim Pentecostal churches of Zambia function according to an indigenous model, with their own national executive committee and constitution and holding their own national conference (Elim Missions no date).

From the foregoing, a number of critical observations can be made. First, apart from Elim, the key classical pentecostals were established in the early 1950s, during a period of political and cultural struggle for liberation and decolonisation. Chalwe (2008, 10) writes:

[T]he heyday of colonialism was just closing for Zambia and for the nations in her neighbourhood. Political, social and ecclesiastical institutions were not meeting the aspirations of the people. In consequence, the people were looking for ways to express themselves economically, politically and culturally and [religiously].

Within pentecostal tradition religious decolonisation took much longer, as missionaries had deliberately designed procedures “to maintain influence even when indigenous people were at the helms of administration” (Kalu 2000). Second, some churches, such as the AFM, sought to perpetuate white superiority by refusing to relinquish national leadership until later, in 1997. In fact, Lodewikus Rasmus (1996, 28) observes that the AFM in South Africa had taken a resolution “not [to] teach nor encourage social equality”. This stance to a large extent endorsed racial inequality and perpetuated anthropological racism (Rasmus 1996, 28). Third, most of the classical pentecostal churches discussed above emerged among white middle-class expatriates rather than poor people, as occurred in other parts of the world. Thus, white influence continues to define major theological aspects of these churches. Fourth, most of these churches experienced remarkable growth in the 1990s and only after indigenous leaders took over their governance. Thus, while many classical pentecostal churches in Zambia displayed missionary influence, it was indigenous clergy who not only consolidated them and gave them essence, but paradoxically were the true founders of these churches within local contexts and cultures. Fifth, all of these churches, apart from Elim, are members of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), which has become predominantly pentecostal: 90 per cent of its executive board members are pentecostals who have radically influenced its theological essence and outlook (See EFZ no date).⁹ EFZ is a fellowship of Evangelical churches which was founded in 1964. Its vision is to unite evangelicals in order to reach out to the nation “with the gospel through a holistic ministry” (EFZ no date). In other words, some more established pentecostal churches across waves have recognised the significance of spiritual ecumenism or unity in mission in the search for social transformation in Zambia. But this recognition is yet to materialise, as many of their pastors, while holding EFZ membership, continue to speak on national issues sporadically (M’fundisi 2014).

9 Other scholars have made this observation too (Paul Gifford 1998; Burgess 2014).

SECONDWAVE:CHARISMATIC(RENEWAL)MOVEMENTS

The second wave started in the late 1970s. However, these earlier attempts met with radical resistance from the mainstream Protestant and Catholic churches until the 1990s. As already stated above, Cheyeka (2008,152) discovered that the UCZ in particular was at the forefront, with campaigns intended to persuade the state to stop registering pentecostals as churches in the country. In 2010, 25.8 per cent of Christians in Zambia were members of the charismatic movement (Mandryk ed. 2010, 893).

The difficulty experienced by the Catholic Church in accommodating the pentecostal type of spirituality is evident in the story of Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo, former bishop of the Archdiocese of Lusaka. Independently of any broader movement, Milingo began to practise divine healing in 1973 (Milingo1984; Ter Haar 1992). Shortly before the establishment of Milingo's renewal movement, Western missionary priests had introduced a Westernised form of Charismatic Renewal favoured by colonial missionary priests, who dominated Roman Catholic leadership in Zambia (Ter Haar 1992, 22). However, Milingo (1984, 1) felt that the colonial Catholic orthodoxy approach was not adequate to meet the needs of the Zambian people, and that the answer lay in combining Christian beliefs and African religious approaches to disease and misfortune. His teaching method incorporated simultaneous inculturated charismatic ritual healing and charismatisation of a distinctively African form of Christian healing. This attempt to adapt Catholic ritual to local needs, especially exorcism, was perceived as a departure from orthodoxy and an accommodation of paganism in the Catholic Church (Brown ed. 2011). Gerrie Ter Haar (1992, 179) stresses that at that time the Zambian Catholic Church was populated by missionary priests who had prioritised "preservation of what was seen as 'purity of the gospel'" at all cost. Ter Haar further notes that only a handful of local priests dared to openly defend Milingo's charismatic imagination. His detractors, most of whom were local clergy, accused of him of using "auto-suggestion and hypnotism" as healing methods (Lado 2009, 20). This must be understood in the context of fear of losing priestly legitimacy in the context of power dynamics between colonial missionary priests and local priests who had little or no power in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Pressure was placed on Milingo to stop conducting public healing, and he was subsequently removed from office as archbishop of Lusaka in 1982. As a means to silence the controversy he was called to Rome.

Although he did not leave the Catholic Church, Milingo formed a prayer group called the Divine Province Community (DPC), which was later transformed into a church by Father Mbilima Chonde of St Mary's parish in Kabwe, when he left the Catholic Church in favour of charismatic spirituality (Cheyeka 2008, 152). There are different views as to when the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia officially endorsed the Charismatic Movement embedded in African spirituality. According to Ter Haar, after the Milingo controversy, there was no official platform for discussing healing in the Church. At the time Ter Haar (1992, 197) was writing, in 1992, the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia still perceived demon possession as a problem which could be solved

only by science. Thus, although Charismatic Renewal continued in the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia, it was informed by the Western spiritual imagination. In 2004, in recognition of the urgent need for the accommodation of African theories of disease and misfortune, the Church-sponsored enculturation task force issued practical guidelines for dealing with issues of healing and witchcraft (Inculturation Task Force/Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection 2004; Jenkins 2006). Thus, the Church has become more sympathetic to the African form of charismatic expression, which includes healing and deliverance prayers by those selected by the local church and commissioned by the bishop.

Christian Mission in Many Lands (CMML) in Zambia experienced a split which resulted from theological conflict among the missionaries. Some missionaries had been exposed to the Charismatic movement and personal experience of the Holy Spirit, and felt that their spiritual needs were not being met in CMML (Lumbe 2009, 53). The Christian Community Church was founded by a missionary by the name of Gordon Suckling and his cohorts, who left CMML to begin Christian fellowships in 1982. The name of the church changed to the Christian Community Church in the 1990s. This church is a good example of the trans-culturalism of the Charismatic experience. Suckling became immersed in deliverance ministry in Zambia. He later wrote a book on the ministry of casting out demons (Gifford 2001, 62–79). This is also a good example of a missionary reinforcing the demonisation of African cultures. It is also important to note that deliverance ministry has close links with Western Pentecostal thought rather than African religious thought.

The UCZ, the largest single Protestant Church in Zambia, with over 1 144 000 members in 2010, (Johnson and Zurlo 2016) experienced a schism arising from resistance to introducing the charismatic way of worship. The remarkable growth in 2010 experienced by the UCZ is attributed largely to the accommodation of pentecostal-charismatic ways of worship and evangelism in 1999. Before then, young ministers tried to request the introduction of charismatic worship in the church, but this was rejected by the synod. The result was a schism in 1993, when a large group of members and pastors decided to form a new church called Grace Ministries. This was a turning point in the history of the UCZ, which resulted in the adoption of charismatic spirituality (Kangwa 2006, 8).

The Reformed Church in Zambia (RCZ) was to follow a similar historical trajectory to the UCZ and other mainstream churches before accepting the charismatic style of worship. In 2001, nine ministers from various RCZ congregations were expelled, together with some members who supported charismatic spirituality. The result was the formation of the Bible Gospel Church in Africa (BIGOCA). The charismatic influence became unstoppable in the mainline churches, as some young pastors and individual ministers in various congregations started engaging in charismatic styles of worship perceived as a violation of the established church canons and liturgical order (Soko and Hendriks 2011).

Charismatic movements or renewal movements within the mainline churches are significant in that they helped to restore pneumatological consciousness and sensitivity neglected in mainline churches as result of the influence of the Enlightenment and rationality. In the words of one of the respondents: “for many young people pentecostal worship represents modern lifestyle which contrasts mainline liturgies which are seen as backward and colonial. The pentecostal is symbol of moving forward” (Rev. Haggai Haachite April 9, 2016). Another respondent explained: “the mainline churches are not enlightened, God moves with time but they don’t understand spiritual things. Their spirituality is dead and they cannot conceive spiritual things. Only pentecostals can fill the spiritual void in human beings” (Rev. James Makungu, April 20, 2016).

THIRD WAVE: NEOPENTECOSTALISM

The third wave, or so-called neopentecostalism, occurred in the 1960s and continued through the 1990s as the relationship with society became more dynamic. However, it is during the 1990s that the intersection of pentecostal growth, re-emergence of charismatics in mainline Catholic and Protestant churches and formal political participation of pentecostal politicians in Zambia became evident. The development of the neopentecostal churches can be divided into three sub-waves.

The first of these, which took place in the early 1960s, was a pioneering wave involving only Zambia Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA) (1962), which originated from the Zimbabwean Assemblies of God (ZAOG) under the famous Bishop Ezekiel Guti.

The second sub-wave emerged in roughly the 1980s, and was essentially an evangelistic wave, as almost all the founding pastors identified themselves as evangelists. Emerging from it were the Word of Life Church (1980) founded by Rev. Joseph B. Lilema¹⁰ and Rev. Gideon Tembo; Victory Bible Church and Victory Ministries International (1984), founded by Dr Nevers Mumba; New Life Ministries International (1985), founded by Bishop Mathews Chikwanda and taken over by his widow, Bishop Nelly Chikwanda¹¹ in 2000 as the Presiding Bishop/General Overseer and President; and Praise Christian Centre (1987), founded Apostle Bishop Dr Edgar Ng’ambi as founder and overseer, having been a ZAOG pastor.

The third sub-wave started in early 1990s, and could be regarded as a democratic wave for several reasons. First, it emerged as a result of the democracy that the country began to enjoy. Second, President Chiluba’s pentecostal spirituality resulted in pentecostalism catching the eye of the majority of Zambians and opened the way for it to spread, as it was perceived to be “presidential spirituality”. It was during this period

10 Lilema belonged to the Apostolic Faith Mission until 1978.

11 Bishop Nelly Chikwanda was the first woman to bear the title of bishop in any church tradition in Zambia.

that many Zambians were exposed to pentecostalism through the media, which had not happened in the 1980s.

Thus, many neopentecostal churches mushroomed during this period. Churches such as Bread of Life International (1992) under Bishop Dr Joe Imakando finally severed ties with the mainline Baptist Church. Imakando began a fellowship at Emmasdale Primary School in 1975 under the auspices of the Baptist Church in Lusaka. On 25 June 1978 the fellowship became a church under the name of Emmasdale Baptist Church, Lusaka with about 28 members; by 2016 it had grown to over 12 000 members at the main congregation and had planted 112 in Zambia alone besides many others around the globe. Other neopentecostal churches are The Gospel Outreach Fellowship in Lusaka (known as Go Center), founded in 1992 by a German pastor, Dr Helmut Reutter; Grace Ministries, founded in 1993 as a breakaway from UCZ under Rev. Evans Chibesakunda; Life Gospel Fellowship Ministries, founded in 1995 by Bishop Dr Joseph Kazhila; Presence of God Ministries International, founded in 1997 by Apostle Christopher Kunda; Living Water Global Church, founded in 1996 by Bishop Dr Bernard Nwaka; Dunamis Christian Centre, founded in 1998; Trinity Broadcasting Corporation (TBN) Zambia chapter, founded in 1998¹² by Apostle Dr Danny Pule, who later formed the Christian Democratic Party (CDP); Miracle Life Family Church, founded in 1998 by missionaries David and Cheryl Newberry; the Bible Gospel Church in Africa (BICOGA), founded in 2001 as a breakaway from RCZ; Capital Christian Ministries International (CCMI), founded in 2001 by Bishop George Mbulo, a former PAOG-Z pastor and the first Zambian principal of the Trans-African Christian University. Bishop Mbulo's "target is to move into the major centres of our continent and be able to establish ministry centres there, where we raised up leadership for the continent, in ministry, as well as in all other areas"; and Bethel Church International, founded in 2011 under the leadership of Apostle Robert Bwalya as a breakaway organisation from the Apostolic Church of Zambia. He planted and supervises church in 57 countries. Countless local and international churches are to be found in almost every corner of every town, city and village throughout the country.

Many of the neopentecostal leaders started off in classical pentecostal denominations and still subscribe to some of their theological tenets. Early in the twenty-first century, most of these movements underwent profound institutional and theological transformations. Thomas G. Kirsch (2003, 213) observes that Neopentecostalism strived "to attain a certain organizational compatibility with Zambian state agencies by adopting bureaucratic features." He (2003, 213) argues that what emerged from the process of institutional and theological transformation was a synthesis of pentecostal-charismatic spirituality and bureaucracy, resulting in the bureaucratisation of pentecostal-charismatic spirituality. The pentecostal-charismatic bureaucracy which has emerged "is oriented towards the state and simultaneously represents a withdrawal from its ambit." In this way, prosperity theology is accommodated with the indigenous conception of religious power. The

12 TBN was registered in 1992, but was commissioned by President Chiluba in 1998.

prosperity gospel remains quite a strong feature, and some classical pentecostals have in subtle ways adopted this theological imagination. All of these movements grew out of resistance to the perceived pneumatological impotence of the mainline churches and in opposition to classical pentecostalism for its adoption of a denominational stance and failure to meet the immediate needs of the masses. Regrettably, the neopentecostalism has completely “changed into a respectable, disciplined denomination with a rich associational life of youth, women’s and men’s organizations, backed by a complex but personalized bureaucracy (ZAOG no date). An authoritarian hierarchy has replaced its formerly egalitarian structures of government, and personality cults centre on “the man of God” or “big man” syndrome. A preoccupation with titles has grown up, especially those of apostle and bishop, and with honorary doctorates and professorships. This is a clear departure from the relational orientation within which pentecostalism emerged, where people viewed themselves as brothers and sisters. Some of them are affiliated with the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia.

FOURTH WAVE: PROPHETISM

The fourth wave, prophetism,¹³ emerged in the late 1990s and gained momentum in the early 2000s, especially as increasing numbers of Nigerian prophets exported their spirituality and established churches in the country. J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (2012, 857) rightly argues that “what is happening in sub-Saharan Africa, as far as this new Christianity is concerned, has been inspired by developments in Nigeria.” I have deliberately distinguished prophetic movements from the above three waves because of their critical resemblance to spirit-type prophetic movements within classical AICs and traditional African prophetic movements. The rise of prophetism in Zambia resembles the notorious Mwana Lesa (Son of God) movement of 1925¹⁴ and the Muchapi movement of 1934,¹⁵ both of which occurred in Zambia. These movements focused on healing, witch-huntings and witch-killings, and represent the most notorious episode in the history of religion in Zambia. The leaders of the Muchapi movement were traditional diviners, but adopted a modern approach. Most of them were young and dressed in European clothing. There appears to be a revival of such spirituality of protest in Zambia today. Despite modernisation, many Zambians continue to turn to the spiritual realm for explanations for their existential experiences of misfortune and evil. The challenge is that traditional healing and prophetism that sought to overcome the dichotomy between the spiritual and the secular have lost credibility as a result of Christianity (Colson 2006, 12). Thus, the rise of prophetism within the framework

13 Molly Manyonganise (2016:768) terms this “prophetic Pentecostalism”, which some scholars do not distinguish from the new pentecostal churches.

14 Terrance Range (1975: 45–75) has given a detailed history of the Mwana Lesa movement and how it functioned.

15 Audrey I. Richards (1935) provides an account of Bamuchapi in Zambia.

of respected religion – Christianity – is perceived by many as alternative ritual. This prophetic revolution parallels the Muchapi movement, as it is also a movement of young people, smartly dressed in expensive clothing.

Youth unemployment is very high in Zambia,¹⁶ and this could be one of the reasons for a remarkable increase in the number of young people becoming radicalised as prophets. Researchers have cautioned that youth unemployment and poverty are the perfect breeding ground for religious extremism (Ayegba 2015). Prophetism, with its populism, excessive accumulatism and consumerism seems to function as a socio-political protest movement. The prophets often manipulate politicians and the masses through prophetic utterances which could be seen as relating to a struggle to control national wealth.

The mainstream pentecostal movements, with which prophetism in fact has much in common, see them as spiritually divergent. While classical pentecostal and neopentecostal movements believe in prophecy and to a large extent function within the overarching neo-primal worldview, they are nevertheless critical of “AIC, particularly in what they perceive as the African traditional religious component of AIC practices, which are sometimes seen as manifestations of demons needing to be exorcized” (Anderson 2001,112). In the prophetic movements, leaders bear a much stronger affinity with AICs and develop messianic traits, and can be appropriately described as messianic leaders (Sundkler 1976; Daneel 1987) in so far as their leadership positively mirrors and concretises the person of Christ for those seeking healing, deliverance, prophetic word or miracles. These churches are founded by both women and men who feel “that traditional Pentecostalism stifled the voices of the prophets” (Manyonganise 2016, 768). There are a number of churches founded by locals, but the majority have been founded by Nigerians, Zimbabweans, and Congolese. The key focus of these churches is prophesying, revealing witches and promising to kill them, and deliverance – they therefore function in a very similar way to traditional diviners. Accusations of witchcraft, the use of symbolic healing objects, and prophetic prognosis following prayers for healing and deliverance are therefore frequent elements. They also encourage their adherents to ask or make intercession through them as prophets. This appears to be a reinterpretation of the historic Christian practice of praying through the saints for their intercession which the Protestant movement in the sixteenth century rejected as it violates the sole mediatorship of Christ between humanity and God. In these prophetic movements it is not uncommon to hear afflicted people crying out to the man of God, ‘please help me’ or ‘God of prophet Buchushi’. It is always the prophet before God. There is a clear overemphasis on the miracles the man of God performs rather than on hard work – “miracle money”, “miracle pregnancies”, “miracle marriages”, “miracle promotions at work”, “miracle job”, “miracle examination pass” and all the miracles. Consider the traditional healer's advert below:

16 According to the Afrobarometer survey, “Youth unemployment in Zambia was estimated at 10%, which is higher than the national average of 7.8%.” (Mujenja 2014)

“Do you have any problem you need to solve? A pending court case you want to resolve in your favor? is it your Health, Power, protection to avoid untimely death, relationship and finance or power to see things before it happens ... or to see the lottery winning numbers, jackpot, or was your husband, wife taken away from you by force or your properties was taken from you by the government, you want to clear of debt or you want people owing you to pay all the money they have collected from you, or you need a loan from bank or cooperate body to start a business or looking for promotion in your office? or no body is coming after you for marriage, you want to be rich in anything you put your money? Has anything ever bothered you in life? Do you have any problem you need to solve? A pending court case you want to resolve in your favor? Health, relationship and finance. Welcome to the world of miracles and wonders, there are supernatural treasure and power to liberate mankind from all afflictions. Do you need a rapid job promotion in your place of work? You want to venture into politics?”

This advert and the adverts used by neoprophets are very similar. It appears that the neoprophets are a wholesale transplant of traditional prophetic imagination into pentecostalism.

The overarching belief is that witchcraft hinders human and socio-economic development (Mangena and Mhizha 2013). The focus on witchcraft suggests that prophetism has increased the fear of witchcraft, and so their services are much in demand (Colson 2006, 13).

Prophetic churches also follow the doctrine of headship, in which a minister of the gospel is expected to submit to a prominent prophetic figure. Chitando, Manyonganise and Mlambo 2013, 161) observed within the Zimbabwean context that the doctrine of headship “must be understood within the context of distinctions within masculinity; in this particular case the variable of age is at play.” Unlike in Zimbabwe, where female prophets are not prominent, in Zambia prophetesses feature prominently, and also submit to some form of headship. The only unfortunate aspect is that those regarded as heads are usually men, who seem to reinforce domestic relational dynamics in terms of which women are expected to submit to male authority. For instance, one of the most prominent prophetesses, Elfridah Muzambazi of Barak Ministries International, submits to the authority of Bishop David O. Oyedepo, Living Faith Church Worldwide International in Nigeria, and Prophetess Mercy Blessed Tembo of Mercy Norman ministries submits to Eubert Angel of Spirit Embassy Ministries Church in Zimbabwe. The emphasis may be more on receiving prophetic impartation than on distinctions in masculinities. There is also a level of transnational prophetic association in these movements. Most of the prophets are also closely involved in prophetic politics, which is literally about prophesying about national events and elections. This also aims at dissuading politicians from going to consult traditional prophets (Chitando, Manyonganise and Mlambo 2013, 161). Since the introduction of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and National Guidance in Zambia in 2017, the hostility between foreign ‘prophets’ with spiritual interests in Zambia and local pentecostal clergy has grown. The local pentecostal clergy has accused the foreign ‘prophets’ of taking advantage of the spiritual naivety of Zambian people, raping young women and stealing money from them in the name of giving to the man of God.

Another element to receive emphasis in prophetism is public humanitarianism ministry, which is often publicised through the media. Prophetic humanitarianism could be a way of trying to cover up the extravagant lifestyle these prophets promote. These movements place considerable emphasis on the excess prosperity gospel and have a distinctly materialistic orientation, perhaps even more so than neopentecostalism.

It can be argued that these four waves of pentecostalism differ not so much in absoluteness but in the degree to which they have appropriated African cultures and in their approaches to existential needs. While they differ to some extent in their theologies, liturgies, ethics and aesthetics, they all share a “conviction that the Holy Spirit is personally active, immanent, and works through believers by giving gifts (*charisms*) for ministry, evangelism, and holiness” (Tatum 2008).

PENTECOSTAL THEOLOGICAL TRAJECTORIES

Besides the theologies of being “born again” and “speaking in tongues”, in the infancy period, which ended in the late 1990s, Zambian pentecostalism generally followed a number of discernible theological trajectories. There were variations in emphasis, but the majority subscribed to these theological tenets. These theological trajectories formed the missiological springboard for the initial pentecostal political engagement in the 1990s – the period of President Chiluba. Some pentecostals continue to function in terms of this theological view in their present political engagement.

The Zambian pentecostals defined themselves as soul-winners. To be “born again” was to be initiated into a divine social group of soul-winners. Most pentecostals believed that all Roman Catholics were or are not saved, and that mainline Protestantism was dead spirituality. In consequence, Catholics were one of the key populations targeted for the message of salvation. Soul-winning was understood to be a divine command – the Great Commission. Spirit-baptism was an empowerment for end-time soul-winning. In those days, spiritual gifts such as healing, deliverance and miracles were understood as being given by the Holy Spirit as a sign of God’s love and an attraction for the “lost” (non-Christians). Reinhard Bonnke’s maxim, “depopulating hell and populating heaven” became popular among Zambian pentecostals. The overnight prayers and revivals had themes such as “give us the heart for the lost”, “igniting the passion for the lost”, “and God’s heart beats for the lost.” T.L. Osborn’s (1967) *Soul Winning: Out Where the Sinners Are* was a most cherished book among Zambian pentecostals in their ministry of evangelism. Believers were exhorted to have genuine love for the “lost”; they were obedient to the Great Commission and believed soul-winning to be rewarding (Wonsuk no date). Resources were directed towards soul-winning or evangelism because it was believed that time was running out, as the end of the age was near, and with it the return of Christ. President Chiluba, when came into power in 1990, saw himself as anointed to lead the nation into salvation. He affirmed this in his prayer during the funeral of the Zambia national football team in 1993, in which he said: “you brought me God in order to proclaim your name as our God” (Chiluba 1993). Elias Munshya (2016) makes the

observation that “Chiluba saw sin as the source of corruption, once the nation repents of sin, Chiluba thought that will bring about favour from God.” For Chiluba, saving the soul of every Zambian was more urgent than economic salvation. In fact, many pentecostals understood the declaration in evangelistic terms. Bishop Bernard Nwaka (2007, 12) writes, “he [Chiluba] was striving to fulfil the great commission and these were some of the baby-steps in disciplining the nation of Zambia to become part of God’s kingdom physically and politically here on earth, as it is heaven.”

A large number of crusades, beginning with Bonnke’s Christ for all Nations (CfaN) in the 1980s, can be explained in the light of the pentecostal mandate for soul-winning. It was Bonnke who sponsored Dr Never Mumba to study at a Bible college in Dallas, Texas, having been impressed by Mumba’s skills as his interpreter at his crusades in Zambia. Mumba would return to Zambia as an evangelist and begin Victory Ministries under the slogan “Zambia Shall Be Saved,” which was understood as literal salvation of the soul. This slogan had no political undertones; it was in fact a nationalisation of Bonnke’s “Africa Shall be Saved,” being purely the declaration of a commitment to the salvation of Zambians. Mumba continued the tradition of crusades he inherited from Bonnke as a soul-winning strategy, until the mid-1990s when most of his sermons took on a political thrust. The weakness of the theology of soul-winning was that it reduced human beings to their souls, as if souls were all that God was interested in, and did not take account of human beings in a holistic way. This made pentecostalism’s political engagement with President Chiluba highly spiritualised. In the later 1990s the theology of soul-winning retreated into the background, when many Zambian pentecostal preachers became exposed through the media to international prosperity preachers, especially North American preachers such as Benny Hinn, TD Jakes, Creflo Dollar and Kenneth Copland, and Nigerian preachers such as David Oyedepo. The Zambian pentecostal preachers became more and more preoccupied with what was then called the “faith gospel” brand of prosperity theology.

The context of soul-winning and church planting meant that Zambian pentecostal missiology gave attention to theologies of spiritual warfare and deliverance. The first of these was initiated by Peter Wagner’s theology of territorial spirits, which became foundational in Zambian pentecostal missiological imagination. Wagner’s books were widely read and used as textbooks in some pentecostal Bible colleges and seminaries, such as Kaniki as already demonstrated. According to Wagner, these spiritual forces controlled nations, cities, communities and families, with the aim of stopping people from responding to the gospel message.¹⁷ The emphasis at Kaniki on spiritual warfare and deliverance theologies had negative implications, as it perpetuated the nineteenth- and twentieth-century missionary ideology of the demonisation of African cultures.

17 Peter Wagner (1996; 1993; 1992) sought to develop a biblical foundation for engaging territorial spirits in the context of evangelism and church planting. He was not alone in propagating this kind of theology; an international group of Christian leaders formed the Spiritual Warfare Network, which included David Yonggi Cho, John Dawson, Cindy Jacobs and others.

Nevertheless, the approach in broader society was behind the growth of “prayer warrior” intercessory groups across the nation in the mid-1990s.

The second aspect of these theologies was reinforced by Rebecca Brown’s Brown (1986) *He Came to Set the Captives Free*, published in 1986, which would radically change the landscape of Zambian pentecostal missiological imagination. The book narrates the story of Elaine, who claims to have been one of America’s top witches and a Satanist, and reveals the secrets of Satanism, such as human sacrifices, human beings who transform into animals and the tactics Satanists use to penetrate and destroy churches. In the mid-1990s Evangelist Mukendi, a Congolese who claimed to be an ex-Satanist and ex-sorcerer who converted to pentecostalism, visited Zambia and went from city to city giving testimony of his deliverance from the powers of Satan. The story was published in 1991 as *Snatched from Satan’s Claws*, and in it he reveals how he was conceived magically and raised by a mermaid, and became a powerful Satanist (Kaniaki and Mukendi 1991). Mukendi’s testimony bears striking similarities to Elaine’s testimony, and both these books accuse the Roman Catholic Church of being a system of witchcraft. Similarly, Emmanuel Eni (1988) from Nigeria published his story, entitled *Delivered from the Powers of Darkness*, in 1988. These testimonies and books were accepted uncritically and also used in preaching and evangelism by the majority of Zambian pentecostals. The theologies promoted the view that Zambia’s economic crisis was attributable to demonic altars and generational curses which needed to be lifted (Maxwell 2006). Bishop Nwaka (2007, 14) reflecting on the role of pentecostalism in politics in the 1990s, laments that “[t]hrough a spiritual work was being done through national repentance and rededicating the nation to God, the church did not know how to appropriate the spiritual reality that had happened, into a physical one.”

Although Wagner’s territorial spirits, Brown’s setting captives free and the Congolese and Nigerian ex-Satanists’ narratives were deployed as part of an evangelistic strategy for gaining the sympathy of non-pentecostals and thereby winning them for Christ, they also functioned as precursors for the re-emergence of witch-hunting and accusations within a capitalist framework in postcolonial Zambian pentecostalism. These missiological strategies had a profound influence on the infant psyche of Zambian pentecostalism and reinforced widespread witchcraft in Zambian societies rather than diminishing it.¹⁸

At the heart of Zambian pentecostal theologies was prioritisation of personal conviction. The belief was that faith was not mere acceptance of authority, but a by-product of a personal encounter with God leading to personal conviction. This theology stressed an individual relationship with God through the power of the Holy Spirit. Acceptance of Jesus as personal Saviour meant that an individual believer was empowered by the Holy Spirit to abandon their past and break with traditional cultural heritage, which was perceived as a locus of demonic forces that could undermine an

18 Erwin Van der Meer (2008) reached a similar conclusion relating to the engagement of Peter Wagner’s missiology in the Malawian context.

individual's access to divine health and wealth. This individualised and democratised theology of personal conviction lies at the heart of the burgeoning of pentecostal churches, as each individual believer can receive a personal revelation from God not easily challenged by any authority. When challenged, most of these personal revelation bearers opted to start their own ministry.

Zambian pentecostals have always perceived themselves to be people of the covenant. Through personal conviction, an individual believer can enter into a covenant with God as an individual or on behalf of the family, in many instances without their approval. This theology was derived from Old Testament scriptural verses such as Joshua 24:15: "But as for me and my household, we will serve the Lord." This covenantal relationship with God is believed to grant access to divine prosperity and victorious Christian living, and is understood as placing obligations on both God and the believer(s). In the case of the pentecostal believer, the covenant demands faithfulness to what God requires, as written down in the scriptures. It is expected that God will keep his side of the agreement by rewarding this faithfulness (Landfair 2014, 97). If God takes too long to reward the faithful, the believer can leverage their faithfulness to demand the manifestation of God's power by the Holy Spirit.

Zambian pentecostalism also emphasised a theology of cleansing and dedication (Pedersen 2011, 66ff). Pentecostals believe that demonic forces can have control over certain things such as a house, land, a car, families, cities, socio-political systems and nations, which have been consciously or unconsciously dedicated to Satan through the performance of certain rituals. It is believed that if an individual, especially a leader, enters into a covenant with Satan, this can have dire consequences for the household or nation. Things or an individual dedicated to Satan and material used for sacrifice or worship of demons and ancestors can hinder prosperity, national progress and health, and can cause sickness and death (Khai 2005, 261–280). These things need to be cleansed for the prosperity, good health and success of those who own them. Most pentecostals in Zambia will not simply move into a new or rented house or begin to drive a car without first cleansing it and dedicating it to the Lord. In this way, it is believed, evil spirits can be exorcised from the car, house or nation, and spiritually unclean things are destroyed or burnt and the place is dedicated to the Lord through prayer in the power of the Holy Spirit.

Zambian pentecostalism also emphasised the "name it and claim it theology," which was an extreme prosperity gospel. This theology, with its "sow a seed" element, rather than promoting the ethics of hard work and social engagement, is based on the belief that God rewards faith with wealth, health and wholeness. In the initial stages, the prosperity gospel had a moderate presence, but in combination with the theological aspects already mentioned, especially accusations of witchcraft and witch-hunting and the rise of the media and transnational prophetism, it gained momentum. Thus Zambian pentecostalism has transitioned from being influenced by Western pentecostalism exclusively to being influenced more by Nigerian pentecostalism, to the extent that

some Zambian pentecostals lament that Nigerian pentecostalism is repeating the mistake made by the European missionaries in imposing its cultural views as normative for Zambian pentecostals in their churches (Robert Bwalya April 25, 2016). This area is one deserving of future research.

CONCLUSION

The rise of Zambian pentecostalism has transformed national life in unimaginable ways. The movement appears to mutate in accordance with experiences of the particular era, especially in relation to economic and social uncertainties. Adopting a four-wave approach to its historical development, each wave overlapping with others, this paper argues that pentecostalism is an ever-evolving phenomenon. In Zambia in particular, the first wave of pentecostalism coincided with the process of decolonisation in the 1950s, which affected its growth. The second wave began within the mainline churches in the 1970s, seeking spiritual renewal from within. The third wave was an urbanised phenomenon initiated by local ministers which started on a large scale in the late 1980s. The fourth wave comprises prophetic movements, starting in the late 1990s and becoming consolidated in the 2000s. These movements seem to function as renewal movements within pentecostalism. Whatever the type, Zambian pentecostalism is a force behind the declaration and continued existence of Zambia as a Christian nation. In other words, the movements prescribe the orientation of national politics, and politicians capitalise on the country's political theological weakness as a strategy to remain in office.

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