

TUMELO

The faith of African
Pentecostals in South Africa



Allan Anderson
with Samuel Otwang

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the memory of a friend, Professor Willem Vorster, Director of the Institute for Theological Research at UNISA. His sudden passing, just as this book was being completed, was a profound loss to all of us at the Institute. His unceasing encouragement and support for the Research of the Pentecostalism Project, and the freedom he gave us to get on with the job, was a constant source of inspiration. This study is a small part of this legacy.

TUMELO

The faith of African Pentecostals in South Africa

Allan Anderson
with Samuel Otwang

A project of the Institute
for Theological Research

University of South Africa
Pretoria

© 1993 University of South Africa
First edition, first impression

ISBN 0 86981 834 1

Typesetting by
Mrs N Fouché
Institute for Theological Research

Printed by
Sigma Press
Koedoespoort

Published by the
University of South Africa
P O Box 392, 0001 Pretoria

© All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form or by any means - mechanical or electronic, including recordings or tape recording and photocopying - without the prior permission of the publisher, excluding fair quotations for purposes of research or review.

Contents

FOREWORD vii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS x

Abbreviations used xi

CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH METHODS AND TERMS 1

- 1 Introduction 1
- 2 The Soshanguve survey 3
- 3 Terms for churches in Soshanguve 5
- 4 The need for qualitative research 9
- 5 Scope of this study 11

Tables 1-5 13-15

CHAPTER 2: GROWTH AND PROCLAMATION 16

- 1 Patterns of recruitment and growth 16
- 2 Proclamation of the Word 29

Tables 6-7 35-36

CHAPTER 3: LITURGY AND LIFE 37

- 1 African Pentecostal services 37
- 2 Sacraments 49
- 3 Church life 55
- 4 Socio-political concerns 57

Tables 8-9 63-64

CHAPTER 4: SALVATION, HEALING AND DELIVERANCE FROM EVIL	65
1 A holistic salvation	65
2 Healing methods	71
3 Deliverance from trouble	82
4 Salvation in African perspective	91
CHAPTER 5: THEOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGY	94
1 Theology at the grass roots	94
2 Christology and messianism	99
3 Christ or an African messiah?	106
CHAPTER 6: THE EMPHASIS ON THE SPIRIT	109
1 The Spirit in Africa	109
2 Pentecostal manifestations	114
3 Prophetic practices	122
4 Towards a relevant African theology	133
CONCLUSION: THE CHALLENGE OF AFRICAN PENTECOSTALISM	136
1 The growth of African Pentecostalism	136
2 Contextualisation and syncretism	140
3 The challenge for Christian mission	142
APPENDIX A: CHURCHES ENCOUNTERED IN SOSHANGUVE	145
APPENDIX B: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRES	153
WORKS CONSULTED	162
SELECTED SUBJECT INDEX	166

Foreword

Words fail me to express my deepest appreciation to Dr Allan Anderson for making available to the wider public readership his invaluable findings on the little researched and yet important field of study, namely the faith of African Pentecostals in South Africa, whose adherents are growing at the fastest rate among blacks at the expense of the mission churches. Therefore, I feel myself privileged to have been asked to write this Foreword to this rather fascinating study which promises to become another classic on the African Initiated Churches along with Bengt Sundkler's *Bantu prophets in South Africa* (1961).

Even though some readers might wonder why a descendant of white missionaries should undertake research into an African church movement, I am persuaded that Anderson is eminently qualified to write on African Pentecostals because of his long association with, and membership of and participation in, these churches. Indeed his research findings, which adequately demonstrate a rare ability of entering into and interpreting objectively and yet sympathetically the thought patterns of African Pentecostalism, are his best testimony to the fact that his 'own personal roots in Africa' and among his fellow African Christians 'do run deep' (p1).

Not only does Anderson's book make for a perceptive and interesting reading on the origins and attractiveness of African Pentecostalism, but also the book is lucidly written, balanced, well researched and documented. Not surprisingly, therefore, most claims and assertions are backed by massive empirical research and data - all of which have placed the conclusions Anderson has drawn on a much firmer foundation. His empirical research has disclosed very useful statistics and facts which should be of paramount importance to students of missiology and theologians of the mission churches, such as:

- (a) The African Initiated churches accounted for 46% of the total population of Soshanguve in 1991 as compared with 37% of the older 'mission churches'. This compares roughly with the 1991 official census figures which estimated that 46% of black South Africans belonged to the African Initiated churches as compared with 33% of the mission

churches (p7). These figures indicate that the African Initiated churches have grown at the expense of the mission churches whose membership in 1960 stood at 70% of the African people, but fell to 60% in 1970, and again fell even more drastically to 33% in 1991 country-wide. In the light of the foregoing decline, Anderson comes to a momentous conclusion which should rudely awake the mission churches from their 'missiological slumber' when he notes:

If the trend continues, the mission churches could be an even less significant proportion (possibly about 20%) of the black population by the turn of this century. In contrast, the indigenous churches would probably be at least 50% of this population by that time (p9. Also see p138).

- (b) African Pentecostalism draws its membership primarily from among the marginalised and underprivileged blacks who are struggling to find dignity and identity in a society dominated by racial and class interests. The racial character of church membership in South Africa goes back to the colonial period during which white people monopolised power both in church and society, thus denying blacks the opportunity of becoming creative agents of their history and destiny. However, in response to black demands which in some cases led to certain secessions as blacks became more and more educated, the white dominated power structures devolved token powers to the educated black bourgeoisie in the mission churches when those blacks embraced the class values of their European masters through mission schools. Commenting on the class character of church membership in South Africa, Anderson points out that African Pentecostalism:

... expanded initially among oppressed African people who were neglected, misunderstood, and deprived of everything but token leadership by their white Pentecostal 'masters'. These white Pentecostals had apparently ignored biblical concepts like the priesthood of all believers and the equality of all people in Christ (p136).

- (c) The African Pentecostal churches are growing more rapidly in an urban environment than they do in a rural one, suggesting that the insecurities inherent in rapid urbanisation among black South Africans provide incentives for people who have been uprooted from their rural settings to now seek and find their home in a new culturally and socially meaningful religious context which the African Initiated churches provide. The import of this observation is that African Pentecostalism

has been able to adapt to and fulfil African religious aspirations more relevantly than the mission churches have. More significantly, it is the proclamation of the gospel with the pneumatological emphasis which has given African Pentecostalism an advantage over the mission churches. Concurring and citing the research findings of Turner (1979:210), Anderson writes:

... it is the independents who help us to see the overriding African concern for spiritual power from a mighty God to overcome all enemies and evils that threaten human life and vitality, hence their extensive ministry of mental and physical healing. This is rather different from the Western preoccupation with atonement for sin and forgiveness of guilt (p137).

The implications of Dr Anderson's research are that the mission churches must go back to the drawing boards of missiology in order to rethink and re-conceive the relevant mission strategies in order to deal with and overcome many shortcomings in their ministry which have created dissatisfaction among their African members, leading them to leave those churches in droves to join the African Pentecostal churches. Anything short of that would merely result in self-inflicted wounds which would bleed the mission churches slowly but surely to death.

In my view, Dr Anderson's well-written book will contribute substantially towards missiological and theological discourse. Therefore, it is with pleasure that I invite all those who are concerned about the declining membership in mission churches to study this book in order to learn from African Pentecostalism how they too could minister relevantly and effectively to African Christians, in whose hands the future and continuity of the Church in South Africa literally rests.

Simon S Maimela
Professor in Systematic Theology
University of South Africa

Acknowledgements

This book is the result of the active support and encouragement of several people whom I sincerely thank. I wish to thank the Centre for Science Development for the bursary awarded to complete my thesis, and the University of South Africa for permission to publish parts of the thesis reworked. The late Professor Willem Vorster of the Institute for Theological Research at the University of South Africa gave his unstinted encouragement; Professors Inus Daneel as promoter and Willem Saayman as joint-promoter of the Department of Missiology at Unisa supervised my studies and gave invaluable suggestions for the improvement of the thesis; Professor Simon Maimela wrote the foreword; Nonnie Fouché prepared the final manuscript; and Hetta Oosthuizen did the magnificent art work on this cover.

My heartfelt thanks also go to the *bazalwane* in my church in Soshanguve who provided spiritual support during times of academic fatigue; my friend Victor Mokgotlhoa of Praise Tabernacle, who is also my pastor; Samuel Otwang, whose assistance and diligence as field worker and translator was the main source of much of the contents of this book; all the many people in Soshanguve (and further afield) who so willingly told their stories; and the most important people in my life, Olwen and Matthew, who endured lonely hours during 1992 while this research was being done. Above all, I give praise and glory to God without whose grace and ability this work would be an abysmal failure.

The views expressed in this book are strictly my own, and are not necessarily those of the University of South Africa, the Centre for Science Development, or the Praise Tabernacle Church.

Allan Anderson

Abbreviations used

AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
ANC	African National Congress
AOG	Assemblies of God
IPC	International Pentecost Church
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
ST JOHN	Saint John Apostolic Faith Mission
ZCC	Zion Christian Church

CHAPTER 1

Research methods and terms

1 INTRODUCTION

Inevitably, the question arises as to why a person of European extraction is writing on what is an African phenomenon, in this case African Pentecostalism. I am aware of my limitations, and therefore preface this study by giving my motivation for embarking on a project of this nature. I was raised in an essentially pietistic family, the son of Salvation Army missionaries in Zimbabwe and Zambia. My father was born in Zimbabwe, the son of London Missionary Society missionaries, William and Sheila Anderson. My grandfather's forebears were also missionaries in the LMS, the first William Anderson (my great, great, great grandfather!) setting foot in Cape Town in 1800, marrying Maria Schonken, of a Cape Dutch family, and working among the Griquas north of the Orange River.

Being a missionary or the descendant of missionaries in Africa does not in itself authorise my being able to describe 'things African', but my own personal roots in Africa do run deep. My first subjective experience of Christianity as a child was in a Shona village in the Lomagundi district of Zimbabwe in 1958. There I knelt as a boy of nine years at a makeshift 'altar' of a cowhide drum, to make a personal profession of my faith in Christ together with fellow African believers. From that time onwards my evangelical experience of Christ has been the driving force in my life, and my reason for living. These are my roots, and these roots

also account for the presuppositions which will sometimes be evident in this study.

For more than two decades I have been involved in African Pentecostal churches, mainly of the types I shall define as 'Pentecostal mission churches' and 'independent Pentecostal churches'. My involvement in African Pentecostal Churches stems from 1971, when I was a student at the Bethel Bible College, a 'whites only' Pentecostal theological college under the auspices of the United Apostolic Faith Church, situated at that time in Vereeniging, Transvaal. I was assigned with other (white) students to do 'missionary work' in the townships of Sharpeville (infamous for the 'Sharpeville shootings' of 1960) and Sebokeng, (not far from the equally infamous 'Boipatong massacres' of 1992). In common with most 'white' Pentecostal churches at the time, 'missionary work' in this church meant going from a 'white' church to a 'black' one. However greatly misinterpreted the term was, this 'missionary work' was the start of a long and meaningful relationship with African Christians of the 'Pentecostal' variety that has lasted until the present day.

After completing my theological diploma in 1973 I was assigned by the white leaders of this church as a travelling 'missionary' at large to 'evangelise' large parts of Southern Africa, from the Cape Province in the south to Malawi in the north. Although my portfolio was to change in 1978 to that of a teacher in a 'blacks only' Bible college in Soshanguve (a township some 30 kilometres north of Pretoria's city centre), my relationships with African Christians continued to develop and to grow. Difficulties within this church culminated in my resignation in 1983 to join what was then the Hatfield Baptist Church as a pastor of a white congregation and a teacher in their theological college. Whilst there I first began to make contact with what I have here called 'independent African Pentecostal churches', in particular what is now called the Elim Tabernacle Church in Wynandskraal under Abisai Ditsele and the Praise Tabernacle Church in Soshanguve under Victor Mokgotlhoa. In 1988 I moved from 'Hatfield' to be part of a newly formed independent organisation called Tshwane Christian Ministries, which established a theological college just outside Soshanguve. I was now more directly involved with African Christians, particularly of the 'independent Pentecostal' type. Since 1989 my family and I have also been members of the Praise Tabernacle Church (formerly Victory Fellowship Church). I first met the pastor of this church, Victor Mokgotlhoa, in 1986.

My interest in African Pentecostalism and the so-called African independent churches, therefore, grew out of my experience of some of these churches. As a student of missiology at the University of South Africa during the eighties, my studies naturally gravitated towards that which interested me most, and that which had direct bearing on the people with whom I was working. In 1991 my

first published book, *MOYA: The Holy Spirit in an African context*, which was largely based on my master's dissertation (supervised by Professor Inus Daneel), was published by the Institute for Theological Research at UNISA. I have been engaged in empirical research under the auspices of the Pentecostalism Project of this Institute for the past three years, the results of which form the foundation of this study. The first publication on this empirical research, and my second book, *BAZALWANE: African Pentecostals in South Africa* (also published by the Institute of Theological Research), appeared in late 1992. My doctoral thesis entitled 'African Pentecostalism in a South African urban environment: a missiological evaluation' was completed in June 1992.

This study was born in Africa, and is about Africans and their Christianity. Because of my stubbornly Western limitations which give rise to possible misunderstanding, I ask the indulgence of those whom I may have sometimes inaccurately portrayed. I consider myself an 'African' because I have a passionate 'love for the continent and people of Africa' as well as a determined 'commitment to an African ideal' (Anderson 1991:2). Many of the people being described in this book are my personal friends, and their beliefs are also often mine. This is no detached and disinterested observer. My subjectivity may therefore sometimes be evident, but I have also tried to maintain scientific objectivity throughout the study.

2 THE SOSHANGUVE SURVEY

The preliminary house-to-house survey, conducted from November 1990 to April 1991 in Soshanguve, indicated that African Pentecostal churches as they will be more broadly defined, then comprised some 41% of the total African population there, a proportion which is steadily rising. The great majority of these (about 32% of the total population) are what I shall refer to as indigenous Pentecostal-type churches. They are therefore a significant factor to be reckoned with in South African Christianity, and must be taken seriously, and not (as has often been the case in the past) be viewed as some marginal and curiously eccentric groups on the periphery of Christianity. Comparatively little is really known about this section of the population, which includes the largest indigenous church denomination in South Africa, the Zion Christian Church (hereafter ZCC). They have grown to the extent that they may now be regarded as the 'mainline' churches in South Africa today.

This book is the third in a series of monographs commenced in 1990 under the auspices of the Pentecostalism Project of the Institute for Theological Research at the University of South Africa. This particular study builds on the preceding ones, and is based on the research conducted between October 1990 and

October 1992 in Soshanguve, which at that time had a population of well over 150 000 people, conservatively estimated. Soshanguve lies approximately 30 kilometres northwest of central Pretoria. It is the youngest black township in the Pretoria area, the first houses having been built there in the mid-1970s.

From November 1990 to May 1991 we conducted an exploratory church survey in Soshanguve, interviewing 1633 families by means of questionnaires. This survey was described in my previous publication, *Bazalwane* (Anderson 1992:12-15), and many of the results were tabulated there (1992:121-164). There will be some repetition and a certain amount of overlap between this study and that of *Bazalwane*, but only where that cannot be avoided in the interests of clarity. Since the writing of that publication, the preliminary 1991 official census figures have been released, which correspond significantly with our Soshanguve figures. Although the results of the survey may be taken as indicative of **trends** in the black urban areas of South Africa generally, it was not assumed that these statistics accurately represented the entire urban black population of South Africa. And yet, there are remarkable similarities. For instance, because of the large Northern Sotho-speaking population in our area of research, amongst whom the ZCC has its biggest support, this church would be expected to be somewhat stronger in Soshanguve than in most other areas of South Africa. The 1991 census figures (CSS 1992:122), however, showed this to be only marginally so, as 9,7% of the black population of South Africa who gave their religious affiliation were members of the ZCC (compared to 10,3% in our survey).

In conducting our research in Soshanguve we wanted to identify the characteristics which might be typical of the different categories of church. But we also wanted to know what type of people constituted the membership of these churches. We wanted to identify the churches through the eyes of the members of the churches themselves. We therefore went directly to the ordinary people rather than to the church leaders, 'so that we might get as close as possible to the grass-roots, gut feeling of the people' (Anderson 1992:60). The interviewing of these Soshanguve families revealed much interesting information about the people living there, outlined in *Bazalwane* (1992:60-62) and tabulated at the end of this chapter.

The home languages of the people in the township were as outlined in Table 2. All the major African languages in South Africa are found in Soshanguve: Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Ndebele, Siswati, Xhosa, Tsonga and Venda. Some of these languages do not always clearly distinguish ethnic groups; for example, Ndebeles, who are a significant group in the Pretoria area, would often say that they spoke Zulu, and the figures for these two Nguni groups would then need to be adjusted. The same is true for the smaller Siswati (Swazi) group. Nevertheless, Table 2 reveals that 49% of the population spoke

Sotho languages, 37% spoke Nguni languages, and there was a significant (11,5%) Tsonga-speaking minority. By way of comparison, the third column in Table 2 reflects the percentage of these languages in the Pretoria urban area as determined by the 1980 census (Kritzinger 1984:79). A significantly higher figure of the population of Soshanguve spoke an Nguni language, compared with the rest of the Pretoria area. It may be an indication that the younger townships in South Africa are becoming more cosmopolitan, and are moving closer towards becoming a reflection of the overall population. The official figures also did not include the population of eastern Bophuthatswana near Pretoria, which is where a great proportion of Pretoria's black population lives. The former homeland ('Bantustan') policy of the white South African government distorted the true picture of the overwhelmingly black population in the Pretoria area by excluding the population in Bophuthatswana from census reckoning.

3 TERMS FOR CHURCHES IN SOSHANGUVE

The breakdown of the percentages of people in various types of churches is depicted in Table 3. The use of terms to describe and differentiate the different types of churches was discussed fully in *Bazalwane* (Anderson 1992:2-6, 64-72). There the broad term 'African Pentecostal' was used to refer firstly to those churches which originate from (predominantly white) Pentecostal missions (here called 'Pentecostal mission churches' and represented statistically in Table 4); secondly, those younger Pentecostal or Charismatic churches which are founded and governed by blacks and are independent of white control - here termed 'independent African Pentecostal churches'; and thirdly, the vast majority of African indigenous (independent) churches which are called 'indigenous Pentecostal-type churches', also represented statistically in Table 4. These churches have historical and theological connections with the Pentecostal movement, are in some cases as old as Pentecostal churches, and are founded, governed and propagated exclusively by Blacks.

One of the fundamental premises of my previous publications was that these different church groups have some common historical, liturgical and theological roots in the American Holiness movement of the nineteenth century and in the Pentecostal and Christian Zionist movements at the turn of the present century (Anderson 1991:26-29; 1992:20-32). Despite many significant and sometimes striking differences, these churches still have more in common that they will often admit. All have a marked emphasis on the working of the Holy Spirit in the church with supernatural 'gifts of the Spirit', especially healing, exorcism, speaking in tongues and prophesying - although there are sometimes pronounced differences in the practice of these gifts. All these churches also practise adult 'believers' baptism by either single or triune immersion. It is these factors which

distinguish them from most other Christian groups and which, in my opinion, justify my including them all under one generic category, 'African Pentecostal churches'. A full description of the different types of African churches in South Africa on which my categorisation is based is also found in *Bazalwane* (1992:64-72).

My use of the term 'Pentecostal' is intentionally a broad one. Hollenweger (1972:149) refers to what are in South Africa commonly called 'Zion-type' churches as 'independent African Pentecostal churches'. I have previously demonstrated the links that these churches have with the so-called 'Classical' Pentecostal movement (Anderson 1992:20-32). I consider that these affinities justify my much more inclusive use of the term 'Pentecostal'. I have used 'Pentecostal-type' to describe those African indigenous churches which make up the bulk of the sample in this research; this is an attempt to avoid a hasty generalisation, or an overlooking of the obvious differences that exist, acknowledged by the church members themselves. In referring to these churches as 'Pentecostal', I do not thereby fail to appreciate their distinct character in liturgy, healing practices and particularly in their different approach to African traditional religion, and their unique contribution to Christianity in a broader African context. In fact, the differences between these different types of 'Pentecostalism' and their peculiarities will be exhibited throughout this study. In the more narrow definition of 'Pentecostal' as referring to those churches which insist on 'speaking in tongues' as evidence of Spirit baptism, many of the churches I call 'Pentecostal-type' would hardly qualify, but then, neither would some of the churches called 'Pentecostal' which do not emphasise speaking in tongues at all.

The term 'mission church' does indeed have a ring of paternalism about it, which is still a problem in these churches. Most of the 'Pentecostal mission churches' are still further away from integration than most other 'mission churches', their all-white churches usually being extremely paternalistic to their black 'daughter' churches. The term 'mission church' is an inaccurate one, but remains here for the purposes of comparison and contrast, simply because no better term exists. The use of 'mainline' churches would suggest that other churches are 'sideline' churches, and perhaps the only other acceptable term might be the 'older churches'. If this term signifies 'maturity' then it too is fraught with problems - hence the difficulties with terms.

Members of the Pentecostal mission churches and independent Pentecostal churches do not usually consider members of the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches to have had a personal life-changing experience of conversion, to be 'born again' - although they will use this expression of one another. They tend to see members of these other churches as still needing to be 'saved'. Several

members of these churches whom we interviewed were formerly members of Pentecostal-type churches. When asked why they had left these churches they would often respond that it was because they had been 'saved' or 'born again', or because these churches did not 'preach salvation'. A member of the Apostolic Faith Mission told me of another church of the same name to which she had previously belonged, 'the ones who are not born again'. Members of Pentecostal-type churches do not generally refer to themselves as *bazalwane*, and they usually know who are to be referred to by this term. *Bazalwane* was originally a Zulu word which spoke of a group of people who felt some identification with each other because of a common goal or task, those who were doing something together. It is a word which describes the strong sense of community that exists amongst African people. Today the word is used throughout South Africa amongst African Pentecostals and other Christians to refer to brothers and sisters in Christ with whom they feel a particular family relationship. The word has a certain negative connotation among some African people not of the *bazalwane* themselves, for whom it means rather aggressive bus or train evangelists who proclaim that people need to 'repent' and be 'born again'. Thus it is that a definite difference is perceived by the church members themselves, and not everyone will agree with my treating them together under the broad genus 'Pentecostals'. The objection was made in some quarters to my entitling a book which includes studies on churches like the ZCC and the IPC, *Bazalwane*.

Table 3 reveals that African indigenous churches (including indigenous Pentecostal-type and independent Pentecostal churches) accounted for 46% of the total population of Soshanguve in 1991, compared with 37% for the older 'mission churches'. The 1991 official census figures confirmed this figure by estimating that fully 46% of black South Africans belonged to African indigenous churches, and only 33% to the mission churches (CSS 1992:121-123). Today in Soshanguve, as throughout South Africa, significantly more people belong to those churches originating with African initiative than to those originating as 'Western' churches. This has important ramifications for anyone engaged in religious or social research in South Africa.

The list of the actual churches encountered during the survey (with some additions made since), and their tentative classification, is found in Appendix A. Briefly, and for the sake of clarity, some of these categories need further definition. In addition to the African Pentecostal churches described above, 'indigenous Ethiopian-type churches' refers to those churches which are African indigenous churches largely following the liturgy of the older churches from which they separated, the most noticeable difference with other indigenous churches being the practice of infant baptism by sprinkling (Anderson 1992:68-69). 'Independent Baptist churches' refers to a small group of churches,

including the Churches of Christ, which practise adult baptism but do not have what might be termed a 'Pentecostal emphasis' on the Holy Spirit - and in some cases are opposed to it (Anderson 1992:69-70). 'Mission churches' refers to those churches which have historically been connected to the older, pre-twentieth century Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, with established white memberships either in South Africa or in Europe (Anderson 1992:70-72). The biggest of these in Soshanguve (with official 1991 census figures for the South African black population in brackets) were the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk) 9,2% [7,1%]; the Roman Catholic Church 7,1% [12,2%]; Lutherans 6,7% [4,5%]; Anglicans 4,7% [4,4]; and Methodists 3,2% [9,9%]. Roman Catholics and Methodists have greater concentrations in other parts of the country, particularly in the predominantly Nguni areas. 'Marginal and unidentified churches' does not imply a value judgment, but refers to those churches which for various reasons are outside the 'mainstream' of 'orthodox' Christianity - whatever that might mean! A fuller description of these various church types was given in *Bazalwane* (Anderson 1992:68-72).

The largest single church in Soshanguve is the ZCC (the one with a star emblem), an indigenous Pentecostal-type church accounting for 10,3% of the total population. The 1991 census figures (CSS 1992:122) show that our Soshanguve figures were close to those for the whole country - the ZCC accounted for 9,7% of the black people in the survey who gave their religious affiliation, and was the third largest church amongst blacks (after the Roman Catholics [12,2%] and the Methodists [9,9%]). A little over half of ZCC members were North Sotho, but in addition South Sothos, Tswanas and Tsongas were represented in this church in higher proportions than in the overall population of Soshanguve.

The indigenous Pentecostal-type churches accounted for 32% of the total. Adding the Pentecostal mission churches and the independent Pentecostal churches to this figure would mean that 41% of all the people in Soshanguve belonged to Pentecostal or Pentecostal-type churches - a significant proportion. The majority of these were members of indigenous Pentecostal-type churches. It seems that the growth of African Pentecostalism and the AIC movement has been at the expense of the mission churches, which have declined drastically in relative membership. In 1960 the proportion of African people belonging to mission churches was estimated at around 70% (West 1975:2). In 1970 this proportion had dropped to 60%; and by 1991 it was 37% in Soshanguve and a mere 33% for the whole country (CCS 1992:121-123). Various factors could be at work in this staggering decline. The rapid increase in urbanisation among black South Africans between the years 1960 to 1991 seems to be one significant factor. It appears that indigenous churches grow more rapidly in an urban environment than they do in a rural one. The insecurities that are inherent in

rapid urbanisation provide strong incentives for people, separated from their roots, to seek new, culturally and socially meaningful religious expression, a 'place to feel at home' (Welbourn and Ogot 1966) - which the African Pentecostal churches are only too ready and eager to provide. Another factor in the decline of mission churches is probably the increasing disillusionment experienced by black people in South Africa's political matrix after 1948. This resulted in a rejection of 'white' values and religious expressions such as are found in mission churches. Adding to this the high birth rate during these years, these factors combined to result in a drastic decline in mission church relevance in South Africa. If the trend continues, the mission churches could be an even less significant proportion (possibly about 20%) of the black population by the turn of this century. In contrast, the indigenous churches would probably be at least 50% of this population by that time. This will be further discussed later.

4 THE NEED FOR QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The first phase of our research in Soshanguve was mainly a quantitative survey, in order to count and tentatively categorise the various churches, and to make general comparisons. The second phase of our research involved a qualitative survey of some of the families we had already surveyed in the first phase, making a selection on the basis of church membership. Because the study was on African Pentecostalism, we selected those churches we had identified as African Pentecostal churches with significant followings in the area, and proceeded to interview members of these churches with our second and third questionnaires - all these questionnaires are reproduced in Appendix B. The method and approach were quite different, as we wanted people to talk about their churches and their convictions rather than answer a stereotyped questionnaire. We therefore made use of cassette tape recorders, recording each interview in the vernacular, and thereafter translating the interview onto another cassette. We were not limited to interviewing **only** those we had encountered on the preliminary survey, because the accuracy of our statistics was no longer an issue. For practical purposes we found it easier to survey a block at a time, stopping to interview members of churches we had identified as African Pentecostal churches. In the process we also discovered new churches, which were added to our list of churches in Appendix A.

The translated interviews form the basis for much of this present study of African Pentecostal churches. We also recorded a few sermons in the churches which were also translated and analysed. The analysis of these interviews in particular and that of the sermons to a lesser degree (for reasons that will be explained) form the basis of the study. The use of a tape recorder was intimidating to some, although the fact that this was often the second visit of our field

workers made it a little easier for most to accept. The translated interviews had to be listened to several times, while I made notes with comparisons and contrasts. This was somewhat laborious, because of the fact that not every interview was a 'good' one. Sometimes it was necessary to go back to the field worker to ask for clarity on a particular issue, and sometimes we had to go back to the original recording in the vernacular. There were also people who were obviously excellent interviewees and who yielded much interesting information on their churches. These we set aside for follow-up interviews where necessary.

The questions in the interview which were asked by the field workers were probing questions designed to stimulate discussion. The questions in the second interview were divided into nine sections dealing with the issues of church membership, particular church beliefs, concepts of evil, salvation, the Holy Spirit, healing practices, African traditional beliefs, burial practices and socio-political attitudes. We asked questions to determine the interviewee's church involvement, so that we could ascertain whether this member was speaking as a leader, a mature member or a recent convert. This was naturally significant in deciding whether people could speak with authority on their churches, and when we were dealing with their relationship to traditional religion. We asked questions on the particular attraction of the churches for their members, so that we might trace patterns in the growth of these churches. We asked what were the main or important teachings in that church to determine the issues that members themselves felt were significant. We wanted to know what the members knew and believed about 'Christian themes' like baptism by immersion, prophets and prophecy, misfortune, demon possession, salvation, Spirit baptism and healing practices. We also spent some time probing members' convictions in relation to traditional beliefs, particularly with regard to the African spirit world, the ancestor cult, and traditional divination. The questions on burial practices were also designed to ascertain to what extent the churches had accommodated or transformed traditional customs and beliefs. The final, brief questions were intended to give an indication (albeit superficial) of church members' socio-political convictions. This being a sensitive area, we did not probe deeply. The responses to all these different questions were many, varied, and for the most part, extremely interesting. Some of these responses will be discussed later.

The purpose of these questionnaires was to discover whether some of the presuppositions about these churches which had been made by some researchers (including myself) were supported by the convictions of the church members themselves. The dominant theme of the interviews was the accommodation and confrontation between the churches and the African traditional world view, which has now become a thread that runs through this entire study. What were the similarities and the differences that emerged between the people who came from a Pentecostal church with a Western influence, and the great majority of those

whose churches resulted from a purely African initiative? It soon became apparent that the differences that emerged were meaningful, but at the same time, within one particular church would be found the entire spectrum of opinion relating to these issues. Thus it was necessary to probe the concepts people had of their churches, and why they went there. Did it have anything to do with the African character of church life, and in what ways had their particular brand of Christianity attained a truly African expression in the minds of its adherents? How do African Christians deal with the fears and insecurities inherent in their world view, in the realm of ancestors, evil spirits, sorcerers, and diviners? To what extent do their responses reflect that they have been 'Westernised', 'Christianised', or 'secularised' - or do these three influences have little or no effect? These are some of the themes that will be discussed.

5 SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

This study attempts to rectify some of the omissions and to clarify some of the misconceptions of the past, and to describe African Pentecostal churches in terms of liturgy, theology, attitudes to traditional religious practices and beliefs, and (to a limited extent) socio-political issues. The type of empirical research being attempted here at a grassroots level in a South African black township has probably not, to the best of my knowledge, been attempted before. Research conducted by Martin West in Soweto in the early seventies was an invaluable study, but to a certain extent it was limited in that most of the interviews were conducted at the leadership level (West 1975:205). I was convinced that the views of leaders and those of followers would differ perceptibly, and that greater cognisance should be given to the latter.

This chapter has introduced the subject by defining some of the terms and by describing the significance and the growth of African Pentecostalism in a South African urban environment. It has attempted to summarise a previously described and tentative typology based on certain common church practices. A summary of the main emphases of, and the similarities and differences between, the different church types, and a brief discussion of the issues and research methods pursued in this study lay the foundation for what follows.

The following chapter will begin the main discussion of the faith (in Sotho languages: *tumelo*) of African Pentecostals in South Africa, by describing the similarities and differences in theology and liturgy between the different churches within African Pentecostalism. Based on participant observation, the chapter describes the life and worship of African Pentecostalism by discussing the patterns of recruitment and growth in these churches, as well as reasons for leaving 'mission' or other churches. The chapter concludes with a look at preaching in these churches.

The third chapter describes and compares the worship and liturgy of the different types of African Pentecostal churches, and the life and sacraments of these churches, including church attendance and membership. The chapter also deals with the churches and socio-political issues, by discussing the 'burning issues' for church members, their political preferences, and whether 'apoliticalism' is a dominant feature in these churches. Views on other topical issues, such as violence, negotiations, education and housing, and the 'new South Africa' are also discussed.

The next three chapters deal mainly with the theology of these churches - remembering that for the vast majority of African Pentecostals, theology is acted out and believed rather than precisely formulated. These chapters therefore contain much descriptive and narrative material, including 'personal testimony'. The fourth chapter deals with the soteriology of African Pentecostalism, which includes both the understanding of salvation and the different 'divine healing' practices found there, and the use of symbolic objects in healing and in deliverance from evil powers. Perceptions of the members of these churches of conversion, salvation, exorcism and deliverance from trouble are discussed, as are concepts of sin, misfortune and evil (including Satan and demons), the sources of these problems, and the perceived solutions. The fifth chapter deals with concepts of God as perceived by urban African Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type church members, by dealing with their theology and their Christology against an African background. The Christology is examined in the light of allegations of 'Messianism' in some indigenous churches. Pneumatology, or the doctrine of the Spirit, receives relatively the greatest attention in most of these churches, and is described in chapter six. The 'baptism in the Spirit', concepts of power, the so-called manipulation of the Spirit, the Spirit and the ancestors, and pneumatological phenomena are described and discussed from the point of view of the church members themselves. Very important parts of this discussion are the function and practices of prophets in some of these churches, and an evaluation of the parallels with traditional divination. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the significance of an African pneumatology in these churches in the context of a relevant African theology. The book concludes with a summary of some of the significant findings of this research, particularly in examining the ways in which African Pentecostalism challenges the whole Christian church in its message and mission.

It is hoped that this study will open up a wide field for further research and discussion, facilitate understanding between different groups in this country and further afield, and promote better ecumenical co-operation.

TABLE 1: OCCUPATIONS

<i>Category</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
Unemployed	170	11,0
Housewives	321	20,6
Students	191	12,3
Domestic servants	149	9,6
Commercial & clerical	130	8,4
Artisans	110	7,1
Education	99	6,4
Drivers	83	5,4
Labourers	77	5,0
Police/Security	72	4,6
Pensioners	60	3,9
Self-employed	36	2,3
Professional	27	1,7
Other	25	1,6
TOTALS	1 550	100,0

TABLE 2: HOME LANGUAGES

<i>Language</i>	<i>Soshanguve 1991</i>		<i>Pretoria 1980</i>
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Northern Sotho	545	35,4	33,2
Tswana	90	5,8	11,2
Southern Sotho	114	7,4	2,6
Zulu	455	29,5	7,1
Ndebele	51	3,3	8,6
Seswati	37	2,4	6,6
Xhosa	30	1,9	2,8
Tsonga	177	11,5	15,3
Venda	36	2,3	3,8
TOTALS	1 535	100,0	100,0

TABLE 3: CHURCH AFFILIATION

<i>Category</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
No church affiliation	123	7,4
Pentecostal mission churches	93	6,0
Independent Pentecostal churches	45	2,9
Indigenous Pentecostal-type churches	508	32,4
Indigenous Ethiopian-type churches	125	8,0
Independent Baptist churches	37	2,4
Mission churches	588	37,5
Marginal and unidentified churches	49	3,2
Other religions	3	0,2
TOTALS	1 571	100,0

**TABLE 4: PENTECOSTAL AND AFRICAN INDIGENOUS CHURCHES
IN 1980 AND 1991 OFFICIAL STATISTICS**

<i>Name</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>%</i>
Apostolic Faith Mission	116 744	0,7	105 024	0,7
Other Apostolic Churches	111 750	0,7	136 750	0,9
Assemblies of God	110 697	0,7	120 047	0,8
Full Gospel Church of God	72 892	0,4	91 184	0,6
Pentecostal Protestant	11 586	0,1	4 534	0,0
Pentecostal Church	21 295	0,2	6 866	0,0
Other Christian Churches	149 492	0,9	626 586	4,2
TOTAL PENTECOSTAL	594 456	3,5	1 090 991	7,4
Zion Christian Church	527 702	3,1	1 426 139	9,7
Other AICS	4 596 864	27,0	5 325 047	36,0
TOTAL AICS	5 719 022	30,1	6 751 186	45,7

CHAPTER 2

Growth and proclamation

1 PATTERNS OF RECRUITMENT AND GROWTH

1.1 The attraction of Pentecostal churches

Few will argue with the fact that one of the main reasons for the growth of the Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches in Africa has been the remarkable ability of Pentecostalism to transplant itself here. It has been able to give an authentic African expression to Christianity, so that African people are 'at home'. Pentecostalism is inherently flexible; the freedom, enthusiasm and spontaneity for which Pentecostals are so well known have been positive factors in the acceptance of its central tenets throughout the world, and not least of all in Africa.

One of the reasons for the attraction of the Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches for African people is that these churches provide answers for 'this worldly' needs like sickness, poverty, unemployment, loneliness, evil spirits and sorcery. An often recurring answer given to the question in our second questionnaire, 'Why do you like being in this church?' was 'Because the church is able to help us when we are sick, and provide us with food when we are hungry', or 'People are healed and helped with their problems in our church'. Respondents told us not only of remarkable healings, but of deliverance from evil powers, the restoration of broken marriages, success in work or in business ventures and other needs which were met when they joined these churches. A significant number of respondents from different churches said that it was

important to feel loved in the church, and that was why they were there. Their churches taught them how to love each other, God, and their neighbours. Thus, some ZCC members said that the most important emphasis in the church was to teach people to love and respect each other. One respondent said that it was important in her church for parents and children to be taught to respect each other. The churches also provided for specific social groups, such as youth meetings, women's and men's fellowships. Two Pentecostal churches of my acquaintance have 'young adults' groups particularly for unmarried young people.

People in Pentecostal churches (in particular) often state that they like going to the church because it is the place where they 'found salvation', where 'salvation' is being preached and where their spiritual needs are being met. For example, one member of an independent Pentecostal church said that his church 'spiritually equips' him with balanced teaching from the Bible. Because of its emphasis on prayer and intercession for others, he found himself spiritually revived when he went to church. The emphasis on prayer was the reason why the church was so strong, and why it was the target of Satanist attacks. (In Soshanguve, a Satanist group reportedly commenced in 1991 with the purpose of bringing confusion and division into the *bazalwane* churches.)

For the indigenous churches, the answer is also often based on appreciation for the 'African-ness' of the church. The fact that the church is founded and led by Africans is for some people very important. Some respondents made no secret of the fact that they **disliked** churches in which whites were involved, a sentiment which a person living in South Africa can understand. ZCC and other indigenous church members would refer to the African liturgy of their churches, especially the ways of singing and dancing. A member of the Christian Church in Zion said that she appreciated the fact that the church encouraged her to stick to her African traditions. Lukhaimane (1980:3) gave the reasons for the enormous growth in the ZCC as:

The church conformed more than the established churches to the African way of life and culture there was a strong tendency to restore old values, norms, and native cultural patterns (this) explains the rate at which the church grew at the time (and is still growing today).

This view was confirmed in our research, when several of the ZCC respondents said that they preferred this church most of all because it was an 'African' church. The church is specifically geared to fulfil African aspirations and meet African needs. One ZCC member gave typical expression to this sentiment when he said the following:

The reason I like being in this church is because it is African. Everything we do in this church - the songs we sing, the way we jump and do things - you don't feel like a foreigner, you feel like an African.

This confirms the view of Harold Turner (1979:18), who poignantly described the growth of African prophetic movements in Nigeria as:

a cultural reaction of the African people in which they are seeking to rediscover themselves and their own kind of life, a way of life to which they can really belong because they have worked it out themselves. This way of life is to be expressed in religious forms of their own, which many members of the prophet movements hope will become the great church which has yet to grow on African soil and be accepted and respected by the peoples of the world.

Lukhaimane (1980:4) listed other reasons for the growth of the ZCC (linked to the 'African' reason above): the church offered its members protection against sorcery and superstitious beliefs, provided means of healing from sickness stronger than those offered by the diviners, and even 'made rain' in opposition to the traditional rainmakers.

Sometimes there is evidence of continuity with African traditional ideas, which becomes attractive for some African people searching to find their cultural roots in a rather faceless urban society. Several members of various indigenous Pentecostal-type churches said that they were in the church because it was the one revealed to them by an ancestor. The pattern of this type of response was that either the respondent or a family member was sick, and the ancestor appeared in a dream, and said that if they would go to a certain church, bishop or prophet they would be healed. They followed this instruction, and have remained in that church ever since, often believing that the continuation of their healing is conditional upon their continuing to be members of that church. The conviction in Pentecostal-type churches that a particular church was pleasing to the ancestors was sometimes very strong indeed. This normally went hand-in-hand with a toleration and accommodation of traditional African beliefs and rituals in that church.

For some respondents the **rules** of the church were important reasons for being there: correct attire such as the wearing of uniforms, the taboos in the church such as the ban on pork, tobacco and alcohol, and the paying of tithes and other church dues. We did not come across anyone who said that they were in their church because they were permitted to practise polygyny there - even though at

mission and independent churches, which had usually been established more recently. This was therefore one of the reasons why the 'younger' Pentecostal churches had a greater proportion of members who were recruited through evangelism. To the question 'Why did you join this church?', answers given by the members of Pentecostal mission churches and independent Pentecostal churches were illuminating. It is helpful to make a comparison between them and the members of other church types, for it indicates the emphases of these Pentecostal churches. The information in Table 6 (at the end of the chapter) was gathered from our church survey in Soshanguve. It suggests that the Pentecostals were very active in evangelism, which accounted for over half of their members. A further quarter of our Pentecostal respondents joined these churches because they had received 'spiritual help' there. This means that three quarters of our Pentecostal respondents had joined for religious and 'spiritual' reasons (compared with one quarter of the Pentecostal-type church members, 14% of the Ethiopian-type church members and 10% of the mission church members). Only 20% of Pentecostals joined for family reasons (they had been born in the church, or they had married into the church), compared with 51% in the Pentecostal-type churches, 72% in the Ethiopian-type churches, and an extremely high 84% in the mission churches. The figures give some cause for concern in those churches whose members are largely added through biological growth only, and who are in fact losing members to the Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches.

The table also indicates that the issue of healing from sickness is not the initial reason that people join Pentecostal churches, and that this factor is more important in indigenous Pentecostal-type churches in recruiting members. Although only three of the 139 Pentecostal people surveyed indicated that they had joined these churches because they had been healed there (2%), and that this may not be the **main** reason, healing is nevertheless one of the reasons why some people do join, as was evident in our in-depth interviews. An AFM respondent, for example, said that she had visited diviners, and had spent a considerable amount of money trying to solve her family problems which a diviner said were initiated by a jealous neighbour. Sickness, a nearly fatal motor accident, and frequent visits by a *tokoloshe* (an evil spirit) caused the troubled family to believe that they had been bewitched. After following the diviner's instructions there was little improvement in their situation. She said that the troubles continued 'until we met the Lord Jesus Christ and gave our lives to him - then there was a great change'. From that time on her problems were alleviated. Clearly, her conversion was influenced by her disappointment in the inability of the diviners to help them. The differences on the issue of healing between Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches are probably not as pronounced as they seemed to be in the quantitative survey because, as we shall

see later, healing in the sense of wholeness in the entirety of life (and not only physical healing) is an ongoing preoccupation in all types of African Pentecostalism.

Most Pentecostal respondents, at one or other stage of the interview, alluded to their having been evangelised, through hearing someone preach or witness to them about the gospel of Jesus Christ. Growing Pentecostal churches in the township have well-organised evangelism programmes, and evangelism is one of the main activities in these churches. The three largest Pentecostal churches in Soshanguve, the AFM, the AOG and Praise Tabernacle, have evangelism teams who are trained in personal evangelism and who regularly reach out for people to 'be saved', with the ultimate aim of recruiting them as members in the church. This may take the form of house meetings, door-to-door evangelism, bus and train preaching, open air evangelism, and street witnessing - all practices familiar to most Pentecostals. Pentecostals in the townships are also very fond of tent evangelism; this is in fact one of the activities that elicits the most co-operation between the different Pentecostal groups. This is particularly true of 'big tent' evangelism, such as that formerly practised by Reinhard Bonnke of Christ for All Nations. An AFM respondent told us that the greatest emphasis in her church was that of 'missions', which she defined as reaching out to a 'lost world' to find people for Jesus Christ. Active and sometimes aggressive evangelism is probably the main factor in the growth of Pentecostal churches in the townships.

1.3 Reasons for growth of Pentecostal-type churches

It is also interesting to look at the reasons for people joining the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches. In this respect, healing is a major factor. The main reason people joined the ZCC in its early years was for healing from sickness. So too, Daneel (1974:186) wrote that in the Spirit-type indigenous churches of Zimbabwe in the 1960s and 1970s the healing treatment by the prophets was the most frequently mentioned reason for people joining these churches. In our survey, healing was not the main factor indicated, although it was a major reason for unchurched people, or people from mission churches, to join the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches. Because of the significant number of second generation Christians in these churches, the ongoing healing offered to these members in fact makes healing one of the most important factors in the continued expansion of Pentecostal-type churches. In the ZCC, for example, almost half (44%) of the members in our survey were second or third generation members of the ZCC, and another 10% had married into the church. We did not measure how many of these members found healing an important reason for their continuing in the church, although it was frequently mentioned in the in-depth interviews. Our survey statistics showed that healing still accounted for 15% of the ZCC members joining the church, and 14% of the members of all

the Pentecostal-type churches together. Because of the prominence given to holistic healing in these churches, these percentages are probably not a realistic indication of the importance of healing as a growth factor.

Evangelism was a more significant factor in the survey, accounting for 23% of our respondents joining these churches. This reason accounted for more people than did the issue of healing - although we must remember that healing is not usually separated from evangelism in these churches. A person joins the church because felt needs are met - and this often means healing from physical sickness and discomfort. People in black townships in South Africa are still largely underprivileged, which means *inter alia* that efficient medical facilities are for most people scarce and expensive. The situation has not greatly changed from that which Sundkler (1961:223) described in the 1940s as 'a growing mass of undernourished, infected, desperate Bantu in South Africa ...'. He went on to say that 'Under the pressure of this need ... many others receive the Zionist Healing Message as a gospel for the poor.'

The fact that people believe themselves to be healed in these churches means that the message of the gospel is more powerful to them than anything else they have ever experienced. This is in fact evangelism, or 'a gospel for the poor'. So too, Sundkler (1961:233), said that 'The Message of Healing is in fact the strongest asset of Zionist evangelization'. And yet evangelism in its sense of the proclamation of the Christian message through preaching is still a force to be reckoned with in Pentecostal-type churches, and in this respect is not too far removed from the emphasis of Pentecostal churches outlined above. In the ZCC, for example, there is still a relatively high percentage of people (28%) who joined the church because they were evangelised, or had some spiritual needs met there. 27% of the ZCC members who were evangelised did not belong to any church before they came there, and a high proportion (43%) joined the ZCC from mission churches. In the case of the latter, we can safely assume that they found in the message of the ZCC a more potent solution to the particular needs that they experienced. Perhaps their existential needs were even left largely unaddressed in their former churches.

Other factors also contributed to the growth of these churches. Several of our respondents stressed that the church they had joined was able to help them in some way to overcome serious emotional and domestic problems. One informant told of her family being on the verge of divorce. She heard the 'voice of God' telling her to go to see a certain 'man of God' who would pray for the restoration of her family. She did so, and her marriage was saved. As in the case of healing, the solution to these problems rests largely on the ability of the prophet or church leader to effect a remedy through prayer and faith in the power of God.

In our in-depth interviews the issue of healing came across as the most frequently mentioned reason that people were in the Pentecostal-type churches, a higher proportion than was indicated in the statistics. Some respondents were emphatic that healing was the main reason they were in the church. Healing is certainly one of the main activities (if not **the** main activity) of Pentecostal-type churches. This confirms what Sundkler (1961:228) wrote: 'I have stressed repeatedly that prayer for the sick is not just a detail of Zionist church services, but it is their most important feature.' A ZCC member told us that he had been sick for a long time and had tried diviners, medical doctors, and other prophets - all to no avail. Then his father appeared to him in a vision and said that he should go to the ZCC. 'I went there,' he recalled, 'they healed me, and that is why I still go there. There is no other church like the ZCC. The others failed to heal me.' Lukhaimane (1980:63) said that healing was the reason for 80% of Engenas Lekganyane's followers joining the church. It was 'a faith healing and a miracle performing church (*ke kereke ya Mehlolo*)' (:46). A ZCC minister we encountered in our survey told us why he had joined the church:

A friend of mine told how he had been helped by the ZCC when he was sick. Seeing that I was suffering from tuberculosis at the time, I decided to go there. They do not use *muti* [traditional medicine], and they do not depend on *inyangas* [traditional healers] and *sangomas* [diviners]. They just pray for you, give you some tea, and make you vomit using pure water which the prophet has prayed for. This is one of the reasons that I joined them. Six months after I started attending the church I was completely healed. I had been attending the clinic; they had given me tablets for TB. I was taken from one doctor to another and from one hospital to another. The problem was that they could not detect what the problem really was; they were only guessing that I had TB. Then I went to this [ZCC] church which operates under the Spirit of God. They told me that I did not really have TB; but I had the ancestral spirits - that was why I was coughing, choking and gasping for air. They made me to drink some of their tea, and made me vomit. They prophesied over me and gave me the instructions from the ancestors. After obeying all that the ancestors told me, I was told that I was to become a minister in the church. The leaders laid their hands on me, and I stopped coughing. I have not coughed again to this day. I was completely delivered. The whole secret lies in obeying what the ancestors require of you. White people tell us we are suffering from TB because they do not know anything about the ancestors.

This interview raises several other important questions, such as the question of confrontation and accommodation between African religious practices and Christian faith. One interesting case involved a member of the ZCC in Soshanguve. She related how she came to join the church, during which process several factors were simultaneously at work. She had suffered from severe headaches for a long time. Then one night she had a dream in which she saw her grandfather coming to her dressed in the khaki uniform, cap and boots of the ZCC. He said that if she wanted help for these problems she should go to Moria (the ZCC headquarters) where she would find a prophet who would pray for her so that she would be healed. She obeyed, and the prophet came up to her and said 'I saw you in a dream; you are suffering from headaches.' He prayed for her, and she was healed from that day onwards. The prophet told her that if she wanted to stay healed she had to stay in the ZCC for the rest of her life. She considered, however, that the main reason that she was in the ZCC was because it was the church shown to her by the ancestors. At the same time the prophet was exploiting to the full his healing power as an effective method of recruiting a new member for the church.

Like the ZCC, the St John Apostolic Faith Mission was founded on healing; and this used to be one of the main emphases. It is no longer as significant a factor for church recruitment. Of the 42 St John members we interviewed in Soshanguve, six (14%) had joined the church because they were healed; and 22 (52%) were born in the church or had joined the church upon getting married. Another 26% had joined the church because they had been helped spiritually in some way. There is probably, however, a correlation between healing, evangelism and church recruitment which is similar to that in other Pentecostal-type churches.

The International Pentecost Church (IPC) is one of the fastest growing indigenous churches in the Transvaal. This church is largely based on the personality of its leader Frederick Modise, and particularly on his healing powers. This is the main reason why people flock to this church; and indeed, it appears that a person who receives healing from Modise has extreme pressure thereafter to join the church, and usually does so. In fact, one member of this church told us that a healthy person without any problems did not need to come to this church. I was told by Modise himself in a personal interview in August 1991 that our field worker could not attend the Friday night church service at the headquarters (Silo, at Zuurbekom west of Johannesburg) because he was 'not sick' - although we managed to get another field worker in for a weekend a few months later - pretending to be sick! The ability of Modise to heal the sick, coupled with a proclamation of the total inadequacy of all other healing methods offered by churches, prophets or diviners, forms the core of the IPC's highly pressurised recruitment drive, particularly at Silo. In the outlying

branches of the church visitors are urged to make the monthly pilgrimage to Silo and Modise. Once they do this they are virtually assured of a place among the 'chosen'. Daneel (1974:187-191) showed the major role that healing played in the initial phase of church expansion in Spirit-type churches in Zimbabwe. This was also the case in South Africa, as we saw previously in the histories of Elias Mahlangu, Edward Motaung and Engenas Lekganyane, amongst many others (Anderson 1992:40-44). The IPC may be considered today to be still in its initial phase. This suggests the reason why healing is the main feature in church recruitment there, possibly more so than any other South African church at the present time.

1.4 Evangelism amongst 'churched' people

The older 'mission churches' in South Africa are losing many of their members to the Pentecostal churches. Table 7 at the end of this chapter (statistics from our survey) indicates to which churches members of four types of churches (Pentecostal, Pentecostal-type, Ethiopian-type and mission church) belonged before joining their present church. It is rather interesting that although many Pentecostals said that they had been evangelised, 81% of their members formerly belonged to other churches (of which over half were from the mission churches), and only 18% were not members of any church at all. It also appears that Pentecostals do not lose as many members to other churches as do the other churches themselves. The figures indicate that the Pentecostal churches are growing at the expense of other churches, particularly the mission churches. In addition, both Pentecostal-type and Ethiopian-type churches receive at least a third of their members in Soshanguve from the mission churches. This indicates the trend already discussed in the previous chapter (from official statistics), that the mission churches have dropped in membership from about 70% of the black population in 1960 to 33% in 1991. Daneel (1987:98), in discussing the causative factors in the growth of the indigenous churches made the comment 'it could well be that the independent churches in South Africa draw the majority of their adherents from the mission churches'. This is particularly true of the Pentecostal churches in this research. The African Pentecostal churches, however, cannot primarily be seen as a reaction to mission. Just as Daneel (1974:13) found among Shona indigenous churches, so in Soshanguve it can be said that most of the members of African Pentecostal churches were never fully committed to any mission church at all.

In Soshanguve, where 93% of the population profess Christianity, any evangelism will take place among the so-called 'churched' people. People who join churches and those who recruit them will of necessity come from a 'Christian' and not a 'pagan' background. This does not mean that the recruits are committed church

attenders - the opposite is often the case. There is a period of dissatisfaction which sometimes manifests itself in church members failing to attend church at all, before they are recruited by African Pentecostals. This will to a large extent be true of most other urban black areas in South Africa. The fact that African Pentecostalism is recruiting members from other churches results partly from the fulfilment of certain aspirations for which no fully satisfying realisations were offered in the former churches. This is not the only reason for the attraction of African Pentecostalism, but it does have important ramifications which will be discussed later. In this connection, Turner (1979:19) reminds us that the fact that so many of the members of what he terms 'African prophet movements' come from mission churches

must not be allowed to suggest that this is a movement away from Christianity. It is certainly a protest, though with remarkably little bitterness, and an evidence of a great spiritual hunger for a satisfaction they have not found or have not recognized in their parent churches.

1.5 The main growth factors

In summary, therefore, African Pentecostalism in its many and varied forms has attained (to a lesser or greater degree) an authentically African character which enables it to offer answers to some of the fundamental questions asked by Africans. It provides a salvation which is 'here and now' and which includes deliverance from 'this worldly' problems, particularly in its offer of healing from sickness. Other reasons for the growth of these churches might be described as religious or 'spiritual' ones, remembering that the holistic African world view does not separate 'spiritual' from 'worldly' or 'physical' as the dualistic Western world view does. Members of Pentecostal churches, however, felt that their churches provided first and foremost for their 'spiritual' needs; this feeling was echoed by members of indigenous Pentecostal-type churches, who added that the African character of the churches was an important reason for their being there. This confirms what Turner (1979:19) found to be true: 'at bottom', he said, these churches are 'spiritual and religious movements ... to be evaluated in religious terms'.

A sympathetic approach to African life and culture, and the retention of certain African traditional religious practices, were undoubtedly major reasons for the attraction of the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches for some respondents, especially for those overwhelmed by the transition from a personal rural society to an impersonal urban one. In the words of Turner (1979:18), these churches 'represent a creative response to the breakdown of the old forms of African

society by the formation of new groups providing fellowship, security, and some sanctions and guidance for living'. At the same time, these churches confronted the old views by offering what they believed was a more powerful protection against sorcery and a more effective healing from sickness than the traditions had offered. These benefits were especially available to church members who followed the rules of their church.

One of the main factors for the growth of both African Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches in our research was the emphasis on evangelism - in the Pentecostal churches evangelism is usually understood in the Evangelical (and rather Western) sense of the active proclamation of a message by formal preaching or by 'witnessing', specifically intended to result in the 'salvation of souls'. This was a more significant factor in the more Westernised Pentecostal churches, in which organised evangelism programmes were followed, than in the indigenous churches, in which healing in many forms played a greater role. Healing - physical, mental, emotional, and social healing - was a major recruitment factor in all types of Pentecostalism, but particularly in the Pentecostal-type churches. It was sometimes linked with the ineffectiveness of traditional healing methods. Healing therefore became an effective evangelistic instrument for preaching good news to the African poor. Solutions to other domestic and emotional problems were also offered by these churches. Behind all this was implicit faith in the God of the Bible who had anointed particular church leaders by his Spirit to perform 'signs and wonders' that would convince people that their God was more powerful than anything or anyone in traditional African religion (or in other Christian churches). Healing gifts are prominent recruitment methods in these churches. In some cases the healing binds the formerly afflicted people to the churches for life; and this becomes a powerful controlling influence there. Healing forms the most important factor in the initial growth of these churches; and in this way it is a most effective evangelism tool.

I have pointed out earlier (Anderson 1991:29-30) that among the many various reasons researchers have given for the phenomenal growth of the African indigenous churches, the main causes are spiritual and religious ones (Daneel 1987:71; Turner 1979:19). A study of the literature on the causative factors indicates that, as Appiah-Kubi (1979:117-118) put it, the main reason for the emergence of these churches was 'spiritual hunger ... and not political, social, economic, and racial factors'. In particular, the missionaries failed to understand the African world view, in trying to impose Western Christianity on African converts. Barrett (1968:154-158) considered this to have been 'a failure in love'. The gospel proclaimed by white missionaries was often superficial and impoverished; it 'did not even touch on many facets of the life or struggle of the African' (Daneel 1987:78). The major thrust of Daneel's work among the Shona

independent churches in Zimbabwe, particularly as expounded in his second volume of *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches* (1974) was to demonstrate the predominance of religious factors in accounting for the appeal and rapid proliferation of these movements. He highlighted what I would describe as largely 'pneumatological' or 'spiritual' factors: the adaptations to traditional rituals and customs, the prophetic practices in detecting and removing malignant medicines and wizardry and, above all, the role of healing and exorcism. The message of deliverance from sickness and from the oppression of evil spirits, and especially the message of receiving the power of the Holy Spirit that enables people to cope in a hostile spirit world, was welcome indeed. In the multitude of factors, this is surely the most significant one - and it was certainly the message so frequently proclaimed by African Pentecostalism.

Indeed, this present research seems to confirm that the 'pneumatological factor' as it manifests itself in healing, exorcism and in all aspects of life is probably the central reason for the attractiveness of the Pentecostal-type and Pentecostal churches to African people. This was a religion that offered solutions to **all** of life's problems, and not just the 'spiritual' ones - it absorbed a person's whole day, and not just the Sunday! 'The most significant and unique aspect of these churches,' commented Appiah-Kubi (1979:118),

is that they seek to fulfil that which is lacking in the Euro-American missionary churches, that is, to provide forms of worship that satisfy both spiritually and emotionally and to enable Christianity to cover every area of human life and fulfil all human needs.

Or as some South African independent church leaders put it:

What makes us feel uncomfortable in the White Churches, more than anything else, is the apparent lack of the Spirit in these Churches. Generally their Sunday services are very stiff and formal. There is very little spontaneity or freedom to enable the Spirit to take over, to move people and to heal them.

(Institute for Contextual Theology 1985:27)

The African Pentecostal churches provide Africans with more of what Oosthuizen (1968:119) termed 'divine involvement' than the traditional religion did, and go much further towards meeting daily existential needs. They fill the vacuum left by Western types of Christianity imported to Africa. The translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular reinforced the conviction that there was in the Bible 'a spontaneity, a vitality and a dynamic which was apparently lacking in the rigid structures of the missionary agencies' (Daneel 1987:84-85).

And yet, African Pentecostalism is not primarily a reaction to the inadequacies of the mission churches. This research does not indicate that this was a major factor. The fact is that recruitment in these churches among 'churched' people in Soshanguve takes place largely among those who are no longer attending churches at all, 'nominal' Christians who are members of a 'mission' (or other) church in name only. This confirms Daneel's (1974:13) observation in Zimbabwe that 'the majority' of Spirit-type church members 'never paid full allegiance to any Mission Church at all'.

Furthermore, we must not overlook the fact that most Pentecostal-type indigenous churches throughout Africa were founded by 'powerful' men and women of God, charismatic leaders who attracted followers through their preaching and healings (Anderson 1991:31-32). This was usually attributed to the work of the Holy Spirit. Martin (1964:113), speaking of the Pentecostal-type indigenous churches in Southern Africa, said that 'the prophet is a man of the Spirit, a man of power through whom power is bestowed upon his followers' (1964:113). It is evident that this concept of the 'person of the Spirit' was a leading factor in the origin and rapid growth of the Pentecostal-type churches.

2 PROCLAMATION OF THE WORD

2.1 Views of the Bible

People in Pentecostal churches and Pentecostal-type churches could be described as 'fundamentalistic' in their view of the Bible - that is, they believe that the Bible, both Old and New Testaments, in its original writing was and is the inspired and inerrant Word of God, the final and absolute authority for faith and ethics. This was clearly the view of most people we spoke to in these churches. It was most important to these church members that the teaching of their churches and the preaching of their ministers were based on the Bible. For this reason one invariably finds that preaching begins in these churches with a reading from the Bible. The preaching is often interspersed with phrases like 'the Bible says' to reinforce the argument. The importance of the Bible to these churches is a common characteristic which is seen in the preaching. Although

preachers in some of these churches sometimes do not make a conscious effort to explain the Bible or contextualise its message, the Bible is given pride of place on most occasions. For example, ZCC preachers (and there are several at each service, who give short homilies rather than sermons) begin their preaching by reading (or, more frequently, having another read) a passage from the Bible. In the preaching I have heard in the ZCC, very little attempt was made to expound the passage read, and what was said by the preachers had little bearing on the text. This observation should not be construed as representing all the Pentecostal-type churches, who usually declare the Bible message in their preaching clearly. The lack of biblical training by many African Pentecostal preachers (who are often laymen) may explain why the Bible is sometimes not explained; but it does not detract from the emphasis on the authority of the Bible in these churches. It was clear that the Bible was regarded as having the ultimate authority in the preaching.

It would not be fair to members and leaders of these churches to suggest that they have consciously departed from the truth of the Bible; it was a very important part of the faith of most of the people we interviewed that their churches were established solidly on the teachings of the Bible - even if their various interpretations of the Bible's teachings differed widely. A ZCC member, for example, said that the Bible was God's message and a map of our lives. Everything about ourselves was revealed in the Bible. The purpose of the Bible was to teach us about God, and what God was saying to us today. Another ZCC member observed that the Bible was a book which gave us 'God's words'. Another indicated that the Bible was a guide of how to live. When we were obedient to its instructions, it would help us in times of trouble. Another said that the Bible strengthened and helped a person encountering problems. A member of the St Engenas ZCC felt that the purpose of the Bible was to teach people the word of God, and to reveal the good and the bad things in life so that people could choose for themselves how to live. A member of an Apostolic church said that the Bible was a book that searched a person's heart. God used the Bible to convert people, so that they might know the difference between good and evil and have direction for living a holy life. Turner (1965:11) considered that this acceptance of the authority of the Bible was 'undoubtedly the best single visible mark of a genuine Church among the African independent movements'.

In a few Pentecostal-type church members this belief in the centrality of the Bible was not as clear. This was sometimes the case with some IPC members, to whom it seemed that the final authority was the word that *Ntate* (Father) Modise heard from God and pronounced to his people. One member said that Modise's teachings were not necessarily straight from the Bible, but that they were the words from God. Another considered that Modise was the interpreter

of the Bible for his people. When he explained the Word of God, it helped his followers to live in the right way. Other members expressed views about the Bible that were fairly close to those expressed by members of other Pentecostal churches. One member, for example, said that the Bible was God's word which taught people the laws of God and enabled God to speak to people. In the IPC services we attended, the Bible was read as frequently as in any other Pentecostal church, and Modise himself makes extensive use of it during his preaching. It appeared that the Bible's authority was upheld in the IPC by Modise and by his preachers, and that no significant difference existed in this respect between the IPC and other churches in our discussion.

In Pentecostal mission churches and in independent Pentecostal churches the emphasis on the Bible as the Word of God is particularly strong. Preachers consciously attempt to stick to its pages in their preaching, which is usually punctuated and reinforced by oft-repeated phrases like 'the Bible says', 'the Word of God says', 'the Lord says in his Word', and so on. Members of these churches are encouraged to study the Bible for themselves as their daily spiritual food, in order to grow in their Christian lives. One member of the AFM said that the Bible was God's Word whose purpose was to revive and strengthen those who read it. It became an armour to defend people when they faced difficulties of any kind.

2.2 Views of preaching in Pentecostal churches

The main purpose of the next two subsections is to describe the views of African Pentecostals towards preaching, and not to describe or analyse the preaching itself. This must still be done. One of the main attractions of the church for Pentecostal people in our survey was that their church preached the word of God and taught them many things about the Christian life. Some of the important teachings included discipleship, how to evangelise, loving one another, how to live a 'holy life' (which usually means following a strict ethical code), and the second advent of Christ. One member of an independent Pentecostal church said that she was impressed by the way that the Word of God was preached in her church; it was 'purely the Word', she said. The main teachings in the church were very practical, and were practised in the church. Taking care of the poor was not just a theory taken from the Bible, it was part of the life of her church. Her husband said that for him the most important purpose of the 'preaching of the Word' in their church was the fact that Christianity was made to apply to all of life, and especially to the home. The home must be an extension of the church, he said, and married lives should be an example of Christian profession. A person should be the same at home as in the church. That was why he appreciated that the Bible was made practical in the preaching.

Another member of an independent Pentecostal church said that the main result of the 'preaching of the Word' in his church was to bring encouragement to people who were discouraged.

A fundamental theme emphasised in most Pentecostal preaching is 'preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ', or what members often describe as 'preaching salvation'. This involves a call to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ, an opening up of the life to 'receive Christ', resulting in the person being 'born again' and becoming a 'new creation' in Christ. For this reason the 'altar call' is a very important conclusion to most sermons. People are encouraged to come to the front of the church and to give their lives to Christ. In many growing Pentecostal churches in the townships one sees between ten and thirty people in such a 'prayer line' after the sermon every Sunday. The emphasis on evangelism becomes the most important feature of preaching; and the public confession of Christ before the congregation becomes the first step towards becoming a member of that church.

2.3 Views of preaching in Pentecostal-type churches

As in Pentecostal churches, so too in Pentecostal-type churches most people felt that the preaching in their churches was first and foremost based on the Bible and was the Word of God. One of the preaching themes that was most frequently mentioned by members was that of love in 1 Corinthians 13. In the ZCC, preaching is done by several men, one after the other. At one service we attended in Soshanguve no fewer than six sermons were delivered. Because of the thousands of people present, without an amplification system it was impossible to hear these messages from where we were sitting. This was remedied a week later, when not only was a battery-operated loudhailer provided, but one of the ZCC officials interpreted everything into English for my benefit! The first preacher quoted from the book of Jonah, another preacher read from the Gospel of John chapter 16:1-3, dealing with the disciples being put out of the synagogues and being killed for the sake of Christ, and then finally the senior minister, Reverend Mamabolo, summarised everything that had been said, and alluded to Jonah once again. From my perspective, it was difficult to form any kind of an impression of the preaching in the ZCC I listened to, as it was not an exposition of the text, and the preachers seemed to say little of significance that I could remember. In the St Engenas ZCC, a member told us that the preaching of the present Bishop Engenas Lekganyane (grandson of the first Engenas) at church conferences was alluded to frequently in the preaching by ministers during the rest of the year.

Lukhaimane (1980:47) said that preaching in the ZCC used to centre on 'how a person was healed, how a barren woman conceived, how a witch was caught, and other social problems which were solved in the church'. In other words, there was an emphasis on salvation in the here and now, on material security which 'embraced health, wealth, and influence in community affairs and occupations' (:58). ZCC members are taught how to give to the church, and it is one of the strongest self-supporting indigenous churches in the country. Van Wyk (in Lukhaimane 1980:49) observes of the ZCC:

They are touching some real needs of their people and are achieving real results in financial strength, moral character and missionary expansion ... there is a surprise [sic] openness to scriptural teaching Very little is thought out speculatively, but there is much evidence of real opposition to some central beliefs of heathenism and of spontaneous growth as a Christian body.

These words remind us that to write off the ZCC as a purely syncretistic body is too facile an explanation of its inner dynamics. We will see in the following chapters just how many ZCC members are opposed to some fundamental traditional practices.

In the IPC, Modise preaches material prosperity and physical health to his followers. The way this is achieved is through faithful giving. Give much to the church, he says, and you will receive much back from God. He declares that people, particularly IPC members, are not supposed to be poor or sick; it is God's will that they have plenty and be healthy, provided they follow his recipe for success. In a service at Silo on 13 March 1992 Modise preached that all money, wisdom and knowledge belongs to God; therefore all this belongs to believers also. Modise and his ministers also frequently confront the ancestor cult in their preaching. A midweek service in Soshanguve had the preacher speaking on the theme from Matthew 6:24 that 'No person can serve two masters, that is God and ancestors'. In preaching, the IPC consciously confronts traditional religious practices (especially the ancestor cult), the healing practices of 'false prophets' in Pentecostal-type churches like the ZCC, and in particular the uselessness of all other churches. During the weekend Sam Otwang, our field worker, spent at Silo, a central theme of the preaching (which was always directed at the visitors rather than the members present) made reference to the failure of other churches to accomplish what Modise and the IPC had accomplished. The visitors were exhorted to leave 'Egypt' (their old churches) and join the promised land of Modise and the IPC. These churches were, declared one preacher, tombs of death and deception. There was no gospel and no healing

in the other churches, said another preacher at Silo. Most of the preachers (except Modise himself) spoke about how Modise was able to heal people, and gave their own personal experiences.

2.4 The proclamation of the Word

African Pentecostals of all types base their life and faith on the Bible, the Word of God, the final authority for all that is taught, practised and preached in their churches. For this reason preachers give pre-eminence to the Bible, and use it to justify and reinforce their messages to the people. Through the Bible people learn about God and his ways, and it is believed to be the means by which God is able to speak to his people today. The Bible forms the basis and provides the conditions for holy living, and those who follow its instructions will be enabled to overcome all kinds of difficulties. In a few churches, particularly the IPC, it is not the Bible *per se*, but the leader who interprets it correctly and declares this message to his followers, who has the ultimate authority. Nevertheless, the authority of the Bible is unquestioned in all the Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches being discussed. In Pentecostal mission churches and in independent Pentecostal churches (more so than in indigenous churches) members are exhorted to read and study the Bible for themselves, for this is the means for spiritual nurture and growth.

Preaching in these churches must always be founded on what the Bible says, either directly or implicitly. In Pentecostal churches the Bible is the central source of preaching, which is directed to show believers how to live their Christian lives in this world as pilgrims and strangers, and to show unbelievers how they may receive salvation through faith in Christ. For members of these churches, it is important that the preaching be practical and relevant to all of life. In Pentecostal-type churches members also perceive the preaching to be based on the Bible. Preachers use it to exhort people to love one another and be faithful to the church, to be obedient to the rules of the church, and (in some cases) to confront the traditional religion and other churches.

A more detailed sermon analysis needs to be done of preaching in African Pentecostal churches if any 'profile' of the churches, such as that described by Turner (1965:81), is to be attempted - and this was not a priority of this research. This is, however, a weakness which will have to be remedied by further research. My rather superficial observations of the views of members on the preaching in their churches, and the little preaching that I observed myself, will need to be tested through more thorough empirical analysis, by which more of a depth perspective may be achieved. At this stage these observations on preaching must not be taken as representative of African Pentecostalism generally, but simply as indications of some of the trends.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has shown very important trends in the patterns of growth in the Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches in South Africa. The fact that these churches are perceived as providing solutions for 'this-worldly' needs which the mission churches (and, to a lesser degree, the traditional religions) are powerless to supply, is extremely significant. The growth of these churches largely at the expense of the mission churches must be seen primarily as a result of religious factors, not least of all being the remarkable ability of these churches to adapt their Christian expression to African aspirations and culture. This has important repercussions for an urgent re-evaluation of the missionary task of the church in Africa. What lessons can be learned from the example of African Pentecostalism? To these and other related questions we shall return in the conclusion. This research has also shown, confirming the conclusions of other researchers (eg Sundkler, Daneel, Lagerwerf) that healing from sickness still plays a major role in the growth of these movements, especially in their initial stages. This was particularly illustrated in the case of the IPC. The subject of healing will be dealt with comprehensively in the following chapter. Evangelism is also an important factor in the growth of these churches. The life, preaching and faith of these churches is based upon the Bible, which is usually interpreted literally and from a fundamentalistic viewpoint.

Abbreviations used in the following two tables are as follows:

Pentecostal churches	PC
Pentecostal-type churches	PT
Ethiopian-type churches	ET
Mission churches	MC

TABLE 6: REASONS FOR JOINING THE CHURCHES

<i>Reason</i>	<i>PC</i> <i>no</i>	<i>PC</i> <i>%</i>	<i>PT</i> <i>no</i>	<i>PT</i> <i>%</i>	<i>ET</i> <i>no</i>	<i>ET</i> <i>%</i>	<i>MC</i> <i>no</i>	<i>MC</i> <i>%</i>
Born in the church	23	17	157	38	48	63	420	71
Married church member	5	3	54	13	8	10	77	13
'Evangelised'	73	53	95	23	11	14	53	9
Physical healing	3	2	58	14	0	0	0	0
Spiritual help	28	20	13	3	0	0	6	1
Other	7	5	37	9	10	13	36	6
TOTAL	139	100	414	100	77	100	592	100

TABLE 7: PREVIOUS CHURCH TYPE OF CHURCH MEMBERS
IN SOSHANGUVE

NB: The vertical columns with abbreviated headings in this table indicate the different church types to which members **now** belong; and the horizontal rows with the church types written in full represent their **former** churches.

<i>Previous church</i>	<i>PC no</i>	<i>PC %</i>	<i>PT no</i>	<i>PT %</i>	<i>ET no</i>	<i>ET %</i>	<i>MC no</i>	<i>MC %</i>
None	9	16	49	26	10	36	97	45
Pentecostal	6	11	8	4	0	0	4	2
Pentecostal-type	12	21	43	22	2	7	22	10
Ethiopian-type	1	2	10	5	2	7	13	6
Mission church	24	43	68	35	11	39	56	26
Other churches	4	7	15	8	3	11	24	11
TOTALS	56	100	193	100	28	100	216	100