

DIASPORA SHONA MASS AS A RELIGIOUS-CULTURAL OCCASION¹

Lilian Dube²

Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of San Francisco, United States of America

Abstract

Zimbabwean music developed for Catholic services over the years following the Second Vatican Council is characterised by distinctive drumming accompanied by rattles, unmistakable to the local ear. It facilitates spontaneity in worship, as the celebrating community dances to the rhythm. This article explores African Christian spirituality expressed through vernacular music and dance in the celebration of the *Shona* Mass by the contemporary immigrants in England. It explores the African Catholic Eucharist as a creative “celebrative memorial” (Gibellini 1994:98). Thus, the article explores how the Church acknowledges and celebrates Africa out of Africa and how the celebration of Mass becomes a religious-cultural occasion which fosters the strong sense of family and identity essential to the survival of the African Catholic Diaspora family. It leads to the conclusion that theology in Africa is not always written, but is spoken, sung, danced and acted out as experiences of the Christian faith.

1 INTRODUCTION

The article focuses on the celebration of Mass at Our Lady of Good Counsel and St Gregory in Birmingham, England, as a model of how the Catholic Church acknowledges African spirituality and celebrates Africa out of Africa, how it creates home away from home for a myriad immigrants, fosters the strong sense of family and identity

¹ Paper delivered at the Africans and the Catholic Church Conference entitled *African experiences in the church*. Seattle, Washington, January 31 to February 2, 2008.

² Research Associate, Research Institute for Theology and Religion, University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa.

essential for the survival of the African Catholic Diaspora family and other sojourners, how African grassroots oral theology guides the spiritual concerns of African Christians (Parratt 1987:144), and how the celebration of Shona Mass becomes a religious-cultural occasion.

This article discusses the process of stepping outside the worldview created by a theological tradition steeped in Eurocentrism to encounter one's own history and culture in order to discover one's self identity anew. It looks at the ongoing postcolonial role of the Catholic Church in dislodging the "deep-seated layers of colonialist patterns of thinking in the archaeological excavation of the minds of both the colonized and the colonizers" (Kwok 2005:3). The Catholic Church's role in the African diasporas is studied in the context of the migration of a formerly colonised people, the *Shona* from the old colony, Rhodesia, to Britain. The article is therefore safely lodged in the postcolonial discourse that looks beyond the borders to examine the complexities of identity formation among newly settled African immigrants: what Kwok Pui Lan calls a "Diasporic postcolonial drama" (Kwok 2005:23). The article gives a brief historical outline of the Catholic Church's contribution to the great awakening of humanising the church in colonial Rhodesia. Such history is not treated as an accurate record or transcript of the past, but as a perspectival discourse that seeks to articulate a living memory for the "present and the future", as Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza (1994:xxx) posits. The history of the Catholic Church's participation in the enculturation of the Gospel during the colonial and the postcolonial era marked by massive human mobility beyond borders is studied comparatively, in an effort to retrieve hopeful messages of cultural diversity and appreciation of the other.

2 ENCULTURATION PROCESS

Enculturation is popularly described in Roman Catholic official and nonofficial documents as the incarnation of the Christian message in cultures (Uzukwu 1996:6). Post Vatican II African Catholics in Zimbabwe sought to become a church of the people in every sense by incorporating African symbols, music, cultural values and symbols into the heartbeat of the church. By reaffirming African culture and identity, the Catholic Church affirmed that Jesus Christ was present in the African way of doing things. This emphasis on the ordinary and simple way of doing theology from below created a new sense of

belonging to many who had been searching for familiar ways of worshipping and being Church as Africans within the Catholic tradition. Thus, by reaffirming African cultures and identity, the Catholic Church participated in empowering the people to reclaim their lost heritage and restore their dignity. A brief account of the Catholic Church's early history in Zimbabwe will set in context this enculturation drive which separated the Church from the colonial legacy of oppression.

3 THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ZIMBABWE

Historians estimate the Shona people's settlement into this southern African region as early as the ninth century; the state known as Great Zimbabwe was established by the thirteenth century. Ndebele people, who constitute the significant other, settled in western Zimbabwe during the first half of the nineteenth century following disturbances caused by the rise and consolidation of the Zulu state in the south. In 1560, Goncalo da Silveira led an expedition of Jesuit missionaries from Mozambique to the court of the Mwenemutapa Empire in present Zimbabwe. Although Silveira baptised the ruler, the cleric was killed in 1561 as a result of court intrigues involving Moslem traders who were opposed to Portuguese encroachment on the lucrative trans-Indian Ocean trade (Beach 1994). In 1879, Jesuit missionaries entered what was then known as Matebeleland from South Africa in an effort to evangelise the *AmaNdebele* people, a warring tribe. Mission among this warring tribe failed for nearly ten years, prompting several Jesuit priests to serve as chaplains in 1890 and 1893 when British settlers arrived, sponsored and financed by Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company. Though it was an effective strategy, this marriage of convenience created racial tension within the Church that compromised its mission and vision. After the colonisers had seized the land and cattle of the local inhabitants, they established, with permission from the British imperial government, the company-controlled colony of Rhodesia in 1890. Jesuit superiors in South Africa received extensive land grants to establish permanent missions in and around Salisbury and Bulawayo (Dachs & Rea 1979). Thus the church participated in the grab of land which it is still sitting on to date. The period between 1990 and 1930 marked the "pacification expeditions" of colonial military forces as they set up colonial dictatorships (Njoku 2005:242). The Church took advantage

of the prevailing “peace” to establish missions, again unfortunately participating in the subjugation of the colonised until 1940, when Bishop Aloysius Haene, a Swiss missionary arrived in southern Rhodesia and established close contacts with African nationalists (Zvobgo 1996). Bishop Haene, who became the first bishop of Gwelo in 1955, is associated with the dramatic Catholic enculturation reform that transformed the Catholic Church in Rhodesia from a colonial church to a church of the people in line with Vatican II efforts to become a relevant church.

Comment [11]: Author,
Drastic has a negative connotation
so I think change to dramatic or
omit here - ed

4 THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE

Although linguistic empowerment translates into the ability to speak back and to dialogue (Njoku 2005:254), orality and literacy seemed to separate the oppressed and their oppressors until around the 1930s (Njoku 2005:242). Thus illiteracy and the colonial languages silenced and divided the early church, which filled with baptised adult African Catholics who were not converted. In his research on “African inculturation of the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe, 1958-1977”, Nicholas Cleary (1999) traces the significant steps taken by the church towards this goal under the leadership of Bishop Haene. An important step in creating an African Catholic Church was the publication of the New Testament in the *ChiShona* language in 1966. December 1964 marked another important event in the African Catholic Church: the introduction of African church music. Two *ChiShona*-speaking Africans joined 26 delegates from ten other African nations to attend a training course for African church music composers in Kitwe, Zambia. The group strongly recommended the use of drums in the liturgy. In 1966, Stephen Ponde composed 19 new hymns published by Mambo Press, a printing house established by Bishop Haene called Missa Shona I. Ponde and four other composers produced official Shona translations of the Kyrie, Gloria, Creed, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, traditional elements of the Catholic Mass, in 1967; African Catholic liturgy was never the same again. The *Shona* language became a vehicle for the transmission of Christian ideas within the *Shona* culture for the *Shona* people (Creary 1999).

4 SHONA CELEBRATION OF MASS IN AFRICA

Uzukwu (1994:98) defines the Roman Catholic African Eucharist as creative “celebrative memorial”, and states:

When the intention for the convocation of the assembly is grasped, there is active participation. But, in addition, when the reasons for the convocation are acted out in assembly, the celebration becomes a tensive symbol – an environment for the creation and realisation of life.

African Catholics across the continent now make a conscious effort to achieve this goal. Churches fill with worshippers who are united in joyful communal prayer, with the drum guiding their music and dance steps in this creative memorial of the risen Christ. The sweaty bodies swaying in the ritual dance of worship, singing through Mass in *Shona, Bemba, Nyanja, Tswana* and other rich native languages of Africa, appropriating the Gospel as they understand it, are indeed a testimony of their spirited creativity and of a great history of movers behind their faith journeys. The participants at this ritual, the great *Bira* of the Catholics, become creative agents in the drama of an African appropriation of Christ. They relate Christ’s presence in their midst through readings from the native bibles, and local songs, dances, and rituals. This is one inspiring way to illustrate the engagement between the Gospel and the indigenous worldviews needed to generate a distinctive African Christianity. The centrality of the drum and the significance of body movements are pivotal in cultural expressions of African spirituality. Both have been grossly misconstrued in the study of African Christianity.

5 MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE DRUM

Misconceptions about the drum led to aggressive silencing of this method of communication by early missionaries and their converts. They interpreted these membranophones as a “diabolic instruments that liberated satanic maleficent forces and energies” (Niangoran-Bouah 1991:81). That era of ignorance was marked by savage destruction of the drum by the new indigenous converts led by the missionaries. They eroded histories, intimidated and silenced a people by burning thousands of these and other “diabolic instruments”, across the continent. There is irony in the way they proceeded to lock away selected ‘devilish pieces’, some of the most

beautiful specimens, in garland museums of the north. This method of suffocating knowledge of other cultures and identity is not only self limiting, but is equated to truth-defying burning of the Bible and Quran by Georges Niangoran-Bouah (1991:82), who concludes that “He who destroys and burns the Bible cannot know the origins of Christianity. Similarly, he who burns the Quran has no access to an understanding of Islam.” This article argues that he who silences the drum walks away from knowledge and messages of hope and dialogue.

6 APPRECIATION OF THE DRUM

In Africa the drum speaks, and everybody hears. Like the church bells from high towers in the western world, it is a communicator of messages, some of them needing interpretation. Its centrality in both profane and religious ceremonies like weddings and the celebration of Mass respectively is as real in Africa as it is in the African Diaspora.

7 ON CHURCH BELLS

This section discusses the origin of the Sanctus bells in the Catholic Church in order to rationalise the liturgical inculturation of the drum for Mass in the history of the church in Africa.

The quotation below, which illustrates the significance and life journey of Sanctus bells, will be seen against the backdrop of the significance of a different object for worship with striking similarities with the bells. It will be argued that the significance of the drum in the Catholic Church has therefore a natural fit in African Catholicism and a place in the Catholic Church in the Diaspora.

The account of church bells demonstrates the choice and sanctification of an object of worship. It illustrates that bells actually have a history with the church and were not always a required part of the official rubrics of the Mass. The purpose and function of church bells is distinct and inseparable from being Church. They facilitate church celebration and create a joyful noise to the Lord as well as communication. Thus the bells speak a language which the church understands. Rung at different points before and during Mass, bells communicate different messages. They are rung at the consecration and presentation of the Eucharist to celebrate the incarnation and

resurrection of Jesus Christ and to encourage the world to break forth in praise of the living Christ. This celebration involves a community which acknowledges that something divine and miraculous is taking place inside the church building and in their lives. Ringing bells are virtually meaningless unless they are able to communicate a message which is acknowledged by the community in a way that changes lives and attitudes, a message of love of God and neighbour which brings healing and wholeness. It is when church bells speak liberty to those in the centre and margins that they cease to make a deafening noise to passers by. When the Church in Africa understands the church bells in this manner, they do not simply make a noise but, like the drum, speak messages of life and freedom from the fetters and bonds that limit the image of God in them. Thus, it is around the Eucharist table that the image of the church as family is acknowledged.

Sanctus Bells (Adoremus Bulletin 2005),

The use of bells in the Church dates back to the fifth century, when Saint Paulinus, the Bishop of Nola, introduced them as a means to summon monks to worship. In the seventh century Pope Sabinianus approved the use of bells to call the faithful to the Mass ... By the ninth century the use of bells had spread to even the small parish churches of the western Roman Empire. It wasn't until the thirteenth century that outdoor tower bells began to be rung as "Sanctus bells" during the Mass. It is interesting to note that tower bells are still used today as Sanctus bells at the Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican and a great many other historic churches and cathedrals. A close look at many of these older structures will often reveal a series of sighting holes (and sometimes mirrors) that were once used by bell-ringers to monitor the celebration of the Mass from bell-lofts so that the bells could be rung at the proper time ... These tower bells were rung at the consecration and presentation of the Eucharist. First and foremost, the Sanctus bells were rung during the Mass to create a joyful noise (often in conjunction with select musical instruments such as the lyre) to the Lord as described in Psalm 98:4: Make a joyful noise to the Lord,

all the earth; break forth into joyous song and sing praises! The practice of ringing bells to create a joyful noise for the Lord during the Mass is based to some degree on the use of tintinnabula (or tiny bells) or crotal bells that were a part of ancient Judaic worship.

Ringing the bells also gave notice to those unable to attend the Mass (the sick, slaves, outside guards, etc.) that something divine and miraculous was taking place inside of the church building. The voice of the bell would allow people to stop what they were doing to offer an act of adoration to God. Additionally, the bells helped to focus the attention of the faithful inside the church on the miracle that was taking place on the altar of sacrifice. Eventually, handheld bells, sanctuary-based chimes and sacring rings or “Gloria wheels” (commonly used in Spain and during the Mission Period in Alta California) began to replace the tower bells rung during Mass – largely for convenience.

Nearly 350 years after the introduction of the Sanctus bells rung during the Liturgy, the Council of Trent (1545-1563) formally mandated their use during the celebration of the Mass. Thus for the first time the use of the bells became a required part of the official rubrics of the Mass. Ringing the bells is still required for the “Tridentine” Mass; though the practice was made optional when the post-Conciliar Missal was promulgated by Pope Paul VI in 1969.

8 DRUMS AND CHURCH BELLS

Should the church be concerned when celebration is marked and guided by the drum or the ringing bells? This article argues that there is virtually no contradiction presented by either the drum or bells as used for Christian religious rituals and worship. It is also hoped that this outline will shed some light into cross-cultural threads with great potential to divide or to construct the cultural bridges much needed in the twenty-first globalised world of migration of people with their cultures.

In his study of the talking drum, Georges Niangoran-Bouah explores how the talking drum, a traditional African instrument of

liturgy and mediation with the sacred, is employed by the Akan people of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire for communal living and effective communication with the living and the living-dead. He equates the power of the Bible and the Quran to build and keep a community together with the vocation of the drum. Niangoran-Bouah (1991:92) argues:

The drum is a tool and an appropriate instrument of knowledge which for a long time was considered as not accessible to the universe of African traditional beliefs. The discourse of the drum, unchangeable and conventional, is not a discourse of an isolated wise man, but a real ideology of several thousand years which the memory of a whole people preserves with piety from generation to generation.

He adds that It is through the drum that people of culture express themselves. The drum in most African contexts speaks not in monosyllables, but languages that diverse people hear and fully understand. The drum is also a memory, and a memorised text. It is sacred because it communicates vital messages with God, deities, ancestors, spirits and the community of the living at marriages, funerals, enthroning of chiefs, at feasts, other rituals and when the Eucharist is celebrated, and the drummers are sacred practitioners in their own right (Niangoran-Bouah 1991:87). Thus the drum is more than a musical instrument or an object; it has symbolic meaning associated with culture, community building and memory of events and it expresses the sacred.

9 SACRED DANCE

Sarpong argues that all religious activity is designed to achieve some kind of union between the divine and the human, and that all symbols, gestures, and rites employed for this purpose have a "sacramental" character (Sarpong 1979:3). This makes dance a sacrament and an external sign of encounter with God. Thus, most African rituals that employ the drum are accompanied by dance. The dances are directed by the rhythmic message of the drum and therefore vary accordingly. Sacred dances are not always solemn but

range from serious war dances, to possession dances and jubilant dances, jubilant moves, recreational dances and celebratory dances such as the dance of the Shona Roman Catholic feast, Holy Mass or *Misa Sande* in *Shona*.

Although everyone can move their feet in rhythmic patterns guided by the drum, the gift of dancing is special. Writing about her own gift of sacred dance passed down from her African and Native American ancestors, Baker describes sacred movement as an 'innate' cultural inheritance thus (Baker-Fletcher 2006:44):

My lineage is that of two strong cultures – African American and Native American. Both are guaranteed in histories that used celebrated movements to first worship our supreme creator, and secondly to give honor to the people and things that our supreme creator created for co-existence.

This distinguishes sacred dancers from commercial performing artists whose dancing skills are neither passed on from ancestors through the genes nor by social or legal means for the purposes of creating a union between the divine and the human (Sarpong 1979:3).

A celebrating church in Africa can neither ridicule the "Asante dance narratives", the spirit dances of Chewa, *Nyau* dance; Ndebele, *Ndhlozi* dances; the Shona *Bira* dances or the indigenous party dances, Zezuru, *Jerusarema* and Karanga, *Shangara* dance, nor circumvent them. Consciously or unconsciously, the African dancers will celebrate Catholic Mass as Africans. The Catholic Church in Africa has made strides in enculturing the Gospel since the Vatican II. The second Vatican Council discussed the relationship of the church with other great religions and opened the way for new dialogue on deeper understanding and respect. Obeng (2000:385) illustrates how the Roman Catholic Church has appropriated African traditional dances into the Church's liturgy. A contrast of the old and new roles of women dancers and singers has not created tension for the Catholic Church's inclusive search of truth with others. Catholic Mass across Africa is therefore marked by indigenous ritual and recreational acts of singing and dancing (Obeng 2000:380).

When the cultural relevance of African dance for translating the mysteries of the church is illustrated out of Africa by Christians living in the Diaspora (as in the St Gregory Shona Mass), dance as an

integral part of African life (Obeng 2000:380) is even more vividly highlighted. Through this meta-language, Africans live, reflect on life, and communicate with one another and with the spirit world (Obeng 2000:380) well beyond borders.

10 MIGRATING CHURCH

The unprecedented upsurge in the number of African migrants into Western Europe and North America during the last decade heralds a new phase in the history of African Diaspora noted by Zeleza, (2002:9-14). The rationale for this upsurge lies in the rapid processes of economic, demographic, social, political, cultural and environmental change which arose from decolonisation, modernisation and uneven development, according to the research by Castles and Miller (1998:152). Although many scholars unanimously agree that the global village built at the cost of culturally uprooted people is a scandal, Teresa Okure (2001:73) argues that if the uprooted people carry their cultures with them and cherish them, keeping their languages and customs in their new homes and characters, the global village itself may discover that it has not actually destroyed the cultures, but only changed their locations. By celebrating mass in *Shona*, the Catholic Church in Bearwood therefore represents Okure's vision and mission of a migrating church. Thus, a reflection of the purpose of the drum and dances in the celebration of Mass in *Shona* out of MaShonaland is a deliberate dialogical tool in the politics of negotiating ritual space and homely places in the Diaspora.

11 ST GREGORY SHONA CHURCH

The argument that immigration is changing the face of Catholicism across Britain has led religious analysts to conclude that Roman Catholicism is set to become the dominant religion in Britain for the first time since the Reformation because of massive migration from Catholic countries across the world (Gledhill:2007).

11.1 A dancing church

At the heart of the second largest city in England, African Catholics worshippers are united in joyful communal prayer with the drum guiding their music and dance steps.

When the drum speaks from the English suburb of Bearwood, not at a once-off “Summer Zim-Expo” played by professional drummers and dancers entertaining a curious audience, typical of the commercialised cultural performances for tourist dinners in African resorts, but every Sunday at noon when the spirit-filled people of faith caress, thumb and drum deep spiritual themes in celebration of the risen Christ, who became flesh and now indwells African believers gathered in this European cathedral, the effort behind such a change must be acknowledged. The role, function and import of religious symbiotic system in new geo-cultural contexts must be analysed.

Dance, therefore becomes a dialogical invitation and a bold step towards acculturation of African communities striving to integrate with receiving communities in the Diaspora. Thus, a combination of “verbal art” and artful dance gestures provides interactional resources during which profound statements are made by individuals and groups for whom linguistic barriers are often formidable divides. Dance therefore creates opportunities for dialogue rather than “straight-line logic, plain talk” because it is not an avoidance strategy but a tolerant avenue to address issues in the open using alternative methods (Blakely 1994:438).

The *Shona* Mass at Our Lady of Good Council & St Gregory Church, Birmingham, serves to illustrate the liturgical revolution that the African Catholic Church has undergone and to highlight some unique African cultural expressions of worship capable of creating the familiar feeling of home far from home without dividing the church for African Catholics living in England. This is an African Christian community in Birmingham which pays close attention to African religious resources like the drum, song and dance to create an integral and diverse community that celebrates the risen Christ of culture in the diaspora.

11.2 Hopeful messages

The pull factors to Our Lady of Good Counsel and St Gregory Church for many documented and undocumented migrants, refugees and asylum seekers across generations go well beyond the music and dance. The Dancing Church prophesies on its feet, bringing life and

meaning to liturgies said in vernacular languages, familiarising foreign terrain with African symbols and creating not only a home where the immigrant can safely belong, but havens of meaningful cultural exchanges and dialogue. This larger sense of belonging and community starts with a celebration of Mass in a way that restores dignity to those alienated from their socio-political terrains. When believers feel important and valued in this close community, it fosters security and satisfaction in them. Thus, the Catholic religious identity of the uniformed Catholic women's guilds, *Nzanga yaMaria*, and the Catholic men's groups, *Nzanga yaJosefa*, as well as the young Catholic African boys and girls, all get personal attention which helps them find themselves in places beyond borders where they would ordinarily struggle to belong. These groups serve as social welfare programmes within the Diaspora and as new beginnings sending hopeful messages for themselves and generations in the future. Thus, while they write hopeful theologies with their bodies in song and dance, they also serve as socialising agents and therapeutic clinics for fellow immigrants in acute need of soul care in the face of escalating xenophobic tensions and discrimination (Adogame 2005:498-499).

Hopeful lessons can easily be drawn from the correlation between the Catholic Church's enculturation drive and its fight for racial justice in Rhodesia during the early 1970s. The Rhodesian Catholic Church of the 1970s promoted Christian African consciousness and enculturation which led Catholic bishops, priests, and nuns to take a stand against the Rhodesian settler government by challenging and condemning the colonial government policies of white supremacy (a legacy that the Zimbabwean Catholic Church inherited), and guided its condemnation of ethnic, racial and political abuses, making it the watchdog for democracy in Zimbabwe to date. Based on this positive history of the Catholic Church towards cultures, dignity and justice, drumming away the socio-political spiritual blues at St Gregory during the *Shona* Mass is a hopeful invitation to be a church that knows God and loves its neighbour (1 John 4: 7-27, NRSV).

Judith Berling (2004:112) challenges the churches to take dialogue beyond the classroom and argues that theological learning "begins and ends with living religions: that is, it begins with Christians seeking to enhance understanding of Christian tradition and ends

with Christians reappointing that tradition in light of what is learned" (Berling 2004:133).

12 CONCLUSION

A closer look at the membership of this and other African churches in the Diaspora that display a significant model of African Christianity in the way they organise themselves with features emanating from both their new contexts and their African heritage (Adogame 2005:508) portray a fragmented Body of Christ. There is a predominantly African membership in these churches despite their location in predominantly white neighbourhoods. Just like the Catholic Church in colonial Rhodesia, the Church in England still has a dual mandate. It is still divided along racial and ethnic lines. With the cross-cultural appeal missing (Adogame 2005:505), church cannot be fully Church. The challenge facing St Gregory parish as well as other parishes with the same African, Caribbean, Polish or other Diaspora emphasis is therefore how to engender a cross-cultural appeal.

WORKS CONSULTED

Adogame, A 2005. African communities in the Diaspora, in Kalu, U O (ed.), *African Christianity: An African story*, 494-515. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Adoremus Bulletin, Online Edition – March 2005, Vol. XI, No. 1. Available: <http://www.adoremus.org/0305SanctusBells.html>.

Baker-Fletcher, K 2006. *Dancing with God: The Trinity from a womanist perspective*. St Louis: Chalice.

Beach, N D 1994. *The Shona and their neighbours*. Oxford:Blackwell.

Berling, A J 2004. *Understanding other religious worlds: A guide for interreligious education*. Maryknoll: Orbis.

Blakely, D T, Van Beek W & Thomson L D (eds) 1994. *Religion in Africa: Experience and expressions*. London: Heinemann.

- Castles, S & Miller M J 1998. *The age of migration*. London: Macmillan.
- Cleary M N 1999. African inculturation of the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe, 1958-1977. *The Historian* 61(4), 765-782.
- Dachs A J & Rea W F 1979. *The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe, 1879-1979*. Gwelo: Mambo.
- Fiorenza E S 1994. *In memory of her: A feminist theological reconstruction of Christian origins*. New York: Crossroads.
- Gibellini, R 1994. *Paths of African Theology*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.
- Gledhill, R 2007. Catholics set to pass Anglicans as leading UK church. *The Times Online*. Available: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/article1386939.ece>. Accessed: 15 February 2007.
- Kalu U O 2005. *African Christianity: An African story*, Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Kwok, P-L 2005. *Post colonial imagination and feminist theology*. Louisville: John Knox.
- Niangoran-Bouah G 1991. The talking drum: A traditional African instrument of liturgy and of mediation with the sacred, in Olupona, K J (ed.), *African traditional religions in contemporary society*, 81-92. St. Paul: Paragon.
- Njoku, A C 2005. The missionary factor in African Christianity, 1884-1914, in Kalu, O (ed.), *African Christianity: An African story*, 218-257. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Obeng, P 2000. Asante Catholicism: An African appropriation of the Roman Catholic religion, in Olupona, K J (ed.) *African spirituality; Forms, meaning, and expressions*, 372-400. New York: Crossroads.

- Okure, T 2001. Africa: Globalization and the loss of cultural identity, in Sobrino, J & Wilfred, F (ed.), *Globalization and its victims*, 67-74. London: SCM.
- Parratt J (ed.) 1987. *Reader in African Christian theology: Essays on theological method, doctrine and the role of the church in the world*. London: SPCK.
- Sarpong, P 1988. African theology: A simple description. Accra, Ghana: Cabo.
- Uzukwu, E E 1994. Inculcation and the liturgy (Eucharist), in Gibellini, R (ed.), *Paths of African Theology*, 95-114. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.
- Uzukwu, E E 1996. *A listening church: Autonomy and communion in African churches*. Maryknoll:Orbis.
- Zeleza, P T 2002. Contemporary African migrants in a global context. *African Issues*, 30(1), 9-14.
- Zvobgo J M 1996. *A history of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890-1939*. Gweru: Mambo Press.