

A Re-appraisal of the Prosperity Gospel in African NeoPentecostalism:

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ABSTRACT

The role of African NeoPentecostalism in effecting modernity through its widespread
³ S U R V S H U L e n a i n s R o o s h u s e S c h o l a r s h a v e p e r s i s t e n t l y i n v o k e d : H E H P r o t e s t a n t
Ethic; yet findings reveal the prosperity gospel in Africa challenges dominant conceptualizations
of modernity. On one hand, the phenomenon inspires entrepreneurship and individual autonomy.
On the other hand, so-called ³ H Q F K D o m e s t i c P r o s p e r i t y r e f u t e : H E H U ¶ V d a n n o W U D O
modern societies. Does the e ¨ † % % c ' 6 % (y ` 4 R † “ á # E (y Ã î . à O Ô î ð • N ! ö | î) ã ã • ! ü N á . P > ± \$ T ± h ±

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

But for the grace of Christ, this work would not have been materialised. To Him be Glory!

My heart

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into two: Classical Pentecostal Churches and Neo-Pentecostal (or Charismatic) Churches. Even though differences between them

Whereas Pentecostalism in its classical form was characterized by a retreat from the world or an anti-worldly stance, Neo-Pentecostalism is characterized by a focus on the success of adherents in this life time (Soothill 2007: 37).

Thus, the recurrent emphases among Neo-Pentecostal adherents are the emphasis on material progress in life, here and now. In this study, I use the term 'Neo-Pentecostalism' to embrace the various new Charismatic churches in Sub-Saharan Africa which do not fall under the description of Classical Pentecostal Churches by virtue of their strong emphasis on individual material progress in life, here and now.

In recent decades the global explosion of (Neo-) Pentecostal religiosity has caught scholarly attention, especially in its relation to development (Berger 2008; Ter Haar 2009), modernity (Martin 2002; Gifford 2016) and globalization (Wilkinson 2006). David Martin's Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish (2001:1) posits that one in eight Christians are

Much earlier David Maxwell (1998: 350) had found the growing influence of Pentecostalism and its prosperity gospel on capitalist attitudes and political activism in Zimbabwe. In the case of Zimbabwe, Maxwell (1998: 351) argues that modern Zimbabwean dominant values and institutions

But other scholars have been very sceptical of this positive affinity between Pentecostalism and the so-called dominant values of modernity. Chief amongst them is Paul Gifford. In *New Christianity: Pentecostalism in a Globalising African Economy*, Gifford argues, the claim that Charismatic or Neo-Pentecostal Churches of themselves or as such must be fostering socio-political reform has not been proved, at least in contemporary Africa (Gifford 2004: 197). Using Protestant ethics as a counterpoint, Gifford argues that the overemphasis on the miraculous and low valuation of work counters the work ethic needed for Ghana to join the modern world economy (Gifford 2004:197). A major exception is however presented in *Uganda's the VRF LDOO \ DQG SROLWLFDOO \ FRQVFL* W K H R O N s á O t a b i (Gifford 2004:113). Accordingly, Otabil presents a case for education, responsible leadership, productive entrepreneurship, and cultural transformation in Neo-Pentecostalism (ibid). But in *Uganda's the VRF LDOO \ DQG SROLWLFDOO \ FRQVFL*

development of modern capitalist systems, free market economy, science and technology functional differentiation and the primacy of reason (rationalization). African Neo-Pentecostalism, quite the reverse, challenges these dominant paradigms of modernity (Swidler 2013: 680). When discussing African realities it is apparent that the role of religion with respect to modernity is particularly complex and multifaceted (Swidler 2013: 681). Harvey Cox (2006: 21) affirms that, Pentecostals assert a remarkable interface between modern spiritual beliefs and practices (like exorcism with spirits of folk religion); while embracing features of modernity through their mass capitalist culture, which motivates members towards upward social mobility.

How then, does the practice of the prosperity gospel in Africa diverge from or converge with the dominant approaches of modernity, as inherited from classical sociological analysis (see : H E H U T V 3 U R W H C A N T H E S O C I A L I M P A C T O F T H E P R O S P E R I T Y G O S P E L A R T I C U L A T E S T R O N G A N T I M O D E R N O R A N T I W E S T E R N T H E M E S A N D Y E T R E M A I N D I S T I N C T I V E L Y M O D E R N. F O R S C H M U E L E I S E N S T A D T « the best way to understand the contemporary world is indeed to explain the history of modernity is to see it as a story of continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs' (Eisenstadt 2000: 2). Herein lies the definition of multiple modernities.

To that end, this essay aims to understand better, how religious movements and modernity are invariably shaped by their historical, social and cultural contexts within which they emerge. The overarching goal is to demonstrate that in African contexts, modernity is part of rather than antithetical to religion.

Research Questions

Three main questions are the driving focus of this essay:

- x What are the content(s), histories, and origin(s) of the prosperity gospel?

- x What are the key traits of the Protestant Ethic as discussed by Weber?
- x How does the practice of the prosperity gospel in Africa derive from or converge with dominant approaches of modernity as inherited from classical sociological analyses?

Theoretical Tools & Approach

This essay draws theoretical insights from the concept of 'multiple modernities', first developed by the Israeli sociologist Shmuel Eisenstadt. The essay challenges the assumption behind the central idea of development in the latter part of the 20th Century that former colonized states in the Global South are the place where nations earlier industrialized in the process (Rostow 1962). Classical sociological analyses of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, assumed that the cultural program of modernity as developed in Western Europe and the institutional patterns (e.g. a bureaucratic state, democracy, capitalism) emerged there would eventually follow in all modernizing and modern societies. The reality that has emerged after the early beginnings of modernity fails to bear out these assumptions. As Eisenstadt

While a general trend toward structural differentiation developed across a wide range of institutions in most of these societies in family life, economic and political structures, urbanization, modern education, mass communication, and individualistic orientations, the ways in which these arenas were defined and organized varied greatly, in different periods of their development, giving rise to multiple institutional and ideological patterns. Significantly, these patterns did not constitute simple continuations in the modern era of the traditions of their respective societies. Such patterns were distinctively modern, though greatly influenced by specific cultural premises, traditions, and historical experiences (Eisenstadt 2000: 1)

disenchantment or de-magicking of the world. The study interrogates analyses by scholars like Paul Gifford

equals fortune message. Proponents, on the other hand, prefer the terms Holistic Gospel Faith Gospel or Health and Wealth Gospel (Asamoah Gyadu 2005: 203). This essay uses the

Thought⁴, the prR V SHULW\ JRVSHO HPHUJHG LQ FRQYHUVDWLRQ ZL \$PHULFDQ JRVSHO RI SUDJPDWLVP LQ (Brouwer 2013: 11)VP DQC (VVHQWLDO WR %RZOHU¶V QDUUDWLYH LV WKH IlistXUH RI (ZKR UHMHFWHG 1HZ 7KRXJKW \HW DSSURSULDWHG LWV ³IRF that Christians could look to the cross not as a promise of things to come, but as a guarantee of benefits already JUDQWHG´ %RZOHU Q¶V WK(H:RO Repelido On JDF\ the prosperity gospel in 20th century America (Anderson 2014: 65). Other figures including Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, Gordon Lindsay, and A. A. Allen advanced the concept of a materially efficacious faith as part of the prosperity gospel. Kenneth Hagin (1973), for example, was said to have received a revelation in 1934 on the biblical text Mark 11: 22ff, and emphasized that ³SUD\HU IRU KHDOWK DQG ZHDOWK LV LQIDOOLEH Hagin DQVZHU established the Rhema Bible College and mentored other prosperity preachers including Kenneth Copeland, Benny Hinn, and Joel Osteen

The American type prosperity gospel emerged in a period described by the New Testament Scholar, Dan Liroy (2007: DV ³WKH GD\ V ZKHQ OLYLQJ VWDQGDUGV Z VXFFHVV WKURXJK D SRVLWLYH PHQWDO DWLWXGH´ ZD superabundance where the craving for material rewards became a fatal addiction for which there was no cXUH´ %RQN For Brouwer et al (1996: 2)the popularization of the prosperity gospel in America was intertwined with the homogenizing influences of consumerism, mass communication, and productiont was a period when³GHVLUH REWDLEOH D OH FRQVWUXFWLYH IRUFH WKDW VKRXOG >DOZD\@ ILQG IXOI

203). Over time, the doctrine turned an axial moment with the globalization of Pentecostal Christianity (Coleman 2000: 49). Inspirational books, pamphlets, audio tapes, and televangelism of American prosperity preachers were accessed by African NeoPentecostal preachers, particularly in Nigeria and Ghana.

But in Africa, the prosperity gospel emerged in situations of poverty (Togarasei 2011), among struggling economies (Gifford 2004), and argue, in conversation with the indigenous socio-cultural milieu.

African Trajectories

One of the earliest promoters of the prosperity gospel in Africa was the late Nigerian Archbishop, Benson Idahosa (Anderson 2004: 66

can be attributed to (1) ³ WKH EDVLF IHDU RI PDOHYROHQW IRUFHV > address them (2) D G H S H Q G H Q F H R O O W K L H Q W S I D B S I K E H I O T F V @ of God will remain upon adherents, so long as they remain faithful [to God, to the church, and to WKH S U R S K H W @ ' / D n a l y a d h e r e n t s o f t h i s P e n t e c o s t a l s t r e a m , t h e p r o s p e r i t y gospel is enacted. WKURXJK WKH SULQFLS (Asamoah Gyadu 2013: 8). D Q G U H D S I

Principles of the Prosperity Gospel

In keeping with prosperity African Neo-Pentecostals assert three main principles: hard work, prayer and giving (Asamoah Gyadu 2013: 79-80; Togasei 2011: 340). In Zimbabwe and Botswana, Lovemore Togasei (2011: 340) found that N E H Q W H F R V W D O V D U H ³ W D X J K D Q G V I R U H e r e , a d h e r e n t s a r e e n c o u r a g e d t o e n g a g e i n p r o f i t a b l e v e n t u r e s o r a c t i v i t i e s in the midst of the choices or resources available to them. David Maxwell also observed that adherents of Zimbabwe Assemblies of God, Africa (ZAOGA) engage in petty trading or small scale enterprises, which describes a V ³ S H Q Q \ F D S L W I D G O L O P W o d s t u f f s a n d clothes initially within the religious community but later outside it, to facilitate the expansion of that community. O D [Z H O O F L W H G . L Q O D U W L Q

But hard work alone does not yield prosperity. The practical outworking of the prosperity gospel includes various forms of giving: offering, tithes, and gifts to men and women of God termed sowing and reaping (Asamoah Gyadu 2013: 8). Sowing and reaping comprises the giving RI P R Q H \ O D Q G F D U V W L P H D E L O L W L (Evangelicalism, Rev. Dr. G. M. B. S. V S R V D Q G F K X U F K S U R M H F W In expectation of divine blessing. Thus, Pentecostal giving, Asamoah Gyadu (ibid) argues is U H F L S U R F D O D Q G a d h e r e n t s a r e e n c o u r a g e d t o expect appropriate redemptive uplift (e.g. money, jobs, promotions, good health, and breakthroughs) from God where giving obligations are faithfully fulfilled.

Neo-Pentecostals also engage in prayer

since they command a rich culture and history and have exerted influence in African religions and African philosophical writings (

Overall, the search for prosperity among African New Pentecostals begins in the repertory of the African sociocultural concepts, where real and effective spiritual power is translated into the material or physical world (Marshall 2009: 17). It is within these African cultural concepts of well-being (yiedie), dualistic view of life (nkwa), and

Chapter 3

The Prosperity Gospel versus the Protestant Ethic

Introduction

3 H W H U % H U J H U L G H Q W L I L H V I R X U D S S T H R D F K H V

Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism. The first approach, explored by scholars like R.H. 7 D Z Q H \ L V W R H [D P L Q H W K H Y D O L G L W \ R I : H E H U ¶ V K L V W R U

works of Antonio Gramsci, is to place the essay in a larger context of a debate with Karl Marx on the role of ideas in the processes of social change. The third approach is to treat the Protestant Ethic as a sociologically inspired philosophy of history, in terms of unintended consequences of action. The fourth, Berger's V F K R L F H L V D P R U H S U D F W L F D O D Q G H P S L U

notion of Protestant Ethic inspires understanding of new developments in the world today (Berger 2010: 3).

This chapter follows the latter line of inquiry by comparing the Prosperity Gospel in African contexts Z L W K : H E H U ¶ V 3 U N T W E P K O S D Q E t h i c W e b e r .

Unruh (1995) argues that the religious ideas of 17th and 18th Century Protestants in parts of Europe played a role in creating the modern capitalistic spirit: one that saw profit and material success as an end in itself (Weber 1930: xi). Peter Berger (2010), David Maxwell (1998), and David Martin (2002) argue that 3 H Q W H F R V W D O L V P Z L W K L W V S U R V S H U L W \ J R V S H O U H S O L

Pentecostalism fosters a modernising work ethic by encouraging capitalist entrepreneurship, upward social mobility and economic development (Berger 2008: 56; Martin 2002: 152). Critics view prosperity gospel as an impetus for delusion (Dada 2004: 95; Gifford 2016). Their main objection is that the prosperity gospel in Africa, places emphasis on spiritual forces D Q G I R V W H U V D Q 3 H Q F K D Q W H G U H O L J L R X V L P D J L Q D W L R C

underpinning modernity (Gifford 2016: 55).

The aim of this chapter is to critically compare the key concepts of the prosperity gospel as discussed in the earlier chapters with the practice of the prosperity gospel as discussed in the earlier chapters. It can be argued that the prosperity gospel is characterized by the accumulation, conspicuous consumption, and enchanted imagination. On the other hand, the prosperity gospel also emphasizes the importance of individual autonomy.

The Weberian Thesis

Max Weber used the expression *the Protestant Ethic* to advance his argument that Protestants, in contrast to Catholics, were keener to emphasize hard work, thrift, the value of time, and a disciplined lifestyle. Using figures gathered from his contemporaries like W. Sombart (1913), Lujo Bretano (1916), and Martin Offbacher (1901), Weber observed

A glance at the occupational statistics of any country of mixed religious composition brings WR OLJKW ZLWK UHPDUNDEOH IUHTXHQF\ « WKH IDFW WKD capital as well as the higher grades of skilled labour, and even more the higher technically and commercially trained personnel of modern enterprises, are overwhelmingly ProteWDQW « %XW DPRQJ WKH &DWKROLF JUDGXDW percentage of those graduating from the institutions preparing, in particular, for technical VWXGLHV DQG LQG XVULDO DQG FRPPHUFLO RFFXSDWLRQV farther behind the percentage of 4500(g)11(e -04C>-49(i)-01.04C00580056>9<-04C4057>-456004.54 v9

as he is ac

The English Puritan, Matthew Perkins, simila

Protestants to embrace what Weber calls 'the Protestant ethic', to demonstrate their conviction of being part of the elect by living a life of systematic asceticism, not losing sight of the inexorable alternative: 'the elect or damned'. Weber writes: 'The Protestant ethic is a life of systematic asceticism, not losing sight of the inexorable alternative: the elect or damned' (Weber 1930: 104).

Two developments occurred with Calvinism. First, it became obligatory to regard oneself as predestined. The accumulation of good works in worldly activities like business entrepreneurship became accepted as the medium whereby such surety could be demonstrated (Weber 1930: 104).

Luther & Calvin: The Spirit of Modern Capitalism

From the theological ideas of Luther and Calvin, the spirit of Western Capitalism emerged. This was a capitalistic activity (cited in Weber 1930: xi). Thus the Protestant Ethic discussed by Weber became associated with Western historicity along with its capitalistic activities. The accumulation of wealth was morally justified in so far as it was combined with sober, industriousness and self-indulgence (ibid).

In t

varying degrees. But it was the Calvinists, Weber (1930: 179) argued, that broke down the traditional economic system paving the way for modern capitalism

Peter Berger aptly summarises the four key behavioural traits of Protestants of the 17th Century that inspired modernity and development:

- x a disciplined attitude to work (not just hard work, which one finds in many Protestant places, but what Weber understood as the rationalization of work)
- x an equally disciplined attitude to other spheres of social life, notably the family (Weber's concept of life-discipline)
- x a deferral of instant consumption, resulting in saving and, eventually, capital accumulation and investment
- x a sense of duty and responsibility (cited in Berger 2010: 4)

Heber's concept of rationalization

Much earlier, Weber famously coined the term *die Entzauberung* which translates as 'disenchantment' or 'demythologization'. In this lecture, Weber described the disenchantment or more literally 'magic-removal' of the world (die Entzauberung der Welt). He argued that in pre-modern societies, people had recourse to magical means in order to master or imitate spirits, as did the savage, for whom the world was full of magic. In modern societies, however, the world has become rationalized (die Entzauberung der Welt). This process of rationalization (in which spontaneous human action is replaced by instrumental rationality and bureaucratic structures) and intellectualization (which involves the prioritization of technical modes of thinking).

Weber's theory of rationalization is central to his explanation of the rise of modern states and modern capitalist economies. Although he posited a positive role for

Protestant Christianity in the development of Western Capitalism, Weber also suggested that other religions such as Hinduism, hindered economic and technological revolution, not because their

beliefs and practices posed insuperable obstacles, but because they infused the whole society with

D 3 V S L U L W ' W K D W Z D V Q R W F R Q G X F L Y H W R H F R Q H E H L U F W U D

this thesis was controversial, yet many development theorists and contemporary sociologists accept

and HFRQRPLF V\ VWHP ³WKH JUHDWHVW QHHG LV WKH GHY
VWUXFWXUHV V\ VWHPV SURFHGXUHV DQG LQVWLWXWLRQV

* LIIRUG ¶ V VWXGLHV UHMHFV- vultwkehereteadia vlcsed, RI \$IU LF
to the modern discourse. As stated earlier, the African type prosperity gospel exhibits a
discontinuity with the American version. D Q G Z L W K : H E H U ¶ Vin the Rims He W D Q W (W
anchored in the African primal world view; thus, in the Akan cultural concepts of wellbeing
(yiedie)

K H D O H G F R M S O H H W P O I t, some Pentecostal groups like the Intercessors for Africa, perceive the activities of territorial spirits' D V K D P S H U L Q J t e G A F R I C A O R S I P e n t Q W R I

In spite of the emphasis on spiritual forces, Togarasei (2011) found that Pentecostals encourage hard work on the part of believers if they are to escape poverty. Unlike Gifford Togarasei (2011) found that: (1) teachings on entrepreneurship by prosperity preachers motivate Neo-Pentecostals to start their own businesses like poultry farming and candle making in Botswana; (2) the prosperity gospel creates employment opportunities as churches recruit their members for their building projects (e.g. church auditoriums, administrative works, and media broadcasting crews); (3) the element of giving in the prosperity gospel enables Neo-Pentecostals to respond to the needs of the less privileged in society; (4) prosperity gospel contributes to a positive mindset that addresses structures of mediocrity, achievement and backwardness in Africa (Togarasei 2011: 344).

Da Y L G O D [Z H O O L Q K i e v f r o m t h e S P I R I T o f P o v e r t y P e n t e c o s t a l i s m , 3 U R V S H U L W \ D Q G O R G H U Q L W \ L Q = L P E D E Z H ' D O V R I R F X V H g o s p e l p r o p o u n d e d b y t h e Z i m b a b w e A s s e m b l i e s o f G o d , A f r i c a (Z A O G A) . A c c o r d i n g t o M a x w e l l (1 9 9 8 : 3 5 1) Z K L O H = 2 \$ * \$ ¶ V O H D G H U V K L S G R G U D Z X S R Q Y D S U R V S H U L W \ J R V S H O W R O H J L W L P L] [Z A O G A ¶ ¶ W h e n t h e f i n a n c i a l V L Y H D p r o s p e r i t y t e a c h i n g s h a v e a r i s e n f r o m p r e d o m i n a n t l y s o u t h e r n A f r i c a n c o u n t r i e s a n d a r e s h a p e d b y = L P E D E Z H D Q F R Q F H U Q V ' % D V H G R Q R Y H U D \ H D U ¶ V H W K Q I R X Q G W K D W W K H S U R V S H U L W \ J R V S H O S U R Y L G H V D P H D Q V r a p i d s o c i a l c h a n g e , t o e n g e n d e r s o c i a l m o b i l i t y t o p r o v i d e a c o d e o f c o n d u c t w h i c h g u a r d s t h e m (P e n t e c o s t a l s) f r o m f a l l i n g i n t o p o v e r t y a n d d e s t i t u t i o n , t o c o m e t o t e r m s w i t h , a n d b e n e f i t t i n g I U R P P R G H U Q L W L H V ¶ G R P L Q D Q W Y D O X H V D Q G L Q V W L W X W I

Chapter 4

3URVSHULW\ *RVSHO)URP 3ORGHUQLW\` WR 3OXOWL

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the concept of modernity as inherited from classical sociological analyses. My concern is not to give a comprehensive account of the development of the term, but rather to focus on : H E H U ¶ V X Q G H U O \ L Q J W K The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism predicted that the development of western capitalism as a historical process (rationalization, bureaucratization, and intellectualization) would lead to the disenchantment (Die Entzauberung) of the modern world (Weber 1930: 2-27; Larrain 2000: 13). The question as to what extent 3 H Q W H F R V W D O L V P K D predicted is the focus of this essay. ¶ V

Instead, this chapter will show that dominant conceptualizations of modernity, as expressed by : H E H Protestant Ethic legitimizes worldviews of Western historicity and frameworks, while discounting alternative hypotheses of modernity based on socio-cultural frameworks of non-Western societies.

autobiographical statements. The development from a city to a metropolis in the years around and after the turn of the century coincides with my own strongest. (cited in Frisby 1992: 19).

In *The Philosophy of Money*, Simmel (1978 [1900]) society is experienced in two modes: the metropolis and 'money' (Frisby 1985: 1). He sought its exchange values and effects upon the vitality of individuals, [and] upon the modern imaginary was the replacement of the barter system with money as the principal medium of economic exchange (Frisby 1990: 60ff). Money, Simmel argues, ushered into the metropolis, instrumentality and a calculative view of the world. The preconditions for the modern economy are found in the depersonalizing norms of calculation efficiency that stimulates a view of the world as 'problems having definite solutions' cited in Scaff 2003). Simmel (1903: 12) elucidates certain sociopsychological features of modern cities: individuals are removed from the rational and calculative.

and the labor time of the workers (cited in Ritzer 2011: 56) Capitalism, for Marx, instigates alienation, exploitation and oppression both economic and non-economic phenomena (e.g. religion) are commoditized (Giddens 1971: 1-13). This commoditization in modern societies promotes rationalization of social relationships and individualism (Kellner 2003).

Emile Durkheim, in his famous work *The Division of Labour* (1893), also argued that modern societies are generally held together by what he calls organic solidarity. D I R U P R I V R F L D
FRKHVLRQ EDVHG RQ WKH GLIIHUHQFHV DPRQJ WKH PHPEHU
in Robertson 1989: 319. For Durkheim,

that renders human understanding of the natural world a calculable phenomenon (Scaff 2014: 142).

To sum up, the concept of modernity explored above, arguably reflects an intellectual framework that has been shaped primarily by the historical and social conditions of the West,

hence it makes more sense to speak of modernity in

Consequently, the search for a power to counter evil forces in the spiritual world which impede the full enjoyment of human life, is apparently the guiding principle behind religiosity in Africa.

0 D [\$ V V L P H Q J D L L U W P K H V S Q W U H R I W K H \$ I U L F D Q T V F R Q F H S
reckoned with, one cannot claim that one is studying the religious consciousness of the traditional
S H R S O H V R I : H V W \$ I U L F D ' \$ V V L P H Q J

With the influence of European Colonial and Christian mission, some scholars of religion dismiss these elements of a spiritual world in African indigenous contexts and use prejudicial terms like 'superstition' and 'primitive religion' (Ter Haar 2009: 1). Such categorisations by scholars occur because of their continuous reliance on a Western Christocentric paradigm. For example, scholars like Inge Dilling (1996) and others (Ter Haar 2009: 1) use the reason, intellectual antecedents of modernity and secularization often measure religion in terms of church attendance and dominance of belief, while indicating the separation of church and state, a secular self-identification, and low rates of church attendance as key features of secularization (Wallace 1966; Wilson 1966). Religion is constituting a continuous relationship between an invisible world of spirits and the material world of human existence hardly identified in such analytics of modernity and secularization. But this is the very framework upon which African Pentecostalism is built. It is problematic in this regard if analytics of religion and modernity in non-Western contexts are modelled only after Western Christocentric frameworks and histories.

The African religious imagination explained above is nevertheless not exclusive to Africa.
7 H U + D D U Q R W H V R I D V L P L O D U I H D W X U H Z L W K & L F H
F R Q V W L W X W H G ³ F R Q W L Q X R X V U H Y H O D W R U \ P H V V D J H V V H Q
Robert Bellah (2006: 110) elucidates a similar point when he writes that in ancient Greece, religion

2002, Bjorn Wittrock 2005) with a variety of interpretations from societies wherein modernity is explained as a process of social differentiation. As explained above, classical sociologists have assumed that structural differentiation and the growth of capitalism, bureaucracy and liberal democracy will naturally be accompanied by individualism, rationalization and a secular worldview (Fourie 2012: 54).

Multiple modernity theorists, despite their differences, take particular exception. They

analyses of the prosperity gospel and modernity brings to the fore a so-called enchanted religious imagination combined with functional rationality in the name of multiple modernities. As

Massimo Rosati & Kristina Stoeckl (2012: 2) affirm:

ZKHUHDV WKH ZHVWHUQ SURJUDP RI PRGHUQLW\ +WID FOXGHV
its functional differentiation, privatization of religion, and decline of religious beliefs (Casanova 2011) +modernization in non-Western settings often incorporates or even thrives on religion rather than excluding or diminishing it (Rosati & Stoeckl 2012: 2).

Rather than secularising or westernizing the modernization process, merging and evolving connections of cultural elements and modernity can provide a common ground for an adequate

complement them in ways that can help individuals to not only understand and describe their lifeworlds, but improve their well-being.

References

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Religion and Poverty: Pa Afri-129cean Plividuaf

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&DUH LQ \$IULFD' 7ULQLW\ -RXUQDO RI &KXUFK DQG 7
15.

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