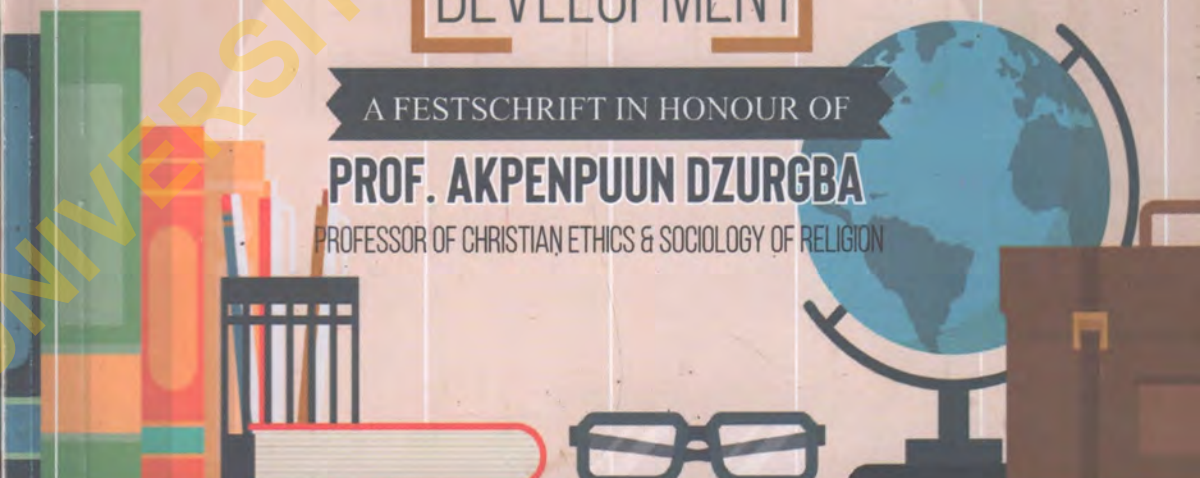




RELIGION,  
**ETHICS &**  
DEVELOPMENT

A Festschrift in Honour of  
**Prof. Akpenpuun Dzugba**  
Professor of Christian Ethics & Sociology of Religion



EDITED BY **J.K. AYANTAYO**

**RELIGION, ETHICS AND DEVELOPMENT;**  
A FESTSCHRIFT IN HONOUR OF PROFESSOR AKPENPUUN DZURGBA

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## Table of Contents

<i>Contents</i>	
<i>Preface</i>	
<i>Dedication</i>	
Chapter 1: The Autobiography of Professor Akenpuun Dzurgba: A personal account	1
Chapter 2: Religious Ethics as an area of specialization in Religious Studies - <i>Jacob Kehinde Ayantayo</i>	6
Chapter 3: Sociology of Religion as an area of specialization in Religious Studies - <i>Jacob Kehinde Ayantayo (Ph.D) and Gloria Njideka Ayantayo</i>	19
Chapter 4: Sociological conceptualizations of religion and ethics in the development of Africa - <i>Jacob Okechukwu Onwukwe (Ph.D)</i>	33
Chapter 5: Church's involvement in inculcating ethical values: a key to change agenda in Nigeria - <i>Mepaiyeda Solomon (Ph.D)</i>	45
Chapter 6: Paul on the theological significance of baptism for Christian ethical conduct - <i>Olubayo. O. Obijole (Ph.D)</i>	56
Chapter 7: Oral tradition as a tool for teaching morality in the Yorùbá society- <i>Abidemi O. Bolarinwa (Ph.D)</i>	70
Chapter 8: Popular culture, religion ethics and development of Africa: a socio-religious appraisal of the marriage institution among the Tiv in Makurdi, Benue state - <i>Oluwalegan, O. Deborah</i>	87
Chapter 9: Ethical assessment of superstitious beliefs among market traders in Ibadan, Southwestern Nigeria - <i>Akinola Segun Gabriel</i>	110

Chapter 10:	Impact of religious understanding on the politics of Afemiland, Edo state, Nigeria - <i>Titus Ojo Oshomoh (Ph.D)</i>	122
Chapter 11:	<i>Oyigi/Ela</i> and Mary/Jesus Christ as models for ethical development of contemporary Nigerian youths - <i>Oluwawunsi, O. Adekola</i>	142
Chapter 12:	Globalization, ethics and development of Africa - <i>Yosi Apollos Maton (Ph.D)</i>	156
Chapter 13:	The principles of Imamate in Islam as entrenched in Sahihu'l-bukhari book of leadership - <i>Paramole, Kabir Olawale and Adebisi, Mueezudeen Ajibade</i>	174
Chapter 14:	Christian ethical approaches to business transactions and its implications for socio-economic development in Nigeria - <i>Akindolie Akinwumi Ambrose</i>	193
Chapter 15:	Pentecostalism, Religious Enterprise and The Challenges of Nation Building In Nigeria, 1960-2015 - <i>Ayodele Samuel Abolorunde, (Ph.D)</i>	207
Chapter 16:	Language Ethics and Development of Africa - <i>Ogidiolu, Ayodeji Olanrewaju (Ph.D)</i>	233
Chapter 17:	Analysis of the Ethical and Legal Implications of Religion: A Panacea For Justice, Peace, Political and Economic Development in Africa - <i>Akachukwu, O. John Nwachukwu, (Ph.D)</i>	247
Chapter 18:	The Interface Of Leadership And Ethics In The Development Of Africa - <i>Emmanuel Keshi, (Ph.D)</i>	269
Chapter 19:	Corruption As Bane To Sustainable Ethical Values In The Nigerian Polity: Perspectives of the Social Teachings Of The Church – The Catholic Example - <i>Coker Kehinde Olakunle</i>	286
Chapter 20:	A Historical Appraisal Of Reverend Daniel Olubi's Biblical Ethics As A Valuable Paradigm of The	

	Growth of Christianity In Ibadan, 1853-1912 - <i>Popoola, T.O. (Ph.D)</i>	298
Chapter 21:	Appropriating Christian Ethical Values In Enhancing Sustainable Development In Nigeria - <i>Olúségún Peter Òkè (Ph.D)</i>	319
Chapter 22:	Leadership, Ethics And Development of Africa - <i>Awofeko, Emmanuel Oluwasegun</i>	333
Chapter 23:	De Facto And De Jure Relationship Between Religion And The Nigerian State And Implications For National Security - <i>Bankole, Michael Tokunbo,</i> <i>(Ph.D)</i>	350
Chapter 24:	The Interplay of Critical Thinking and Dialogue In The Threshold of Civil Society's Activities In Africa: Its Ethical Implications - <i>Essien D. Essien</i> <i>(Ph.D)</i>	364
Chapter 25:	Religion As A Sociological Tool For Political Development In Contemporary Nigeria - <i>Odulele</i> <i>Rotimi (Ph.D)</i>	393
Chapter 26:	Religion And The Romanization of The Indigenous Peoples of North Africa - <i>Goke A.</i> <i>Akinboye (Ph.D)</i>	403
Chapter 27:	Names And Human Relation: A Pragmatic Analysis Of Selected Yoruba Dog Names - <i>Ayantayo, Joshua</i> <i>Sunday</i>	419
Chapter 28:	African Indigenous Religions As A Catalyst For Social And Economic Development - <i>Olaleye</i> <i>Samuel Kayode, (Ph.D)</i>	440
Chapter 29:	Re-Orientation of Youths Towards Decent And Cautious Lifestyles In The 21st Century - <i>Esther</i> <i>O. Ayandokun, (Ph.D)</i>	452
Chapter 30:	A Moral Evaluation of Deviant Control System In The Nigerian Society And A Quest For	

- Chapter 31: Religious Moral Regeneration Among Nigerian Youth In An Era Of Globalization A Panacea To Ensuring Sustainable Moral Development  
Nwosu, Godsent Chukwualuka 493
- Chapter 32: The Sociological And Ethical Synthesis of Pauline Teachings: Achieving Sustainable Peace, Social Justice And Social Inclusiveness In Nigeria - Osamolu, Titilayon Fehintolu 503
- Chapter 33: Paul Ethical Instruction To Timothy In I Timothy 4:12 And Its Implications For Youth Development In Nigeria - *Akintunde, Felix Bamidele* 527
- Chapter 34: Book Review; Title: Contemporary Ethics: Theory And Issues by Akpenpuum Dzurgba. Reviewers: Osaworu, Christopher O. And Oba Eduviere Osamamen O. 537

## Chapter Fifteen

# PENTECOSTALISM, RELIGIOUS ENTERPRISE AND THE CHALLENGES OF NATION BUILDING IN NIGERIA, 1960-2015

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### **Introduction**

Pentecostalism is a word that is associated with Christianity but it has different meanings. According to Walter J. Hollenweger, Pentecostalism refers to the baptism that is characterized by speaking in tongues. He further defines it as the manifestation of the spirit in the normal worship service. It can be defined as individual commitment that is derived from conversion and, ideally, a committed life to the church with the capacity to demonstrate spiritual experiences such as speaking in tongues and miracles that supersede dogmatism. It is a process that has contributed to the reshaping of the nature of Christianity, especially in the twentieth century, with enormous ecumenical implications that are often on the cutting edge of encounter with the people of other faiths. From the above, Pentecostalism is a tenet of Christian faith, which marks a departure from conventional or dogmatic principles of Christianity. It is a process that allows a flexible form of worship different from conventional solemnization.

Enterprise on the other hand can be defined as the process of translating business vision and strategy into an effective enterprise by creating communication and improving the key requirements, principles and models that describe the enterprise's future state and enable its evolution. It can also be defined as the application of

creative ideas and innovations to practical solutions. Religious enterprise can, therefore, be defined as conscientious belief that is anchored upon organizational structures that attract profit. Globally, Pentecostalism gained momentum through William Seymour, an African American who in April, 1906, led a revival that lasted twelve-hour long meetings every day for three and half years. His unique style of worship attracted people from all over North America and Mexico. This Pentecostal experience brought together Christians seeking the full truth all over the world as newly filled saints and preachers returned to their countries and communities to win souls. As the Pentecostal movement continued to spread globally, the need for organizational structure became imperative and this led to the establishment of Assembly of God in 1913.

By the 1920s, Pentecostal churches started emerging on the scene in Africa. While these churches did not have any relationship with mission Pentecostal churches outside the continent, they were significant in appropriating the Christian message in a distinctive way that attempted to provide meaningful answers to local questions. By the 1930s, Pentecostalism started penetrating the Christian doctrine in Nigeria. J.D.Y. Peel argues that Pentecostalism made its appearance in Nigeria in 1930-1931 when the leaders of Aladura revival made contact with the Apostolic Church, a British Pentecostal body, to provide guidance. This was the first external encounter between indigenous religious groups and foreign Pentecostal churches. Thereafter, Assemblies of God Church and the Foursquare Church were established in 1939 and 1941, respectively. Thus, literature exists on various dimensions through which Pentecostalism evolved in Nigeria, Africa and the world at large. The paper focuses on the period between 1960 when the country attained its independence and the year 2015 as the terminal date when Pentecostal churches had huge influence on the outcome of the general elections in Nigeria.

The paper notes that discussions on the spread of Pentecostalism in Nigeria have not been tied to the challenges of nation-building. In this way, scholars have paid adequate attention to the spread of Pentecostalism in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular from the perspective of the growth of Christianity without examining it as part of the challenges of nation-building in Nigeria. This is important because a critical examination of the growth of Pentecostalism in Nigeria will enhance our comprehensive

understanding of the challenges of nation building in Nigeria. The main thesis is to demonstrate how Pentecostalism as a tool of religious enterprise has aggravated the task of nation building in Nigeria. It is a contribution to the study of nation building and it moves discussions on the study of the country's nation building project in new directions. The study relies essentially on secondary sources for its analysis. Such relevant sources such as books and journal articles provided data for the historical reconstruction. Data gathered were subjected to historical analysis. The study is divided into four sections. These are: introduction, evangelization as the pathfinder of colonialism in Nigeria, the impact of Pentecostalism on post-colonial Nigeria and conclusion.

### **Evangelization as the Pathfinder of Colonialism in the Nigerian Geographical Area**

Missionary activities around the area that later became Nigeria could be traced to the sixteenth century when the Portuguese attempted to Christianize the people of Biafra and the city states such as Niger Delta, Brass, Bonny and Calabar. By 1842, the activities of the missionary had gained momentum in Badagry and Abeokuta through the evangelical works of Wesleyan Methodist under the leadership of Rev. Thomas Freeman and his assistant, William de Craft. Such activities were extended to the Old Calabar in 1846. The year 1846 equally marked the period when the Anglican and Methodist missionaries were accepted in Egbaland before they infiltrated the other parts of Yorubaland while the Presbyterian led by Hope Waddell, the leader of the Scottish missionaries and other members of his team, penetrated Calabar with schools being established in the Yorubaland and southeastern area. It is important to note that the penetration of the area that later became Nigeria by the missionaries conflicted with the socio-political and economic orientations of the Nigerian peoples. This conflict shaped the reaction of various traditional rulers as they responded to the call for evangelization based on their political interests. This does not mean the traditional rulers were unappeasably hostile to the missionaries but they dictated the extent to which evangelization penetrated the social fabric of their societies. Despite the anti-slavery stance of the missionaries and the missions in London, domestic slavery and polygamy tolerated by the missionaries in Yorubaland for instance, met stiff opposition of the Bishop of Sierra-

Leone, Bishop Weeks, when he visited in 1856. Explanation was offered to the bishop on the ground that slavery system in Yorubaland was flexible while the wife of a polygamist was an involuntary victim of a social institution and that salvation was what was necessary while other refinements were left to time and membership of the church.

It should be noted that this explanation vis-à-vis the accommodationist approach of the missionaries could be viewed from the perspective of how the Egba accepted the missionaries from the prism of vicissitudes of their political interests when Sodeke, the Egba leader, received Thomas Birch Freeman, a Wesleyan missionary in 1842. In the Old Calabar and what later became the southern part of Nigeria, the king of Creek Town in Efik speaking town, known as Eyo Honesty Two, accepted missionary activities into his kingdom in 1850 for a political purpose of extending his sovereignty to Duke Town and other towns around Old Calabar. In king Eyo's estimation, Efik needed not observe Christian doctrine in its totality because conversion to Christianity was capable of destroying Efik customs and institutions. His flexible disposition to the missionaries unlike the Egba, led to a serious conflict between Eyo and the missionaries in 1856. It seems probably that King Eyo's consternation could be understood within the context of his inability to compel the missionaries to compromise their religious value. One may also infer that the success of the missionaries in Efik-land further reveals their role as the harbinger of colonial adventure in the area that later became Nigeria.

In the northern area, the evangelical works of Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther and Dr William Balfour Baikie in collaboration with a large number of intelligent young men were successful in 1857 when the Niger Mission headed by Crowther was founded. By 1861 when Lagos was made a Crown Colony by the British, systematic colonization of Nigeria began. In Yorubaland, the missionaries were also used as potent instruments of peace process by the British. In what later became the northern part of Nigeria, the activities of Ajayi Crowther were pronounced in Nassarawa and Yola in 1876 as the emirs of these two towns allowed Crowther on the condition that their people would have access to Western education. As the penetration of Nigeria continued unabated by the traders and missionaries, rivalry among various European powers necessitated the need for the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. The conference ultimately led to the cession of an area that later became Nigeria to the British. It is worthy of note

that the cession of Nigeria to the British further diminished the quantum of success brought by the Christian Missions into Nigeria. This success carried with it an implosion that challenged their religious dominance over various groups after the Berlin Conference. Such Examples were how the protests by the people of an area that later became Nigeria led to the establishment of Native Baptist Christ and United African Church in 1888 and 1889 respectively.

Consequently, the administration of Nigeria came effectively under the Royal Niger Company with Sir Taubman Goldie as its leader while missionary activities in different parts of the country assisted the British greatly in the conquest of Nigeria. From the period when the area that later became Nigeria was ceded to the British, the importance of missionary exploits as the harbinger of British interest was subsumed by the commercial activities of the European trading firms of British origin. The influence of the trading firms and their traders grew to a point that London was favourably disposed to their views concerning Nigeria than the missionaries'. The commercial pre-eminence of the firms further attracted the interests of the British such that rivalry among these trading firms such as Liverpool and the Royal Niger Company accelerated the lobbying capacity of the trading firms. The missionaries' dwindling influence in Nigeria in the post-1885 period was not unconnected with the military conquest of various groups of Nigeria, a feat that was monumental than that of the missionaries. This feat could be seen in the way the R.N.C. forced the Chiefs of Asaba to put an end to immolation of slaves in 1888 and subsequently handed over these slaves to S.M.A missionaries. It was the British expedition under the leadership of Sir Ralph Moore which defeated Nana Olomu of Itsekiriland in 1894 as this provided the opportunity for Presbyterian missionaries under Bishop Tugwell to penetrate Itsekiriland.

From the foregoing, the importance of the missionary activities to the dismantling of the slave trade and the subsequent enthronement of legitimate trade was used by the European powers, including the British, prepared the ground for their economic interests in the area that later became Nigeria. In the estimation of the British, the consolidation of their commercial interests in Nigeria depended largely on political decisions that were influenced by the commercial considerations given to the trading firms. These decisions were embedded in the military expeditions carried out by the Royal Niger

Company and other trading firms while the penetration of various Nigerian societies by the missionaries further enhanced the achievement of these commercial objectives. This scenario supports the view of E. A. Ayandele that the military expeditions launched in southern Nigeria into the first decade of the twentieth century began the halcyon days of Christian mission.

### **The Impact of Pentecostalism on Post-colonial Nigeria**

Nigeria at independence had an economy that was purely agrarian. Exportation of cocoa, groundnut, rubber, palm oil and palm kernel served as the country's foreign exchange earnings. The agrarian structure of the economy did not hinder the country's development as it embarked on First National Development Plan (1962-1968) that placed emphasis on agricultural and industrial development as well as the training of high level and intermediate manpower. This quest for economic development was possible because the agricultural sector contributed 54.7 per cent to the country's G.D.P during the 1960s. This explains why manufacturing was on the increase from 6.0 to 6.6 per cent from 1960 to 1970, because agriculture provided the funds used for implementing the First National Development Plan. The Federal Government was conscious of the need for employment generation through the First Plan. To this end, the plan carried with it the establishment of National Manpower Board (N.M.B), established in 1962 and designed to sustain Expatriate Quota Allocation Policy with the aim of ensuring that expatriates were only employed in the areas with persistent acute shortage of indigenous personnel. During the 1960s, African initiatives (especially Nigerians'), as argued by Rufina Ikeazota, were already manifesting with Aladura Movements, the Apostolic Church and Assembly of God Church of the 1920s and 1930s, serving as the arrow-heads of the Pentecostal Movements with skeletal achievement in terms of expansion. Their leadership role in the spread of Pentecostalism could be traced to their contact with external Pentecostal influences represented by the American Faith Tabernacle in 1920 and the British Apostolic Church in 1931.

The efforts of these pathfinders of Pentecostalism in the first decade of the country's independence were complemented by bill Roberts who started the activities of the Scripture Union in the late 1960s. Part of the failure of these Pentecostal efforts was not unconnected with the relative stability of the Nigerian economy despite

its agrarian nature. With the astronomical increase in the prices of crude oil in the international market in the 1970s, the influx of American-based Pentecostal literature infiltrated the Nigerian society. Works of American Pentecostal pastors such as, T. L. Osborne, Oral Roberts, Billy Graham, Kenneth Hagin and others in the 1970s facilitated the spread of Pentecostalism in Nigeria. It is salient to argue that the enterprising prospects of the Pentecostal churches were hindered by the intensity of the efforts of the Nigerian government to improve the economy.

These efforts were enshrined in the Second National Development Plan of the 1970-1974, which promoted expansion of industries as the country was opened to foreign investments that accelerated rapid economic growth. The quest for economic growth and equitable re-distribution of the country's economic resources were given a boost through the enactment of Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1972. The decree carried with it the objectives of bridging the gap between the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.) and Gross National Products (G.N.P.), reduction of the dependence of the country's economy on foreign capital, and ownership control and management with the overall strategy of making these foreign investments less exploitative.

These laudable efforts reveal the unwavering commitment of the Nigerian government towards the country's economic development as well as the empowerment of the citizenry. It is worthy of note that the Pentecostal frenzy of the 1970s did not penetrate deeply the religious consciousness of the citizenry who were better empowered by the laudable economic policies of the 1970s. It may not be out of place to argue that the economic prosperity of the oil boom era provided the platform for Pentecostal frenzy in Nigeria while its pre-eminence was somehow affected by the apathy which emanated from the followership. This apathy was consistent with the crude oil production capacity of Nigeria which stood at an average of 2.3 million barrels per day in 1974 while the country emerged as the sixth largest producer globally with \$8 billion earning in that year. The country's economic prosperity during this period of the 1970s afforded her the opportunity of assisting other African states without bureaucratic considerations.

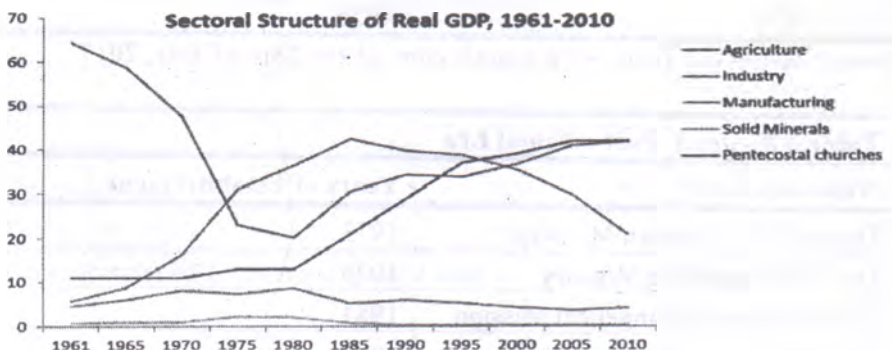
By the 1980s, the country's economic prosperity had diminished considerably due to mismanagement and fall in the prices of crude oil globally. For instance, the Shagari government, having

accepted the realities of dwindling revenue, enacted the Economic Stabilization Act designed to curtail public expenditure. It was in the midst of this economic crisis that two military coups were staged between 1983 and 1985, the year the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (P.F.N) was established. The proliferation of churches through the Pentecostal platform in 1985 and the rest of that decade was not unconnected with the economic crisis of the Nigerian State. Ikeazota (2013) in his argument states that the proliferation of churches, mostly Pentecostal in the late 1980s to early 1990s disoriented the people as emphases were placed on the need to look up to God to resolve economic problems. The period of the 1990s further led to the demobilization of the masses as they were encouraged to neglect the socio-economic challenges of the Nigerian state by focusing on heaven. Technically, this religious orientation further provided an appropriate platform for the country's leadership not to accelerate the nation building process. Olufunke Adeboye (2004) has identified in her study that part of the conspiratorial roles of the leadership of the Pentecostal churches was its inability to join the leadership of the mainline churches like the Catholic Church, the Protestant church and human rights activists in criticizing the military dictatorship of the 1990s. On the one hand, the country's leadership was not confronted and this lack of confrontation was consistent with the demobilization of the citizenry through the Pentecostal prosperity slogan of the 1990s. On the other hand, the citizens were denied their rightful role as the watchdog of the nation-building project.

Many Nigerians started thronging Pentecostal churches for prosperity in order to secure economic solace which had eluded the Nigerian state. The quest for economic freedom through unconventional channels by the citizens further strengthened the position of Pentecostal churches economically and politically in the 1990s. This economic bondage has been described by Olufunke Adeboye (2004) as the untold hardships, impoverishment and sufferings experienced by the masses in the wake of the Structural Adjustment Programme. Economically, the churches started accumulating wealth while the accumulation further strengthened them politically in terms of influence in the polity. The numerical strength of churches that were established, the chunk of which were Pentecostal churches under the banner of crusade and revival in the 1990s, necessitated a debate among members of Christian Council of Nigeria.

The debate hinged on the lack of root or base of these Pentecostal churches as this compelled the Council to mute the idea of curtailing indiscriminate establishment of churches, but this was later abandoned. This abandonment further accelerated the establishment of churches by some founders who saw church expansion as a strategy of earning regular income in the face of Nigeria's economic quagmire.

It is plausible to state that this abandonment was aided by the inability of the political leadership to regulate the proliferation of churches in Nigeria within the confines of laid down regulations. It could also be argued that this neglect further reduced the pressure that would have been mounted by the citizens on the country's leadership. As the Pentecostal frenzy continued unabated, the role of churches as an important calculus of the country's nation building equation diminished as emphasis was placed on prosperity slogan. This reduced the efficacy of the potency of their role in the polity. The citizenry on the other hand were highly incapable of questioning the problem of the country's leadership. This could be viewed from two perspectives. First, the unpleasant economic conditions of the citizenry in the 1980s could not be challenged because the Pentecostal orientation had conditioned their minds for economic success outside the State structure. This neglect of the State structure was occasioned by the spiritual frenzy instilled by Pentecostalism. Second, the impact of the Pentecostal churches further diminished the role of churches as players of nation building while the citizens who saw Pentecostalism as an economic solace were demobilized by the religious orientation of Pentecostalism. The end of military rule and the subsequent return to democratic transition since 1999 did not change this spiritual orientation of most Nigerians who are Christians.



**Figure 1. Source: Graph drawn by the author through table 4**

A close examination of the above graph depicts how the country's agricultural and industrial sectors declined gradually. This had negative effect on the country's manufacturing capacity. It also had far reaching implication on the economy with the country's leadership highly incapable of providing economic empowerment for the citizens. This was further compounded by the total neglect of solid minerals as a channel of economic solace for the country. This gloomy economic picture as revealed by the graph provided the platform for the expansion of Pentecostal churches in the country from the mid-1980s.

<b>Table 1 Figure 2. Pentecostal Churches Established under Colonial Rule</b>	
<b>Name of Church</b>	<b>Years of Establishment</b>
Aladura Movement	1918
Cherubim & Seraphim	1925
The Church of the Lord	1929
Christ Apostolic Church	1930
Aladura Charismatic Movement	1930
Assemblies of God Church	1940
Celestial Church of Christ	1947
The full Gospel Apostolic Church	1949
The Foursquare Gospel Church	1955
RCCG	1956
GOFAMINT	1956

Source: Retrieved from [www.google.com](http://www.google.com) on the 28th of July, 2017

<b>Table 2 Figure 3. Post-colonial Era</b>	
<b>Name of Church</b>	<b>Years of Establishment</b>
Deeper Life Christian Ministry	1973
Go Ye Evangelistic Ministry	1975
The Redeemed Evangelical Mission	1981
Winning Evangelical Ministry	1982

Pentecostalism, Religious Enterprise And  
The Challenges of Nation Building In Nigeria, 1960-2015

Winners' Chapel	1983
Christian Pentecostal Mission	1983
God will do it Ministry	1983
Zoe Ministry	1984
Word of Life Bible Church	1985
Word of Life Bible Church	1985
Evangelical Association	1986
Global Harvest House	1986
Synagogue Church of all Nation	1987
Agape Love Ministry	1988
Sword of the Spirit	1989
MFM	1989
Latter Rain	1989
Christ's Embassy	1990
Household of God	1990
The Dome	1990
Light House Christian Centre	1990
Glory Tabernacle	1991
Rhema Chapel	1991
Victory Life Bible Church	1992
Liberty Gospel Church	1992
Harvest House Christian Centre	1992
Jesus Christ Command Mission	1992
The Vine Branch Church	1992
The Stone Church	1993
Living Spring Assembly	1993
House on the Rock	1994
Covenant Christian Centre	1994
Day Star Christian Centre	1995
Commonwealth of Zion Assembly	1999
Open Heavens	2000
The Lord's Chosen	2002

Source: Retrieved from [www.google.com](http://www.google.com) on the 28th of July, 2017



**Figure 4. Source: Graph drawn by the author through table 3 below**

The above graph reveals the unimpressive performance of oil and agriculture contributions to GDP from the 1980s. Though the performance of GDP was quite impressive, the abysmal performance of the key sensitive sectors of the country's economy did not correspond with the increased GDP. This performance further accentuated the perennial unemployment that sustained the hopelessness of the country's economy during this period.

**Table 3 Figure 5**

Rates	% Rate of Unemployment	% Change of Unemployment	GDP	% Change in GDP	% Agriculture Contribution to GDP	% of Oil Contribution to GDP
Year						
1985		-	201,036.3	--	32,90474	35,89004

**Pentecostalism, Religious Enterprise And  
The Challenges of Nation Building In Nigeria, 1960-2015**

	6.1	-				
1986		-	205,971.4	2.4	35,02195	34,36933
	5.3	15.1				
1987			204,806.5	-0.6	33,98725	33.69756
	7.0	24.3				
1988		-	219,875.6	6.9	34.90778	32.21717
	5.1	37.3				
1989		-	236,729.6	7.1	34.16472	33.50739
	4.5	13.3				
1990		-	267,550.0	11.5	31.5248	37.45969
	3.5	28.6				
1991		-	265,379.1	0.8	32.97302	34.40885
	3.1	12.9				
1992		-	274,833.3	2.2	32.92438	34.14075
	3.5	11.4				
1993		-	274,833.3	1.3	32.96416	33.13345
	3.4	2.9				
1994		-	275,450.6	0.2	33.70223	33.17742
	3.2	6.3				
1995		-	281,407.4	2.1	34.19267	33.23889
	1.9	68.4				
1996		-	293,745.4	4.2	34.11669	34.12445
	2.8	32.1				
1997		-	302,022.5	2.7	34.60471	33.67862
	3.4	17.6				
1998			310,890.1	2.9	35.00083	33.42773
	3.5	2.9				
1999		80	312,183.5	0.4	36.69979	30.79253
	17.5					
2000		-	329,178.7	5.2	35.83011	32.45274
	13.1	33.6				
2001			356,994.3	7.8	34.32052	31.48997
	13.6	3.7				
2002		-7.9	433,203.5	17.6	43,89009	24.46935
	12.6					
2003			477,533.0	9.3	42.59599	27.50315
	14.8	14.9				
2004		-	527,576.0	9.5	40.98149	25.71586
	13.4	10.4				
2005		-12.6	561,931.4	6.1	41.19072	24.26373
	11.9					
2006		3.3	595,821.6	5.7	41.72373	21.8511

	12.3					
2007	12.7	3.1	634,251.1	6.1	42.01446	19.59557
2008	14.9	14.8	672,202.6	5.6	42.1265	17.34516
2009	19.7	24.4	716,949..7	6.2	41.84351	16.04583

**Sources: National Bureau of Statistics, 2010; Central Bank of Nigeria 2005, 2006 and 2009**

A critical examination of the above table depicts an overall improvement in the country's economy in the area of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as contributions of agriculture and crude oil in terms of percentage to GDP increased while unemployment fluctuated between 1985 and 1998. From 1999 when the country returned to civil rule, based on the table, unemployment has been on the increase. This shows that the overall improvement of the economy did not reflect the overall economic well-being of the citizenry. This explains why poverty level rose from the 1980s to 2010. The implication of this is that, the abandonment of the obligation of the Nigerian State towards the citizenry stimulated spirituality that never translated into the improvement in the living standards of the citizenry. The more the spread of Pentecostalism and economic performance, the more the socio-economic conditions of the citizenry deteriorated.

This shows that spirituality which Pentecostalism preaches is not an important ingredient of nation-building. A critical observation of the unemployment table shows that the country's return to civil rule since 1999 has not improved the socio-economic conditions of Nigerians. Scholars like Obayi and Edogor (2016) hold the view that the entrenchment of Pentecostalism was not unconnected to the opportunities of massive evangelism through the airwaves which the Orthodox Church did not exploit. Such views never took into cognizance the failure of the State to develop the economy. As industries were folding up in the 1990s and early 2000s, the warehouses of these industries, cinema halls and night clubs in most parts the country, especially in the South, were converted to places of worship by the Pentecostal churches. This conversion was not unconnected with the suffocating economic climate brought by declining national economy that increased poverty and crime rate which in turn affected the patronage of these business outfits with the

country's leadership highly incapable of revamping these important drivers of the micro-sector of the country's economy.

Such conversion was palpable in Lagos and other industrial States in the country. It is plausible to state that as Pentecostalism continued with its spiritual frenzy, the citizens' capacity for technological transformation that was capable of complementing government's economic policy dwindled. This failure on the part of the citizens and the country's leadership made them dependent on the Pentecostal leadership. This scenario created mental and bureaucratic fatigue among the citizens as well as the country's leadership structure. It is expediently germane to state that the influence of Pentecostalism on the citizens as well as the political class has nothing to do with the numerical advantage of its members over other Christian denominations. The report of the US State Department which was released in early 2000 pegged Pentecostal followership in Nigeria at 9.2 % out of the population of Christians who constitute 40% of the entire population of Nigeria while the Catholic church has the highest number of followership.

The above figures show that the influence of the Pentecostal churches in the molding of public opinion about the country's leadership is traceable to its prosperity slogan, which gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s. This has been described by Adeboye (2012) as the abandonment of classical holiness doctrine in favour of prosperity in the face of impoverished economy and breakdown of the State amenities under the military dictatorship of the 1980s and 1990s. A report by Economic Confidential revealed that Nigeria earned 34 trillion naira in ten years. According to that report, Nigeria earned 31 trillion naira from oil sector and 3 trillion naira from non-oil sector between 1999 and 2009. It was stated in the report that while seven trillion was recorded in 2008 alone, the Obasanjo administration generated over twenty-six trillion naira from oil and non-oil sources. It added that oil sector accounted for 89.28 per cent of the total revenue while the non-oil sector, including solid minerals, generated 10.72 per cent of the total sum.

**Table 4 Figure 6. Trend analysis of sectoral performance of industrialization from 1961 - 2010**

Years	Agricultural	Industry	Manufacturing	Solid mineral
1961	64.3	5.8	4.6	0.83

1965	58.7	8.8	6.1	0.94
1970	47.5	16.3	8.2	0.91
1975	23.0	31.0	7.4	2.22
1980	20.1	36.3	8.7	2.09
1985	30.5	42.4	5.2	0.8
1990	34.2	39.7	5.9	0.27
1995	33.7	38.8	5.3	0.28
2000	36.7	35.4	4.3	0.3
2000	36.7	35.4	4.3	0.3
2010	41.7	20.8	4.2	0.33

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria Statistical Bulletin 2010. Adapted from Precious Garba, 2012, p.37

A close observation of the table reveals the declining prospect of both agricultural sector and the expansion of industry from the mid-1970s when the country witnessed oil boom to the mid-1990s. This period could be regarded as the period of economic uncertainties as the political leadership grappled with the problem of revamping the economy. Though the agricultural sector experienced slight improvement from 1995 to 2010 but this reflects in the prospect of the manufacturing sector which experienced continuous decline from the 1980s to 2010 while solid minerals sector that would have ameliorated the economic problem was neglected. This neglect compounded the task of economic restructuring capable of enhancing economic empowerment of the citizens.

### Sectorial Structure of Real GDP, 1961-2010

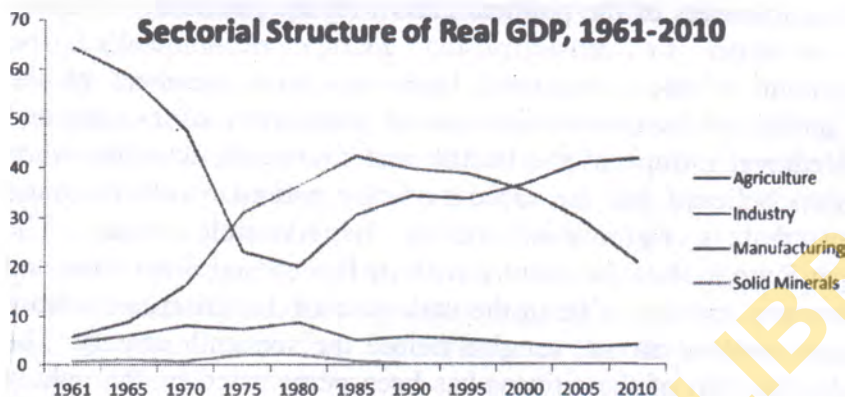


Figure 7. Source: Graph drawn by the author through table 4

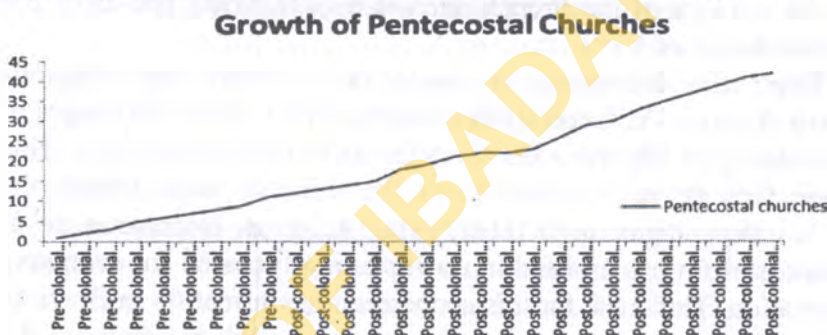


Figure 8 Source: Graph drawn by the author through tables 1 and 2

Moreover, the fund for peace in its 2010 failed states index analysis of Nigeria showed that none of the indexes for measuring development recorded an improvement. The report states that 'nearly 70% of Nigerians live below poverty line while many government officials have become wealthy by taking bribes and embezzling funds. It seems reasonable to state that the inability of the country's leadership to invest this huge revenue in science and technology capable of transforming the country industrially affected the citizens who see nation-building obligation from the perspective of spirituality. The chunk of this spiritual orientation emanated from the Pentecostal churches more than the orthodox ones. Rather than vilify the country's leadership, some leaders of the Pentecostal churches now fraternize with members of the political class.

This fraternization made it difficult for the Pentecostal leadership as a vocal voice of Nigerians which has the capacity to

challenge members of the political class with the possibility of doing more in order to transform the country economically. The collaboration of the Pentecostal leadership with members of the political class put the country in a state of 'Dark Ages' of the early and high Medieval Europe of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries when Europeans believed that the success of their nations revolved around religion, that is, Catholicism, before the sixteenth century. The Nigerian State in the 21st century with its Pentecostal orientation and religious zeal appears to be in the dark state of the Europeans whose existence revolved around religion before the sixteenth century. The unproductive trait of the citizens has been perpetuated by the unholy alliance between the Pentecostal leadership and members of the political class; an unholy alliance similar to that of the Clergy class and that of the nobility of the French *ancient* regime which pre-dated the French revolution of 1789.

From the foregoing, it could be asserted that religious enterprise vis-à-vis Pentecostalism constitutes part of the challenges of nation building in Nigeria after the attainment of independence. This challenge was never inherited from the colonial state before the country's independence in October, 1960. Religious orientation vis-à-vis Pentecostalism has assisted in downplaying the need for economic transformation. The quest for this economic transformation in Brazil in the 20th century despite the Pentecostal frenzy which attracted the people of lower class in that country made it difficult for Pentecostalism to downplay the quest for economic transformation by the leaders of Brazil. Economic transformation of Brazil during this period meant that the citizens were attracted to Pentecostalism not because of complete failure of the State but because of their inability to fulfil their comprehensive economic aspirations through certain economic policies. The effort of the Brazilian government at economic transformation reduces the potency of the influence of Pentecostalism on politics while the consciousness of the citizens about the leadership of that country remained.

Powerful industrial giants like China, United States and India transformed themselves economically through the linkage of their agricultural sector with the manufacturing sector by the leadership of these countries. Between 2010 and 2011, per capital income of China, the United States and India stood at \$4,600, \$36,800 and \$2,500, respectively, while Nigeria's per capital income during this period

stood at \$820. The highly infinitesimal per capital income during this period reveals the poor living standard of the citizenry. This equally reveals the complete abandonment of obligations by the members of the political class. This obligation has been described by Ogbogbo and Nwaokocha (2016) as an essential obligation of any government that occupies state structure. The passive role of the leadership of Pentecostal churches within the country's religious structures has sustained the idea of governance as the interest of the ruling class without much commitment towards the welfare of the citizens. This lack of commitment has been sustained by the entrenchment of Pentecostalism that advocates superstition instead of science; proliferation of churches instead of growth of industries and technological advancement; enthronement of religious activities rather than dedication to skill acquisition among the citizens.

Such passive role of the Pentecostal leadership was consistent with its fraternization with the members of the political class. This *quid pro que* scenario played out when the \$ 9.3m arms deal scandal broke out in September, 2014. The scandal manifested as a mouthwatering event when the private jet of the then President of Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was caught in an attempt to smuggle such a huge amount of money into South Africa under the supervision of two Nigerians and one Israeli. The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)-led government tried vehemently to sweep the matter under the carpet while Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, the CAN President, refuted the allegations about his involvement in the scandal although he admitted that the Bombadier Challenger 601 aircraft belonged to him. Prominent Pentecostal leaders and pastors defended the innocence of the CAN President. One of them was Pastor E.A. Adeboye, the General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God who argued that it would not be proper to conclude that the CAN President was guilty of the allegation.

Such Pentecostal solidarity did not manifest within the Catholic fold and the Muslims who were divided in their opinion. While some Catholics and other orthodox Christians condemned the scandal, some tried to defend him while the Muslims under the umbrella of Muslim Rights Concern (MURIC) vilified the Federal Government and the CAN President for not making use of official government channel in the transaction that led to the scandal. The Federal Government, despite the criticisms, did not deem it appropriate to investigate the

scandal comprehensively. Reasonably, the political leadership of the country was fully aware of the sensitivity of the scandal as this was capable of jeopardizing the electoral chances of the PDP in the 2015 general elections. Investigating such a sensitive matter would have amounted to confronting the Pentecostal movement with Pastor Oritsejafor, who was equally the then President of CAN, a key figure within the Pentecostal churches in Nigeria. As the 2015 elections were drawing closer, both the ruling party, that is the PDP and the then opposition party, All Progressive Congress (APC) realized that their electoral chances depended largely on the number of votes they could get from the Pentecostal churches. To this end, campaigns were taken to influential Pentecostal churches like the Redeemed Christian Church of God, The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM), Deeper Life Bible Church and Winners Chapel.

This became necessary because these churches have huge numerical strength that was capable of boosting their electoral success. In its quest to unseat the ruling party, the APC chose its Vice Presidential Candidate, Professor Yemi Osinbajo (SAN), from the Redeemed Christian Church of God. This choice was made not because Osinbajo as a person was politically relevant within the APC structure, but because the Redeemed Christian Church of God and its leadership were politically relevant to the electoral success of the then opposition party, the APC. By implication, Nigerian politicians who usually seek electoral favour from the electorates during electioneering periods cannot be seen to be more politically relevant than the influential pastors of the Pentecostal churches. This scenario places the pastors of these churches as influential members of the political class than spiritual figures they manifest within the confines of the Pentecostal movement.

### **Conclusion**

Pentecostalism has become an important calculus in the country's nation building equation. The potency of Pentecostalism is such that members of the political class no longer see the inherent division of the ethnic configuration of the Nigerian State as a tool capable of weakening the consciousness of the followership. The new strategy of decapitating the consciousness of the followership was the integration of the Pentecostal leadership into the main stream of the political class. This integration has enabled the occupiers of State

structure in Nigeria after the country's independence to appear unperturbed about their failure to lead the country to an Eldorado through viable and transformative nation building. This lack of commitment on the part of the country's leadership was perpetuated by the docility of the country's followership that is more inclined in terms of religion than pragmatic thinking which viable nation building process carries.

This docility has been perpetuated by the leadership of the Pentecostal churches that has failed to use its influence on its followership to mount pressure on the political leadership on the need for economic transformation of the country. The leadership of the Pentecostal churches did not exploit the popularity of its prosperity slogan among the citizens who are members and non-members of the Pentecostal churches to keep members of the political class perpetually on their toes. They have allowed the status-quo of unpleasant economic situation of the country to remain. The refusal to change the status-quo was not unconnected with the position of the members of the Pentecostal elite as beneficiaries of the country's economic quagmire which in turn lubricates the engine of Pentecostal expansion in the face of state failure.

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