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# African Hospitality: Is it Compatible with the Ideal of Christ's Hospitality? Part 2

Julius Mutugi Gathogo

## Some Expressions of African Hospitality in the Modern Church

This section intends to show how the gospel of Christ has been inculturated through incorporating the concept of African hospitality especially in the church liturgy. In this journey of inculturation, the Tanzanian theologian Joseph Kamugisha<sup>1</sup> states that the heart of inculturation is John 1:14: 'The word became flesh and lived among us.' Christ continued to live among the African people as the chief Diviner-healer, our liberator, our guest, our proto-ancestor and our victor over death among other images. In the leadership and liturgy of the church, Christ must be manifested through inculturation.

The East African Christian Revival movement (E.A.R.M.) is unique in the exchange of the peace. This takes place in an informal, relaxed and unhurried atmosphere. Different types of handshakes and greetings are used, including hugging one another.<sup>2</sup> It is as St. Paul tells the Thessalonians, 'Greet all the believers with a brotherly kiss' (1 Thess. 5:26).

Though they may not be conscious of it, the East African Revival movement, which started in Rwanda in 1927 and spread through Uganda into Kenya by 1937,<sup>3</sup> is essentially African. In its leadership structures and general organisation it has creatively derived its models from its African heritage. For example, their fellowships are non-hierarchical. Clerics and laity are equal. There is no one who is senior to another. This agrees with Christ's caution that 'whoever wants to be the greatest must be a servant of all' (Mark 10:44). Secondly, all ideas or issues brought forward are taken into consideration before a final decision is made; and in so doing, they try as much as possible to avoid suspicion or any form of misunderstanding. They avoid this problem of suspicion by being very open to one another—walking in the light always—and appreciating each and everyone's contribution. This has some similarities with the African court, which appreciates the views of every participant and weighs the different opinions from everyone regardless of his social standing.<sup>4</sup>

It is also in the line with the New Testament doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.<sup>5</sup> This doctrine holds that every believer is a priest because he/she can intercede for others, pray for others (James 5:13, Matt. 7:7) and can baptise during times of emergencies among other issues.

Thirdly, a decision is reached through consensus for there is no formal voting. If, for example, the members bitterly or irreconcilably fail to agree on an issue, the emphasis is 'go and pray' so that when they meet again the Holy Spirit would have spoken to each and every one to enable a consensus amongst them.<sup>6</sup> Thus, postponing until a consensus emerges is purely an African way of decision-making. In avoiding divisions among themselves, they take Christ's caution when he said that 'a house divided cannot stand' (Matt. 12:25). Fourthly, the members of the East African Revival Movement have maintained an oral leadership despite the fact that their current leadership is composed of educated people most of whom are primary school teachers. This emphasis on the orality is of African heritage. This is also the way the gospel of Christ was first presented—orally. However, if the movement has to survive, it must preserve theology in written form. It is the example that was set by St. Paul and St. Luke, among others, when they recounted the ministry of Christ thereby communicating with generation after generation to the present time.

In the ordinary service, mainly on Sunday, most churches in both Kenya and South Africa that I have visited constantly demonstrate African hospitality within their liturgies. They include—

(a) Welcoming and greeting people, especially visitors, with a warm handshake as they arrive. In some cases, the parish or the church elders join the priest in welcoming visitors who arrive at a particular church, say, for the first time. This is in line with Christ's hospitality on doing to others just 'as you would have them do to you' (Luke 6:31). I remember in 1990 when I joined Mr. Jeremiah Nyaga with whom I taught in the same school (Githure Secondary School) at the Seventh Day Adventist (S.D.A.) Gatumbi-Kenya, for a Saturday service I received an overwhelming welcome that I will always remember. Though I belonged to the Anglican Church, as is still the case today, I was excited and overjoyed by the way we were received just before we got into the church compound. Almost every church elder gave me a handshake that was accompanied by 'welcome', 'Feel at home', 'This is the church of Christ, This is your Church'. It was a humbling experience that resonates with Christ's ideal hospitality.

(b) Another opportunity that demonstrates hospitality is the introduction of visitors at the beginning of the liturgy or during the announcement times. Depending on the particular church, some African sayings and expressions are used relevantly. They include, 'You are welcome with both hands held out in friendship', or 'We recognise the presence of visitors—welcome again', or 'When you go back, take our greetings with open hands'. Sometimes, there is rhythmic clapping to welcome the special guest.<sup>7</sup>

(c) In some churches, visitors are invited to speak from the front, and before and after finishing their short speeches, as that is what is expected, there can be rhythmic clapping and even a special song to welcome the guests. While this is very common in East Africa, it is not common among the South African churches, as I observed in the Kwa-Zulu-Natal province. However, there are exceptional cases. In Scottsville Presbyterian Church, visitors are not only recognised, given forms to fill out for prayer requests, membership and to state their needs but in addition, every Sunday ushers wait for visitors to assist them in every way possible. Areas of help can be showing where the toilets are and helping them feel secure.<sup>8</sup> Afterwards every one is welcome for a cup of tea or coffee which is freely given. This highly ambitious project needs to be encouraged! On top of that there are organised choirs who often sing African melodies despite the fact that the church is multi-racial. The pastor constantly delegates duties so that the mood of sharing is upheld, and his sermons try to be as contextual as possible to reflect the various needs of the congregation. This is the example set by Christ when he delivered contextual sermons that were relevantly illustrated, e.g. the use of the parable of the sower to reflect the farming community (Mark 4:1-20), the Sermon on the lamp on a stand (Mark 4:1-25) to challenge the hypocrisy of the religious leaders of the day, the parable of the mustered seed (Mark 4:30-34) to reflect on the doctrine of the Kingdom which was highly misunderstood by the religious groups of the day.

In evaluating this sub-section on expressions of African hospitality in the modern church, we need to underline the fact that there are a lot of needs to be met if the gospel in Africa is to be authentic. We also need to appreciate that the African church has the potential to become the African church of Christ by letting Christ direct her inculturation. By imitating Christ, the African church in the twenty-first century will remain contextual, hence relevant to the modern generation. This section, therefore, has opened our mind to the reality

that there is a lot to be done in our bid to inculturate the gospel of Christ in sub-Saharan Africa.

### Abuse of African hospitality through the ages

Here we will show from history how both internal forces and external forces have abused African hospitality. These forces include slavery and the slave trade, colonialism, neo-colonialism and corruption amongst the African leadership after 1960s when most African countries attained their constitutional independence.

In the early twentieth century, the ordinary Japanese felt threatened by the impact of Western countries on Eastern countries. Joseph Kitagawa<sup>9</sup> quotes a popular diplomatic song that articulates the concern:

In the West there is England,  
In the North, Russia  
My countrymen, be careful!  
Outwardly they make treaties,  
But you cannot tell  
What is at the bottom of their hearts  
There is a Law of Nations, it is true,  
But when the true moment comes, remember  
The strong eat up the weak.

In the African context, a similar situation is expressed by George W. Carpenter when he says, 'The missionary came first. Then followed the trader. Last came soldiers with guns to kill, conquer, divide, and rule. Missionaries were the means by which white people lulled Africans to sleep while they took away their land and freedom....'<sup>10</sup>

Even though we cannot blame the early missionaries totally for the colonisation of Africa, as most of them must have been genuine disseminators of the truth of the gospel, it is no wonder that the proponents of colonialism exploited the situation. However, Carpenter's view graphically captures the situation pertaining to the coming of Europeans and colonial expansion.

Following the Berlin conference of 1884-5, Africa was partitioned by several European powers whether the prospective subjects liked it or not. In fact, a

look at the map of Africa shows the boundaries of African countries as they were drawn at this conference. Indeed, no African was present or consulted when these boundaries were drawn. Minor revisions as in the case of the Eritrea and Ethiopian border remain to this day. Mugambi<sup>11</sup> says that the names of the countries have changed considerably, for Africans have renamed their countries (as with the case of Rhodesia which is now Zimbabwe), towns, cities, rivers, and lakes after they became republics. This renaming is important for it affirms the power of the human being to name his or her environment. Certainly, the naming of Africa by Europeans was not only an abuse of African hospitality but also it showed more specifically that Africa had become an extension of Europe.

Kenyatta equates this partitioning/colonialism with the proverbial Kikuyu elephant that asked the innocent owner of the house (an African) to allow it to put its trunk inside his hut for it was raining. However, the man's hospitality was abused when the elephant insisted on putting the whole body within the small hut. This ended up in breaking the whole hut. In Kenyatta's well-considered view, that is what the colonial settlers did with the land of the Agikuyu people and Africa at large.<sup>12</sup> This cunningness is seen in the fact that the first few Europeans who, as Kenyatta says, passing near the Kikuyu country looked harmless. They passed through along the borderline of the country between the Kikuyu and the Maasai and between the Wakamba and the Kikuyu. He goes on to explain that in their natural generosity and hospitality, the Kikuyu welcomed these 'wanderers' and felt pity for them. As such, the Europeans were allowed to pitch their tents and to have a temporary right of occupation of the land in the same category as those of the Kikuyu Múhoi (borrower or beggar) or Múthoni (in Law) who are given only cultivation or building rights; but they cannot own the land as it belongs to the locals. Accordingly, these Europeans were treated in this way in the belief that one day they would get tired of wandering and finally return to their own country.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, after the scramble for Africa that culminated in the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 which partitioned Africa, Britain, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Germany divided Africa into segments according to their liking, thereby creating spheres of influence.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, Africa was brought into its current shape, with 54 countries with different foreign languages, i.e. some as

Francophone, others as Anglophone, and others as Portuguese speakers. There was no deliberate attempt to make Africa speak the same language the way the East African speaks Swahili or the way the islands that make the United Kingdom speak one language—English. Africa was divided in terms of different languages and was easily ruled! Thus, in a short while Africa, more than ever before, began to speak in tongues without an interpreter!

While colonialism brought many diverse ethnic groups together, communities found themselves split at the centre after unfair, unrealistic and artificial boundaries were agreed upon. As an illustration, the Maasai found themselves in Kenya and Tanzania, the Luo found themselves in Uganda, Kenya and Sudan; the Somalis found themselves in Kenya, British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland and French Somaliland; the Chewa found themselves in Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia; the Nguni found themselves in South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe—the list is long.<sup>15</sup> To add insult to injury, the colonial powers did not only subjugate communities by using excessive force, they imposed their culture upon the people that were under their control. Now in their wars of ‘pacification’, many innocent people were wantonly massacred. As Nthamburi points out, a British colonel boasted that he had killed 300 people in Embu, Kenya in 1935. The Nandi’s suffered a worse calamity because they seemed to be more ‘stubborn’ than the rest. Such gross abuse of African hospitality was experienced as the whole world watched.<sup>16</sup>

The worst form of the abuse of African hospitality and perhaps the greatest tragedy to befall an African race besides HIV/AIDS is slavery and the slave trade. This came before colonisation but its memories are ever regrettable and painful in African history. Like in the case of colonialism, the Arabs and the Europeans, in an unholy alliance, first cunningly befriended the Africans. Later they enticed them to this trade. While it was witnessed in other parts of the world, it differed in the scale and the brutality that accompanied it in Africa which was the worst hit.<sup>17</sup> Ships shuttled between Africa on the one hand, and Europe, America and the West Indies on the other, carrying human cargo for over two hundred years. They were carried in inhuman conditions such that they barely survived the trip. Some died from starvation, some from beatings while others were thrown to the sharks if they were found to be too ill to deliver economically.<sup>18</sup> As a result, we have many Africans outside Africa—in the West Indies, the Caribbean Islands, Asia, Europe and America most of

whom do not know African culture. After the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century where machines were more important than human labour, workers on the sugar plantations in America and Caribbean Islands<sup>19</sup> were of no use as they lacked the skill to work in industry!

After colonialism, the African nations found themselves vulnerable to outside influences. The industrialised countries of the North began to manipulate the economies of the third world countries. Here is an illustration: In every corner of Africa, whether it is in Pietermaritzburg, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Nairobi, Blantyre, Lilongwe, Lusaka, Harare, Accra, one will always find Coca-cola, General Motors, Nestles, Firestone, Caltex and many others. These multi-national corporations have 'spread their tentacles everywhere with the object of sucking the life-blood from the already poor countries'.<sup>20</sup> Most of these multi-nationals have a monopoly of their products and a protected market thereby investing in areas where they maximise their profits and ensure that they will be able 'to repatriate their profits', though claiming to provide employment despite paying meagre wages and not salaries to the locals.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting that this type of exploitation is done in the full knowledge of the indigenous elite, some of whom are given commissions, thereby allowing the plundering of their nation.<sup>23</sup> In accepting the abuse of African hospitality in this form, it continues to impoverish Africa all the more. In short, the natural resources of most of the fifty-four countries that constitute Africa are foreign exploited and owned resulting in the economies of these countries being controlled externally.<sup>24</sup> All this amounts to neo-colonialism and abuse of our hospitality.

The political leadership that came after 1960s has also abused African hospitality. Nthamburi notes that independent African states cannot be exonerated from the contribution to the suffering of their peoples. There are many examples to illustrate this: Uganda during the time of Idi Amin was stained with blood; the civil war between Biafra and Nigeria reportedly left at least a million people dead.<sup>25</sup> Rwanda's genocide pitted Hutus against Tutsi tribes and civil war in Chad reportedly left many people dead; the civil war between Southern and Northern Sudan cannot be blamed on foreigners abusing African hospitality *per se* but Africans themselves have to carry their cross as well. Coupled with dictatorial regimes that Africa has witnessed before the 1990s when multi-party politics swept across Africa, we can rightly argue



that Africa has her own share of blame that she ought to rectify in line with the ideals of Christ's hospitality.<sup>26</sup>

Corruption, which can be defined as impairment of integrity or moral principle, inducement to wrong by bribery or other unethical and unlawful means<sup>27</sup> is another major abuse of African hospitality that has been a dominant problem since the 1960s. Speaking from the Kenyan context, Bishop Githiga says that corruption is centred on 'giving and receiving money where money has been considered as a means to attain any material benefits'.<sup>28</sup> In traditional Africa, he further contends, it was accepted as a norm to give tokens or tips to religious specialists like kings, chiefs and medicine persons as genuine practice. This was because it was considered fair to give these officers something considering that they were on nobody's payroll.<sup>29</sup> In the case of corruption, as practised in Kenya, as we have already seen, it contradicts African hospitality 'that was freely extended to religious and community leaders according to one's ability'.<sup>30</sup>

As Olusegun Obasanjo, the president of Nigeria pointed out, there are many differences between gifts and bribes—

In the African concept of appreciation and hospitality, a gift is a token; it is not demanded. The value is in the spirit of giving, not the material worth. The gift is made in the open, never in secret. Where a gift is excessive it becomes an embarrassment and is returned.<sup>31</sup>

Thus Obasanjo rightly rules out any justification for corruption as a way of doing business in Africa. On the whole, government corruption in Africa since the 1960s when leaders ignore merit and practise tribalism, nepotism and embezzle public funds has accelerated crime, hurt investment, stalled growth in the society, bled the national budget and undermined the sovereignty of the nation.<sup>32</sup> Such theft from the nation is always theft from the weakest in the nation: the poor, the old, the disabled, the sick, the children, and the newborn, which is in sharp contrast to our African hospitality and Christ's hospitality. All in all, corruption does not provide a net profit; rather, it distorts economic development rewarding the most dishonest rather than the most competent.<sup>33</sup>

In concluding this subsection we need to underline areas of abuse such as colonialism, neo-colonialism, slavery and the slave trade, bad governance and corruption as a challenge to African hospitality from the earlier times. Because of limited time and space it is not possible to exhaust areas of abuse. Our study

appreciates that the effect of the ancient intertribal wars amongst Africans and, in particular, the infamous Shak–Zulu Wars in the nineteenth century, will need further review as an abuse or strength of African hospitality. However, we have paid special attention to the abuse that is inflicted from the outside because internal abuse is not as damaging as external abuse.

### Modern Challenges to African Hospitality

Modern economic pressures, oriented society, technology, materialism and the urbanisation in Africa has grown individualism, religious fundamentalism, secularism, permissiveness, and science all of which threaten African hospitality.<sup>34</sup> In the cities, pressure of work and a task-oriented lifestyle, including the growing 'time is money' reality is increasing. These pressures of time and work are winning over African traditions of personal relationships.<sup>35</sup>

The increase of a 'don't care attitude' is, unfortunately, working against African hospitality. In this permissive atmosphere, one may find young people who do not respect the cultural norms or even the law of the land. They tend to say, 'this thing is good because it pleases me'. As a result, vices such as marriage break-ups, abortion, crime, pre-marital sex, irreligiosity, irresponsible parenthood, increase in street children, to name a few, are becoming a common trend in our modern towns and cities.<sup>36</sup>

My interview with Mr. Julius Gatimû Kabûrû shows that with capitalism as the way of doing business in Africa, the desire for profit is overwhelming and is killing our hospitality.<sup>37</sup> Due to growing individualism, that is 'the me and my immediate family' concept, it is no wonder that people are putting 'Beware, fierce dogs can attack you' posters even when there are no dogs in the particular compound. This is a modern tendency to keep visitors away from homes so as to attend to other business outside. Sometimes they do it for the purpose of security as the rate of crime has increased with so-called 'modernity'.<sup>38</sup>

In rural Africa, almost everyone knows who lives in the next village.<sup>39</sup> In other words, whether people in the rural areas are related to each other or not, every one naturally knows his/ her neighbours. This is not the case in urban areas. In the cities, people live in such a way that neighbours do not know each other very well.<sup>40</sup> They tend to lock everyone out and lock themselves instead. In

some neighbourhoods people are forced to meet each other periodically for welfare and security matters. Others get to meet only when some disaster or misfortune occurs. Fortunately, there are those who go out of their way to reach out to their neighbours with the claims of the gospel as witnesses of Christ, unlike in Britain where it is taboo to speak the word of God through preaching in public.<sup>41</sup> In any case, if we truly believe, God will grant us the spirit of discernment who will help us to differentiate between evil and genuine strangers whether we are in villages or urban areas. One cannot ignore St. Paul when he says, 'Love does not do harm to its neighbour. Therefore love is the fulfilment of the law' (Rom. 13:10).

### Conclusion

This paper has sought to revisit the concept of hospitality in African heritage. By so doing, it has attempted to show the social-religious manifestation of African hospitality. That is, it has sought to expound how hospitality manifests itself in the religious domain whereby it is linked to the ancestors or the living dead, for acts of inhospitality embarrass the ancestors as much as they embarrass the living.

The paper has also sought to further develop the social manifestation of African hospitality, which is expressed through dancing, drama and singing, which are 'perceived as hospitable activities in that they bind the community together'.<sup>42</sup> Singing and dancing are also seen as social activities that tend to minimise tensions within the African community.<sup>43</sup>

Africans from time immemorial have co-operated in works such as agricultural activities, building and repairing of houses, land cultivation and clearance of bushy areas, hunting and fishing, among other areas.<sup>44</sup> It thereby shows that African hospitality heavily relies on industry for its sustenance thereby adopting hard work as opposed to laziness which the Bible condemns (2 Thess. 3:10).

The paper has also expounded the general features of expressions of hospitality in the African church today such as welcoming, warm handshakes, exchange of greetings, communal involvement, emphasis on respect, honesty and sincerity in all dealings, the symbolism of food, interdependence, symbols, abuse and modern challenges. In addressing the abuse and challenges, a line

has been drawn between the abuse of hospitality mainly from a historical perspective while letting the challenges focus mainly on day-to-day happenings.

In so doing, it has become a re-visitation of African hospitality because it is premised on the fact that the concept is so much part of the African personality and agrees with Oduyoye<sup>45</sup> who sees hospitality as inherently African. Like African religion it permeates all spheres of life;<sup>46</sup> the better thing is to revisit it because we are writing and researching within it. We eat and drink within it. We socialise and worship within it and therefore we can better revisit the concept because it has already been with us and all we need is to re-focus our attention on ourselves—our lives, the lives of our fore-parents and relate it to the present time when the gospel of Christ is calling the tune from every corner of Africa.

We have noted that African hospitality is compatible with Christ's hospitality. This is evidenced by the fact that some expressions of African hospitality have been incorporated into the modern church, especially in the East African churches. This includes the way the East African Christian Revival Movement conducts her fellowships as truly African and as truly Christian without compromising the two. It is also evidenced by the emphasis on virtues such as honesty, justice, truth, goodness, love, care and respect. These virtues are part of Christ's hospitality as well as African hospitality.

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#### ENDNOTES

1. J. Healey & D. Sybertz, *Towards an African Narrative Theology* (Nairobi: Paulines, 1996), p. 15.
2. Information gathered through participant observation as a member of the East African Revival.
3. J. N. K. Mugambi, *From Liberation to Reconstruction: African Christian Theology After the Cold War* (Nairobi: E.A.E.P), 1995, p. 126.
4. Mugambi, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
5. We gather this from studying NT and systematic theology dealing with Christian doctrines.
6. This information is gathered through participant observation.

7. This is very common in both the Catholic and the mainline churches in Kenya such as Anglicans, Methodists, Lutherans, Reformed and the Presbyterian.
8. This is gathered out of participant observation whenever I attend the particular church.
9. J. M. Kitagawa, *Spiritual Liberation and Freedom in Asia* (NY: Peter Lang, 1990), p. 120.
10. G. W. Carpenter, *The Way in Africa* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1960), p. 1.
11. Mugambi, *op. cit.*, p. xii.
12. See Jomo Kenyatta. 1938, *Facing Mount Kenya* (London: Heinemann).
13. *Ibid.*
14. Mugambi, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
15. Z. Nthamburi, *The African Church at the Crossroads* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1991), p. 39, 46.
16. There are many other sad effects of colonialism, for example, the infamous Soweto massacre of South Africa where children were indiscriminately killed for protesting against inferior education. Also, the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela for 27 years is fresh in our memory.
17. See J. N. K. Mugambi, 1989, *African Christian Theology: An introduction*.
18. J. G. Mutugi, *The Truth About African Hospitality: Is There Hope For Africa?* (Mombasa: The Salt Productions, 2001), p. 37.
19. See T. Adeyemo, 1997. *Is Africa Cursed?* (Nairobi: C.LM.C) and T. E. Antony, *Are Blacks Spiritually Inferior To Whites?* (New Jersey: Renaissance Productions, 1992).
20. Nthamburi, *op.cit.*, p. 40.
21. This information is gathered partly through participant observation.
22. This is mainly from the Kenyan experience before December 30th, 2003 when the ruling party KANU was voted out and ushered in a new crop of leadership under Mwai Kibaki of National Rainbow Coalition.
23. See T. Obandina, "Getting the measure of African poverty," in *Africa Today* vol. 5, No. 7, July 1999, p. 34.
24. Mutugi, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
25. Dictatorial regimes have been clearly experienced in Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, South Africa, Uganda, Zimbabwe and other countries where freedom of expression was not granted. And political detainees have been dying in police cells.
26. H. J. Okullu, *Church and politics in East Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima, 1974), p. 43.
27. However, we need to appreciate that Kenyan is a reborn country after the successful democratic elections on the 30th Dec., 2002.
28. G. Githiga, *The Church as a Bulwark Against Authoritarianism* (Oxford: Regnum,

- 2001), p. 58.
28. However we need to realize that Kenya is a re-born country after the successful democratic elections of 30th Dec., 2002.
  29. J. S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Nairobi: E.A.E.P., 1969), pp. 166-93.
  30. Githiga, *The Church as the Bulwark against Authoritarianism*, p. 58.
  31. See John Bray, "Business in Africa," vol. 7. No. 3, June, 1999, p. 15.
  32. These have been experienced in Kenya. See also Githiga, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-117.
  33. See Githiga, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-117.
  34. Healey & Sybertz, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
  35. Mutugi, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
  36. This information is gathered through participant observation.
  37. Interview with Julius Gatimũ Kabũrũ, 9th Nov., 1998.
  38. Healey & Sybertz, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
  39. This information is gathered through participatory observation in most parts of Kenya.
  40. Interview with Julius Gatimu Kaburu, 9th November, 1998.
  41. D. Holloway, *Ready Steady Grow: Principles for the Growth of the Church in Britain* (Eastbourne: Kingsway Publications, 1989), p. 37.
  42. M. P. Moila, *Challenging Issues in African Christianity* (Pretoria: CB Powell Bible Centre, 2002 a), p. 3.
  43. S. A. Thorpe, *African Traditional Religion* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1991), p. 116.
  44. Kenyatta, 1938, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Moila, *op. cit.*, 2002a: 4; T. J. Obengo, "The Role of Ancestors as Guardians of Morality in African Traditional Religion," *Journal of Black Theology in South Africa* Vol. 2, no. 2, Nov., 1997: 53.
  45. M. A. Oduyoye, *Introducing African Women's Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), p. 94.
  46. Mbiti, *op. cit.*, p. 1f.