Spiritual Mapping:
The Turbulent Career of a Contested
American Missionary Paradigm, 1989-2005

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Spiritual Mapping:
De Turbulente Carrière van een Omstreden
Amerikaans Zendingsparadigma, 1989-2005

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACEA	Apostolic Council for Educational Accountability
ACIERA	Federación Allianza Cristiana de Iglesias Evangélicas de la República Argentina
ACPE	Apostolic Council for Prophetic Elders
ADRM	Apostolic Roundtable or Deliverance Ministries
APN	Aglow Prayer Net
ASPN	Apostolic Strategic Prayer Network
ATN	Apostolic Transformation Network
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
DAWN	Discipling A Whole Nation
GHM	Global Harvest Ministries
ICA	International Coalition of Apostles
IMC	International Missonary Council
IRC	International Reconciliation Coalition
ITFP	International Fellowship of Transformation Powers
LCWE	Lausanne Committee or World Evangelization
KCF	Kansas City Fellowship
NAE	National Association of Evangelicals
NAR	New Apostolic Reformation
NRM	New Religious Movement
NIV	New International Version
SPN	Strategic Prayer Network
SWN	Spiritual Warfare Network
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
UCR	Unión Cívica Radical
UPT	United Prayer Track
US	United States of America
USSPN	United States Spiritual Warfare Prayer Network
WLI	Wagner Leadership Institute
WPC	World Prayer Center
YWAM	Youth With A Mission

PREFACE

It was 1996. My wife and I were missionaries working in the Republic of Mali, West Africa, where we had been working since 1986 with The Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA), an Evangelical missionary organization of North American origin. The CMA had been one of the first Protestant mission agencies to penetrate the interior of French West Africa after the First World War, establishing its first missionary station in 1923. The missionary work resulted in the *Eglise Chrétienne Evangélique au Mali* (ECEM). Today this denomination numbers around 40,000 members and constitutes two-thirds of Malian Protestantism. Mali has approximately 10 million inhabitants, of which about 90% are Muslim and 8% belong to a traditional African religion.

Something new happened in 1996. At CMA missionary conferences US visitors were flown in to teach the missionaries about 'a new cutting-edge paradigm' for mission. Twice a year the 50-60 missionaries of the CMA in Mali met in conferences for mutual encouragement, strategizing and other practical purposes. This 'Malian CMA missionary family' consisted for the most part of Americans, with missionaries of Canadian, Dutch, French and German origin.

The introduction of this 'new paradigm' had not been decided upon by conference vote nor had it been a new policy originating from the CMA head office in Colorado Springs. It had not come from the national ECEM. It just seemed 'to happen'. The new paradigm entailed that missionaries had to 'identify' and 'bind territorial spirits' and 'unleash' divine power. Evangelism was to be preceded by 'prayer walks', and prayer was considered best if done geographically 'on-site', within a 'target area'. Prayer became the identification of and confrontation with demons. It was designed to make missionary work more effective and was presented as a means to avoid a frustrating lack of success. All of this was categorized as 'Spiritual Mapping'.

Prayer was then to be followed by the usual evangelistic efforts. This meant a rather traditional and frontal presentation of the message of the Christian faith, called 'preaching' and 'witnessing'. At the time this was done through open-air preaching and singing on market squares. It could be done via door-to-door visiting, showing evangelistic films or selling books, tapes and Bibles.

After the first introduction of Spiritual Mapping to the Mali CMA missionaries, it spread into Mali itself. Prayer journeys were organized to churches and missionary stations. Teams of US Evangelical specialists with 'spiritual insight' were flown into Mali. They came from a range of Evangelical and Pentecostal churches and intended to produce missionary 'breakthroughs' by acting as 'mobile SWOT teams', using the marketing term SWOT to indicate a 'spiritual' strategic strength and weakness analysis. They visited selected shrines, mosques and sections of the cities of Bamako, Koutiala, Sikasso, existing missionary stations and new church planting projects in areas hitherto without Christian churches. A team flown

in from the New Life Church in Colorado Springs secretively anointed traditional fetish huts and whole villages, and a team flew to the ancient and mysterious city of Timbuktu for a period of Spiritual Mapping. To organize these new activities among resident missionaries, the new part time position of 'Prayer Coordinator' was created.

Spiritual Mapping reached national churches as well. Some teams taught seminars to pastors and laypeople of the ECEM. Books, tapes and videos were distributed. The president of the ECEM was invited to attend the 'Global Consultation on World Evangelism' in 1995 in Seoul, Korea and a second consultation in 1997 in Pretoria, South Africa. ECEM delegations did go, after having received financial gifts from missionaries or having borrowed money for their airplane tickets.

CMA was not the only channel for introducing Spiritual Mapping to Mali. Around the corner from the CMA head office in Koutiala was a 'base' for the Charismatic missionary organization Youth With A Mission (YWAM). It organized one or two four-month Discipleship Training Schools (DTS) in Koutiala annually with students from all over the world and later in the capital Bamako as well. Here Spiritual Mapping had become incorporated into the curriculum. Each DTS culminated in a two- to three-month period of evangelism. The teams went into the cities and villages applying their Spiritual Mapping principles. They shared and practised it with the local churches with which they cooperated. Here again books, tapes and videos were distributed.

Prayer meetings were noisy with people speaking loudly, sometimes shouting, turning physically in all directions of an area and threatening demons. Teams and individuals travelled with (salad) oil, to anoint houses, villages or whole districts in order to demarcate and 'cleanse' these geographical areas. Houses with sick inhabitants were literally surrounded by praying Christians. New buildings were dedicated with prayers offered in every single room. The history of cities was diligently studied in order to know the name and function of the leading territorial demon in charge.

The strong emphasis on demons and geography came with an emphasis on the missionary concept of the '10/40 Window'. This was a rectangular area between the 10th and 40th parallels that included North Africa, the Middle East, India, China and extended all the way to Japan. This window was presented as 'the last frontier of mission'. It was here that the lowest percentage of the Christian population per country was found. Consequently, prayer and missionary resources had to be allocated to this area. This area was the very realm of the last and 'very powerful' undefeated demons. Major efforts were put in place to 'break' these powers before the year 2000.

Living and working in Mali in 1996, it was confusing and produced a growing uneasiness. It did not seem to fit our current Evangelical theological and anthropological textbooks. Even more, conversations and discussions with some missionary colleagues did not seem to lead to mutual understanding. The usual Evangelical ways of reasoning fell mute. It seemed to be not just a different way of understanding, but a different way of reasoning altogether.

In the meantime, considerable amounts of time and money had been devoted to Spiritual Mapping and activities related to it. Yet the concepts had been introduced with a certain casualness, as if they were self-evident.

The question if and how Spiritual Mapping was connected to local Malian cultures was not discussed. How did the concepts relate to the categories of the African traditions and Muslim Sufi traditions?

Spiritual Mapping gradually faded away later. However, the concepts of Spiritual Mapping never completely disappeared from among the missionaries. They are still to be found in the missionary narrative of prayers, preaching and conversations. The CMA, which is to be characterized as a broad movement rather than a tightly organized denomination, did not officially adopt or reject Spiritual Mapping. The international missionary branch of the CMA in the US, the Division of Overseas Ministries (today: International Ministries), did the same. Spiritual Mapping was given room but without endorsement.

In the Malian ECEM Spiritual Mapping lasted as an undercurrent in the narratives as well. The church was interested in demonology and considered it important, but in the end the concepts and techniques of Spiritual Mapping were not widely adopted.

Since Spiritual Mapping was done in a secretive way, at least as far as outsiders were concerned, Mali had not been alarmed as such. Nothing out of the ordinary had been seen. In public, the teams had walked and prayed in silence, anointing without too much visibility and performing their tasks in an almost stealthy way. They had usually entered the country as tourists and, when outside, while visiting a shrine or following a local guide, they had identified, prayed or anointed the given territory silently.

Where did Spiritual Mapping come from? What made it so different from what we had been used to? What was its theological and cultural background? How could it arise with such force and diminish afterwards? Preliminary research hinted at an international phenomenon, and adherents told us Spiritual Mapping had originated in Argentina. Was there indeed a link between Argentina, America and Mali?

Recent decades have shown an increasing interest in Satan, spirits and the supernatural in the West: there have been movies like *The Exorcist*, novels about spirit guides, esoteric seminars, concepts like 'Star Wars' and the 'evil empire'. Stories in the press about bizarre Satanic cults appeared with some regularity, and churches became interested in exorcism once again. Spiritual Mapping was not an isolated phenomenon. How do theology and culture interact? Upon our return to The Netherlands in the year 2000 we wanted to gain a deeper understanding of this historical phenomenon. The idea of Spiritual Mapping had become quite popular but at the same time was disputed in missionary and some academic circles. When I was searching for a proper topic for an academic dissertation Spiritual Mapping seemed to be suitable.

I have been greatly helped by contacts and conversations with many people while writing this dissertation. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Karel A. Steenbrink of the University of Utrecht for acting as my supervisor. His guidance has been invaluable for the direction of my research. It was a privilege to have met

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Spiritual Mapping was an international Evangelical and Neo-Pentecostal movement that specialized in the use of religious techniques to wage a territorial spiritual war against unseen non-human beings. These techniques were considered to be of divine origin and their intended function was primarily missionary. In addition to being a movement, the term Spiritual Mapping was used to designate a concept as well. This study describes the history of Spiritual Mapping as a movement and as a concept, which overlapped for some time.

As a movement, Spiritual Mapping developed at the end of the 1980s and in the first half of the 1990s in the United States. One of its most well-known centres was the School of World Missions of Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California. Some staff members at Fuller formed networks of individuals and independent organizations. They developed activities in the form of conferences, seminars, publications, missionary activities, interactive websites and the like. The movement originated within US Evangelicalism and developed into a Neo-Pentecostal movement. After its decline as an independent movement, elements of Spiritual Mapping, especially its techniques, were absorbed by other new religious movements.

As a concept, Spiritual Mapping originated – somewhat earlier than the movement – in US Evangelicalism in the second half of the 1980s. The Evangelical missionary urge to win the world for the Christian faith, the desired fulfilment of the Great Commission of Matthew 28:19, led to the integration of theological and sociological models to enhance the effectiveness of missionary work. Adherents of Spiritual Mapping considered their concept to be a logical consequence of the concepts of the Church Growth Movement in the US. In the view of adherents of Spiritual Mapping, sociological models dealt with only one side of reality, and thus its adherents wanted to develop a 'map' of the other side, i.e. the supernatural dimension. According to Spiritual Mapping, reality has both a natural dimension and a supernatural one, which closely interact. Missionary work without awareness of the supernatural dimension was considered to be working blind. Knowledge of the supernatural was considered to be of utmost importance for missionary work. The dimension of the natural was viewed as being under the dominion of non-human evil beings or 'demons', serving under the leadership of Satan and opposing divine purposes on earth. These beings were supposed to have dominion over a geographical area or geopolitical unit and sometimes over other forms of sociological groups. These 'territorial spirits' not only had their own area but also acted within the framework of a hierarchy with different functions and responsibilities. These beings and their role in both dimensions were to be put on a

'spiritual' map. This meant research into the combined dimensions and identification of the names and functions of these beings. At the very heart of Spiritual Mapping were the models and techniques developed for this purpose. Once the necessary information had been obtained, adherents used it to end the rule of these beings over the given territories or, in their words, 'to break their power and have victory'. Techniques had been developed for this as well. Adherents expected social, political and economic transformations that would result not only in the dissemination of the Christian faith but also in the transformation of the whole of society. A fully developed model of Spiritual Mapping was first tested in 1989 in Argentina.

What was the nature and development of Spiritual Mapping? This study will first investigate both the history of the modern concept of Spiritual Mapping and the accompanying movement. Second, this study will try to indicate aspects of the cultural and theological contexts in which Spiritual Mapping was born and developed.

Relevance

What is the academic relevance of the subject of this study? We should point first to Spiritual Mapping's global influence. Ad Verwijs did not exaggerate in his Spiritual Warfare als zendingsmethodiek (English: Spiritual Warfare as a Missionary Method) when he stated that Spiritual Mapping was a hype in many non-Western countries.[1] Other researchers confirm Verwijs' statement and point to the considerable impact of Spiritual Mapping around the world, influencing Evangelical missionary strategy and practice, especially in Evangelical and Neo-Pentecostal circles.[2] It is probably safe to say that there is virtually no country in the world where Spiritual Mapping has not been practised. In the US, Spiritual Mapping developed into a movement that lasted for several years, but, even after its decline, its basic tenets were adopted by other movements and are still practised. Around the world many Evangelicals have had some degree of involvement with Spiritual Mapping. All this may indicate a typical in-house Evangelical concern. But there is more.

Second, the subject is important because the phenomenon of Spiritual Mapping raises important questions anthropologically. How did Spiritual Mapping relate to the context of cultural changes in the US and Argentina? As we will see below, Spiritual Mapping was tested in Argentina and marketed by adherents in the US as a divine initiative that started in Argentina. One of the questions to ask is if and how intercultural exchange took place between Evangelicalism in the US and Argentine Pentecostalism. Important in these cultural shifts is the concept of worldview. How did Spiritual Mapping reflect possible changes in worldview?

Third, the study of Spiritual Mapping is relevant theologically. In the context of the classical systematic theological thinking of Evangelicals in the US, Spiritual Mapping has its own line of approach, especially in angelology in connection with its emphasis on demonology. In the context of the Evangelical

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[1] Verwijs 2003, 13
[2] Geib 1997, 7-8; Lowe 1998(b), 11; Rommen 1995, 2; Siew 1999, 4-6.

Church Growth Movement, Spiritual Mapping presented itself as a sub-group, not contradicting Church Growth's soteriological and ecclesiological notions initially but emphasizing demonology as its leading missionary principle and technique. In its wake many practices and definitions changed: the nature of prayer, the practice of evangelism and the concept of spiritual warfare, to mention a few.

In theological terms, it is relevant for missiology as well. Its missionary concept shifts the emphasis from individual conversion to group conversion, from winning individual 'souls' (pietism) to winning geographical areas or, in other words, from the individual to chuch planting (Latin: *plantatio ecclesiae*).

Terminology

This study investigates both the history of the modern Spiritual Mapping concept and its movement, with aspects of the cultural and theological contexts in which it was born and developed. The emic perspective, i.e. the perspective of insiders, of Spiritual Mapping will be treated in chapter four under 'Self-Understanding'.[3] Most terms will be defined as the study progresses, but in this section the terms Spiritual Mapping, as concept and as movement, the contours of the term Evangelicalism, Neo-Pentecostalism and the Spanish *Evangélico* and *Pentecostales* will briefly be discussed.

In 1990 the term Spiritual Mapping was used for the first time by Otis at a meeting of a Post-Lausanne II Manila Group in Pasadena, California. This meeting would later become known as the First Spiritual Warfare Network Meeting. Chapter three will elaborate on this.

The term Spiritual Mapping is used as a concept. Some sources preferred to use the term *Strategic-Level Spiritual Warfare* (SLSW)[4] or *Cosmic-Level Spiritual Warfare* (CLSW)[5]. However, they frequently alternate between these terms and Spiritual Mapping. In a sense, the terms SLSW and CLSW were more correct because they include the all-embracing process flowing from the central idea of Spiritual Mapping and the warfare process preceding and following it. In its narrow sense, Spiritual Mapping, was merely the act of making a spiritual map, but it quickly became used in a much broader sense, i.e. as the wider process of its warfare. Spiritual Mapping became the term most commonly used in research and popular usage to describe the whole.[6] This study will follow this common usage of the term Spiritual Mapping.

Not all demonology, exorcism or geographical demonic ideas are the same as found in Spiritual Mapping. As a concept, Spiritual Mapping combines three aspects. The first aspect is that it should aim at a cohesive and integrated system or model, or attempt to arrive at such, perceived by adherents to be scientifically viable. Through this model the unseen non-human beings can be identified and battled through a pre-designed system. In this concept all notions such as territorial spirits, prayer walks, identificational repentance, breaking and binding should have a logical place, in line with the model of a systematic technology. The second aspect

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[3] Pike 1967, 37-72.
[4] Lowe 1998(b); Wagner 1992(a); 1993(a).
[5] Kraft 1989; 1994.
[6] Geib 1997, Siew 1999.

is that this concept should have a missionary function: it is designed as technology to enhance the progress of mission. Its goal should be to increase the number of churches or to transform society. The third aspect is its geographical orientation. The 'geopolitical units' are the very seats and areas of power of the non-human beings. These areas are usually defined along the lines of normal human geographical structures like cities, countries and provinces. Yet they may be organized in the form of sociological cross sections as well.

Spiritual Mapping is a term used for the movement as well. What is meant here by movement needs some elaboration. Anticipating the next chapters, we will note a relatively sudden and somewhat revolutionary shift in its religious concepts and organization. The shift started with a few religious innovations that had a prophetic function in relation to the others. One of the characteristics is a tendency to interpret common Christian praxis as obsolete, at least in part. [7] The definition by Gerlach and Hine applies: 'A group of people who are organized for, ideologically motivated by, and committed to a purpose which implements some form of personal or social change; who are actively engaged in the recruitment of others; and whose influence is spreading in opposition to the established order within which it originated.'[8] Gerlach and Hine's definition and elaboration apply to a large extent to Spiritual Mapping. It is a polycephalous, segmented and cellular movement. The units are reticulated in a network of personal, structural and ideological ties. The spread and recruitment follow the lines of often pre-existing significant social relationships. Personal commitment is procured by the experience of the newest of values, which separates the adherent from the existing order. A new ideology codifies new goals and behaviour, defines interpretation, motives, opposition and provides ties with others in the network.[9] It is a movement in the loose sense of the word, without membership cards, focussed on persons, based on personal relationships through flexible and ever changing networks, dependent on modern forms of communication and without a centralized theological core.

Spiritual Mapping is an aspect of the boader theological concept of spiritual warfare, which is the concept of a dualistic war between good and evil. It may also refer to a movement among Evangelicals with a special interest in one or a few of the many forms of expression of this concept. Spiritual Mapping is a form of that. It is not unusual for a source to use the term spiritual warfare when actually talking about Spiritual Mapping.

This study places Spiritual Mapping in the context of *US Evangelicalism*. We will usually use the term United States of America (US) for 'America'. Sometimes North America will be used to distinguish the continent from others. The historical setting of the movement brings us to the many definitions and typologies of Evangelicalism in the US and its sub-groups in the second half of the 20th century. In this study we will use the following contours.

The terms Americanism or American Exceptionalism will be used to describe the belief that the US differs qualitatively from other nations, because of its credo, history and political and religious institutions. It is sometimes a conscious

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[7] Kloos 2002, 111-112.
[8] Gerlach and Hine 1970, xvi.
[9] Gerlach and Hine 1970, xviii.

conviction, sometimes a scarcely defined cultural feeling and harbours a sense of superiority or responsibility. The Christian conservative version of Americanism points to the historical roots in the Puritan ideal of the America as a 'Shining City on a Hill', a model for the world. This Christian version usually incorporates the roots of the ideals of liberty in the American Revolution, the abundant opportunities of the American Dream for immigrants and the US as the leader of the free world in its fight for liberty. The socio-political movement of Manifest Destiny is an imperialist and missionary expression of this Americanism.[10]

Historically, Evangelicalism in the US is considered in this study to be a segment of Protestantism that originated in the revival movements of continental pietism and Anglo-Saxon revivalism in the 18th century and their heirs like the Holiness movements in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Theologically, Evangelicalism is characterized by several traits.[11] First, there is its conversionism. This refers to the emphasis on personal conversion, faith and commitment. Second, there is its missionary nature, meaning the urge to spread the Christian message and bring others to that same personal conversion. Third, we can point to its biblicism, which is the idea of accepting the Bible as the normative divine revelation for human beings. Fourth, there is crucicentrism, i.e. the belief that the cross is the central means in the redemption of human beings. For Evangelicals, this means that soteriology is at the centre of theological and – even more so – missionarythinking. These theological traits do not confine Evangelicalism to one theological or denominational tradition.[12]

Sociologically, Evangelicalism is multiform, as Noll commented: 'These Evangelical traits never by themselves yielded cohesive, institutionally compact, or clearly demarcated groups of Christians. But they do serve to identify a large family of churches and religious enterprises.'[13] Spiritual Mapping is related to a 20th-century form of Evangelicalism, also known as Neo-Evangelicalism, a term popular in the 1950s. This new form tried to break with Evangelical fundamentalism as had been developed in the first half of the 20th century. This Neo-Evangelicalism arose after the Second World War and aimed at integrating modern science with Evangelical theology. Neo-Evangelicalism developed into a pluralistic, vibrant, intellectually ambitious, culturally visible and eventually politically active conglomerate of organizations and denominations, nicknamed by Noll as the (Billy) 'Graham orbit'.[14]

Throughout the second half of the 20th century this movement increasingly included Pentecostals, Southern Baptists, Mennonites, several Holiness churches, Lutherans and many more. To varying degrees they became part of the 'orbit' of Neo-Evangelicalism, and it is within this orbit that Spiritual Mapping developed. Since Neo-Evangelicalism was successful and grew at the expense of fundamentalist Evangelicals, the term was gradually abandoned and 'Evangelicalism' gradually took its place. This study will use the term Neo-Evangelical only when the prefix 'neo-' appears necessary in the context.

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[10] Ignatieff 2005; Kagan 2004, Lipsitz 1990, 23, 32.
[11] Van Engen 1996, 127.
[12] Noll 2001, 12.
[13] Noll 2001, 13, 25
[14] Noll 2001, 18.

Within the historical, theological and sociological categories used to define Evangelicalism, many different opinions and shades of meaning are found. A difference to be kept in mind is that between Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism, a difference that adherents of Spiritual Mapping themselves make. Pentecostalism is defined historically by some as stemming from Azusa, whereas Evangelicals come from Protestant denominations. Theologically, some equated Evangelicalism with Cessationism, the doctrine that supernatural occurrences ceased after New Testament times. As the years progressed, this equation became less common, but – as we shall see in chapters two and three – Charles H. Kraft, George Otis Jr and C. Peter Wagner used this to defend their position as being Evangelical and not Pentecostal. They did so on theological and historical grounds,[15] which is not unusual in sources of Spiritual Mapping. However, others saw Pentecostals as part of Evangelicalism, arguing on theological and historical grounds that this had always been the case.[16] Still others argue on sociological grounds that Pentecostals became part of Evangelicalism during the second half of the 20th century and even offer precise years as crystallization points for the process.[17]

This study is not the place to settle the discussion on the nature and definition of Evangelicalism in the US. It will not force one definition on different contexts. Since we are investigating these different contexts, the term Evangelical will be used as given in the contours above and applied and defined depending on the given context.

Spiritual Mapping is placed in the context of *Neo-Pentecostalism* as well. There are many possible categorizations in the whole of Pentecostalism.[18] Neo-Pentecostalism as a typology is used in several ways as well. Some prefer to designate two categories of renewal groups in the 20th century: Classical Pentecostalism starting in 1906 and Neo-Pentecostalism starting around 1960 and developing until the present.[19] Some prefer three categories, as was fashionable in the 1980s: Classical Pentecostalism, starting in 1906, the Charismatic Renewal starting around 1960 and Neo-Pentecostalism starting around 1980. To emphasize the perception of divine initiative, some call these three categories the first, second and third wave of the Holy Spirit, making Neo-Pentecostalism and the 'Third Wave' movement synonyms.[20] This is common usage in Spiritual Mapping. In the late 1980s others, such as Walter Hollenweger and David Barrett and Alan Johnson called for revision of the categorization[21] Some prefer to extend the category of the Third Wave to the Neo-Charismatics, including all independent and non-Western groups throughout the world that cannot be classified as either Pentecostal or Charismatic.[22]

As will be argued in chapter two, this study will employ the model of three categories since there are some theological and sociological differences between the Charismatic Renewal and Neo-Pentecostalism. Whether these differences justify a

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[15] Kraft 2002(a), 1, 28, 46; Wagner 1988(a), 31-36, 38, 41.
[16] McGee 2000(a), 337-340.
[17] Noll 2001, 23.
[18] Burgess 2002, 928; Matthews 2000, 822-823; Synan 2001, 8-9.
[19] Synan 2001.
[20] Wagner 2002(b), 1141.
[21] Barrett and Johnson 2001, ix-xv, 3-6; Hollenweger 1997, 326, 327, 400.
[22] Burgess and Van der Maas 2002, xvii, 928, 1141; Blumhofer, Spittler and Wacker 1999, 112, 129; McGee 2000(b), 742; Wagner 2002(b), 1141.

completely separate categorization between a second and third category is not the object of this study. Its employment is purely for practical purposes and follows common usage by both adherents and critics of Spiritual Mapping.

Since part of this study is focussed on Argentina, it should be kept in mind that in Latin America the term *evangélico* is roughly equivalent to the general English term 'Protestant' and cannot be translated as 'Evangelical'.[23] *Pentecostales* are considered a sub-category of *evangélicos*. A Pentecostal in the US is not necessarily the same as one in Latin America or Argentina. The different history and different social setting results in a different identity and typology. The ongoing discussion about Latin American definitions and typologies will not be discussed in this study since Argentina has a pattern of religious development that is different from the rest of Latin America.[24] Usually, they differ from Argentina with respect to being based on denomination, when immigrants arrived, political stance or otherwise. Definitions and typologies as presented by Argentine sources base themselves on a combination of sociological and theological factors.[25] Briefly, it can be stated here that within Argentine Protestantism Neo-Pentecostalism includes typical Argentine characteristics and has influenced a major segment of Protestantism, causing a strong Pentecostalization of the *Evangélicos*, be it Classical Pentecostalism or non-Pentecostal churches. This will be discussed in chapter two.

Method

This study aims at an historical description of the concept and movement of Spiritual Mapping in their cultural and theological contexts, which are then used to help in interpreting phenomena. The cultural contexts will be approached through cultural anthropological categories, of which culture and worldview will be the most prominent. The theological context will be approached through systematic theological categories; here epistemology and demonology will receive the most attention.

The historical descriptive approach is the main approach in which we will integrate the history of ideas and sociohistorical developments. Owing to its nature as a conglomerate of networks, the history of ideas in their contexts will naturally receive more emphasis than its institutional history. Documents, archive materials, websites and interviews will be used to describe the origins, development and decline of the movement in chapters two, three and six.

Within the framework of the historical approach, systematic theological models will be used to describe and analyse the main categories of the movement's self-understanding in chapter four and criticism by its opponents in chapter five. Part of the framework of classical systematic theology will be used. The choice for this framework is twofold: first, the movement's origins are found in Evangelical circles that use this classical theological narrative; second, the movement itself did not present a fully developed theological framework of its own. Cultural anthropological models will be used as well. Here the choice is motivated by the fact that the

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[23] Davies 2006, 6.
[24] Stoll 1990, 3-7; Westmeier 1999, 13-25.
[25] Miguez 1998, 27; Wynarczyk 1998, 2; Wynarczyk, Semán and De Majo 1995, 57-74.

movement does not present a fully developed system of its own but does explicitly employ some anthropological categories.

Within the framework of the historical approach the comparative approach will be used as well. Contexts and concepts did shift within the movement over the years, and the internal continuity and discontinuity will be noted. Externally, comparisons with the movement's opponents and movements that eclipsed Spiritual Mapping in a later phase will be employed.

Structure

Chapter two addresses the context in which Spiritual Mapping originated. It will provide the background needed to understand the concept and its movement. It discusses the Church Growth Movement in the US with its basic concepts and Charles H. Kraft's missionary anthropology because the latter has ramifications for the understanding of Spiritual Mapping. Next it follows briefly the Charismatic Renewal and Neo-Pentecostals in their concepts that are relevant for this study. Argentina is described with elements of its social and religious background in relation to the emergence of Argentine Pentecostalism and the role of Spiritual Mapping. Chapter two ends with a discussion of the aspects of the cultural setting of the US in which Spiritual Mapping developed. It offers a description of elements of the wider setting of US religious culture, focussing on sociological aspects of spirituality in the US in general and Evangelicalism and Neo-Pentecostalism in particular.

Chapter three describes the actual birth of the movement in 1989 and its development, focussing on main individuals, publications, organizations and networks. This chapter will elaborate on Spiritual Mapping as a practical missionary field method. A discussion of the possibility of measuring the numerical growth and geographical spread of the movement will be offered. Chapter four describes the start of the disintegration of the movement. It will show how the movement was absorbed by other movements and how the concept of Spiritual Mapping continued to live on in them. Chapter five discusses the movement's self-understanding. Its theological and anthropological notions will be presented in order to understand its motifs and ways of reasoning. Chapter six examines the criticism offered by its opponents. These analytical chapters employ both theological and anthropological categories and describe systematically how the movement saw itself and how its opponents saw it. The chapter is intended to gain more insight into the question of how the movement functioned in its context and how its critics interacted with it. Both chapters five and six end with short sections commenting on the contexts as described in chapters two and three. Chapter seven contains our interpretation of the movement and includes theological and anthropological conclusions on it and its concepts.

Sources

Primary Sources

Primary sources are those produced by adherents and include published and unpublished sources such as literature in hard copy or digital form, archives, videotapes and interviews. Most publications come from Evangelical sources in the US. A large majority of these publications has been translated and published in Spanish as well. Most primary sources are of a popular scientific nature, easy to read and geared toward creating enthusiasm and recruitment. Reports and documents fostering accountability are scarce.

Most prolific in publishing books and articles within the movement are Otis, Kraft and Wagner. Kraft's *Christianity with Power* and *Behind Enemy Lines* should be mentioned.[26] Otis' ground-breaking *Last of the Giants*, the systematic *The Twilight Labyrinth* and his practical manual *Informed Intercession* are at the heart of Spiritual Mapping.[27] Wagner's *Prayer Warrior Series* can be considered to be his most important publication on Spiritual Mapping.[28] Significant are Kraft's 'What Kind of Encounters do We Need in Our Christian Witness?' and Wagner's 'Territorial Spirits and World Missions', both published in the missionary journal *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*.[29]

Some adherents of Spiritual Mapping play a certain role in the movement but are not as influential as Kraft, Otis amd Wagner. John Dawson is not as prolific, but his *Taking Our Cities for God* would still play a major role in the early development of Spiritual Mapping.[30] Ed Silvoso's *That None Should Perish* should be mentioned as a landmark in the form of a popular report on the practice of Spiritual Mapping in the city of Resistencia in northern Argentina. The publications mentioned in this section will be used extensively throughout chapters two through six. An academic study performed by an adherent and directly addressing Spiritual Mapping in a systematic way is Siew's dissertation, *Spiritual Territoriality as a Premise for the Modern Spiritual Mapping Movement*.[31]

Unpublished sources are, for example, Jane Rumph's We Wrestle Not with Flesh and Blood, a report on the first systematic modern Spiritual Mapping event in Argentina and several reports with minutes of the Spiritual Warfare Network from 1990–1994.[32] Unpublished but not unimportant are the numerous handouts of conferences and seminars, and *ad hoc* brochures and leaflets of various events. Important at the time but partly irretrievable today are the many closed, updated or upgraded websites of organizations and networks. For this research many websites have been printed or collected digitally, but many more must be considered lost.

During this research, historical reconstruction necessarily drew heavily on primary sources, while historical information was scattered throughout the publications and secondary sources hardly treat Spiritual Mapping historically.

Secondary Sources

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[26] Kraft 1989; 1994.
[27] Otis 1991, 1997, 1999(b).
[28] Wagner 1992(a); 1992(b); 1993(a); 1993(b); 1996; 1997.
[29] Kraft 1991; Wagner 1989(b).
[30] Dawson 1989.
[31] Siew 1999.
[32] Rumph 1990; 1990-1994.

The secondary sources are sources written by non-adherents. They deal with Spiritual Mapping in a critical and systematic way, either treating Spiritual Mapping directly as such or dealing with the broader framework of spiritual warfare while mentioning Spiritual Mapping. Outside English-speaking Evangelical circles in the US, the number of publications dealing with Spiritual Mapping in a systematic way is small, especially on the academic level. Specific publications from (Classical) Pentecostal sources or the Charismatic Renewal about Spiritual Mapping are relatively scarce as well, since their publications tend to deal with the broader framework of, for example, Neo-Pentecostalism or the Spiritual Warfare Movement. Other publications do mention Spiritual Mapping but focus on other aspects, such as demonology. Publications dealing with Spiritual Mapping in a systematic way may be found in the form of academic critical studies or in the form of publications from opponents of Spiritual Mapping.

A critical study directly addressing Spiritual Mapping in a systematic way is John D. Geib's dissertation An Examination of the Spiritual Mapping Paradigm for Congruence with Biblical Orthodoxy and Ethnogaphy.[33] Helpful dissertations dealing with the broader framework of spiritual warfare that do mention Spiritual Mapping are Charles E. Lawless' The Relationship Between Evangelism and Spiritual warfare in the North American Spiritual Warfare Movement, 1986-1997, and Mark S. Alexander's Revival and Renewal in Argentine Baptist Life 1982-1997.[34] The latter has the advantage of connecting Argentina with Evangelicalism in the US, which is part of this study as well. Studies presenting a critical analysis of Wagner's way of theologizing are helpful as well, such as Arie van Brenk's C. Peter Wagner: A Critical Analysis of His Work and Shawn L. Buice's A Critical Examination of the Use of Selected New Testament Passages in the Writings of Donald A. McGavran and C. Peter Wagner.[35] Geared toward its practical application is Donald R. Brendtro's D.Min thesis Spiritual Mapping of the Black Hills with an Emphasis on Reconciliation with Native Americans. The same applies to R.M. Neff's Spiritual Mapping in Winston-Salm and to some extent Louis Blom's 'n Kritiese Evaluasie van Ed Silvoso en enkele andere Evangelisasiemodelle, vanuit 'n Afrikaperspektief.[36]

The most important systematic treatments by opponents of Spiritual Mapping are Chuck Lowe's Territorial Spirits and World Evangelization? which offered a wide range of exegetical, historical and missiological critique.[37] Clinton E. Arnold presented an exegetical and doctrinal critique in his Three Crucial Questions about Spiritual Warfare.[38] The article by Robert J. Priest, Thomas Campbell and Bradford A. Mullen, 'Missiological Syncretism' and Thormod Engelsviken and Scott A. Moreau's Spiritual Conflict in Today's Mission addressed both doctrinal and anthropological issues.[39] Anthropological critique comes from Paul G. Hiebert's article 'Spiritual Warfare and Worldview'.[40] Part of the discussion in the US takes

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[33] Geib 1997.
[34] Alexander 2004; Lawless 1997.
[35] Van Brenk 1994; Buice 1996.
[36] Blom 2003; Brendtro 1999; Neff 1998.
[37] Lowe 1998(b).
[38] Arnold 1997.
[39] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995: Engelsviken and Moreau 2001.
[40] Hiebert 2000(a).

place in missiological and missionary journals, of which *Evangelical Mission Quarterly*, *Missiology*, *International Journal of Frontier Missions* and *Global Church Growth* are the most important.

General Literature

General literature, dealing with the investigation of the various contexts, presents a diversified picture. It includes literature describing the Church Growth Movement in the US, the Charismatic Renewal, Neo-Pentecostalism and its various representatives. As general reference works Moreau's *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions* and Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Maas' *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* are important.[41] For Pentecostalism in the US and its background publications edited by Pentecostal authors like Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, Margaret M. Poloma and Vinson Synan are relevant.[42] The Southern Baptist *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History, and Strategies of World Missions* by John M. Terry and others, in addition to Frans J. Verstraelen's *Missiology: An Ecumenical Introduction* and Jan A.B. Jongeneel's *Missiological Encyclopedia*[43] are used as general theological reference works

Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead's *The Spiritual Revolution*, and Marsden's *Religion and American Culture* are used for a sociological perspective on the general picture of US spirituality. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, George M. Marsden, Noll and Christian Smith were followed for a general sociological view of Evangelicalism in the US.[44]

Peter Bakewell's *A History of Latin America*[45] is the most significant for the study of the Latin American context of Argentina. More specifically for the context of Argentina itself are David Rock's *Argentina 1516-1983* and Edwin Williamson's *The Penguin History of Argentina*.[46] Significant for Argentine church history in its broader context of Latin America are Pablo A. Deiros' *Historia del Cristianismo en América Latina*, together with Kenneth S. Latourette's *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* and John H. Sinclair's *Research on Protestantism in Latin America*.[47] A few of the most recent publications are most significant for the Argentine religious context: Roberto Di Stefano's and Loris Zanatta's *Historia de la Iglesia Argentina* and Susana Bianchi's *Historia de las Religiones en la Argentina: Las minorías religiosas* are helpful.[48] The latter was meant by Susana Bianchi to supplement the former. J. Norberto Saracco's *Argentine Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology* is important for Pentecostal church history. Publications by Alejandro Frigerio, Daniel Miguez, Pablo Semán and Hilario H. Wynarczyk highlight the

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[41] Burgess and Van der Maas 2002; Moreau 2000(c).
[42] Blumhofer, Spittler and Wacker 1999; Poloma 1998; ,Synan 2001.
[43] Jongeneel 2006(a), 2006(b); Terry 1998; Verstraelen 1995.
[44] Heelas and Woodhead 2005; Finke and Stark 2005; Marsden 1987; 2001; Noll 2001; Smith 1998.
[45] Bakewell 2004.
[46] Rock 1987; Williamson 1992.
[47] Deiros 1992(b); Latourette 1970.
[48] Di Stefano and Zanatta 2000; Bianchi 2004.

social dimensions of Pentecostalism.[49] Of these authors Wynarczyk is most explicit in addressing the phenomenon of Argentine spiritual warfare and Spiritual Mapping.

Sources by both adherents and non-adherents of Spiritual Mapping have been published by predominantly Evangelical, non-Pentecostal publishers in the US, such as Crossway Books, Bethany Books, Regal Books, a division of Gospel Light Publications, Zondervan, Eerdmans, Moody Press, InterVarsity Press, Baker Bookhouse and Tyndale Press.[50] Servant Books, a Roman Catholic Charismatic publisher that publishes both Protestant and Catholic books, is on the list a few times. Virtually no denominational publishers are found on the list of sources. A quick scan of the publishing houses seems to position Spiritual Mapping as an Evangelical parachurch organization.

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[49] Frigerio 1993(a); Frigerio 1993(b); 1994; Frigerio and Wynarczyk 2004; Miguez 1997; 1998; 1999(a); 2000; Miguez and Semán 2000; Saracco 1989; Wynarczyk 1989; 1994; 1995; 1998; 2005(a); Wynarczyk and Semán 1994; Wynarczyk, Semán and De Majo 1995.
[50] Blumhofer and Carpenter 1990, 69-74.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BIRTH OF THE SPIRITUAL MAPPING MOVEMENT

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the contexts of the birth of the Spiritual Mapping
movement. First, it will examine the influence of Donald A. McGavran's Church
Growth Movement in the US. This movement is considered by this study to be the
primary cradle of Spiritual Mapping. Second, it will take a look at Charles H.
Kraft's missionary anthropology. It was Kraft who applied the missionary
anthropology of the Church Growth Movement to Spiritual Mapping. Third, the
origin of Neo-Pentecostalism will be examined. It will appear that Spiritual Mapping
was influenced by and eventually become part of Neo-Pentecostalism. Before
examining spirituality in the US further, we will look in the fourth place at
Argentina., which Spiritual Mapping presents as the country in which its concepts
were tested and from which the newly developed model was exported all over the
world. Argetina's function and influence needs to be determined. Fifth, this chapter
will end with a few aspects of the context of the cultural transformation of the US in
the second half of the 20th century, without which Spiritual Mapping cannot be
understood.

The Church Growth Movement of Donald A. McGavran

Spiritual Mapping could be considered an offshoot of McGavran's Church Growth
Movement in the US. Many of its theological and sociological concepts are at the
very basis of Spiritual Mapping. Also, Samuel Escobar noted the link between the
Church Growth Movement and spiritual warfare:

> A more recent movement that embodies in an extreme form all the characteristics
> we have outlined above (the Church Growth Movement, RH) is the so-called
> Spiritual Warfare Movement […]. This American-based movement provides maps
> and statistics of demons in cities and regions.[1]

Church Growth had been a topic of discussion before McGavran started to reflect on
it at, for example, the Tambaram Conference of the International Missionary
Council (1938).[2] McGavran's version of church growth precepts (hereafter: the
Church Growth Movement) originated in the second half of the 20th century in the
United States as a Neo-Evangelical missionary movement. McGavran (1879-1991),
who had been born to missionaries and had worked as a missionary in India with the
denomination The Disciples of Christ from 1924 to 1957, was the father of the
Church Growth Movement. The central question in his *Bridges of God* (1955) was:
How is it possible that, in seemingly identical situations, one church grows and

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[1] Escobar 2000, 111.
[2] Wind 1984, 148-152.

another does not?[3] Quantitative growth was considered paramount and urgent in Evangelical mission. It was not an option but a divine command. How could maximum growth be achieved? McGavran concluded that conversions are most numerous if done in 'people movements', by collective decisions and actions of a group. He wrote on 'the principle of receptivity', which means that growth occurs where a people group is in a process of social transformation. Concentration of missionary resources to win these groups would be a justifiable use of missionary means. The principle of receptivity would later lie at the very heart of Spiritual Mapping.

Church Growth principles shared many characteristics typical of Evangelicalism. The American Society for Church Growth (previously the North American Society for Church Growth) offered the following definition:

> Church growth is that discipline which investigates the nature, expansion, planting, multiplication, function and health of Christian churches as they relate to the effective implementation of God's commission to make disciples of all nations (Mat. 28:18-20).[4]

The founder of this society and author of this definition, C. Peter Wagner, was one of the major spokesmen for Spiritual Mapping. He offered a theological definition to describe an academic discipline, integrating theology and missiology with social sciences in a typical Neo-Evangelical way. As such, the definition is too limited, but it is helpful in that it indicated the way the movement started. The movement would soon broaden to include the Evangelical public through churches, organizations, popular publications and schools.

Basic Elements

A few basic elements are important for understanding Spiritual Mapping in relation to the Church Growth Movement. A first basic element was Church Growth as an academic discipline. Church Growth sometimes saw itself as missiology and sometimes it was considered as partially overlapping missiology.[5] Escobar and others characterized it as managerial missiology.[6] Missiology was considered to be a set of manageable and pragmatic principles in which theology made use of models of social sciences. Spiritual Mapping would later claim a place in this academic discipline.

The discipline was directed at the integration of social sciences and theology. The social sciences were considered helpful tools in that they presented principles and models that could enhance effective management of the missionary enterprise. Effectiveness was measured in numbers of churches: quantitative measurement was seen as the way to be accountable to God in the fulfilment of the divine missionary command. Pioneering scientific models for the expansion of Christianity was part of Church Growth and later of Spiritual Mapping as well.

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[3] McGavran 1955; 1970; 1980.
[4] Wagner 2000(a), 199.
[5] Tippett.1987, xxiv.
[6] Escobar 2000, 110-111.

A second basic element of Church Growth was the incorporation of converts into the church or what the movement called 'discipling', the process of absorbing new converts modelled on Matthew 28:19, 20. It was presented as the method of fulfilling the command to do mission. 'Discipling' was defined as the total process of informing others about the Christian faith, leading individuals and, preferably, whole people groups to a decision to accept the Christian faith, including the subsequent process of affirmation. The definition included a change in attitude, skills to witness about Christ and the ability to facilitate the growth and multiplication of churches systematically. The latter was enhanced by defining mission in quantitative terms. Mission strategy was a linear and logical process. Goals were reached through rational processes and captured in scientific models. Spiritual Mapping would build on this with models of spiritual warfare.

Church Growth maintained the priority of evangelism in mission in the discipling process. Wagner did not agree with a holistic concept of mission that treated evangelism and social work on equal terms, rejecting this on pragmatic and theological grounds. Pragmatically, he considered the limited missionary resources and concluded that mission should concentrate on what has eternal and thus 'lasting' value. Theologically, Wagner interpreted Matthew 28:19-20 as giving divine priority to a person's eternal destination. The social mandate was not to be discarded by Church Growth but priority was to be given to evangelism. Nothing could be more important than 'to save souls from eternal damnation'.[7] In its own models, Spiritual Mapping would subordinate social work to evangelism.

According to Wagner, the discipling process demanded concentration of the limited missionary resources on 'receptive' people groups. He argued this first on pragmatic grounds, since a mission organization was considered to be a steward of scarce means and, second, on theological grounds, since Matthew 9:37-38 was interpreted as saying that there is always a 'harvest', always people to be won to the Christian faith in the receptive areas and always a lack of missionaries. In Matthew 10:11-14 Jesus taught his disciples to test the receptivity of a given city. Spiritual Mapping would develop a tool to create this receptivity.

A third element was the position of what was considered divine revelation, which is called 'God's Word', and is meant to function as the authority on matters of faith. Evangelicalism in the US used the Reformed *sola scriptura* as a shibboleth, as illustrated by, for example, the Southern Baptist Church Growth author Tom. S. Rainer: 'No church-growth precepts … can contradict the truths of God's Word.'[8] In theological terms, this meant that the Bible was used as a handbook containing proof texts that were waiting to be systematized into doctrine. It produced churches that sought to preserve classical forms of theology and conservatism. It is in these circles that Church Growth would originate. Spiritual Mapping would be based on this classical form of theology and interpretation of the Bible.

A fourth element was that Church Growth took over the central motif of the US as a new nation 'under God', a city on a hill that could be seen by the world. It is the Calvinistic motif of a society subordinated to the glory of God in all its aspects. For many in Spiritual Mapping, this would be a leading motivation, as society had to be brought back into God's covenant with the US.

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[7] Wagner 1981, 101.
[8] Marsden 1987; Rainer 1998, 484.

A fifth element was the sense of the immediacy of the transcendent. From the revival movements in the 18th century Church Growth took over the idea of the immanent divine work in creation and the individual. Mission became preaching focussed on the immediate experience of the divine. Communication of the Christian message started to emphasize not just the universal meaning of that message but the emotion of the human being who received it. The psychology of conversion became a central feature in evangelism. It appealed strongly to emotions and sometimes had the tendency to be anti-intellectual. It was combined with John Wesley's 'The world is my parish', which stood for the urge to evangelize the world, coupled with practical organization ('Methodism') and pragmatic innovation of organizational structures. It represented the urge to improve the world, starting with one's own nation. All this influenced Spiritual Mapping.

This sense of the immediacy of the transcendent ws one of the elements of the term 'power encounter' developed in 1960 by the anthropologist Alan R. Tippett, one of McGavran's first staff members.[9] The term was developed in a missiological study of southern Polynesia, and the basic idea was that acceptance of the Christian faith depended on the experience of God's power over the Polynesian gods and powers. Tippett determined that 'the only real and effective way of proving the power of their new faith was to demonstrate that the old religion had lost its powers and fears'.[10] Power encounter became an important part of mission strategy, often meaning healing or exorcism in practice. The 'model' or 'tool' concerned the question of the identification of practical hindrances to missionary work and the strategy necessary to overcome these hindrances. Dealing with the demonic became a Church Growth principle and technique.[11] Spiritual Mapping would become a further development of this.

A sixth element is the eschatological one. Dispensationalist millenarianism was taught by McGavran's denomination, The Disciples of Christ, as was the case with many Evangelical denominations at the end of the nineteenth century.[12] This form of chronological interpretation of prophetic and apocalyptic sections in the Bible is evident in Church Growth. It was believed that Christ would come back to reign for a thousand years on earth, and that we were living just before this coming. Matthew 24:14 ('And this Gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole world as a testimony to all nations, and then the end will come' (NIV) played an important role in McGavran's pre-millenarianism. It was interpreted in such a way that missionary work was considered to speed up the return of Christ. After all, if Christians fulfil the 'Great Commission', the criteria of Matthew 24:14 will have been met. The text was believed to offer missionary methods for the end times as well. Mission is witness, rather than social work; social improvement was believed to be a natural result of conversion but not necessarily the method or goal of mission. Spiritual Mapping would take over this motivation.

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[9] Whiteman 1992, 163-166.
[10] Tippett 1971, 164.
[11] Lawless 1997, 48.
[12] Harrell 1966, 18.

Ecclesiocentric Missiology

A central issue in the theological reflections of Church Growth as relevant to Spiritual Mapping is that it developed an ecclesiocentric missiology. Mission was considered to be the responsibility of the church, and the growth of the church was considered to be the primary purpose of mission.[13] The church was not only considered agent and purpose but also the divine method, for the advance of the Christian faith was supposed to work most effectively if done through local churches. Church Growth represented a shift in emphasis in which the winning of individuals for the Christian faith was still important but was superseded by the goal of multiplying churches.[14] Church Growth maintained its Evangelical insistence on personal conversion but also started to think in terms of social and geographical group concepts.[15] To use Gisbertus Voetius' terms, *conversio gentium* was still the goal of mission, but the emphasis shifted to the p*lantatio ecclesiae*.[16]

There was a strong desire for effective missionary strategy in which theology and elements of social sciences were combined.[17] Church Growth's studies about strategy aimed primarily at fostering missionary success. The Church Growth wrestled with questions on how to plant, develop and multiply viable local churches.[18]

The influence of the Church Growth movement among Evangelicals was considerable. For purposes of this study, it is important to know that Evangelicals learned to think ecclesiocentrically. Evangelicals learned to think in collective terms and directed themselves to converting people movements to the Christian faith. People had to be approached in 'homogeneous cultural units' in order to enhance the effectiveness of the missionary effort. Evangelicals learned to think in pragmatic terms like experimentation and the development of new models. Spiritual Mapping would become such an experiment.

In its desire to see churches grow, Church Growth developed a specific vision of the concept of leadership. Growth could occur only under 'visionary leadership' with 'possibility thinkers', willing to go beyond the conventional.[19] This is the notion of a spiritual elite with special insight, chosen by God to lead others.

Church Growth also focussed on the principle of 'lay ministry', based theologically on Ephesians 4:11-12, in which 'God's people' have to be 'prepared for works of service' (NIV). Pragmatic grounds for this were found in the principle that a church grows to the extent that it succeeds in mobilizing its laity. Laity has to be 'unleashed' by the visionary leadership to do their 'works of service'. It directed the movement to search for the gifts of the Spirit as divine empowerment for these works. Spiritual Mapping would develop into a movement in which divine empowerment would become crucial for clergy and laypeople.[20]

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[13] Jongeneel 2006(a), 170; 2006(b), 106; Van Engen 1996, 138.
[14] Jongeneel and Van Engelen 1995, 451.
[15] Rainer 1998, 485, 498; Wagner 1976, 12.
[16] Jongeneel 1991, 47-79.
[17] Anderson 1995, 407-408.
[18] Van Engen 1996, 215.
[19] Wagner 1976, 57.
[20] Kraft 2002(a), 54.

The Development of the Movement

Having considered some of the basic elements of Church Growth, this chapter turns to its development as a movement, insofar as it is relevant for Spiritual Mapping.

In 1960 McGavran founded an institute with the purpose of training missionaries and conducting research on the growth of churches. It developed into the School of World Mission (after 2003: the School of Intercultural Studies) at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California. Several academic programs and flexible short-track programmes would be developed.[21] In the 1990s Spiritual Mapping would be taught by some Fuller teachers as part of the School of World Mission curriculum.

The context of McGavran's school was the controversy between Ecumenicals and Evangelicals in the 1960s and 1970s. Evangelicals felt that the essence of their Christian identity and message was threatened by what they perceived as the redefinition of salvation as humanitarian liberation. Evangelicals – and with them the Church Growth Movement – interpreted salvation as the saving of souls through personal conversion. New international Evangelical platforms developed, such as the Lausanne Movement. As noted above, the Evangelical theology of mission shifted from an individualistic approach to a growing emphasis on the church as a whole and on the many cultures in which churches had to perform their missionary work.[22] This development had started with the Congress of Berlin and the Wheaton Declaration, both in 1966, and found a new high point in the Lausanne Declaration in 1974.[23]

We will trace the emerging Church Growth Movement below by means of a selection of factors relevant to Spiritual Mapping.

A first factor in the development of Church Growth was the publication of the first edition of McGavran's *Understanding Church Growth* (1970), integrating theological, social and anthropological elements. The publication was hailed as the *magna carta* of the movement.[24] The revised editions of 1980 and 1990 processed criticisms and new insights.[25] These publications and others would become the academic framework for Spiritual Mapping, even though they did not yet use the term 'Spiritual Mapping'.[26]

A second factor was the communicative skill of theologian and sociologist Wagner, who joined McGavran's staff in 1971. He developed into its figurehead and was greatly skilled as a communicator.[27] He related well to both the academic and the lay audiences. His *Your Church Can Grow* (1976) and *Your Spiritual Gifts Can Help Your Church Grow* (1979) were bestsellers among Evangelicals. These publications did not mention the term Spiritual Mapping, but they did pave the way for Wagner's popularity. With Wagner, Church Growth itself became popular and Wagner would play an important role in Spiritual Mapping.

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[21] Rainer 1998, 489.
[22] Van Engen 1996, 134-139.
[23] Van Engen 1996, 132-133.
[24] Rainer 1998, 489.
[25] McGavran and Wagner 1990.
[26] Wagner 1984(a); 1984(b); 1988(c); 1989(a)
[27] Rainer 1998, 488.

A third factor in the development of Church Growth was the alignment of Church Growth with the Lausanne Movement in its stand against Ecumenism. The movements overlapped to a large degree. Entrenchment against 'ecumenical' liberation theology was important to both, as illustrated in Wagner's words: 'Theological liberalism shows the highest negative correlation with growth.'[28] Spiritual Mapping would inherit this sense of theological polarization.

A fourth factor was the development of Church Growth in the midst of the emerging Neo-Evangelicalism of Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, with its School of World Mission correctly typified by David Stoll as 'high mass and Mecca of this applied discipline'.[29] Fuller had been founded in 1947 and had moved away from Evangelical Fundamentalism in an attempt to combine the doctrine of inerrancy of biblical inspiration with modern Bible criticism. Its background was the Neo-Evangelical way of theologizing found in Carl F. Henry, Bernard Ramm, Millard J. Erickson and others.[30] In 1972 Fuller officially announced the Neo-Evangelical doctrine of 'limited inerrancy'. This doctrine was meant to make integration of theology and 'worldly' science possible. Charles van Engen typified the atmosphere as 'the optimism of a new-found vision and cooperation in mission.'[31] For the Church Growth Movement, this theological self-understanding was articulated by Arthur F. Glasser and McGavran in *Contemporary Theologies of Mission* of 1983. Spiritual Mapping was to be part of this new approach and its élan.

A fifth factor was the establishment of numerous international, national and regional research centres, with the purpose of discovering the most efficient and effective ways to do missionary work.[32] An example was the Missions Advanced Research Center (MARC), which originated at Fuller and was later part of World Vision. Another example was the U.S. Center for World Mission (USWM) in Pasadena under Ralph D. Winter (who had taught previously at Fuller), with its publication *Journal of Frontier Missions*. Spiritual Mapping would develop research centres as well.

A sixth factor was the international influence on Evangelical missions. This happened through platforms like the Lausanne Movement, the World Evangelical Fellowship (after 1999 the World Evangelical Alliance) and numerous other networks. The movement influenced Evangelical missionary training throughout the world.[33] Spiritual Mapping would use Church Growth's international networks.

Critique and Fragmentation
There has been extensive critique of Church Growth principles.[34] This chapter will select a few items as they relate to Spiritual Mapping.

A major point of critique was the hegemony of the US within Church Growth. The internationalization of Evangelical missions did not mean a reduction of the US' influence. US parachurch organizations grew quickly in the second half

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[28] Stoll 1990, 77.
[29] Marsden 1987; Stoll 1990, 74.
[30] Erickson 1985; Grenz 2000; Henry 1976-1983; Ramm 1950.
[31] Van Engen 1996, 134.
[32] Van Engen 1996, 139.
[33] Kraft 2000(b), 67.
[34] Escobar 2000, 101-122; Rommen 1995.

of the 20th century. The growth of their budgets created an ascendancy and a leading position in international Evangelical mission circles.[35] The problem of the US' hegemony related to its leadership style as well. Given the principle of visionary leadership, this often hindered democratic decision-making processes, and entailed a top-down style of leadership. The parachurch organizational structures were not unlike those of multinationals. This hegemony also concerned the development of the strategies involved. Strategies were often formulated in terms of worldwide projects,[36] which resulted in the dependence of local churches and national denominations on projects initiated in the US. In choosing to participate, they became part of its international infrastructure, financial resources, vision and decisions. Local churches could not finance their own strategies or use their international contacts to strengthen their own infrastructure, apart from the worldwide strategy in a given situation. The international network of missions sometimes looked like the clientele of a multinational. This aspect of the US' hegemony would become prominent in Spiritual Mapping.

A second point of critique was the general lack of careful definition. The number of 16,750 'hidden peoples' as presented at the Lausanne Congress of 1974 could not be defined and accounted for. There are complaints about 'foggy, bizarre numbers'[37] and 'arresting but mystifying statistics'.[38] Research that was intended to be illuminating thus created confusion. This phenomenon would play a role in Spiritual Mapping as well.

A third point of critique was the stated priority of the chuch's mandate of evangelism over the mandate of social work. Social improvement was often considered to be a natural outcome of personal conversion to the Christian faith but not on equal terms with evangelism. Many Evangelicals would disagree. René Padilla did not hesitate to call this 'demonic' in the sense that he could not accept a dichotomy between the two. Orlando E. Costas called it 'a diabolic polarization' and a 'senseless and satanic waste of time, energies and resources'.[39] The Anglican Evangelical John R.W. Stott, active within the ecumenical movement, considered the two mandates to be of equal importance.[40] Spiritual Mapping would give priority to evangelism.

A fourth point of critique was an anthropological critique concerning Church Growth's static definition of the concept of culture. For example, Escobar and Tito Paredes pointed to the 'cultural givens' that were seen as fixed features.[41] Spiritual Mapping would follow Church Growth's approach to the concept of culture.

A final point of critique to be mentioned is the critique that missiology had deteriorated into a pragmatic 'numbers game'. It was felt that the content of the faith and the dignity of humanity became subordinated to numerical growth. This would, again, be characteristic of Spiritual Mapping.

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[35] Stoll 1990, 90.
[36] Samuel and Sugden 1983, 152-57.
[37] Reapsome 1984, 16-19.
[38] Coote 1990, 15-16.
[39] Costas 1979, 75.
[40] Stott 1975.
[41] Escobar 2000, 101-122.

By the middle of the 1990s, Church Growth became increasingly fragmented and less centralized. Spiritual Mapping as an offshoot of the Church Growth movement was one of these fragments. This fragmentation was due in the first place to Church Growth's own success, spread throughout many denominations and geographical areas.

A second reason for the fragmentation was Wagner's growing interest in one particular aspect of Church Growth, the 'signs and wonders' of 'power evangelism'. He made supernatural intervention increasingly a central feature in his version of Church Growth. It alienated Wagner from a part of Church Growth movement. He gradually lost his leadership role because he was considered too extreme. As we will discuss below, Wagner would in the end distance himself from Church Growth as a movement.

Yet a third cause of its fragmentation lay in the unsolved problems concerning the movement's hermeneutical principles. As Rainer summarizes: 'Much of the church growth literature is asking the practical question "How?" without asking the theological question "Why?".'[42] The pragmatic movement suffered in its development from a lack of generally accepted hermeneutical principles, and the inevitable result was fragmentation. This problem would return in the development of Spiritual Mapping.

Many of Church Growth's characteristics lie at the very foundation of Spiritual Mapping. Church Growth produced the Neo-Evangelical integration of theology and social sciences and the desire to create rational models to be used for the advancement of mission. Its theologizing increasing emphasized pragmatism and an entrepreneurial and managerial approach to missions. It brought a shift in emphasis from individual to collective concepts. Conversion had to be realized *per territory* and *as a people*, and was to be approached *ecclesiocentrically*. Other Evangelical principles had their place in this: the principle of s*ola scriptura*, interpreted as the divine inspiration of the Bible, the notion of the US as a 'Nation under God', the emphasis on the experental side of Christianity. These features were found in Evangelical networks like Fuller Theological Seminary, the Lausanne movement and research centres.

Church Growth came under critique for the overriding hegemony of the US in it, its top-down leadership style, its emphasis on numbers, its lack of definitions of key terms and its one-sided emphasis on the evangelistic mandate. These characteristics show up in Spiritual Mapping as well.

The Missionary Anthropology of Charles H. Kraft

Practical Anthropology
Spiritual Mapping used the anthropological principles of the Church Growth movement, expecially those formulated by Kraft. He was a professor of anthropology and intercultural communication at the School of World Missions at Fuller Theological Seminary from 1969 throughout the timespan covered by this study. He would supply an anthropological rationale for Spiritual Mapping. Kraft

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[42] Rainer 1998, 492.

would become one of its proponents, while being part of the Church Growth
Movement and not widely known outside Evangelical circles. The Neo-Evangelical
missiology, which integrated anthropological insights, was relatively new to
Evangelicalism in the US. One of the first Evangelicals to put anthropology on the
agenda of Evangelical missiology and make it part of its missionary practice was
Eugene A. Nida, the secretary of Bible translations of the American Bible Society,
with his *Customs and Cultures* and *Message and Mission*. In the middle of the 1950s
he had gathered consultants around him who sought to make anthropology fruitful
for mission and Bible translation: William A. Smalley, William D. Reyburn and
Jacob A. Loewen. In 1955 Smalley became editor of the journal *Practical
Anthropology*. When McGavran started with his Church Growth Institute in 1960,
one of his first staff members was the anthropologist Tippett. Soon Kraft and Winter
would follow, trained in the school of Nida and *Practical Anthropology*. Missionary
anthropology originated within the sub-discipline of applied anthropology, with
major publications in the 1960s by Nida and Kenneth L. Pike.[43]

Kraft explicitly placed himself within the school of practical anthropology
of Nida, Loewen, Reyburn and Smalley, and refers to the 1950s and 1960s as his
framework of reference.[44] His texts and sources are dated, with entries from
anthropological sources ending somewhere in the 1970s and the beginning of the
1980s. Kraft is aware of this.[45] Also, his use of older sources was selective. His
explicit primary aim was to use anthropology for Evangelical missionary practice.

The Concept of Culture
The starting point of Kraft's missionary anthropology is the understanding of the
concept of culture. Central to the understanding of a culture was the concept of
worldview as the all determining and foundational factor. Culture had a behavioural
level and a 'deep worldview level', defined as basic assumptions, values and
allegiances.[46] Worldview was basic to all aspects of culture; religion was a surface-
level phenomenon. It is the worldview that provides the structure that influences
behaviour. Conversion to the Christian faith involves some changes in the deep
worldview level assumptions, values and allegiances. In Spiritual Mapping Kraft
applies this principle to Christians, who by necessity have to adapt their 'Western'
or 'rationalistic' worldview to the 'biblical' worldview in order to understand and be
able to implement Spiritual Mapping.

Kraft and most people in the Church Growth Movement were oriented
toward structural functionalism.[47] For Kraft, a social structure was supposed to
answer a need in a given society. A social structure was considered to be a system in
which institutions and thought patterns are related to the needs of that society. The
institutions have a function in the system and contribute to its adaptation and
continued existence. Aspects of functionalism, such as the internal working of a
culture and the dynamics of processes of its change were studied. It was the aim to
integrate these anthropological notions into an Evangelical missiology, based on

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[43] Nida 1954; 1960; Pike 1967.
[44] Kraft 1998, 164.
[45] Kraft 1996, xv; Gittins 1997, 489; Priest 1998, 35-36.
[46] Kraft 1996, 11-12.
[47] Kraft 1979; Kraft 1996, 236-253, 269.

traditional Evangelical systematic theology.[48] A Neo-Evangelical minority of adherents of symbolic anthropology was represented in the 1980s and 1990s mainly by the anthropologist Paul G. Hiebert, influenced by Clifford Geertz[49] and Mary Douglas.[50] Hiebert would develop into one of the most important critics of the anthropological aspects of Spiritual Warfare and Spiritual Mapping. His criticism will be discussed in chapter five.

A few aspects relevant for our purposes have been selected below. The first aspect in relation to Spiritual Mapping is the concept of cultural change. For Kraft, culture was never fully integrated and consistent but in a state of constant change. The all-determining factor in change was the worldview (also called 'religion'): cultures went through a process of constant change of re-evaluation, re-interpretation and development of new behaviour. [51] A socio-cultural system was, in principle, unstable. The functionalistic presupposition that all members in principle agree about the values of their society was not adopted by Kraft's missionary anthropology. Culture was thought to be in a process of constant change. This view represents a variation on the classical form of functionalism.[52] This allowed them to legitimize mission anthropologically because, in their view, mission was just one of the many factors of change – which was inevitable anyway.

 The second aspect is Kraft's special interest in communication. Kraft did not study the concept of culture for its own sake; he studied it with a special interest in communication, with respect to the pragmatic question how the Christian message could be communicated to unreached people groups. A fine illustration of this focus is the title of his 1996 textbook, one of his major publications, *Anthropology for Christian Witness*. The Christian message comes from a source, goes through the missionary who is the medium, and has to be understood by the audience. Consequently, attention was paid to three cultures: the culture of the source, as found in the Bible, the culture of the medium, i.e. the missionary, and the culture of the unreached people group. Others who explored the wider process of communication are Nida and later Marvin K. Mayers.

 The third aspect is found in the principle of cultural dynamic equivalence. In *Christianity in Culture* (1979) Kraft brought basic anthropological concepts together with communication theory and enculturation processes in order to come to a cross-cultural interpretation of the origins of theology:

> My call was for churches, theologizing, conversion, and all other aspects of Christianity to be dynamically equivalent within contemporary cultures to the approved models of these things we see in Scripture.[53]

The principle of dynamic equivalence would become an important and controversial aspect of Kraft's missionary anthropology.

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[48] Tippett 1987, xxi.
[49] Hiebert 1985, 205; 1994, 25; Hiebert, Shaw, Tiénou 1999, 35, 40.
[50] Hiebert 1994, 84, 85.
[51] Conn 2000, 253, 254.
[52] Kloos 2002, 148.
[53] Kraft 1998, 164.

The fourth aspect is that Kraft tended to be more judgmental about cultures than one would expect from an anthropologist. The early Kraft of *Christianity in Culture* saw culture basically as a neutral (functionalistic) vehicle. Over the years he became more negative about culture: the later Kraft of *Anthropology for Christian Witness* (1996) showed less inclination to search for neutral or even 'Christian' values in a culture, and even invokes Satan as source of cultural phenomena.[54]

Power Encounters

In his attempt to integrate anthropology, Bible, and Evangelical mission, Kraft emphasized the anthropological concept of 'animism'. He relied on the concept of animism as advanced by the cultural evolutionism of Edward B. Tylor in his publication *Primitive Culture* of 1871.[55] Kraft defined animism as a belief that included includes all the practices that go with that belief and entails that the world is full of powers, personal and impersonal, that influence humans in their daily lives. Thus they influence mission as well. In animism it is believed that these powers have to be watched, kept at bay or appeased. These powers, usually called 'spirits', inhabit material objects such as rocks, mountains, forests, territories, fetishes, charms and anything dedicated to a spirit, according to Kraft.[56] Animists hold that humans have the ability to manipulate these powers through magic, in the form of blessings, spells, curses, and many other forms. In Kraft's reflexions, animism was considered to be an example of power encounter.[57] In chapter five we will discuss Kraft's views on animism more in detail. For now we note a few of Kraft's basic premises:

The first premise is that animism and the Bible largely share the same worldview. Central to both of them is the role of power, powers and power encounter. This is what Ephesians 6:10-20 teaches Christians. Christianity may have lost this perspective, but it should return to these biblical roots. Kraft, and with him Spiritual Mapping, referred at length to Hiebert's 1982 article in *Missiology*, 'The Flaw of the Excluded Middle', in which Hiebert first points out that Westerners believe in ground-level things like nature and humans, for which we can provide empirical proof, and, second, that Christians believe in a God who is in heaven. However, in between there is a middle zone: the excluded middle, in which there are invisible spirits who are also actively involved in the human sphere.[58] In animism the existence of these beings is assumed, but in the West Christians tend to ignore or disbelieve the very existence of this middle zone. Christians have to be converted to this 'biblical' worldview before they can effectively engage in Spiritual Mapping. Therefore, Kraft devotes extensive attention to worldview issues in his foundational *Christianity with Power: Your Worldview and Your Experience of the Supernatural* (1989) and in virtually all his publications on the subject. Failure to adopt this biblical worldview prevents us from seeing the whole of reality, and will make us vulnerable.

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[54] Kraft 1989, 33; 1996, 205.
[55] Tylor 1913.
[56] Kraft 2002(b), 1092-1093.
[57] Kraft 1992(b), 215-230.
[58] Kraft 2002(a), 224.

The second premise is that many of the techniques animists use to manipulate powers ('power techniques') often have validity. Christians and animists often use 'similar techniques based on similar principles', since they share a common worldview to a large extent:

> The reason why animism and Christianity look so similar is that the basic difference between them is not the presence or absence of power, but the *source* of that power. In areas such as healing, dedicating and blessing, for example, we and they have the capability of doing essentially the same things, but the source of their power is Satan while ours is God. [59]

For Kraft, animism is a broadly defined term that includes Neo-Paganism, 'including New Age and other occult beliefs and activities' and involves a belief 'that can hurt or help us'. Animism and Christianity look alike and 'do essentially the same things'. Besides the difference in source of power, there are other differences as well. The animist believes that rituals and objects *contain* spiritual power, whereas a Christian believes that rituals and objects may *convey* power. Animists seek to *manipulate* power, whereas Christians seek to *submit* to God and to learn to work with his power.

Kraft's third premise is that the communication of the Christian message is most effective if done through power encounter, as opposed to reasoning. Jesus' ministry was one large power encounter including numerous smaller power encounters, and the final power encounter on the cross. The message was on every occasion the same: Jesus frees people from the power of Satan through healing and exorcism. His mission meant to address a felt need among power-oriented people, which required proof of power. An important technique in this power encounter is Spiritual Mapping.[60]

Kraft's missionary anthropology was an aspect of the origins of Spiritual Mapping. It aimed at providing an anthropological rationale for dealing with the 'supernatural' in Evangelical missiology. It had been developed within the framework of the Neo-Evangelical integration of theology and social sciences. In doing so, Kraft addressed the terms culture, worldview and animism in a structuralist-functionalistic way. In the context of constant cultural change and cross-cultural missionary communication Kraft searched for dynamic equivalent theological concepts and methods. This made change a constant factor in theology and in missionary practice.

Renewal Movements

In addition to Church Growth and Kraft's missionary anthropology, the origins of Spiritual Mapping are also to be found in movements and traditions of 'renewal groups' such as the Charismatic Renewal and Neo-Pentecostalism. The definitions were discussed in chapter one. Spiritual Mapping had roots in the Charismatic Renewal and was part of Neo-Pentecostalism, labelled by Spiritual Mapping itself as the Third Wave movement.

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[59] Kraft 2002(a), 20-22.
[60] Kraft 2002(b), 1095.

Neo-Pentecostalism includes independent and indigenous groups that cannot be classified either as Pentecostal or as Charismatic. They have 'Pentecostal-like experiences', to borrow an expression from Stanley M. Burgess, but do not necessarily have Pentecostal or Charismatic connections in terms of tradition or shared history.[61] The later New Apostolic Reformation churches, as we will see in chapter four, are considered Neo-Pentecostal as well. The distinction between Charismatic and Neo-Pentecostal (including Third Wave) is considered artificial or 'problematic'.[62] It is used in this study since it is helpful for the analysis of the various aspects. A few characteristics will be given because they are relevant for Spiritual Mapping. The background of the Charismatic Renewal and Neo-Pentecostalism will feature prominently in the chapters to come, both in terms of historical personal ties, and in their social characteristics and theological concepts.

Charismatic Renewal
Pentecostal phenomena started to occur outside the classical Pentecostal denominational framework around 1960.[63] Especially representative of this renewal was the South African-born and naturalized US citizen David J. Du Plessis.[64] It emerged in historical churches and would develop in newly emerging independent churches as well.[65] The Charismatic Renewal was not easy to define. Definitions along lines of historical roots, theological characterization, sociological identification and other criteria seem to fail. Corwin E. Smidt, Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green and James L. Guth conclude in their study of Charismatics that 'The Charismatic riverbed is wide ….'[66]

In terms of theological characteristics the Charismatic Renewal built on classical Reformed doctrine, with a special emphasis on pneumatology but interpreted this in a dynamic way.[67] It concerned the experience of distinctively Pentecostal phenomena, like 'Baptism of the Spirit' and the 'gifts of the Spirit'. The Charismatic Renewal interpreted the work of the Spirit as immanent and could be experienced directly by the believer. It accepted theological and organizational diversity as well. The movement sought a theological basis for unity with a minimal doctrinal formula. Essential here was a theology that was to be experienced in the service of practical ministry. In missiological terms, it desired to activate the laity with a strong missionary focus.[68]

Sociological characteristics showed that Charismatics were well educated, attracted young professionals, and related with more confidence to society than Classical Pentecostals had been used to do.[69] Their ethos was less cautious towards society at large. Their patterns of organization were modern networks, like

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[61] Barrett, Kurian and Johnson 2001(a), 29, 30; Blumhofer, Spittler and Wacker 1999; Burgess 2002, 928; Hollenweger 1997, 230; Poloma 1998; Wagner 2002(b), 1141.
[62] Burgess 2006, 39, 40; Jongeneel 2006(a), 180.
[63] Hamilton 1975; Hocken 1966, 44-53; 2002, 477; Pousson 1992.
[64] Blumhofer, Spittler and Wacker 1999; Poloma 1998; Spittler 2002, 589-593; Synan 2001.
[65] Hocken 1966, 47-48; 2000, 477; Marsden 2001, 229; Pousson 1992, 33.
[66] Smidt, Kellsted, Green and Guth 1999, 126.
[67] Jongeneel 2006(a), 180.
[68] Pousson 1992, 77.
[69] Hocken 1966, 51.

contemporary patterns of business and commercial organizations.[70] Charismatics also shared in what Marsden called a 'new spirituality of seeking' in the US, without primarily being committed to particular traditions, doctrines or forms of worship.[71]

In anticipation of chapter three, where the development of Spiritual Mapping will be discussed, we will present a few of the historical ties below. The Canadian Charismatic John White and the Charismatic Ed Murphy from the US played an important role in the birth and development of Spiritual Mapping, both in Argentina and the United States.

Murphy was involved in the foundation of the organization that introduced Spiritual Mapping to Argentina. He was a senior fellow of Overseas Crusades and was experienced in large-scale evangelistic campaigns in Latin America and Africa. Murphy was an adherent of Spiritual Mapping from the beginning. His *Handbook for Spiritual Warfare* (1992) is one of the most important publications by the Charismatic Renewal on the subject. White, a psychiatrist, never became part of Spiritual Mapping but was influenced by John Wimber's Vineyard churches and his teachings on 'signs and wonders'. He taught exorcism in Argentina and laid the foundation of its practice in the Buenos Aires' Adrogué church. White's publications in the United States gave him the status of a specialist on exorcism within Charismatic circles. White and Murphy, both representatives of the Charismatic Renewal, had historical ties to Spiritual Mapping, and the contents of their teachings can be considered a preparation for Spiritual Mapping.[72]

Cindy Jacobs, Elisabeth and Bobye Brierly were part of the Charismatic organization Women's Aglow Fellowship International, an interdenominational women's organization, founded in 1967, and focussed on prayer and evangelization.[73] Jacobs mentioned specifically the names of other Charismatics like Dick Eastman and Bob J. Willhite as providing inspiration for the notion of Spiritual Mapping.[74] Jacobs, consultant of Women's Aglow, set the content of the teaching at the first Spiritual Mapping seminars in Argentina at the birth of the movement.[75] Critics identified her as one of the sources for Spiritual Mapping.[76] Aglow's narrative centred around sin, with suffering as its result, and its remedy of redemption through healing to be obtained through prayer. The literature presented stories of 'spiritual' transformation of women, thus also reordering their social lives.[77] *A Woman's Guide to Spiritual Warfare* (1992), by Ruthanne Garlock and Quin Sherrer of Aglow, would contain many elements akin to Spiritual Mapping. Aglow's websites and teaching material would become important for the international dissemination of Spiritual Mapping.[78]

Another Charismatic mission that played a major role in the birth and dissemination of Spiritual Mapping was Youth With A Mission (YWAM), through John Dawson, a New Zealander living in California. He wrote the publication that

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[70] Hocken 1966, 52; Marsden 2001, 279.
[71] Marsden 2001, 289.
[72] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006; Murphy 1992; White 1988.
[73] Griffith 2002, 1209-1211.
[74] Eastman 1989; Jacobs 1993(a), 27-31; Willhite 1988.
[75] (D.M.) Wagner 2006.
[76] Interiew Bollini, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[77] Griffith 1999, 131-151; Garlock and Sherrer 1992.
[78] Schmidt, Kellsted, Green and Guth 1999, 142.

would inspire Argentine Víctor Lorenzo directly to experiment with Spiritual Mapping at the birth of the movement in 1989.[79] YWAM was a Charismatic, non-denominational parachurch organization, designed to evangelize the world through youth. It was a highly decentralized network. Its diversity was held together theologically by only a few doctrines like 'the Lordship of Christ and the activity of the Holy Spirit'.[80] In 2002 it was reported that YWAM had 50,000 short-term volunteers (2-3 months), 11,500 fulltime workers (none of them paid by YWAM), 240 training schools (DTS: Discipleship Training Schools), with a five-month curriculum, relief, medical and engineering services.[81] Edward K. Pousson commented that YWAM took the lion's share of all Charismatic missions. Spiritual Mapping became a natural part of their teaching and practice.[82]

Neo-Pentecostalism
Historically, Neo-Pentecostalism consists mainly of independent churches, groups and individuals. It did not have one sole founding father. Many Neo-Pentecostals did not identify with either Classical Pentecostalism or the Charismatic Renewal. Neo-Pentecostalism emerged at the beginning of the 1980s and considered itself a wave of 'renewal', like Pentecostalism and the Charismatic Renewal before it. Yet it interpreted itself as a separate movement with a qualitatively new renewal:[83] it saw itself as a wave like the two preceding it but surpassing them at the same time.

In theological terms Neo-Pentecostals are like Pentecostals and Charismatics. An important difference is that Neo-Pentecostals believe that Baptism of the Spirit takes place at the moment of conversion. The spiritual experience of the divine is important, but it is believed to be in the form of multiple experiences ('infillings'), throughout one's lifetime. This experience has the explicit aim of empowerment for the extension of God's kingdom on earth. The experience should produce 'power' or something that 'works' in practical ministry. This power is received for a (power-)encounter with the satanic. One of the consequences of this is cosmic and moral duality among Third Wavers. There is little room for natural or neutral dynamics: something is either divine ('God-willed') or satanic. Its intensely pragmatic emphasis aims at the extension of 'the kingdom', expressed in multiplying churches and changing society.

Doctrine and denominations were subordinated to power and its effectiveness. There was no attachment to a particular denomination and its theology of church government. In principle the Third Wave aimed at an 'avoidance of divisiveness at almost any cost'.[84] Yet cooperation with those who had not (yet) partaken in the new empowerment phenomena often proved to be difficult. There were a few sub-groups that were associated with Spiritual Mapping.

The first sub-group that was formed by apostolic groups is not to be confused with some nineteenth-century Holiness churches and many twentieth-century churches of Classical Pentecostalism. These were independent churches and groups, usually centred around a leader called an 'apostle', in whom adherents found

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[79] Lorenzo 1993(a), 172-173.
[80] Pousson 1992, 45, 55, 121.
[81] Robinson 2002, 1223-1224.
[82] Interview DeKeyzer, Colorado Springs, September 25, 2006.
[83] AD2000 and Beyond 2000.
[84] Wagner 2002(b), 1141.

a new divine *modus operandi*. The apostle usually performed 'signs and wonders' and was the founder of one or more independent churches, which constituted the validation for his or her work. The emphasis is neither on doctrine, structures nor tradition but rather on the 'evident' work of God in the apostle. Spontaneous networks around these apostles would eventually develop into the New Apostolic Reformation (see chapter four). Wagner would increasingly become part of this sub-movement.[85]

A second sub-group was formed by groups around the concept of anointing, whose main characteristic was the divine impartation that one received through the ritual of prayer by the laying on of hands, executed by an 'anointed one' who thus transferred the impartation. The result was a change in quality of spiritual life. One became a 'spiritually-tuned Christian', able 'to hear what God has to say'.[86] The results were ecstatic events, called 'revivals', with the goal of conversion to the Christian faith and a new vitality of churches and individuals. An important representative in relation to Spiritual Mapping in Argentina was Hinn.[87] Spiritual Mapping was later used as a 'technology' within the anointing.

A third sub-group was formed by prophetic groups. In certain independent churches and organizations prophet Bill Hamon became prominent.[88] These groups interpreted themselves as the vehicle of the restored gift of prophecy. The concept of 'insight' given through prophecy became prominent in Spiritual Mapping. 'Prophetic prayer' and 'prophetic intercession' gradually increased in emphasis. Many in Spiritual Mapping claimed to have the gift of prophecy.[89]

Here some historical indication will be given about the Neo-Pentecostal origins of Spiritual Mapping.

The Association of Vineyard Churches, led by Wimber in Anaheim, Califonia, was correctly typified by Pousson as 'the flagship of sorts for the emphasis on signs and wonders'.[90] It was Wimber who brought Wagner and the Argentine Omar Cabrera together, paying for the Wagners' tickets so they could visit Cabrera in 1985 and see the 'signs and wonders' for themselves.[91] He contributed indirectly to the birth of Spiritual Mapping, as will be discussed in chapter three. Wimber, a former Quaker, was influenced by the Church Growth Movement at Fuller Theological Seminary. He, in turn, influenced Wagner, and under Wagner's aegis taught the course Signs and Wonders Today from 1982 to 1985.[92] Both Wagner and Kraft paid tribute to Wimber as a major influence on their theology and practice. Wimber not only grounded his theology of Signs and Wonders in the New Testament concept of the Kingdom of God; the presence of the Kingdom also meant the presence of 'power' to be used for 'power healing', 'power deliverance' (exorcism) and power evangelism.[93]

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[85] Wagner 2002(b), 75-87.
[86] Freidzon 1998, 109-123.
[87] Hinn 1990(a); 1990(b)..
[88] Hamon 1997.
[89] Lorenzo 1998, 138-140.
[90] Pousson 1988, 154.
[91] (D.M.) Wagner 2006.
[92] Wagner 1983; Wimber 1983; 1987.
[93] Greig and Springer 1993; Springer 1988; Wimber and Springer 1986.

The so-called Kansas City Prophets were another Neo-Pentecostal root of Spiritual Mapping. In 1990 the Vineyard Association had 'adopted' the Kansas City Prophets, founded as the Kansas City Fellowship (KCF) in 1982, under Paul Cain, Jack Deere, John Paul Jackson, and others. Prophecy and apostleship was believed to be reinstalled before the end times. In 1996 the KCF split from the Vineyard Association because of a disagreement about the 'Toronto blessing'. The KCF was under influence of the Latter Rain Theology, which can be traced historically back to the 'Latter Rain Movement' originating in 1948 in the US. Its theology was influential outside Pentecostal denominations, especially in independent churches. The theology was characterized by a strong expectation of the imminent return of Christ to earth, the laying on of hands for the miraculous impartation of gifts of the Spirit, supernatural 'heavenly singing', the recognition of present-day apostles, prophets, evangelists and teachers, all according to the pattern of Ephesians 4:11. It was known as well for its collectively experienced submission during meetings ('brokenness before the Lord'), and the collective immediate experience of the divine ('the presence of the Lord').[94]

In 1990 'prophet' Jackson prophesied about Wagner in Wimber's church in Anaheim: 'You are now about to face the greatest challenge of your life. You are being called to help reshape the face of Christianity. You will be placed in an international arena which will begin in South America.'[95] Shortly afterwards Wagner launched his first Spiritual Mapping efforts with Ed Silvoso: 'We agreed to run a large-scale experiment of strategic-level spiritual warfare in Resistencia'. This set in place one of my major courses for the decade of the 1990s ....'

An additional Neo-Pentecostal root was the emerging interest in the Christian concept of spiritual warfare in the 1980s. Practitioners of Spiritual Mapping are 'a wide range of individuals, organizations and perspectives', of which not all, but many can be counted among Neo-Pentecostals.[96] It is disputed whether they can be classified as forming a movement or not.[97] The various perspectives were difficult to classify. Lawless presented two broad categories: first, those who focussed primarily on exorcism through pastoral counselling, and, second, evangelists who used warfare as a missionary tool in the form of miraculous signs and a direct offensive encounter with the demonic.[98] It was in this second category that Spiritual Mapping is found. It included the recognition of the personalized ontological reality of Satan and demons and the continuing dualistic battle between the Kingdom of God and Satan's forces. Important is the notion that spiritual warfare is not optional but mandatory, lest we invite defeat at the hands of demonic powers. The interest resulted in a quickly expanding literature base, conferences and seminars, and several warfare training organizations.[99]

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[94] Riss 2002, 830-833.
[95] Wagner 1992(a), 40; 1993(b), 72; 2000(b), 109-110.
[96] Lawless 1997, 4-7.
[97] Moreau 1997, 4-13; Powlison 1995, 2, 32-33; Smith 1994.
[98] Alexander 2004, 92-101; Kraft 2002(b), 1091-1096; Lawless 1997, 4-7.
[99] Greenway 1995, 19-24; Lawless 1997, 1-23; Moreau 2000(a), 1-5; Rakestraw, Johnson and Eddy 2000, 1-11; Rakestraw 2000, 1-13; Siew 1999, 15.

Argentina

Before further exploring aspects of the spirituality of the USA, we need to determine the function and influence of Argentina. As will be discussed in chapter three, the first systematic experimental application of Spiritual Mapping took place in the city of Resistencia in Argentina 1989 – 1991. This city functioned as a laboratory for the concept. The movement itself considered Plan Resistencia to be pivotal for its own development, for the ensuing religious development of the whole of Argentina in the 1990s and eventually as the beginning of new era in divine interaction with humans. The stakes were high. The question is whether Argentina to be considered a context for the origin of Spiritual Mapping or not. In this section we will discuss aspects of the Argentine social, political and religious contexts, followed by a chronological account of several events that will be interpreted in their contexts afterwards.

Aspects of the Social and Political Context
In 1819 Argentina achieved independence from Spain with its first constitution. Already at the time of independence Argentina had characteristics that set it apart from other Latin American nations. The first such characteristic was that the Indian population in present-day Argentina was not as extensive as in other areas.[100] The few Indian ethnic groups in the north had never fully been integrated into Argentine society,[101] and therefore the population consists predominantly of descendents of Roman Catholic Spanish and Italian immigrants. A second characteristic is that the history of Argentina is marked by laborious processes of adaptation of its political system to new social situations. Social shifts demanding new systems of distribution of wealth and power between the various segments of society often came with polarization and even violence. One of these episodes would coincide with Spiritual Mapping in the 1980s.

In the nineteenth century Argentina developed into a main agricultural producer for the world market. The oligarchy owned the land and grew rich, but for labourers there was little hope for economic progress. By the end of the nineteenth century harsh conditions drove many to the cities, causing urbanization that was neither planned nor desired. In the period 1890 – 1920 the per capita income in Argentina was higher than in Spain, Italy, Sweden or Switzerland, but the wealth was in the hands of the agricultural oligarchy. In 1914 an estimated 70% of the working population belonged to the urban poor. This majority had no power, no wealth and no right to vote. The First World War caused an economic crisis in Argentina, and the ensuing social unrest led to general elections in 1916, in which the popular middle class party Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) came to power.[102]

The period from 1916 to 1946 was marked in general by growing social polarization and industrialization. During the Depression the result was that the UCR, rather than the oligarchy, received the blame for the economic decline. It was ousted by a military coup in 1930, which meant the return of the liberal oligarchy but now in a conservative coalition with the military, investors and industrialists. This group retained power from 1930 to 1943. 'In truth a rearguard action of the

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[100] Latourette 1970, 83.
[101] Saracco 1989, 134-140.
[102] Luna 1997, 137; Williamson 1992, 460.

elite', says Bakewell.[103] The new economic prosperity and industrialization after 1933 brought a new surge in urbanization, especially in and around Buenos Aires, and a new, but small, middle class.[104] It did not distribute power. Tensions developed around a majority without a vote and a minority who held economic power.

Juan Perón came to power after a military coup and was president from 1946 to 1955. One of Perón's aims was to extend the power of the state, but he failed to develop new political structures to balance power. After a successful start, the economic tide turned. Gradually, the Roman Catholic establishment, the army and the middle class developed an anti-Perón alliance that would last until 1982.[105] This alliance ousted Perón in 1955. The country was politically more polarized than it was in 1946. Yet the Perón regime would be important for the development of Pentecostalism, as will be explained below.

Several civil and military governments followed each other from 1955 to 1982. The regimes emphasized national security against loosely defined 'communist threats'. Popular resistance developed in the form of demonstrations by labourers, parts of the urban poor and students. The military regime of 1976 – 1983 became 'the most bloody dictatorship in the history of Argentina'.[106] The attempts to enforce a Roman Catholic moral code to counteract 'leftist' activism and to attain full employment for all failed in a dramatic way. Political polarization between left and right, the violation of human rights and military repression ended in a military defeat in the Falkland War in 1982. By the mid-1970s GNP was negative, with increasing inflation, unemployment and economic inequality.[107] Elections in 1983 resulted in the installation of civil president Raoul Alfonsín of the UCR. Democracy brought a sense of relief to Argentina. From 1983 to 1985 the economic problems seemed more or less curbed, but they grew worse again after 1985, especially during the time of hyperinflation from 1989 to 1990, and a new period of recession in 1995. As this study will show below, economic hardship was far from over at the dawn of the next century, but religious freedom and democracy was there to stay.

Aspects of the Religious Context

Since Argentine Spiritual Mapping should be considered in its proper context, Latin American and Argentine religious studies should be taken into account. Studies on Latin American religion previously tended to focus mainly on Roman Catholicism. As Protestantism grew numerically, attention switched to *Evangélicos* and in particular to *Pentecostales*. Emilio Willems, Christian Lalive D'Epinay and Jean-Pierre Bastian were influential over a longer period of time.[108] For a long time in social studies, the interpretation of growth of *Evangélicos* was sought in the effects of modernization processes and the ensuing dependency of the marginalized. Some

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[103] Bakewell 2004, 526.
[104] Bakewell 2004, 528; Rock 1987, 232-233. Thorp 1998; Williamson 1992, 461.
[105] Caimari 1995, 185-205.
[106] Saracco 1989, 25; Rock 1987, 410.
[107] Miguez 1998, 20-24.
[108] Willems 1967; Lalive D'Epinay 1968; Bastian 1990.

recent publications come from Pablo A. Deiros, David Martin, José M. Bonino, Karl-Wilhelm Westmeier and David Stoll, to name a few.[109]

Argentine Pentecostalism was late with respect to numerical growth. Protestantism grew from 0.7% in 1895 to 2.6% in 1960 and was estimated at around 10% of the population in 1990. Argentine studies on Protestantism are of relative recent date and did not start until the late 1980s and early 1990s. J. Norberto Saracco's *Argentine Pentecostalism* (1989) is probably still the best denominational church history.[110] The relative lateness applies to social sciences as well, with the first major publications by Alejandro Frigerio and Hilario H. Wynarczyk in the 1980s, [111] followed by Matthew Marostica, Daniel Miguez, Pablo Semán and others in the 1990s.[112] An attempt to produce an academic view of the religious diversity in Buenos Aires is the sociological publication *Guía de Diversidad Religiosa de Buenos Aires* (2003) of Floreal Forni, Fortunato Malimacci and Luis A. Cárdenas. This publication is unique in scope in Argentina but very summary when it comes to Pentecostalism.[113] Perhaps the most helpful bibliography of Argentine Protestantism to date is Susana Bianchi's *Ensayo Bibliográfico: El Protestantismo en la Argentina* (2004).[114] The above-mentioned authors published on Pentecostalism for a short time. The only Argentine sociologist who has continued to do so is Wynarczyk.[115]

Two of the above authors explicitly mentioned aspects of Spiritual Mapping. Miguez mentioned the difference between exorcism on an individual level and exorcism 'on a more general level'. His allusion to Spiritual Mapping is general, without using the terminology the movement itself did.[116] Wynarczyk was more detailed and provided extensive details about the background of Argentine and North American Spiritual Mapping.[117] Two of his articles addressed the subject explicitly.

There are different models for interpretating the phenomenon of Pentecostalism with regard to growth and function. Miguez tried to interpret Pentecostalism in his model as two poles in balance, that is the pole of the influence of structural social tendencies on one hand and the pole of actions by humans as reflexive agents on the other. Spiritual warfare was interpreted as a mechanism for survival in a harsh world and also as reflection on the transcendent in personal lives. Within the latter, evil is not in the first place an expression of a mechanism of exploitation but comes from supernatural evil spirits. Both Argentine Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism followed this doctrine.[118] One of Miguez' aims was to avoid reductionism in the interpretation of religion in general and of the function of spiritual warfare doctrine in particular.[119] Wynarczyk followed Bastian and

[109] Bonino 1995; Deiros 1992; Martin 1990; Stoll 1990; Westmeier 1999.
[110] Farrell 1992; Di Stefano and Zanetta 2000.
[111] Freston 1998, 336-358; Frigerio 1993(a), 24-26; 1994, 10-28; 1995, 43-48; Figerio an Carozzi 1996; Frigerio and Wynarczyk 2004, 453-475.
[112] Marostica 1997; 1999; Miguez 1997; 1998; 1999(b); 2000, 31-62; 2001, 73-88; Semán 1994.
[113] Forni, Mallimacci and Cárdenas 2003, 128-142.
[114] Bianchi 2004, 324-335.
[115] Wynarczyk 1989; 1994(a); 1994(b); 1995, 1998, 111-126; 1999(a), 71-81; 1999(b); 2003(a); 2003(b); 2005(a), 167-178; Wynarczyk and Séman 1994, 29-43; Wynarczyk and De Majo 1993.
[116] Miguez 1998, 28.
[117] Wynarczyk 1998, 111-126; 2005, 167.
[118] Miguez 1998, 84-87.
[119] Miguez 1998, 12, 13.

interpreted Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism as being largely continuous with popular religiosity in Argentina, something on which Catholicism also depended.[120] According to Wynarczyk, Neo-Pentecostals were successful because Neo-Pentecostalism coincided better with the cultural meanings in popular religiosity. They assisted others in interpreting the experience of social crises in religious terms and thus made them an experience of religious power. The victim became the one in control. Internally, people reacted out of a previously existing stock of internalized cultural meanings. Thus, to be successful, Neo-Pentecostalism had to appeal to that previous stock. Conversion to Neo-Pentecostalism was possible because of this correspondence. This partly explains its success.[121]

According to Paul Freston, 'Pentecostalism remains a typological challenge.'[122] Typologies of Argentine Protestantism can be formulated in many ways. We will discuss the typology of the Argentine writers Deiros, Saracco, Bonino and Miguez in their classification of the Protestant categories based on a combination of theological (dogmatic) and social factors:[123]

1. Historical and mainline churches, such as immigrant churches, essentially ethnic in makeup, mainly from Europe.
2. Evangelical churches, such as Baptists and Plymouth Brethren, which can be traced back to the Second Great Awakening in the US.
3. (Classical) Pentecostal Churches, which began in 1910 among Swedish and Italian immigrants, including the 'Foursquare Gospel' churches.
4. Neo-Pentecostalism, a separate category according to Wynarczyk, Semán and Frigerio, and characterized by Frigerio as follows: less emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit, emphasis on the prosperity gospel and/or healing, and emphasis on spiritual warfare.[124]

The categorization is not static, since the fourth category had a strong influence on the second and third. Neo-Pentecostalism influenced and even changed large sections of Pentecostalism culturally and theologically, and caused ruptures in Evangelical churches.[125] The historical churches were relatively less influenced.

Studies on Argentine folk religion (*creencia*) often limit themselves to Buenos Aires and interpret it in terms of a Catholic folk religion of European, mostly Spanish and Italian, origin, with ample room for spiritual beings and power in the form of saints.[126] An exception is Frank Graziano's study *Cultures of Devotion: Folk Saints in Spanish America* (2007).[127] Lynch indicated that the influence of Argentine societies in the provinces has been more important than has been acknowledged, and he linked its Creole religion and millenarianism to recent forms of folk religion in Buenos Aires.[128] Much of this view still has to be

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[120] Bastian 1993, 2.
[121] Wynarczyk 1998, 15-17.
[122] Freston 1998, 341.
[123] Deiros 1991, 1992(b); Saracco 1989, 140; Bonino 1995, 57-79; Miguez, 1998, 27; Freston 1998, 336-341.
[124] Wynarczyk 1998, 2; Wynarczyk, Semán and De Majo, 1995; Miguez 1998, 28; Freston 1998, 344.
[125] Alexander 2004; Deiros 1992(b); Wynarczyk 1998, 13-14.
[126] Esquivel, García, Hadida and Houdin, 2001.
[127] Graziano 2007.
[128] Lynch 2001.

developed.[129] The view prevalent in Argentina is formulated by Mallimacci, who states that folk religion is a popular response to poverty and social distress, expressed by seeking power either through a Catholic saint or a Pentecostal preacher.[130]

Another aspect of the Argentine context is the Argentine religious history. In the nineteenth century, the Argentine Roman Catholic Church had been much weaker than in most other Latin American nations. At independence in 1819, the higher clergy was usually Spanish-born, loyal to Spain and against independence. It was felt that 'true' Argentine identity did not match the ambitions of the higher clergy. The lower clergy were usually born in Argentina and open to modern liberalism. The constitution of 1819 instituted a union of church and state, in which the state controlled the nomination of the higher clerical positions. The first half of the nineteenth century gives a picture of disorder and instability in which it appeared difficult for the church to develop a healthy church life. During the nineteenth century, the main picture was that of a large Catholic Argentine population, without higher clergy for extended periods of time and by and large without strong higher ecclesiastical leadership.[131] A new constitution in 1853 retained the state's right to nominate higher clergy.[132]

The period 1853 – 1892 was, again, marked by quarrels and schisms between Argentina and Rome, until a definite, albeit somewhat unofficial, settlement was reached in 1892. The second half of the nineteenth century had produced some advances in church organization and mission, but the clergy remained too small numerically in relation to the total Argentine population. The Roman Catholic Church was weaker than in some other Latin-American republics.[133]

As far as Protestantism was concerned, churches were founded by mainly British and German immigrants, beginning in 1825.[134] Their growth was determined by relatively low numbers of arrivals. Protestant missions in the nineteenth century came predominantly from the US, despite Argentina's cultural orientation to Europe. Missionary Protestant attempts were scarce and it reached more or less significant dimensions only toward the end of the century.[135]

In the twentieth century, Catholicism was far more vigorous and influential by the time of the Second World War than it had been three decades earlier. In 1914 the Roman Catholic Church in Argentina had been deeply influenced by the flourishing Neo-Thomism, which had originated as a movement in the middle of the nineteenth century in Europe and had begun to revive scholastic philosophy and theology in the Catholic Church.[136] The movement received a strong impetus from Pope Leo XIII and his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879). It developed into a major Catholic force against antireligious rationalism and modernism. Conversant with

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[129] Brennan and Pianetto 2000.
[130] Esquivel, García, Hadida and Houdin, 18, 19.
[131] Bianchi 2004, 43-44; Di Stefano and Zanatta, 2000, 229; Farrell 1992, 56-70; Latourette 1970, 83; Saracco 1989, 29-42.
[132] Di Stefano and Zanatta 2000, 248; Latourette 1970, 84, 166; Miguez 1998, 15.
[133] Latourette 1970, 96.
[134] Bianchi 2004, 45-51; Saracco 1989, 36;
[135] Latourette 1970, 120.
[136] McCool 2000, 703-705.

modern philosophy, the movement grew into a major influence in Catholic education and attracted lay people as well.

In 1928 the Argentine Catholic episcopate agreed with the establishment of La Acción Católica Argentina, as the state would do in 1930 as well. On an international level, Catholic Action could mean many different things to many different countries.[137] In Argentina its emergence coincided with the rule of the conservative elite from 1930 to 1943. It sought successfully to permeate Argentine social life with Catholic faith and morals,[138] followed by a range of organizations. A closer link between the Church and state gradually developed. The permeation of Catholicism in society became more institutionalized in the 1930s.[139] Initially the Catholic Church had welcomed Perón in 1946 as guardian of law and order. However, in the view of the Church Perón developed too much as a power over against the Church and its newly acquired privileged position.[140] The Church became the uniting factor in a coalition against Peronism. Perón sought support from Protestants and other minorities, which meant a brief period of emancipation for them. However, it was very brief.

After Perón had been ousted in 1955, the ideology of *integrismo* of church and state and 'National Catholicism' was upheld until 1982.[141] Communism was considered a natural enemy of church and state, and a good Argentine was considered to be a good conservative Roman Catholic. Progressive forms of Catholicism were discouraged or driven into illegality. After 1982, the Roman Catholic Church was forced to adapt to a new role. From 1983 to 1989 the Church had less influence during the reign of Alfonsín's UCR, and dissident groups had the opportunity to organize and develop, resulting in more religious pluralism. After the elections of 1989 the integrist Roman Catholics tried actively to return to political power.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Protestantism consisted mainly of churches formed by Protestant immigrants. By the end of the Second World War Protestantists were estimated to make up 2.5 % of the total population.[142] In the 1930s the spread of Pentecostalism slowly developed through Pentecostal immigrant churches. Argentina was relatively late with respect to the growth of Pentecostalism in comparison to some other Latin American countries. According to Freston, Peronism had 'pre-empted' Pentecostalism. Lalive d'Epinay's concept of anomie and the normative and existential disorientation, caused by social uprootedness, is partly applicable here. Perón's function as messiah for the poor had religious connotations, as aptly noted by the Catholic Church and others.[143] During the brief period of emancipation under Perón, the evangelist Tommy Hicks from the US received permission in 1954 to hold a mass evangelism campaign in Buenos Aires. It was the first time that Pentecostals were in the media spotlight. Thousands attended the meetings. The campaign did not influence Argentine society as such, but it did start a process of internal change in Pentecostal identity. To start with, it

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[137] Fitzsimons and McGuire 1939.
[138] Di Stefano and Zanatta 2000, 354-354, 377-393; Farrell 1992, 162-166; Latourette 1970, 167-169.
[139] Latourette 1962, vol. 5, 220.
[140] Caimari 1995, 185.
[141] Latourette 1970, 34.
[142] Saracco 1989, 37.
[143] Freston 1998, 347; Miguez and Semán 2000, 312-241; Saracco 1992.

produced the awareness that it did not have to remain marginalized. [144] In 1955
Catholic integrists imposed themselves on society again. Beginning in 1979 their
endeavours would culminate in the Registro de Culto, the official registration of all
religious minorities, which was meant to control dissidents in an integrist Catholic
state. [145]

After 1955 changes would take place within Argentine Pentecostalism. A
first change was the gradual development of a new Argentine Pentecostal *social*
identity, 'a new Pentecostal mould', as Saracco labelled it. Schisms which began in
the 1950s showed the development of new independent Argentine Pentecostal
churches. The new leaders and independent churches were Argentine in identity, and
not or only loosely connected with foreign denominations or missions. Pentecostals
slowly became connected with the urban working class.[146] They gradually freed
themselves from their minority complex and moved from a defensive to an offensive
attitude.[147]

A second change in Pentecostalism was that regarding theological
emphasis. 'Baptism with the Spirit' and 'speaking in tongues' had been prominent
but slowly gave way to divine healing and mass campaigns for healing and
evangelism. Evangelism was no longer done only verbally but also through
demonstration of what were perceived to be supernatural acts, formulated in terms
of spiritual warfare.[148] The theological concept of the church started to change, with
less emphasis on commitment to congregational life and more emphasis on the
managerial organization of the church and a widespread use of mass media. Church
services tended to be turned into 'ongoing campaigns'.[149] In some parts of
Pentecostalism the theology of prosperity became prominent, with its emphasis on
donations and tithing.

A third change was that Pentecostalism started to grow, already in the
1950s, and accelerating in the 1970s.[150] In 1980 50% of Argentine Protestants were
already Pentecostal,[151] and Wynarczyk and Semán estimated that Pentecostals
tripled in the 1980s from 3% of the Argentine population to around 10%.[152] The
growth took place mainly through independent ministries.[153]

The above changes showed that Argentine Pentecostalism was in a process
of reinforcing its own Argentine identity, of which the social and theological
changes were symptoms.[154]

New Political and Religious Identities
In 1982 democracy brought freedom of religion.[155] The fall of the military regime
was more than a change of government, it was a 're-evaluation of freedom and life

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[144] Miguez 1998, 18.
[145] Bianchi 2004, 236-242; Di Stefano and Zanatta 2000, 535; Miguez 1998, 19.
[146] Saracco 1989, 37, 141.
[147] Saracco 1989, 217.
[148] Miguez 1998, 28, 203.
[149] Miguez 1997, 44-48; 1998, 165.
[150] Wynarczyk 1998, 11.
[151] Saracco 1989, 37.
[152] Miguez 1998, 29-30; Wynarcyk and Semán 1995, 9.
[153] Wynarczyk 1998, 36; Miguez 1998, 29, 30; 2002.
[154] Saracco 1989, 244; Núñez and Taylor 1989, 152, 157, 161.
[155] Miguez 1998, 20.

at a national level', a time of 'new self-awareness'.[156] In this re-evaluation Pentecostalism played an intriguing role. In 1982 the evangelist Carlos Annacondia founded the organization Mensaje de Salvación for mass campaigns for evangelism, healing and exorcism. Annacondia would play a particular role in Argentine society.

A first aspect of his role was his social impact. In the midst of the social crisis of 1982 Mensaje de Salvación served to channel the hope and frustration of a large sector of the population of Argentina. In retrospect, Annacondia's timing was perfect. Annacondia started his first mass campaign on the day of the traumatic sinking of the Argentine warship General Belgrano. Saracco says:

> Since then other social phenomena occurred, characteristic of the new situation. Society began to realize what had happened in the recent years. As it awoke from the sleep to which it had been lulled by the dictatorship, it discovered the real tragedy. The repressed fears then surfaced, values were undermined, rigid moulds were ruptured and fears emerged of what was involved in living in freedom. None of this was foreign to the sudden manifestation of fervour, especially Pentecostal fervour, which became apparent from that time.[157]

Mensaje de Salvación helped to release a wave of popular sentiment and consequently rode the waves of it.

This popular sentiment and its sudden release consisted of various elements. There was the military element: the shock of the lost Falkland War, which they had thought they could easily win.[158] There was the economic element: double digit inflation, the dramatic deficit spending of the Argentine state coupled with a high foreign debt, which resulted in high unemployment and culminated into an increase in poverty.[159] There was the element of internal repression of a dictatorship, expressing itself in the violation of human rights with the disappearance of thousands of people without a trace.[160] There was the rigid imposition of integrist Catholicism on society.[161] These tensions came to a head, suddenly provoked by the lost war.

Democracy and elections came to Argentina in 1983. The new freedom caused a feeling of new possibilities. The compromised Catholic Church had lost prestige, which entailed openness for other religions. At the same time, this newfound freedom was also menacing. It was the very moment for new religions to step in and provide a clear moral picture in order to be of help in the reorientation. Pentecostal and other Protestant churches were overtaken by this popular sentiment. They helped in part to detonate it and became part of it.[162] It should be noted that other kinds of spirituality stepped in as well, such as Umbanda, Jehovah's Witnesses and Eastern Religions.[163]

Second, in addition to this explosive social impact, Mensaje de Salvación helped Pentecostalism to grow during the 1980s, enabling it to connect in a visible

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[156] Alexander 2004, 32; Saracco 1989, 243.
[157] Saracco 1989, 26.
[158] Bakewell 2004, 535.
[159] Miguez 1997, 33, 38; Rock 1987, 372.
[160] Alexander 2004, 28.
[161] Bianchi 2004, 9-13.
[162] Miguez 1998, 1, 2.
[163] Frigerio 1993(a).

way with society. The psychological disturbances originating in the social crisis and
the remedies it presented are in part the cause of the growth of Pentecostalism.[164]

Third, Annacondia's campaigns also meant the increasing
'pentecostalization' of most of the Argentine Evangelical churches.[165] Thus,
Mensaje de Salvación was not only a landmark in the development of
Pentecostalism but also a profound influence on the denominational spectrum. [166]

Fourth, these events also made Pentecostalism a respectable alternative for
the official religion of the majority. Pentecostalism acquired a middle-class profile
in the 1980s, while still connecting with the urban masses, and became the principal
non-Catholic force in Argentina. It became a 'vocal minority intent on making a
difference'.[167]

Democracy returned in 1983 with President Alfonsín of the UCR. Initially,
Alfonsín was popular, but the amnesty legislation of 1986 and 1987, together with
economic austerity measures, caused the loss of popular support. With the election
of the Peronist Carlos Menem in 1989, an integrist reaction by the Catholic Church
set in. Registration in the Registro de Culto became more difficult again.
Nonetheless, it appeared that religious freedom had become strongly entrenched in
Argentine belief in the freedom of religion.[168] Under Menem, inflation was
successfully reduced in 1990 and foreign debt renegotiated. Menem had to
implement austerity measures in 1995 again. Government spending was reduced,
taxes were raised and unemployment remained high. Ruined by economic problems
and scandal, Menem's Peronist party lost the 1999 elections to Fernando De la
Rua's Alianza Democrática. In 1999 Argentina was faced with its inability to pay its
debts to the International Monetary Fund, recession and high inflation. People and
funds started to leave the country and Argentina went through a series of presidents.
In 2002 the peso lost parity with the dollar. The economic crisis was severe. Néstor
Kirchner was elected president in 2003 and, although he retatined the country's
support, he could not provide much more than hope.

These few notes on Argentina's political, social and religious history offer a few
clues to Argentine religious identity during the 1980s and 1990s. First, the influence
of rationalism, labelled above as 'liberalism', had been strong for centuries. Being a
Roman Catholic did not mean easy submission to the Roman Catholic Church. Its
integrism made notable advances only in the interbellum but soon became entangled
in the political polarization of the second half of the twentieth century. Second,
Argentine Pentecostalism had developed its own identity – already before Spiritual
Mapping appeared on the scene in 1989. We will explore Spiritual Mapping in
Argentina below.

The Dawn of Spiritual Mapping
The unfolding of Argentine Spiritual Mapping events will be described briefly in
chronological order and will follow a few strands. The first strand is that of

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[164] Miguez 1998, 24; Freston 1998, 337, 339.
[165] Saracco 1989, 251, 252.
[166] Wynarczyk 1989, 89-92.
[167] Alexander 2004, 33.
[168] Miguez 1998, 19-20; Wynarczyk 2005(b).

evangelists and their organizations, such as Silvoso and his organization
Evangelismo de Cosecha, Dawson's Youth With A Mission and Annacondia's
Mensaje de Salvación. The second strand is that of Argentine churches and their
leaders, such as Eduardo Lorenzo's Adrogué Baptist Church and Cabrera's Visión
del Futuro church. The third strand is the general international attention for
Argentine Pentecostalism and the coming of the Unción movement to Argentina via
Carlos Freidzon. Since this section depends to a large extent on primary sources and
because some terms will be used in emic perspective, it will be followed directly by
a critical appraisal in the following section.

In 1974 the prelude to Spiritual Mapping began with Eduardo Lorenzo who
became pastor of the Baptist church in Adrogué, Buenos Aires, a church of sixty
members. Lorenzo wanted his church to grow. And this desire would take him to
prominence in Argentine Spiritual Mapping. In 1976 Silvoso executed his
experimental plan, which he had developed at Fuller's School of World Missions,
for mass evangelism in the city of Rosario. It concerned a large 'crusade' or
'outreach' following Hicks' 1954 model.[169] Both Silvoso and his teacher Wagner
considered it a success.[170] It led to Silvoso's first Spiritual Mapping effort in 1989.

In 1978 Dawson took an YWAM evangelism team to Córdoba during the
World Cup football tournament. He reported on his first experience with 'spirits
having dominion over the particular area' and recorded important results in his
evangelistic work, after having dealt with these spirits.[171] The report became an
important part of his *Taking Our Cities for God* of 1989. Córdoba became one of the
points of reference in many publications. The publication would be directly applied
to plans for evangelism in the 1990s.[172]

In 1980 Silvoso and some friends, including Murphy, founded the
organization Harvest Evangelism or Evangelismo de Cosecha, meant to implement
Silvoso's vision for mass evangelism. Cosecha started in Argentina with its first
initiative, i.e. to build a training centre in Silvoso's native city of San Nicolás.

In 1982 the Argentine evangelist Annacondia had founded his evangelistic
organization La Asociación Mensaje de Salvación and conducted his first
evangelistic crusade (*conquista)* in La Plata and San Justo. Annacondia's crusades
had a major impact on Argentine society and on the Evangelical community.[173] The
Spiritual Mapping movement explained Annacondia's successful crusades as the
incorporation of 'a new emphasis on spiritual warfare – the challenging of
principalities and powers', and the proclamation of the gospel not only to the people,
but to 'the spiritual jailers who held the people captive'.[174] Annacondia was
interpreted as a pioneer on the 'frontline of spiritual strategic-level warfare'.[175]
Many adopted Annacondia's model of combined evangelism and exorcism.[176] On
March 24, 1983, the Harvest Evangelism Retreat Centre of Silvoso's organization
Cosecha in San Nicolás, Argentina, had been completed and was dedicated.

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[169] Palau 1994; Roberts 1967.
[170] Wagner 1992(a), 29.
[171] Dawson 1989, 18-20.
[172] Alexander 2004, 96-97; Lorenzo 1993, 171-193.
[173] Alexander 2004, 95.
[174] Wagner 1992(a), 26.
[175] Wagner 1992(a), 58.
[176] Silvoso 1994, 273.

In 1984 the Adrogué Baptist church had been confronted with what it perceived to be 'a demon in a woman' Eduardo Lorenzo was wondering how to handle her. One of his church members who happened to have gone to the United States returned with reports about spiritual warfare as he had seen it in churches in the US.[177] In 1984 Pastor Lorenzo sponsored two spiritual warfare seminars in the Baptist church, one with the Canadian psychiatrist White and a second one with the 'Bible teacher' Murphy.[178] During the 1980s Lorenzo and the Baptist church of Adrogué learned the principles of Spiritual Mapping through a learning process, basically by 'doing it', according to Lorenzo.[179]

In March 1984 a conference took place in San Nicolás at the Cosecha retreat centre. The conference 'noticed' that 109 villages and towns in a hundred-mile radius around the city had no Evangelical church. Silvoso's research showed him what he perceived to be a powerful warlock residing in the town of Arroyo Seco and called Merigildo. Silvoso and the conference concluded that the warlock had supernatural power over the territory, so Silvoso directed the pastors in warfare prayer and 'took dominion in the name of Jesus' and 'took' the territory from the warlock.[180] Thus the territorial power of the demons was broken. Silvoso reported in 1994 that the effort had been successful: 'Less than three years later, eighty-two of those towns had Evangelical churches in them.' In 1994, an unverified report indicated that all villages, including Arroyo Seco, 'may have a church or at least a Christian witness'.[181] This event was used in the Spiritual Mapping narrative under different labels, such as San Nicolás, Arroyo Seco or Rosario, with the latter to be distinguished from the events in 1976.

In 1985 Silvoso started an Evangelical newsletter, a Christian television studio and a church planting team. Cosecha was invited 'by several pastors' to train lay leaders. This was during the time that the Pentecostals of Argentina were numerically growing and Cosecha wanted to provide cadre training. Wagner visited Cabrera in the same year. The Evangelical growth surge did not go unnoticed outside Argentina. Wimber paid Wagner's ticket for him 'just to go there and study the model'.[182] Cabrera had started a conglomerate of Pentecostal churches under the name Fondación Visión del Futuro.[183] About this episode Wagner says: 'My awareness of the potential of strategic-level spiritual warfare has for effective evangelism, was first sparked by Pastor Cabrera of Argentina.'[184] Cabrera reportedly told him about his 'personal experience of identifying and binding spirits controlling cities in which he was pioneering new works'. Wagner claimed that he owed not only insight into territorial spirits to Cabrera but also insight into intercession.[185] In 1986 Wagner wrote about Cabrera:

> When he goes into a new area he shuts himself up alone in a hotel room over a
> period of four or five days for intense fasting and prayer. He does battle with the

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[177] Wagner 1992(c), 2.
[178] Alexander 2004, 95; Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006; Wagner 1991(a), 18.
[179] Lorenzo 1998, 125-127.
[180] Wagner 1992(a), 30.
[181] Silvoso 1994, 274.
[182] (D.M.) Wagner 2006.
[183] Wynarczyk 2004.
[184] Wagner 1992(a), 13.
[185] Wagner 1992(b), 124.

forces of the enemy until he identifies the strong men who have ruled over that
territory. Then he wrestles with them and binds in the name of the Lord. When this
happens he just walks into his meeting and announces to the audience that they are
free.[186]

The 'battle' concerned a 'power encounter on high level' with 'dominion over
geographic territory'. The identification of Cabrera with Spiritual Mapping loomed
large in Wagner's publications.[187] Wagner interpreted Cabrera's self-understanding
as follows: 'Although he identified territorial spirits and broke their power regularly,
his highly intuitive nature did not permit him to analyze for me the principles behind
such a ministry.'

During the 1980s, an increasing number of international visitors came to
Argentina to witness the 'Argentine Revival'. Argentine Evangelical church growth
was made known internationally through its interpretation by Wagner and
Silvoso.[188] It resulted in a steady stream of visitors, predominantly from the US.
Argentina was portrayed as 'a place where God was at work'.[189]

In 1987 Pastor Paul Yonggi Cho of Korea's Yoido Full Gospel Church
visited Argentina. He felt a divine call to go to Argentina to teach a seminar. Cho
asked Silvoso's Cosecha centre to host the four-day seminar. The team of Cosecha
launched a public relations effort, which resulted in what looked like a media
hype.[190] According to reports, 7,500 visitors attended the conference.[191] Cho did not
teach Spiritual Mapping as such, but the media campaign around his seminar
brought Cosecha, including its emphasis on Spiritual Mapping, into prominence.

From 1984 to 1987 the Adrogué church grew, according to Eduardo
Lorenzo, from 250 to 1000 members. He attributed this to what would be identified
later as elements of Spiritual Mapping.[192] After identifying the territorial spirit of
Adrogué and a week of prayer in 1987 'they felt something break in the spiritual
realm'.[193] In 1987, Lorenzo reports, the Adrogué Baptist church started to grow at an
accelerated rate.[194]

The highlight of Spiritual Mapping was Plan Resistencia. In 1987 the
Cosecha team was joined by a missionary couple, Charles and Cindy Starnes, from
the United States. They proposed that Cosecha start a first city-wide evangelism
campaign in Resistencia, a city of 400.000. A few pastors from Resistencia ('a
faithful remnant' in their eyes) had approached Cosecha through Starnes with an
invitation to come and provide evangelism training.[195]

In 1988 Cosecha started preparations for a major three-year evangelistic
effort, called Plan Resistencia. Silvoso met with Protestant 'leaders' in the city of
Resistencia for the first time in 1988. This meeting was characterized by Silvoso as

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[186] Wagner 1986, 41, 42, 128; 1973.
[187] Wagner 1989(b), 283; 1992(b), 192.
[188] Alexander 2004, 95.
[189] Wagner 1998(b), 12.
[190] Silvoso 1994(b), 42.
[191] Silvoso 1998, 214.
[192] Alexander 2004, 96; Silvoso 1994(b), 274.
[193] Silvoso 1994, 275.
[194] Wagner 1992(c), 2.
[195] Rumph 1998, 144; Silvoso 1994(b), 276.

the beginning of a partnership. According to Silvoso, his plans were 'enthusiastically received' by 'more than half' of the pastors in the city.

The year 1989 is considered the year the Spiritual Mapping movement was born. Chapter three will elaborate on the reasons for this. In 1989 Spiritual Mapping burst on the international Evangelical scene of the Lausanne II congress through several presentations done by Argentines and North Americans. The presentations centred around the term 'territorial spirits' and were done by Silvoso, who reported on Rosario 1984, Cabrera who taught a seminar on territorial spirits, and another presentation by Silvoso on Plan Resistencia. [196] He stated that this plan would produce spectacular missionary results in Argentina.[197] The amount of attention on Lausanne II was an indication of the international interest for Argentine church growth. [198]

In 1989 Cosecha moved a team into Resistencia to execute Plan Resistencia. It was a mixed team with members from Argentina and the USA. The team spent the first year on preparation: periods of intercession, leadership training and working on reconciliation among local pastors and churches. In the same year the Adrogué church built a new auditorium to accommodate the growth of its membership.

In 1990 Jackson, one of the Kansas City Prophets, uttered what was perceived to be a prophecy about Wagner, who was supposed to reshape Christianity, beginning in South America. Wagner took this as a prophecy coming from God in order to direct his work for the decade to come. Soon afterwards he met Silvoso and they agreed to run a large-scale experiment of spiritual warfare in Resistencia, related to the concept of territorial spirits. The Argentine Víctor Lorenzo, son of Eduardo Lorenzo, working under Silvoso's Cosecha, was the architect of the Spiritual Mapping part of Plan Resistencia, directly inspired by Dawson's *Taking Our Cities for God*.[199] Silvoso and the Starnes, together with the local pastors, were responsible for the overall plan.[200]

We will follow the general course of events below, and details will be discussed in chapter three. Plan Resistencia covered three years of planned activities: from prayer to reconciliation, mobilization, instruction, evangelism, Spiritual Mapping and the integration of new converts into existing churches. In April 1990 it was reported that 'most of the pastors' of the city had been won over for Plan Resistencia. [201] Peter Wagner and his wife Doris, and Jacobs of the Generals of Intercession were involved in teaching seminars in Argentina.[202] They came to Argentina with Jane Rumph, a freelance writer from Pasadena, who was to become the chronicler of the events in Resistencia.[203] Eduardo Lorenzo was the national director of Cosecha, Jacobs taught the fist seminar in Buenos Aires on warfare prayer to 450 participants, and Marfa Cabrera acted as interpreter, pastor Cabrera's wife. At the end of the first seminar Jacobs and a group of eighty participants

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[196] Wagner 1992(a), 45.
[197] Piper 1990.
[198] Pierce 2005.
[199] Lorenzo 1993, 173.
[200] Rumph 1998, 144; Silvoso 1994(a), 15-18; Silvoso 1994(b), 279.
[201] Interview Saracco, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[202] Wagner 1992(a), 31.
[203] Rumph 1990; 1998, 143-156; (D.M.) Wagner 2006.

performed five-hour public warfare prayer in the central square of Buenos Aires, the Plaza de Mayo, under Lorenzo's leadership. In Resistencia, where David Thompson was head of the Cosecha team, Jacobs taught a seminar to 700 participants. It was decided to act on the information on the identified territorial spirits as provided by Víctor Lorenzo. A group of seventy participants went to the central square of the city and spent five hours in 'frontline warfare' against the ruling spirits of the city. In August and October 1990 the city-wide evangelistic events in Resistencia proceded as scheduled. Silvoso, 150 team members from the US and 'a like number of Argentines' conducted an evangelistic outreach of two weeks, accompanied by social projects executed under media coverage.[204]

In April 1991 the official closure of Plan Resistencia took place, and the results were ascribed to the Spiritual Mapping activities.[205] One of the goals of the Resistencia effort was to develop a model that could be used as a city evangelism prototype. Cosecha made an inventory of the lessons learnt in Resistencia.[206]

In Resistencia's aftermath its next application found place in the city of La Plata, starting in 1991. In that same year Cosecha held its first training seminar where Spiritual Mapping principles were taught, the First Annual Harvest Evangelism International Institute. In 1992 Jacobs and Doris Wagner went to Rosario for a Spiritual Mapping seminar and Cosecha held its Second Harvest Evangelism International Institute, which provided a week of training, with Wagner and Jacobs among others. The seminars would continue as annual events.[207] Resistencia was the start of the further application of the model. Internationally the model was to be exported to 'several cities in three continents'.[208] Silvoso reports that within three years after Plan Resistencia the pastors in Resistencia 'had fallen in disunity', not being able to agree on whether the plan had been a good thing or not.[209] The differences of opinion have not been made public, not even in Silvoso's analysis written in 1994.[210]

Spiritual Mapping never developed into a full-fledged movement in Argentina. In 1992, the anointing movement of the Unción came to Argentina and took its place. The anointing or Unción is the ritual of laying hands on someone, which is believed to impart a special divine power of God. It is meant to give a range of experiences and to result in unusual events or 'revivals'. It expresses itself in ecstatic moods and an ecstatic atmosphere, with 'holy laughter', and being 'slain by the spirit', 'being drunk with the spirit' and the like. The imparted divine power can be taken to another church, country or continent, to pass the power on to others mainly through laying on of hands.

It was through Pastor Freidzon of the Rey des Reyes church in Belgrano, Buenos Aires, that the Unción was introduced in the Unión de las Asambleas de Dios (Assemblies of God) and afterwards in other churches. During a trip by Freidzon to the evangelist Benny Hinn in the United States in 1992 he 'received' the

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[204] Rumph 1998, 155.
[205] Wagner 1992(a), 33-34.
[206] Blom 2003.
[207] Riss 1996.
[208] Silvoso 1994(b), 283.
[209] Silvoso 1998, 222-223.
[210] Silvoso 1994(b), 283.

experience of the Unción after having received prayer from Hinn.[211] Upon his return to Buenos Aires he introduced this new 'power' to his church. Other pastors were invited to a special interdenominational service and the Unción started to spread in Argentina.[212] The Baptist pastor Carlos Mraida introduced the Unción to Baptist churches, with the full approval of colleagues like Eduardo Lorenzo and Deiros but causing much controversy.[213]

The Unción did not reject or discard Spiritual Mapping but did eclipse it. he new Unción had room for prayer walking and Spiritual Mapping, as Mraida indicated, but those elements gradually received less attention.[214] It was concerning this period that Bollini says about Spiritual Mapping: 'Many churches took it up for a while, but dropped it after trying it. It is just like the prosperity gospel. Churches taught it for a while and then left it.'[215] Saracco adds: 'It never became big, although it was in the air for a while.'[216]

Silvoso did not develop Spiritual Mapping or the aspect of spiritual territoriality any further in his plans for prayer evangelism. But he did work to promote his Resistencia model and to develop it into models that could be used elsewhere. Argentina served as 'a prototype for nation transformation' and Silvoso sought to develop 'reproducible models' to be used all over the world. Although not considered as the only factor, Silvoso claimed in 1994 that Spiritual Mapping was the central issue of the events in Argentina:

> The challenging and binding of these territorial powers is at the heart of what is going on in Argentina today.… The pattern is the same: territorial powers are identified, then challenged, and eventually defeated as thousands of captives turn from the dominion of Satan to God.[217]

In 1993 Cosecha held its Third Annual Harvest Evangelism International Institute. John and Carol Arnott, leaders of the Vineyard church in Toronto, came to Argentina and, after prayer by Freidzon, started in Toronto what some called the 'Toronto Blessing'.[218] Pastor Steve Hill of Pensacola was 'prayed for' by Annacondia and was 'strongly touched' by the anointing and stood at the beginning of what is perceived as the 'Pensacola Revival' in the States.[219]

On several occassions Silvoso reported on the course of events and the model behind Plan Resistencia.[220] He also reported on the 'disunity' of the local pastors on the interpretation of the results of that plan. Silvoso promoted the Resistencia model internationally.

The Adrogué church, the Harvest Evangelism Institutes, along with several individuals working under their own auspices, continued to work with Spiritual Mapping in Argentina. International visitors continued to visit Argentina. In 1994 a

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[211] Alexander 2004, 38; Hinn 1990(a).
[212] Freidzon 1998, 107-123; Mraida 1992, 1.
[213] Alexander 2000, 41.
[214] Mraida 1998, 190.
[215] Interview Bollini, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[216] Interview Saracco, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[217] Silvoso 1994(b), 275.
[218] Percy 1996; Riss 1996; Synan 2001, 228, 261, 379.
[219] Synan 2001, 380.
[220] Silvoso 1991; 1994(b); 1997(a); 1997(b).

group of 70 pastors from Germany, Switzerland and Austria made the trip, and the
Japanese Paul Ariga did so in 1993. Thousands did come to Cosecha conferences,
usually held in eight languages, Argentine evangelists appeared to be in demand as
conference speakers around the world. They travelled the world: Pablo Bottari,
Freidzon, Deiros, Mraida, Annacondia, and others.[221]

We will now close this section on the historical description of Spiritual
Mapping in Argentina. The rest will be treated in chapter six. We now need to
examine Argentine Spiritual Mapping.

An Appraisal of Argentine Spiritual Mapping

As we have seen, Silvoso's and Wagner's publications especially suggest that
Spiritual Mapping is pivotal in the work of Argentina's most important evangelists
and churches. Not all Argentine evangelists would be altogether happy with this
interpretation. We will briefly investigate the opinions of Argentines.

Annacondia did pray aggressively against spirits, but all of his exorcisms
took place in the area of what Spiritual Mapping would label 'ground-level spiritual
warfare'.[222] The publications of the movement strongly suggest that Annacondia was
connected with Spiritual Mapping.[223] Stories of Annacondia's exorcisms, together
with descriptions of Bottari's ministry in a special tent erected for exorcism, are
presented together with Spiritual Mapping. However, Annacondia himself stated
that he did not have connections with the Spiritual Mapping movement and that he
never practiced it.[224] He took part in evangelism and seminars in which Spiritual
Mapping was practiced as well, but he offered his services as an evangelist and not
as an adherent of the movement. During evangelistic meetings he did pray against
spirits, but never went into detailed identifying and naming.[225] Critics agree. Oscar J.
Bollini of ACIERA says:

> I can tell you who did *not* work with Spiritual Mapping: evangelist Carlos
> Annacondia. He started his work before Spiritual Mapping came to Argentina.
> Annacondia promoted unity and evangelism. But he did only preach. He did not
> participate to support Spiritual Mapping. Annacondia works with all kinds of
> denominations and organisations.[226]

Cabrera did pray against spirits, amd Wagner said: 'His objective is to learn their
names and break their power over the city.'[227] However, Cabrera did not confirm his
involvement in Spiritual Mapping. He did preparatory prayer before evangelism and
church planting in a given area. He knew that there were spirits and possibly
territorial spirits and would pray for a few days against these spirits before starting
to evangelize:

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[221] Joel Ministries 1999; Deiros and Wagner 1998, 12, 88, 89, 202, 203, 222.
[222] Annacondia 1998(c), 64.
[223] Wagner 1992(b), 192.
[224] Personal telephone conversation of Carlos Annacondia with the author, September 12, 2006.
[225] Annacondia 1998(a); 1998(b); 1998(c); Bottari 1998; 1999.
[226] Interview Bollini, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[227] Wagner 1991(b), 45, 46.

> I could engage effectively the spiritual hosts of evil keeping peoples and cities in spiritual darkness. My proof was that areas formerly marked by apathy and indifference would suddenly open up and that the powers of unbelief were impotent to keep the people from answering God's call…. I learned how the enemy's territory could be penetrated to establish the kingdom with God's power. [228]

In other words, Cabrera did pray against spirits, which could be territorial, but he did not get into identifying, naming or doing spiritual research. Even Wagner indicated in 1989 that his interpretation was not Cabrera's: 'Although he identified territorial spirits and broke their power regularly, his highly intuitive nature did not permit him to analyze for me the principles behind such a ministry.'[229] This implies that Wagner provides his own interpretation, using Cabrera's name. Critics confirm Cabrera's statements. Bollini writes: 'Omar Cabrera never used Spiritual Mapping.'[230] Saracco states:

> Wagner … saw the growth that was happening. He connected with Omar Cabrera … who was important in the seventies and the eighties. Wagner noticed that Cabrera took a time of fasting and prayer before an evangelism crusade in a given city. Cabrera did this because he knew that demonic powers were battling against him. But just that: prayer and fasting. That was all. He was just praying, without any reference to Spiritual Mapping or territorial spirits. Cabrera told me this himself. [231]

Freidzon, an important representative of Argentine Pentecostalism, had regular contact with Annacondia but never practised Spiritual Mapping and was instrumental in introducing something different into Argentina: the Unción. Deiros agrees that Freidzon did not adopt Spiritual Mapping.[232]

Saracco confirms that there were many visitors to Argentina by complaining:

> Because of his [Wagner's] publications people came to Argentina in the eighties and the nineties to look at the growth and its principles. We had to tell them that it was just not there. That the methodology just does not work. Often others pitied us: 'Argentines do not know what happened in their own country!' It was an awkward situation. When going abroad, we were confronted with all kinds of stories about Argentina, while we did not know anything about it! We had to tell over and over what was really happening, but not everybody wanted to believe us.[233]

After this brief report on Argentine opinions, we will now briefly analyse the Argentine origins of Spiritual Mapping. Eduardo Lorenzo mentioned his ignorance about exorcism and spiritual territoriality first, and he and his Baptist church in Adrogué received their first instruction from the Canadian White and Murphy from the US, both adherents of the Charismatic Renewal.[234] Víctor Lorenzo informed us that he received his inspiration for Spiritual Mapping directly from Dawson's

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[228] Cabrera 1998, 96.
[229] Wagner 1989(b), 283.
[230] Interiew Bollini, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[231] Interview Saracco, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[232] Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[233] Interview Saracco, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[234] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.

Taking Your Cities for God in 1990.[235] Dawson worked with the Charismatic organization YWAM. Silvoso, living in San José, California, studied at the Evangelical Multnomah School of the Bible in Portland Oregon, and continued his studies at Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Missions.[236] Silvoso explicitly mentions Wagner, Winter and Tippett as having influence on his life and thinking. Silvoso was a friend of the above-mentioned Murphy. Deiros received his theological education in Argentina and received his Ph.D. from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, in Forth Worth, Texas. He was a guest lecturer at Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary and Princeton Theological Seminary, and served as staff member and professor of church history at the School of World Missions, Fuller Theological Seminary.[237] Deiros himself is certain that Argentina was not the birthplace of Spiritual Mapping, for it is 'not from Argentina although it may seem so. In the USA the concept has been developed. Harvest Evangelism brought it to Argentina. That was in 1989 with "Plan Resistencia", but I am not fully aware of its origins in the USA'. He indicated that 'Silvoso and the Wagners in partnership' were responsible for bringing it to Argentina. In conclusion: the roots of Spiritual Mapping in Argentina point to Evangelicalism in the US.

A similar analysis of the non-Argentine adherents involved in Spiritual Mapping in Argentina offers the following. Wagner points to his contacts with Argentine evangelist Cabrera, starting in 1985 with 'many conversations' and stated that he talked for hours with Cabrera, listening and analysing what seemed to him 'the extraordinary moving of God'. [238] However, Wagner worked with his own interpretation with which Cabrera did not agree. The initiative to go to Argentina came from Wimber of the Vineyard church in Anaheim, California, who brought Wagner and Cabrera into contact. Wimber paid for the Wagners' tickets to visit Cabrera in 1985.[239] Both Wagner and his wife Doris point to Jacobs from the US as the person who set the content of the teaching at the seminars of Plan Resistencia: 'Before Resistencia almost nobody knew about Spiritual Mapping, but Ana Mendez and Cindy Jacobs knew some.' [240] This indicated that, according to Wagner, Spiritual Mapping did not originate in Argentina. Jacobs had never been in Argentina before. She was part of the Charismatic Renewal, working with Women's Aglow and other organizations. The analysis of the non-Argentine adherents of Spiritual Mapping point to sources within Evangelicalism of the USA.

Critics in Argentina who were not adherents of Spiritual Mapping indicated the following roots. Bollini stated that Spiritual Mapping came 'from North America, through Silvoso, Jacobs and Víctor Lorenzo'.[241] Saracco stated: 'I am not sure where Spiritual Mapping started. Was it born in Argentina? I am not sure. I could not say. Silvoso and Wagner are key persons in this'.[242] Wynarczyk agreed and indicated Silvoso, Wagner and Jacobs as the main sources.[243]

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[235] Lorenzo 1993(a), 172-173; Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[236] Silvoso 1994(a), 28-29.
[237] Inteview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[238] Wagner 1992(a), 31.
[239] (D.M.) Wagner 2006.
[240] Wagner 2006(b).
[241] Interview Bollini, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006
[242] Interview Saracco, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[243] Wynarczyk 1995, 123-125.

The discussion on the question why Spiritual Mapping did not develop into a movement in Argentina sheds light on its roots as well. The Argentine Deiros, an adherent of Spiritual Mapping, shared his feelings that the concept as such did not connect with Argentine culture:

> My first reaction [after reading the Rumph report on Plan Resistencia] was that it was typical that Americans coming to Argentina do not understand the local culture. And I was partly right. It never developed into a movement, but it remained a group of individuals. Why? I guess first of all because it was considered an US issue. Thus it was considered 'not for us', especially since working with the demonic is considered kind of weird by some.[244]

Bollini gave the connection with the US a more negative twist: 'I feel that in the American Evangelical movement there are some who misused Argentina. It is as a circle: an idea comes from North America, it is tried in Argentina as a laboratory, and the result is reported as if it comes from Argentina. The circle is that the result is presented as the origin.'[245] Briefly, Spiritual Mapping was felt to be a project of a foreign organization for which Argentina had been used. A third reason, mentioned by Deiros, why it did not develop into a movement was 'that key leaders did not adopt it. People like Annacondia and Freidzon did not reject it, but they did not adopt it in their ministries.'[246] This section concludes that the roots of Argentine Spiritual Mapping should be identified as coming from the US.

Having pointed to its roots in the US, we now need to ask what role was left for Argentina to play. It is common in Spiritual Mapping to refer to Argentina, even if briefly.

Not all sources occupy themselves equally with Argentina. Otis did not preoccupy himself with the question of historical origins and consequently did not treat Argentina at any length.[247] Nonetheless, a few references showed that he was aware of what was happening in Argentina.[248] Kraft wrote about Spiritual Mapping's origins with an emphasis on the influence of the Third Wave. However, as editor, he granted extensive space in 1994 to Silvoso to publish on Spiritual Mapping. In other publications he referred to Silvoso, Wagner and Deiros and their work in Argentina.[249] The analysis suggests that Argentina had three functions with respect to Spiritual Mapping.

The first was that Argentina was to be a testing ground: it was intentionally used as a 'laboratory', a place to develop a new and experimental model of a missionary approach for large urban centres and other geographical territorial designations. The testing was done by the emergent Spiritual Mapping movement that originated in the US. Wagner said: 'My principal laboratory for testing … is Argentina….'[250]

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[244] Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[245] Interview Bollini, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[246] Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[247] Otis 1991, 231.
[248] Otis 1997, 187, 331, 368; 1999, 49.
[249] Kraft 1994; 2002(a), 65, 232.
[250] Wagner 1992(a), 13; 1993(a), 16; Wagner 2006(b).

Argentina's second function was to be a market. The events of the 'laboratory' in Argentina were documented and made known through many publications. They were widely marketed as a product and served the public relations of the movement. Accounts on Resistencia, La Plata and Rosario were used repeatedly throughout the 1990s.

Argentina's third function was the mythological validation. The events in Argentina were more and more considered to be a divine repository of truth, or at least the beginning of it, serving as validation of its practice. This is especially prevalent in Deiros, Wagner's and Kraft's publications.[251] This function will be discussed further in chapters four and five.

In conclusion, it can be said that Argentina played an important role in the development of the Spiritual Mapping idea, but it did not originate there and it did not develop into an Argentine movement. It rose to some prominence in Argentina in a time of extreme social distress, riding the waves of popular sentiment following the Falkland War and the advent of democracy. Yet Argentine Pentecostal identity had already been firmly established and the imported Spiritual Mapping did not develop into a lasting phenomenon. Argentina was important with respect to Spiritual Mapping for testing, marketing and mythological validation. The discussion on Argentina's role points to the US as the country of origin, and we will now turn to that country.

The United States of America

This section concerns the wider cultural and religious context of the US in which Spiritual Mapping originated. We need to investigate why the mixture of Church Growth principles, Kraft's missionary anthropology, the influence of the Charismatic Renewal and Neo-Pentecostalism resulted in Spiritual Mapping *in the US*. The context of Evangelicalism in the US is complex, with a great variation of traditions and movements. A few relevant characteristics need to be indicated.

In the second half of the 20th century the social context of Evangelicalism underwent major changes. Marsden notes, for instance, a wide array of social factors. The US experienced a major turning point with the Second World War with respect to culture. Between the Depression of the 1930s and Vietnam of the 1960s 'an irruption of cultural optimism',[252] world dominance and enthusiasm for mission developed. It also brought the new style of Neo-Evangelicalism, as we saw above. After Vietnam, Watergate and other setbacks, the Reagan years of the 1980 brought a partial return of the post-war optimism, but too much had changed in the meantime and the return to the 1940s could only be partial. The question is what had changed. Jews, Catholics, Secularists and other traditions had become part of mainstream society.[253]

In the field of ethics, these changes led to a widening gap between what could be labelled liberal or conservative. To give a picture of the extreme poles of

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[251] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 30-31, 62; Kraft 2002(a), 232.
[252] Marsden 2001, 220.
[253] Marsden 2001, 229, 233, 237.

the continuum: values of openness, pluralism, feminism, gay and lesbian
movements, the celebration of diversity and theological subordination to ethics on
one hand developed over against traditional family values and conservative sexual
morality, patriotism and law and order on the other.[254] In the field of politics, a very
diverse and very loose coalition of conservative forces emerged from the 1960s on.
This expressed itself in political terms in Evangelicals being part of the national
'Moral Majority' of the 1980s, the New Religious Right and many other similar
movements and organizations in the 1980s and 1990s. The impact was amplified
through radio and television 'ministries'.

We will first briefly investigate a few characteristics of the religious and
social contexts of spirituality in the US in general, followed by an investigation of
Evangelicalism and, third, of Neo-Pentecostalism. We will do so by offering a few
comments on selected sociological aspects. The sociology of religion has produced
overarching exclusive and ultimate frameworks that sometimes contrast with one
another. This study will follow an eclectic approach, considering the models as
partial explanations. It considers reality to be fragmented and its representations as *a
priori* incomplete.[255] This chapter will briefly select aspects of a few of these
perspectives, as considered relevant for Spiritual Mapping and its background. The
key terms of the selection in this section are given in Diagram 1, so the reader can
easily follow the argument.

Diagram 1: Aspects of Spirituality in the US Using Key Terms

US:	Aspects in key terms:
- Marsden:	New Age culture
- Heelas and Woodhead:	subjective turn of culture
Evangelicalism:	
- Finke and Stark:	religious free market economy
- Marsden:	simultaneous adoption and resistance
- Noll:	cultural adaptive biblical experimentalism
- Smith:	thriving in confrontation
Neo-Pentecostalism:	
- Hunt, Hamilton, Walter:	accelerated form of restorationism
- Hadden, Shupe:	ethics of success
- Bradfield:	experiments for success
- McDonnell:	human potential development
- McGuire:	human empowerment
- Theron:	cognitive paradigm shift

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[254] Marsden 2001, 248.
[255] Droogers 1998, vi-viii, 30; Freston 1998, 347.

Aspects of US Spirituality

The first question deals with the context of spirituality and religion in the US in general. To sketch a few aspects, we will use the model provided by George Marsden and that provided by Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead.

Marsden sets out to depict Evangelicalism's background in the 1960s and the 1970s, during which New Age in the form of the emerging new (and old) religions blossomed in the US. Variations of the Judeo-Christian heritage – such as the Unification Church, the People's Temple, the Branch Davidians – and on other old religions – such as Hare Krishna, Zen Buddhism, Bhagwan Sri Rajneesh – had their specific characteristics and their own periods of emergence, influence and sometimes decline. Marsden labelled them all as 'New Age' and described their cultural influence as a cultural development extending beyond the specific expressions of these groups. He indicated the development of a broader 'New Age Culture' beginning in the 1960s, which gained 'millions' in the US.[256] It 'gained' in the sense that it influenced the culture of the US with each individual and each group undergoing this influence in varying degrees. For Marsden, it is significant that the new outlook of this culture contains in the first place the popularity of spiritualist contacts with persons from other times and, second, that the culture is inherently pluralistic and ethically relativistic. It is experiental and expressive in nature.

Heelas and Woodhead explore this area and come to conclusions that are somewhat related to Marsden's but not entirely the same.[257] They take as their starting point the declining influence of religion – particularly Christianity – in the Western world and note the emergence of what they label as 'spirituality'. They set out to define spirituality and to determine its significance. After all, is it a final spasm of religion or is it a new revolutionary form that has come and will last? They offer a thesis that embraces in one process both the decline of religions and the growth of spirituality. They begin with the 'massive subjective turn of modern culture'.

The turn is a major cultural shift away from life lived in terms of external or 'objective' roles, duties and obligations, and a turn towards life by reference to one's own 'subjective' experiences (both relational and individualistic). The subjective turn is a turn away from 'life-as' – life as a dutiful housewife or father, for example – to 'subjective life' – for example, a life lived in accordance with one's own deep experiences. It is a cultural turn away from the established order, in which obeying or heeding systems like kinship, class, the nation-state or a particular religion becomes less important. It is a cultural turn towards one's own memories, emotions, state of mind, bodily experiences, inner conscience ad moral sentiments. One's subjectivity becomes one of the sources of meaning and authority. The key value for 'life-as' is conformity to external authority. The key value for subjective life is the authentic connection with one's inner self. The shift is a matter of emphasis. However, according to Heelas and Woodhead, it is 'the defining cultural development of modern western culture'.[258] The distinction between 'life-as' and

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[256] Marsden 2001, 266.
[257] Heelas and Woodhead 2005, 1-2.
[258] Heelas and Woodhead 2005, 5.

'subjective life' helps to define the difference between religion and spirituality better.

Religion belongs to the realm of 'life-as' and subordinates subjective life to a higher – transcendent –authority. Spirituality belongs to the realm of 'subjective life' and sacralizes it by invoking the cultivation of one's inner and unique experience. Heelas and Woodhead's claim is a spiritual revolution in the western world. For them 'life-as' forms of the sacred, emphasizing a transcendent source of significance and authority at the expense of cultivating 'subjective life', will probably decline. 'Subjective life' forms of the sacred, emphasizing the inner sources of significance and authority toward sacralization of one's unique inner life, will most likely grow. In concrete terms, this means that many – traditional – churches are expected to decline. It means as well that many forms of spirituality called New Age, holistic, alternative, pagan, Wicca, reiki, meditation – and many more – are expected to grow.

Marsden does sketch religious change in the US but does not sketch a picture of religious decline. Heelas and Woodhead do sketch change, combining both decline and growth, which means secularization pertaining to 'life-as' and sacralization pertaining to 'subjective life'. In selecting these two models, we bypass those theories of secularization that hold that religion/spirituality is in decline. This seems to be in line with statistics on Christianityin the US, although those have to be interpreted with caution: they have to be compared with the growth of newly emerging independent churches and other alternative Christian organizations.

Aspects of Evangelicalism

The section above concerned general spirituality in the USA. This section will present aspects of interpretative models of Evangelicalism, in particular the models proposed by Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, Marsden, Mark A. Noll and Christian Smith. They are different but not necessarily mutually exclusive. Finke and Stark treat modern Evangelicalism as a successful marketing effort. Marsden's interpretative framework is Evangelicalism's position towards New Age culture. Noll's sees Evangelicalism's framework as a successful culturally adaptive biblical experimentalism. Smith's framework is Evangelicalism as a sub-cultural confrontation with society.

According to Finke and Stark the religious environment of the US functions as a free market economy in which groups compete for adherents.[259] They use economic concepts to analyse the religious history of the US and its patterns of change. They try to interpret it in a sociological model, which combines the idea of religious economies with a sect-to-church process as its primary dynamic. Religious bodies can thrive only to the extent that they comfort and motivate sacrifice, Finke and Stark state. The 'invisible hand of the market', acting according to supply and demand, is unforgiving in a free market with free competition for adherents. The religious economy of the US is virtually unregulated, knows no monopoly, is highly differentiated and innovative. It resulted in entrepreneurial religions, seeking new ways to appeal to people with new techniques, fuelled by their religious beliefs.[260]

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[259] Finke and Stark 2005, 9.
[260] Finke and Stark 2005, 12, 281.

Finke and Stark proposed the theory of steady numerical growth of Evangelicalism throughout the last two centuries, rather than growth in surges. In this perspective Evangelicalism follows its usual trend of successful cultural adaptation today. Without endorsing the overall interpretation of Peter Berger's sociological secularization thesis and its supposed religious disintegration, the authors do agree with Berger that there is a religious market structure with denominational competition. However, for Finke and Stark, this does not lead to religious decline but to keeping pace with cultural changes.[261]

Smith postulates that Evangelicalism thrives when confronted with (sometimes) well-defined enemies. It thrives because of – not in spite of – its confrontation with modern pluralism.[262] Engagement and tension produce clear distinctions between groups and give beliefs meaning. Among the 'crucial factors that determine Evangelicalism', Smith identifies an Evangelical sense of second-class citizenship and a sense of menacing moral threats.[263] Confrontation creates identity and a sense of belonging. Evangelicalism is reactive in its very nature. But at the same time this Evangelical vitality causes ineffectiveness with regard to social change, since the strategies for changing the world are faith-based. Evangelicals do not have a clear programme for implementing social change. The movement's strength and success come from subcultural origins and contribute to the movement's social ineffectiveness.

Noll holds that Evangelicalism can be interpreted as 'culturally adaptive biblical experimentalism'.[264] He considered most 'revivals' and other similar developments as successful adaptations to cultural changes in the immediate contexts. The same mechanisms can be found in other religious groups. In that sense, developments within the Evangelical world are 'neither unique, nor unprecedented'.[265] The central Evangelical features of the experiental reality of God combined with the Bible as authoritative have been adapted to broad trends in US culture. Religion is being sold successfully in a market-oriented society, using new communication technologies. In the past it was successfully sold to the Victorian home and today to therapeutic individualism. Applied to the 1970s and 1980s of the twentieth century, this meant that Evangelicals shared in the 'general sense of moral decline' of society. It was a general sense of feeling a menace of some kind and the feeling that essential – Christian – values were at stake.

Marsden states that Evangelicalism both underwent the influence of 'New Age' culture (see above) and at the same time tried to resist it. On the one hand, Evangelicalism became part of this 'new spirituality of seeking', as reflected especially in what Marsden labelled the Charismatic part of Evangelicalism.[266] He noted decline in mainline churches and strong growth in the Charismatic segment. It was a new spirituality that was less committed to particular traditions, distinct doctrines or specific forms of worship. On the other hand, Evangelicalism tried to resist this New Age culture. Of course, it tried to resist not only New Age culture but other cultural changes at the same time, usually intertwined and not neatly

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[261] Berger 1963, 84, 87, 89; Berger 1967; Finke and Stark 2005, 10, 201, 225-226.
[262] Smith 1998, xi.
[263] Smith 2001, 140-145.
[264] Noll 2001, 2.
[265] Noll 2001, 12, 22.
[266] Marsden 2001, 270, 289

segmented. There was resistance in the field of politics, such as that provoked by Watergate and to ethical questions such as abortion (Roe *vs.* Wade). Evangelicalism was alarmed by the perceived threat to the US 'as a Christian nation under God'.[267]

Whatever the differences between the above interpretative frameworks may be, they are mainly reactions to the external culture, be it adaptive or not. They all point at aspects that will come back in chapters four and five. So far, this chapter pointed to, as the cultural background of Spiritual Mapping, the general aspects of Marsden's 'New Age Culture' and Heelas and Woodhead's 'cultural turn to the subjective'. As far as aspects of Evangelicalism are concerned, we concentrated on Finke and Stark's model of 'Religious free market economy', Marsden's notion of the simultaneous adoption of and resistance to modern culture, Noll's characterization of Evangelicalism as 'culturally adaptive biblical experimentalism' and Smith's notion of its flourishing in (its perceived) confrontation with culture.

Aspects of Neo-Pentecostalism

As noted in chapter one, sociological studies do not always distinguish between the Charismatic Renewal and Neo-Pentecostalism. For practical purposes, in this section the two will be treated as one stream originating at the beginning of the 1960s and will be referred to here as Neo-Pentecostalism. A few relevant aspects will be selected. Most of them stand within the framework of the influence of or reaction to post modernity.

An important notion is the idea of religious restoration. According to Andrew Walker, who uses concepts developed by H. Richard Niebuhr before him, Neo-Pentecostalism can be seen as a reaction to secularization tendencies. It was against 'internal' secularization insofar as it was the influence of society as it was felt within Pentecostalism. Neo-Pentecostalism was seen as a move towards fundamentalism, distinguished from Classical Pentecostalism only by its ecstatic tendencies.[268] Neo-Pentecostalism is viewed as one of many restorationist streams. It reacted negatively to the upward mobility and loss of vigour of present-day Pentecostalists in comparison to the first generations of Pentecostalism. It also reacted negatively to the development of Pentecostalism from a movement into a denomination, resulting in routinization and institutionalization.[269] As Max Weber and Niebuhr describe it[270], using the typology of the sect-to-denomination development, new groups were often formed to protest against aspects of the existing religion or denomination. They often advocate the return to what is considered a true form of their religion. But for several reasons these new groups (sects) tend to grow into denominations in their turn. The exclusive approach of the sect tends to become more inclusive towards the members of the denomination. Walker saw this happening at greater speed than had happened in the past. It is an accelerated form, as found in society outside Christianity as well. In this way the Toronto blessing was considered a (relatively) quick reaction to the routinization of the charismata within Neo-Pentecostalism.[271]

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[267] Marsden 2001, 266.
[268] Niebuhr 1929; Walker 1988, 333.
[269] Poloma 1989.
[270] Niebuhr 1929; Weber 1973, 1978, 2002.
[271] Hunt 1995, 257-271; Richter 1997, 126-169.

Another important notion is the idea of religious effectiveness and success. According to Jeffrey K. Hadden and Anson Shupe, televangelists represent a social movement of sorts.[272] Neo-Pentecostalism does react to modernity and, paradoxically, is sometimes in accordance with it. The use of media was not only a successful use of new communication techniques but also helped to create a particular kind of Charismatic culture. It reflects the aspirations of the way of life in the US and represents an ethic of personal success.[273] Many televangelists adhere either explicitly or implicitly to the health and wealth gospel. Its message is often also implicit. It is done by integrating the spiritual with the socio-economic and political aspects of life.

This aspect of success is noted in the following model of Cecil D. Bradfield as well. According to Bradfield, Neo-Pentecostalism showed similarities with new religious forms, ideologies and structures in experimenting. Along with this he detected the notion of personal success, which was new for Pentecostals and was by now interpreted by the movement as a 'blessing' and thus acceptable, even desirable.[274] Success was the very purpose of experimenting. New forms were to be effective. Finding the right form and ensuring success had become proof of being in accord with the divine.

According to Kilian McDonnell, there are similarities between Neo-Pentecostals and the secular human potential movement. McDonnell saw the Charismatic Renewal as having elements of a counterculture.[275] He compared prayer group meetings with various aspects of group dynamics, such as holding hands and other forms of interpersonal communication. His conclusion was that these were elements that had been disappearing from common life and were felt to be of help to individuals, either within or outside Neo-Pentecostalism.

The notion of human potential development was important. Meredth B. McGuire described healing in theory and practice, and identified as one of its central ideas the divine, secret or hidden cosmic powers that were to be accessed and employed by healing 'techniques'. She placed it within the framework of the desire for human potential development and individual fulfilment, in other words the concern for self-improvement and empowerment.[276]

Stephen Hunt, Malcolm Hamilton and Tony Walter pointed to the parallel between postmodern secular ideas and Wimber's healing from within or 'inner healing', which sees spiritual development as overcoming wrong thoughts, beliefs and images.[277] Thus, 'equipping the saints' becomes a feature of human empowerment.

Jacques Theron noticed a general cultural cognitive paradigm shift in the US in which reality consists of the 'seen' and the 'unseen'. For Theron, this shift is an important ingredient of postmodernism. This cultural condition, he stated, influenced Charismatic Christianity, where it leads to narratives that try to incorporate demonology and angelology into 'reality'.[278]

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[272] Hadden and Shupe 1988.
[273] Horn 1989; Yancey 1979, 31.
[274] Bradfield 1979, 57, 59-66.
[275] McDonnell 1968, 198-204.
[276] McGuire 1983, 221-140.
[277] Hunt, Hamilton and Walter 1997, 77-96.
[278] Theron 1996, 84.

Final Observations

This chapter described the background of what will be discussed in chapters three and four. It examined aspects of the theological and social contexts in which Spiritual Mapping originated and discussed aspects of the historical and theological contexts of the Church Growth Movement, the missionary anthropology of Kraft, the Charismatic Renewal, Argentina and Plan Resistencia and finally aspects of spirituality in the USA.

The basic elements of McGavran's Church Growth movement, especially its ecclesiocentric missology, were among the roots of Spiritual Mapping. Its precepts and networks formed part of the cradle of Spiritual Mapping. Kraft's missionary anthropology, with its concepts of animism, power encounter, and its application to spiritual warfare became an important element of Spiritual Mapping. Charismatic Renewal appeared to be one of the roots of Spiritual Mapping. The role of Wimber, the Signs and Wonders movement, the Kansas City prophets and Neo-Pentecostalism were influential. Argentina proved to be important for the testing, marketing and mythological validation of the movement. However, as adherents such as Deiros and non-adherents like Wynarczyk and Bollini testified, Spiritual Mapping never was and did not become an essential Argentine movement. This conclusion leads us back to the US and its spirituality. That context will be pivotal for the investigation of Spiritual Mapping. Heelas and Woodhead's 'subjective turn' will be noted and it will also be noted that Spiritual Mapping shared Finke and Stark's characteristics of the religious free market economy of the US, Marsden's tension of simultaneous adoption of and resistance to the surrounding culture. Spiritual Mapping would share the aspects of Noll's cultural adaptive biblical experimentalism. As a major part of its identity, it had Smith's notion of thriving in confrontation the surrounding culture. Spiritual Mapping would share in the defining aspects of Neo-Pentecostalism as well. It would show itself as a form of Walker's accelerated form of restorationism. What Hadden and Shupe described as the ethics of success and Bradfield as experiments for success is typical for its identity. It also shares McDonnell's aspect of the development of human potential and McGuire's aspect of human empowerment. Theron's notion of a cognitive paradigm shift is explicitly present in Spiritual Mapping.

Having considered these contexts of origin, the stage has been set to describe how Spiritual Mapping was born and how it developed in chapter three and, in chapter four, how it was eventually transformed.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPIRITUAL MAPPING MOVEMENT

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the birth of the Spiritual Mapping Movement, its lack of development in Argentina and its actual development in the US. It will also describe Spiritual Mapping as a practical field method and estimate the movement's numerical growth. The reader should consult the time line in the appendices.

The Spiritual Mapping Movement developed as a conglomerate of networks of independent organizations that were loosely and often informally connected. At the basis of the organizations and the networks was the perception that specific persons had been divinely chosen and granted special and previously unknown insights. Such individuals channelled the new concept and its practice in a 'ministry', so that believers could follow and apply it. It was not an organizational structure, doctrine or tradition that was central to Spiritual Mapping but the assumption that the divine was at work in and through a particular individual.

Spiritual Mapping's spontaneous development on local, national and international levels, its informal nature, constantly changing numbers of non-registered followers and overall fluidity make it hard to give a detailed or complete picture. Through the years the movement was highly diversified and constantly changing. A general picture of the movement will be given below, since it represents the whole of the movement.

The birth of the movement can be set in the year 1989 and its transformation in 2000. The year 1989 has features that mark it as a beginning of the movement, as stated by Siew as well.[1] At least three events gave birth to Spiritual Mapping in 1989:

1. The Lausanne II conference in Manila,
2. The beginning of experimental Plan Resistencia in Argentina,
3. Two major publications on Spiritual Mapping, i.e. Charles H. Kraft's *Christianity with Power* (1989) and John Dawson's *Taking Our Cities for God* (1989). Both are important in formulating the first basic concepts of Spiritual Mapping.

The term Spiritual Mapping itself was used for the first time by Otis in 1990. As Timmerle DeKeyzer said: 'He put words to it.'[2] As will become clear below, this did not mean that the concept was born in 1990. This study will briefly describe the defining events in the year Spiritual Mapping was born.

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[1] Siew 1999, 15.
[2] DeKeyzer 2006.

Its Year of Birth

The first defining event in 1989 was Lausanne II. In July the Second International Congress on World Evangelization, or 'Lausanne II', was held in Manila, as a sequel to 'Lausanne I' of 1974. It had been organized by the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE), and registered a total of 3.586 participants from 190 different countries in 1989.[3] Its stated aim and theme was: 'Proclaim Christ till He Comes: Calling the Whole Church to take the Whole Gospel to the Whole World.' Its intention was to unite Evangelicals from over the world, to give them a sense of identity and to stimulate mission.

As an unofficial preparation to Lausanne II, 314 representatives from 50 countries visited a preparatory conference in January 1989 in Singapore: the Global Consultation on World Evangelization (GCOWE 89 or GCOWE I). Its purpose was to develop plans to reach the population of the world with the message of the Christian faith before the new millennium or, in their own words, 'to fulfil the Great Commission before the year 2000'. GCOWE I issued the *Great Commission Manifesto*, one section of which was called 'The Challenge of A.D. 2000 and Beyond'. At a later phase the name of the movement that would develop out of this initiative would be derived from this title.[4] The specific vision of GCOWE I was a decade of 'global evangelization', with the slogan 'A church for every people and the gospel for every person by AD 2000'. The whole world could be reached if churches and organizations would cooperate. Cooperation should be achieved by networking. However, the movement would focus primarily on prayer, since it considered itself 'a spiritual movement' in essence.[5]

The relationship between Lausanne II and GCOWE I had its tensions. Within Lausanne II some felt that GCOWE I tried to force itself on Lausanne II, and Lausanne II decided not to adopt the *Great Commission Manifesto*. The tension was solved partly by giving GCOWE I its own series of workshops ('track') within the framework of the Lausanne II conference. The workshops were made known to the public and did lead to a high degree of visibility at the conference. Here the informal birth of the AD 2000 & Beyond Movement under the directorship of Bush took place.[6]

At the Lausanne II conference the workshops were used to promote the specific vision of the *Great Commission Manifesto*. Part of their content was the subject of territorial spirits as presented in workshops done by Omar Cabrera and Ed Silvoso, discussing the events of Rosario in 1984 and the upcoming Plan Resistencia. Other speakers of the workshops were Tom White, Rita Cabezas and Wagner. The narrative of the presentations focussed on the term 'territorial spirits'. Out of a total of ninety tracks at Lausanne II, Wagner was responsible for three tracks on prayer.[7]

Lausanne II signified the following for Spiritual Mapping. First, it gave Spiritual Mapping an international platform. The subject of territorial spirits had

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[3] Stott 1996.
[4] Bush and Lutz 1990, 189-190.
[5] Bush 1991, 4; Siew 1999, 42.
[6] Gary and Gary 1989; Bush 1993, 8-9; 2000.
[7] Siew 1999, 16.

been put firmly on the international Evangelical mission agenda.[8] Second, the emergence of a major Spiritual Mapping network started here. The tracks had gained a strong presence at the conference and would develop into the AD 2000 & Beyond Movement, one of the main vehicles for the dissemination of the concept of Spiritual Mapping in the years to come. Third, it was the start of Wagner's involvement as one of the most important and influential pioneers of Spiritual Mapping.

After Lausanne II, participants in the GCOWE I tracks formed, unofficially in the beginning, the AD2000 & Beyond Movement (hereafter: AD2000). They kept contact and a network organization developed quickly, with as its main emphasis on the use of Christian techniques ('spiritual weapons') in a dualistic war against evil non-human beings ('spiritual battle against demons') in order to enhance Evangelical world mission. Its aim was to reach the world before 2000 through the empowerment of Christians for world evangelization. Formally, AD2000 would be organized in 1991, but that specific date did not have any particular importance. The first president was Thomas Wang, the former international director of the Lausanne Committee. The first director was Luis Bush, born in Argentina, raised in Brazil and former director of the missionary organization People International. They organized several tracks, this time not defined as workshops but as networks under the AD 2000 umbrella. For the public, the most important and visible network would become the United Prayer Track (UPT) under Wagner's aegis. There were three 'Divisions' within the UPT: the Spiritual Mapping Division under Otis, the Reconciliation Division under Dawson, and the Strategic-Prayer Evangelism Division under Silvoso.[9]

The UPT became one of the major channels for the spread of Spiritual Mapping. AD2000 developed into a broad movement with people from independent churches, Pentecostal and Evangelical churches, and traditional mainline churches among its members.[10] Two pioneers in the area of mission statistics, David B. Barrett and Patrick Johnstone, 'research secretary' of the British missionary organization World Evangelization Crusades (now: WEC International), identified enthusiastically with AD2000.[11]

Another offshoot of GCOWE I was the emerging Spiritual Warfare Network (SWN), since it met for the first time in February 1990 in Pasadena, California. The prestige of the Lausanne movement in Evangelical circles was such that it began as 'A Post-Lausanne II in Manila Group Studying Strategic-Level Spiritual Warfare'.[12] It was here that Otis used the term Spiritual Mapping for the first time.

A second defining event in the year the Spiritual Mapping movement was born was the beginning of the evangelistic campaign Plan Resistencia which was carried out in Argentina from 1989 to 1991. More details on Plan Resistencia will be provided in the next section 'As Missionary Field Method'. This section describes the plan as indicating the birth of Spiritual Mapping.

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[8] Siew 1999, 562.
[9] Wagner 1994(c); Global Harvest Ministries 1996, 7.
[10] Coote 2000, 160-167.
[11] Johnstone 1978; 1993; Johnstone and Mandryk 2001.
[12] Wagner 1992(a), 45.

The project produced the first systematic plan for city-wide evangelism with the concepts of Spiritual Mapping at its core in terms of narrative and praxis. It brought together into one system notions such as spiritual warfare, evangelism, territorial spirits, breaking and binding of spirits, identificational repentance, Spiritual Mapping, prayer marches and newly developed strategic-level spiritual warfare terms.

Plan Resistencia was more than a first systematic plan. It was meant to be a laboratory as well. It was the first time that the 'technology' was tested and that a model was developed for future use in other 'geopolitical units'. With the help of methodologies from the Church Growth Movement, models of the 'spiritual or supernatural dimension' were developed through the testing of hypotheses. It gave the movement an academic air which helped attract interest. The Rumph report We Wrestle not Against Flesh and Blood (1990) was presented with this claim.[13] Plan Resistencia would be applied around the world.

Plan Resistencia gave the emerging movement content for its public relations. It produced the international circle it needed, for it was considered and presented as not being exclusively from the US. It helped to present the concept of Spiritual Mapping as not being necessarily Western or North American. Plan Resistencia was used to enhance the perception of success as well. The main function of reports and statistical information as presented by the movement was to show that the testing had been successful.

Plan Resistencia is important largely because the plan provided the movement its mythological explanation for why it existed. It served as the very basis of the movement's identity. The movement considered itself surprised by what it called 'a divine move' in 1989.[14] This constitutes the import of their response to critics, as will be shown in this study. It gave a certain air of innocence, the movement felt. A strong belief in the 'new paradigm' of divine technique gave it its drive and sense of uniqueness.

A third event defining this year the Spiritual Mapping was born was the publication of two landmark publications. Both were referred to frequently in the Spiritual Mapping narrative. These two publications were the first by adherents of Spiritual Mapping, presenting it as an attempt to arrive at a coherent system.

Kraft published his *Christianity with Power*. He gave the emerging movement a semi-scholarly anthropological explanation by referring to culture and the concept of power. His central point was the importance of power in the communication of the Christian message to peoples who tend to think in terms of power encounter. Individual conversion had to be reached through a collective missions approach. These peoples were to be approached as units of which the unseen dimension had to be known in order to undo the powers in that dimension aggressively.

Dawson's *Taking Our Cities for God: How to Break Spiritual Strongholds* was a practical manual that formulated a few of the basics of what would later be called Spiritual Mapping. Dawson's narrative was built up around the concept of geographical 'spiritual strongholds', combining spiritual warfare with the supra-

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[13] Rumph 1990.
[14] Kraft 1989, 1-9; Otis 1991, 29; Wagner 1992(a), 39, 45-47.

individual concept of non-human beings dominating an area. A city was not a random collection of individuals but had become a unit, with its own character dynamics, and individuality was subsumed under a collective unity. Consequently, it was not individuals who were primarily addressed. The strongholds needed to be removed ('broken') by Christians through rituals or techniques ('spiritual battle'). It is this publication that would play a major role in Plan Resistencia in the same year.

Argentina

Chapter two described Argentina's Spiritual Mapping. Its development – or rather lack thereof – was short. It never became a movement; only the concept continued to play a modest role. This chapter will provide details about Plan Resistencia and this section will present a few comments.

In Argentina we discovered an intertwining of several people through various functions and interpersonal relationships: Cosecha's Silvoso, Víctor Lorenzo of Visión del Futuro, and the Baptists Eduardo Lorenzo, Pablo Deiros and Carlos Mraida, who brought Spiritual Mapping and the Unción into the Argentine Baptist church through the Buenos Aires Iglesia Bautista del Centro. Eduardo Lorenzo, as pastor of the Adrogué Baptist Church, was the most active and consistent in applying Spiritual Mapping on the local level.

Some critics, like from Oscar J. Bollini and J. Norberto Saracco, felt Argentina was misused by an initiative from the US. Other prominent leaders of Pentecostal Argentina, like Carlos Annacondia, Cabrera and Carlos Freidzon, stated that they were never involved in Spiritual Mapping.[15] Baptist church leaders like Mraida and Deiros did not adopt Spiritual Mapping, at least not systematically. Research indicates that there was only one local church that applied Spiritual Mapping consistently, i.e. the Baptist church in Adrogué.

Individuals who continued working with Spiritual Mapping usually did not do so as representatives of their church or some other organization. Their involvement was purely private and they did not form a movement as such. They occasionally met in conferences which as such served other purposes than Spiritual Mapping. Some practitioners kept in contact through Cosecha's Annual Harvest Institute. It seems that interest in Spiritual Mapping flared up once in a while, as at the Argentina Dawn Congress of 1998 in Argentina, where a few adherents of Spiritual Mapping did play a certain role.[16] Wagner fully recommended the movement of DAWN (Discipling A Whole Nation), a networking movement influenced by the Church Growth Movement, aimed at turning the people of the world into Christian disciples in this current generation.[17] However, DAWN was predominantly from the US, which may serve to explain why Spiritual Mapping did not catch on in Argentina after 1998. As will be indicated in chapter four, some individuals and websites paid attention to the concept of Spiritual Mapping but not as a movement and probably not more than was done in other Latin American countries at that time. In contrast to Argentina, Spiritual Mapping developed into a full movement in the US.

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[15] Personal communication of Carlos Annacondia to the author, September 12, 2006.
[16] Dawn Ministries 1998.
[17] Dawn Ministries 1986.

US Networks under Charles H. Kraft, George Otis Jr. and C. Peter Wagner
As a movement, Spiritual Mapping was focussed primarily on persons: 'I began observing a segment of cutting edge Christianity', Wagner wrote. He labels them 'leaders', who discovered 'new forms of prayer for nations and unreached people groups formerly not known in the World Evangelical Fellowship, the Lausanne Movement, Fuller Theological Seminary and the National Association of Evangelicals'. The new prayer leaders had discovered new prayer concepts, such as power prayer, prophetic intercession and prayer for cities and nations. Spiritual Mapping was considered 'a new branch on the trunk of the Evangelical prayer movement'. This new group of leaders, the core group of Spiritual Mapping, was considered to be the 'cutting edge segment' of Christianity, or the spiritual 'Green Berets', or 'an extraordinary group of leaders' whom God is supposed to have raised up to lead his Kingdom. The future of the church of Christ is considered to be in their hands, for they have 'an ear to hear' what Jesus 'entrusted' to these leaders.[18]

The persons are 'leaders' first by virtue of their insight into Spiritual Mapping. The leadership has risen to prominence by seeing what others have not seen yet. They are 'ahead' and others are still to catch on. Second, they obtained their (often informal) position because of their effectiveness and success in ministry, the latter being considered the divine stamp of approval and validation of the teaching. Success was measured in numerical Church Growth movement fashion. The apparent insight and success must be acknowledged by others. Divine presence and work through a person is supposed to produce spontaneous acknowledgement of a God-given 'ministry' by other 'like-minded' Christians. 'Ministry' is not aligned with denominational or academic credentials. Those are not considered mandatory and sometimes not even considered an asset. The movement itself did not consider any person as its centre. The leaders are mere vehicles for divine intervention.

There was some degree of institutionalization around the leaders, preferably tentative and low-key. The movement was averse to the formalization and institutionalization of human structures, which it considered to be a threat to spontaneous divine action. A non-institutionalization or anti-institutionalization mood was apparent in the movement. Since some form of organization was needed, organizations were based around those taking the initiative. The individual was often better known to the public than the official name of the organization. It was not unusual to find that individual's name prominent in the name of the organization, such as Wagner Leadership Institute and Dutch Sheets Ministries. This was considered to be the way it should be. Organizations could cease to exist relatively easily, when their work was considered to have become obsolete, such as the AD2000 & Beyond movement. Lists of 'leaders', as provided by the movement over the years, almost always feature individuals and the names of institutions only sometimes and secondarily. The 'ministries' are usually independent, built around the inspiring leader, with a board consisting of members that participate as private individuals.

Although organizational structures were handled with a certain distrust, it did not prevent the movement from developing well-organized 'ministries' on local, regional, national and international levels. Excellent performance in public relations with websites and digital communities gave it a modern and progressive image.

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[18] Otis 1999(b), 2; Wagner 1992(a), 45, 58; 1996, 250.

Semi-scholarly books and audio materials could be obtained easily and at low cost. Seminars and conferences were available at reasonable cost. Existing Evangelical and Charismatic publishing houses were used, although not the official ones of denominations, to reach the Evangelical public. Generally, the movement managed to steer away from the scandals of television ministries in the 1990s. Most of the organizations were members of some financial accountability agency.

It is hard to give an estimate of the number of members of the movement, as will be argued below, since systems of registration were usually not used or even impossible. The consumer had a relatively independent existence and did not bear responsibility for the 'ministry'. The organization was dependent for its income on the amount of attention it attracted. There was ample room for donations and the sale of publications. Decision-making and the development of vision and strategy was in the hands of the 'leader', sometimes in cooperation with others, such as the board of the organization. The vision and ensuing strategy had to be communicated to the public. There was no democratic decision-making process, and no accountability structure for strategies and policies used. Internally there could be the oversight of a board, and externally there could be informal contact in networks of the like-minded 'cutting-edge segment'. The public was viewed as a client.

The organizations were relatively flexible in networking and cooperation. The publications of the movement mentioned each other frequently and without much hesitation. The personal relation between persons was more important than organizational ties, and the networks underwent a certain measure of institutionalization. What were the functions of the networks?

The first function was mutual exchange. The networks were there to share insights, to come to an understanding of trends and mutual encouragement. The first network was the Spiritual Warfare Network (SWN), which began in 1990 after the movement's birth in 1989. The members partook as private individuals.[19]

The second function was the enhancement of effectiveness through joint projects. The relationships formed and maintained were spontaneous and irregular. It sometimes gave the impression of *ad hoc* actions. Some forms of cooperation lasted for a longer time, like the three-year Reconciliation Walk. The effective use of the various networks and the enthusiasm with which the projects were performed, could result in impressive worldwide mobilization and effectively marketed projects.

The third function was the strengthening of public relations. There was often cooperation around publications such as books, videotapes or websites, and it was common practice for the organizations to recommend one another through the explicit mention of personal names and organizations. The leaders frequently contributed to (co-)edited books, including their names, often with a picture and a description of the ministry. This reflected a sense of unity within the movement and at the same time served public relations, since they used one another's platforms.

The fourth function was mutual accountability. As noted, the movement was not democratically structured. This was impossible, since the 'cutting-edge segment' claimed to have insights that the public did not. They could only be understood by and held accountable to those in the same segment. Yet there was an awareness that leaders could go astray, and accountability networks were gradually

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[19] Wagner 1992(a), 45, 46.

developed. It could take the form of a personal network around a leader, an informal regional meeting of a few leaders, or a more formal accountability council.[20]

The networks showed a considerable variation in personal relationships. The reader should consult the biographical appendix for information about the names used. The answer to the question who exactly was involved depends on variables like time, function and varying degrees of intensity of involvement. Some were involved in the development of the concept itself and some, like Ed Murphy, were involved in the initial stages of the movement but seemed to have phased themselves out of it. Over the years some did become involved with increasing degrees of identification with the movement.

A first factor determining a person's position in the movement was that of time. Some persons were heavily involved in the beginning phases of the movement. Dawson, Murphy, Kraft and Silvoso were very important for the initial phases. However, Silvoso did not develop the Spiritual Mapping part of his model any further. Murphy redirected his attention in the second half of the 1990s to other activities, and Dean Sherman, dubbed by Wagner in 1992 to be someone 'ahead of us', disappeared from sight. Kraft, Cindy Jacobs and Dawson developed into influential mainstays. Among others, Dawson incorporated Spiritual Mapping into the teaching and practice of YWAM but was not at its public forefront. Ted Haggard became important in the second half of the 1990s, since his New Life Church was growing and he was engaged in planning for the World Prayer Center. Clinton E. Arnold, an early member of SWN in 1990, grew into a critic of the movement by the end of the 1990s but kept in contact with several of its adherents. All in all, there was a constant coming and going of leaders. This chapter will concentrate on the mainstays and the most influential persons.

Function was a second determining factor for a person's position in the movement. Some persons were instrumental in the development of the basic concepts of Spiritual Mapping. As we try to weigh their relative importance in terms of influence, the many publications of the movement and its critics agree on the centrality of George Otis Jr, Kraft and Wagner. They formed the very kernel of the leadership of the movement. Otis' function was the development of the concept of Spiritual Mapping, its terminology and its practical approach. Kraft's function was the development of its anthropological concepts. Wagner's function was the development of its theological foundation and, not least, the popularizing and effective marketing of it. All three had an international platform from which to disseminate their ideas.

Third, a person's position in the movement was determined by the degree of involvement and identification. There were others who were involved in exorcism, but they did not consider the advancement of Spiritual Mapping necessarily to be their core concern. Some did promote the concept but subordinated it to other concepts. They did not develop into its main advocates. Some were familiar with the concept of territorial spirits but denied involvement in Spiritual Mapping as such, even if adherents of the movement said otherwise, such as Annacondia and Cabrera.

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[20] Wagner 1992(b), 119-129.

It is enlightening to determine a few factors that did *not* play a role in determining a person's position in the movement. Many, but not all, adherents had an Evangelical or Charismatic background and had become involved in independent churches or ministries. Denominational ties did not play a role. Lack of theological identity made Spiritual Mapping flexible and allowed it to penetrate into denominations and organizations. The Neo-Pentecostals chose to be neither Evangelical, nor Charismatic, nor Pentecostal, but the a-dogmatic stance stopped with the Roman Catholic Church. The majority of the movement did not actively take issue with Roman Catholics, although some made them the object of their mapping activities.[21]

Three persons played a pivotal role in the 1980s and the 1990s: Kraft, Otis and Wagner. They formed the core of the leadership of the movement.
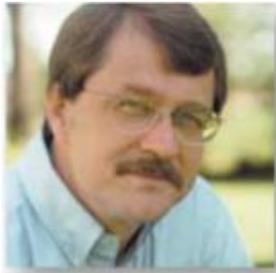
Charles H. Kraft   George Otis Jr.   C. Peter Wagner

Their function in the development of the movement is at least threefold. First, their unsuspected prestigious Neo-Evangelical credentials caused a natural and widespread interest in Spiritual Mapping among Evangelicals in the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. These credentials were supported by their academic and international prestige, stemming from their involvement in the Church Growth Movement and the Lausanne Movement. Second, they were prominent in the development of the content of the concepts of the movement through their publications and their presence in many different settings. Third, their skill in starting and running new organizations and rallying the public helped to get many Evangelicals involved. They set up their own organizations and created networks through which a part of the Evangelical public became interested. Fourth, they belonged to the mainstream throughout. They were among the most publicly visible representatives and became closely identified with the movement. They did not direct the movement and there were no formal authority structures. They were firsts among equals.

The first to be mentioned is Kraft from the US. Kraft obtained bachelor's degrees in anthropology and theology and eventually a Ph.D. in linguistics at Hartford Seminary Foundation in 1963. In 1973 he became, after serving as a

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[21] Battle Axe 2001.

missionary and in academics, a staff member of McGavran's School of World
Missions at Fuller Theological Seminary as professor of Intercultural
Communication and Anthropology. In 1982 Kraft began to become interested in
John Wimber's 'Signs and Wonders', which led him to Spiritual Mapping and other
applications. Some of his publications are *Christianity with Power* in 1989, *Behind
Enemy Lines* in 1994 and *Confronting Powerless Christianity* in 2002. Kraft became
president of the organization Deep Healing Ministries, which he founded as a
pastoral application of Signs and Wonders and Spiritual Mapping. Perhaps his most
important contribution is his name and prestige, and his publications on the concepts
of worldview and animism. In the late 1990s Kraft continued to teach courses at
Fuller on spiritual warfare and Spiritual Mapping with Wagner, Deiros and others.

The second person with a pivotal role was Otis from the US. He did not
pursue an academic career but became involved in the Evangelical Lausanne
Movement, and was 'Senior Associate' with the Lausanne Committee for World
Evangelization from 1985 to 1990, involved in research into the Restricted-Access
World, which consisted of countries that were closed to missionary activity and
showed some varying degrees of lack of religious liberty. In 1990 Otis became the
founder and president of Sentinel Group, a research and information agency that
actively worked with and promoted the concept of Spiritual Mapping. It was Otis
who coined the term Spiritual Mapping. From 1990 to 2000 he was the co-
coordinator of the Spiritual Mapping Division of the 'United Prayer Track' of the
AD2000 and Beyond Movement. Among other functions, Otis also served as
advisor to Women's Aglow International. Sentinel Group would develop
international networks to facilitate Spiritual Mapping under 'Transformation
Networks' (Transnets).

His publications are important because they belong to the most systematic
and comprehensive treatises of Spiritual Mapping. His first relevant publication was
The Last of the Giants (1991), in which he presented the concept of Spiritual
Mapping as applied to Islam. He co-edited *Strongholds of the 10/40 Window* (1995).
His more mature publications are *The Twilight Labyrinth* (1997) and *Informed
Intercession* (1999). His videotapes *Transformations I* (1999) and *Transformations
II* (2001) are important, depicting transformed neighbourhoods and cities as a result
of Spiritual Mapping.

The third person at the core of the leadership of the movement was Wagner,
also, like the previous two, from the US. He obtained bachelor's degrees in
agriculture and theology, master's degrees in theology from Princeton and Fuller
Theological Seminary, and a Ph.D. in social ethics from the University of Southern
California in 1977. Wagner and his wife Doris worked in Bolivia as missionaries
from 1955 to 1971. He joined the teaching staff at McGavran's School of World
Missions in 1971 as professor of Church Growth, where he served until 1999.
Wagner was a born networker; he was charter member of the Lausanne movement
from 1974 to 1989, founded the North American Society for Church Growth in
1984, and was involved in many other networks and organizations. He became the
figurehead of the Church Growth Movement by the end of the 1970s and through
the 1980s, through being a prolific writer, popularizing and disseminating church
growth concepts. In the 1980s he was probably the most well known among
Evangelicals and the most popular staff member at Fuller Theological Seminary.

In the 1980s Wagner became interested in the relation between power evangelism, prayer, church growth and eventually different forms of exorcism. He became interested in Argentina, was strongly influenced by the Signs and Wonders movement around Wimber and the Kansas City Prophets. His publications were more theological in nature, at least at the beginning of the 1990s, but less systematic than those of Otis, and are indebted to Kraft's anthropological concepts. Through the 1980s he studied prayer and exorcism in relation to church growth, expressed in a stream of publications on the subject. In 1982 Wagner gave Wimber the opportunity to teach a course on Signs and Wonders at Fuller. In 1985 the course was discontinued for one year, because of tensions among the staff of the faculty, and after that year Wagner continued the course without Wimber. Wagner would add similar courses to the curriculum. His interest in prayer and exorcism in relation to church growth would also lead to involvement in Plan Resistencia and his new book series on prayer and Spiritual Mapping: *The Prayer Warrior Series.*

Wagner gradually lost his position of informal leadership of the Church Growth Movement, since he was considered by many to be too extreme in his views. Wagner created new structures to channel his ideas, such as the Spiritual Warfare Network (SWN) in 1990, and became coordinator of AD 2000 & Beyond movement's United Prayer Track. In 1992 he founded Global Harvest Ministries (GHM).[22] After retiring from Fuller in 1999 he created his own training institute, Wagner Leadership Institute (WLI), and in 2001 became president of the International Council of Apostles (ICA).

These leaders are surrounded by a wide variety of individuals with their ministries. It is virtually impossible to provide a detailed classification because of the many different forms of involvement.

Lists of names are frequent in the sources but do sometimes show the state of affairs at the very moment of writing or the specific interpretation of a critic. Lists delivered by sources of the movement itself are helpful but are often written on the spur of the moment with primarily a public relations purpose.[23] They do not reflect careful research, as the authors themselves sometimes admit.[24]

Among a few of the most significant individuals in the first half of the 1990s we must mention Jacobs of Generals International. She was responsible for teaching Spiritual Mapping in Plan Resistencia and incorporated Spiritual Mapping into Women's Aglow International. As we will see in chapter four, her teaching became engrained in YWAM teaching. A second name to be mentioned is Dawson: not only was his publication important as an immediate cause of the birth of the movement, but he also, among others, took up Spiritual Mapping into YWAM, causing widespread dissemination of the concept. A third name we should mention is Murphy of Overseas Crusades International. Resident in California, he wrote his *Handbook for Spiritual Warfare*, disseminated his teaching in both North and South Americas and was prominent until around the middle of the decade. A fourth name is Murphy's friend Silvoso of Cosecha whose initiative led to Plan Resistencia: he exported the model all over the world.[25] Other names to be mentioned because of

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[22] Global Harvest Ministries 2000(c); 2000(d).
[23] Wagner 1992(a), 45, 58; 1996, 250.
[24] Otis 1999(b), 2.
[25] Silvoso 1994.

their writings in this period are Bob Becket, Dick Bernal, Gary D. Kinnaman, Larry Lea, Sherman and (T.B.) White.[26]

In the second half of the 1990s Alistair Petrie, of Otis' Sentinel Group, was important; among others, he brought the work to Canada. Haggard founded the New Life Church in Colorado Springs, and took the initiative in establishing the World Prayer Center, including a Spiritual Mapping centre. Haggard later became president of the prestigious National Association of Evangelicals. Ana Mendez of Intercessors International was instrumental in some major Spiritual Mapping prayer campaigns in the second half of the decade.[27]

Some individuals were important for having facilitated the movement but were not key leaders in the movement itself. One of these was Bush of AD 2000, who was important for providing a platform and channel of communication for Spiritual Mapping. Another in this category was Montgomery of DAWN, who allowed his network to be used by Spiritual Mapping. Among the individuals representative of the Spiritual Mapping movement, a few have some academic theological training, such as Murphy, Silvoso and Wagner. Some have a sociological or anthropological education, such as Kraft, and Wagner. Most have some form of ministerial training at a seminary or Bible school, such as Dawson and Haggard.

The US Course of Events
This chapter provides a short chronological sketch of the events as they unfolded in the 1990s. The appendix lists the short version of dates and events. The development of the movement is presented by reference to its most important individuals, and their publications, organizations and major meetings of all sorts. They have been selected since they represent the grassroots of the movement on local and regional levels. As Siew commented in his research, Otis, Wagner and others were involved in so many activities all over the world that 'they are too numerous to be recounted here'.[28] Consequently, the description below will not be exhaustive but representative. Some events will be mentioned once, but the reader should keep in mind that they were repeated annually, such as Wagner and Kraft's academic courses on spiritual warfare at Fuller Theological Seminary.

This section will follow the strands as they developed after the inception of the movement in 1989. These strands are the networks of Global Harvest Ministries (GHM) around Wagner and Jacobs, the United Prayer Track of the 'AD2000 and Beyond Movement' (AD2000) and Fuller's School of World Mission as academic centre of courses and publications, around Kraft and Wagner. We should also mention the Spiritual Warfare Network (SWN) and its subsequent networks with their changes in names, the 'Sentinel Group' around Otis, Youth with a Mission (YWAM) around Dawson, Bernal and others and the World Prayer Center (WPC) at New Life Church around Haggard.

Since we will be following the trail of highlights, this will provide insight into the praxis at the grassroots level of the movement. Some more details on this praxis will be forthcoming after this section when the practical field method and the

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[26] Becket 1993; Bernal 1988; 1989; 1991; 1994; Kinnaman 1990; Lea 1989; 1991; Sherman 1990; White 1989; 1990; 1994(a); 1994(b).
[27] Alves 1998; Haggard 1995; 1997; Petrie 2000.
[28] Siew 1999, 35.

numerical spread of the movement will be discussed. Some of the key concepts of Spiritual Mapping are briefly mentioned in this description of events, but they will be treated at length in chapters four and five. Diagram 3 gives a short characterization of the movement's phases.

Diagram 2: The Development of Spiritual Mapping as a Movement

Year:	Characterization:
1989	birth
1990 - 1991	reflection, organization, preparation
1992 - 1999	large-scale networks and events
1996 - 1997	first signs of changes in focus
2000	disintegration

The purpose of the short chronicle below is to describe the diversity of the movement, its international reach, its *modus operandi* and its main advocates.

1990

After its birth in 1989, the first Spiritual Warfare Network (SWN) meeting took place in 1990. Wagner had personally invited individuals for a Post-Lausanne II Consultation on Cosmic-level Spiritual Warfare on February 12 in Pasadena. Twenty-eight persons accepted the invitation. The term Spiritual Mapping was not yet in use and the narrative centred around the identification of 'spiritual principalities'. Bernal, senior pastor of the Jubilee Christian Center in San José, California, reported his personal experiences. The consultation established that unity was of prime importance for its members; a spiritual war could be won only if an army was united. Unity had been an important part of Plan Resistencia. The consultation established its function of facilitating world evangelism as well. Whatever was to be discussed or decided had to focus on the enhancement of the numerical progress of mission. [29] The consultation decided to start the SWN. In 1997 it would split into national networks under an international umbrella organization. For Siew, this meeting in February 12 was the 'inaugural meeting' of the systems of informal and flexible networks. [30] Articles on Spiritual Mapping started to appear in Evangelical magazines. [31]

The second SWN meeting took place in the same year on November 30 at Wagner's initiative, also in Pasadena. The second meeting was more structured than the first. Presentations by individuals or committees were given on the following topics:

1. The biblical basis for spiritual warfare,
2. History ('How has the Church Understood Territorial Spirits through the Ages?'),

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[29] Rumph 1990(a); 1990(b); 1990(c); 1991; 1992; 1993; 1994.
[30] Siew 1999, 18.
[31] Arnold 1990.

3.   The nature of evil spirits,
4.   Spirits and territories,
5.   Satan's tactics in building and maintaining his kingdom,
6.   Spiritual preparation for battle,
7.   Discernment ('Developing a Model for Identifying Spiritual Strongholds'),
8.   Engaging in battle.

At the end of the meeting Wagner proposed holding an International Consultation on Strategic-Level Intercession in the Kwang Lim Methodist Church Prayer Mountain in Korea in October 1991. He informed the meeting that he had been invited by AD2000 to establish a Spiritual Mapping Track within the AD2000 network organization, and that he had been invited to organize a large international AD2000 congress in 1994. The minutes make clear that the Spiritual Mapping track was officially called the United Prayer Track. In the ensuing discussion it was decided that SWN would be integrated into the AD2000 track without losing its independence. During this discussion, the term 'Spiritual Mapping' was used for the first time in an official meeting and written in the minutes.

Spiritual mapping was born before the term itself had been coined. It was used as a technical term for the first time by Otis in his *Last of the Giants* (1991). Within the movement he was viewed as the father of Spiritual Mapping.[32] This is correct insofar Otis had coined the term before others; he had formulated the concepts in a more systematic way than others had done. No term existed until 1991 that could cover all the different aspects. The term quickly became popular and widely used in the movement.

Not all organizations that used the term 'mapping' were to be identified with Spiritual Mapping. For example, organizations like Global Mapping International collected geographical and demographic data in the 1990s that Spiritual Mapping used, but the organization as such was not part of the ideology or movement of Spiritual Mapping.[33]

The early use of the concept Spiritual Mapping by Otis and SWN centred around the use of another concept: the 10/40 Window. Within AD2000 this concept had been developed in July 1990 under Bush and Peter Holzmann, a computer programmer. On the basis of computer calculations, it had been concluded that 97% of the non-Christian ('unreached') world population lived between the 10th and 40th parallels, roughly North Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia right through to Japan. Most of the peoples who had not accepted the Christian faith lived in this rectangle and were deemed 'resistant'.[34] The 10/40 Window was the main focus of AD2000[35] and the first public presentation of the concept took place in the September 1990 issue of the AD2000 magazine. [36] The definition of the 10/40 window would change through the years, usually spontaneously and loosely defined and applied.

The 'resistant peoples' in the window were designated mission's 'last frontier'. This special last resistance to the Christian faith and its mission was

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[32] Otis 1991, 85; Siew 1999, 20,21; Wagner 1992(a), 150.
[33] Coote 1998, 162.
[34] AD 2000 1995.
[35] Coote 1998, 162.
[36] Bush 1991, 1.

labelled 'the last giant', with Iraq – as the very place of the former Garden of Eden –
as the seat of the highest ranking demon, Satan himself. In the end times, determined
by the movement to be the 1990s, God had given a special technique for breaking
this resistance: Spiritual Mapping. If it was meant to be used within the 10/40
Window, the technique of Spiritual Mapping soon became used outside the window
as well. [37]

In 1990 Otis founded the Sentinel Group. Otis was presented by his own
organization as a 'well-travelled missions researcher'. He had worked for the
Lausanne Committee in the 1970s as 'senior associate for restricted-access peoples',
which meant that he researched peoples who could not be reached by openly
conducted missionary work.[38] For Otis, the question of the roots of social evil was
central. He stated that after a territory or people converted to Christianity ('revival')
quick and convincing transformation of social and political life usually took place.
Otis wondered why this was the case. His answer was that spiritual territoriality was
the determining factor. The Sentinel Group presented itself as: 'A Christian research
and information agency dedicated to helping the Church to pray knowledgably for
end-time evangelization, and enabling communities to discover the pathway to
genuine revival and societal transformation.'[39]

While other organizations dissolved and fused with other movements over
the years, Sentinel Group stuck most closely to Spiritual Mapping proper.[40] It
became known for its systematic teaching and its digital 'Spiritual Mapping Forum',
through which practitioners could exchange information, post mapping reports and
obtain approved and standardized mapping reports. Wagner had been teaching his
Signs and Wonders course at Fuller and developed additional courses incorporating
aspects of Spiritual Mapping. This was the time in which individuals like Jacobs,
Chuck Pierce, Peter and Doris Wagner started travelling regularly to Argentina with
the express purpose of either learning from or helping in Argentine evangelistic
events. [41]

1991

AD2000 had been functioning since January 1989 as an informal network. In 1991
the formal establishment of the AD2000 and Beyond Movement under Bush took
place. The international office of AD2000 was established in Colorado Springs. The
United Prayer Track (UPT) started to function as part of AD2000 under the
supervision of Wagner. He would be in this position until December 31, 1999.
AD2000 quickly grew into a global network, spanning large segments of the
Evangelical and Pentecostal world. The Spiritual Mapping Division functioned
under Otis within the UPT.

To facilitate the many activities of the UPT, Peter and Doris Wagner
established Global Harvest Ministries (GHM) in Pasadena in 1991. Its express
purpose was to make it a 'vehicle to activate the United Prayer Track at its highest

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[37] Siew 1999, 20; Wagner 1992(a), 151.
[38] Sentinel Group 2000(a).
[39] Sentinel Group 2000(b).
[40] Sentinel Group 2000(c).
[41] Pierce 2007.

level of efficiency'.[42] GHM adopted the 10/40 Window concept as its main focus
and moved to Colorado Springs in 1996.

The third SWN meeting took place on September 14, 1991 in Pasadena,
where SWN was officially incorporated into AD2000. Wagner announced the First
International Consultation of the SWN to be held in Seoul in October 1993. Four
case studies were discussed during the SWN meeting, two of which concerned
Spiritual Mapping. The first one was a report on Plan Resistencia and the second
was a report on Spiritual Mapping in Hawaii. The meeting put the emphasis on the
missionary function of Spiritual Mapping, and the overall tone of the meeting was
optimistic about the effects of the practical missionary application of the case studies
presented. SWN expected 'a massive, unprecedented outpouring of anointed prayer
for world evangelization'.[43] In 1991 a few major publications came out, such as
Otis' *The Last of the Giants* [44] and Wagner's *Engaging the Enemy: How to Fight
and Defeat Territorial Spirits*.[45]

1990 and 1991 can be characterized by terms like reflection and mutual
consultation, organization of and preparation for large public events. From 1992 on
the movement would go public with major events like conferences, prayer
campaigns and publications.

1992

YWAM organized the prayer campaign Praying Through the Ramadan: A Thirty
Day Muslim Prayer Focus. The idea was to pray for the conversion of Muslims
during Ramadan, preferably in Muslim areas. For thirty days Christians around the
world prayed and fasted for the conversion of the Muslim world.

The fourth SWN meeting took place on September 19, 1992 in Pasadena.
The meeting noted with gratification the many publications on Spiritual Mapping.
Wagner announced the upcoming publication of a book with articles on Spiritual
Mapping written by members of SWN. In 1993 it would be published as *Breaking
Strongholds in Your City*. It was the first book on Spiritual Mapping expounding the
total concept. The meeting confirmed that the upcoming First International
Consultation of Spiritual Warfare to be held in Seoul, October 18-22, 1993.

The UPT announced global prayer campaigns: prayer meetings were to be
held in stadiums and coordinated by Eastman and George Hansen. It concerned an
effort to mobilize Christians to pray for unreached nations 'praying on-site in the
countries within the 10/40 window'.[46] The UPT expected 'millions' of intercessors
in all countries of the world. Eastman had prepared a brochure called *Praying
Through the Window* with information on the countries in the 10/40 Window. The
brochures were distributed through the many organizations of the network, in which
YWAM played a major role. A total of four Praying Through the Window prayer
campaigns would be held through the years, of which this version would be called
Praying Through the Window I. The UPT reported that 240 teams were ready and
trained at the time of the fourth SWN meeting. They were to enter the 10/40
Window in 1993 to pray 'on-site' with 'insight' into the spiritual map. Each of the

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[42] Wagner 2002(a).
[43] Rumph 1991, 13; Siew 1999, 21.
[44] Otis 1991.
[45] Wagner 1991(b).
[46] Rumph 1992, 2; Siew 1999, 23.

sixty countries would receive at least one visit by a team. SWN called for another 240 teams to be trained before 1993. Members of the teams came from about 50 countries. Teams unable to travel would organize prayer campaigns in stadiums and halls in their own countries.

The SWN meeting discussed several case studies. The first one was presented by Elisabeth Alves, who reported on prayer campaigns in Germany, which, according to Alves, had resulted in the initial healing of Germany from its World War II trauma. This concept was later called 'identificational repentance', in which the intercessor, as a substitute, asked for forgiveness for a geographical area or people.[47] The practitioner identified with the area and its sin, and then asked God for forgiveness. A process of social, political and economic progress ('healing') was expected to result.

A second subject of discussion was Otis' question about the exact nature of a 'stronghold'. The discussion concerned their nature, spread and reason for existence. Otis planned to publish a book in 1993 with an elaboration of this discussion. This publication would finally be published in 1997 as *The Twilight Labyrinth,* one of the most elaborate and systematic publications on Spiritual Mapping.[48]

A third case study came from Petrie on the concept of 'defiled land'. Previous generations could have caused an area to be defiled through their sins, causing social, economic and political problems for later generations. Petrie observed the phenomenon and concluded that there were five 'entranceways' to this phenomenon: 'the occult, the psychic, the genetic (biological aspects), the hereditary (behavioural aspects) and the social/cultural environment.'[49] The defilement was supposed to influence anyone entering the area.

The fourth case study came from Becket who introduced the concept of 'territorial commitment'. He stated that God would give strategic information to a practitioner of Spiritual Mapping only if he exhibited a special commitment to the area of his local church. In the ensuing discussion Dawson introduced the term 'redemptive purpose', meaning that any given area had a certain divine purpose in creation. Liberation of that area by Spiritual Mapping would mean that God could at last bring his purposes with that particular geographical area to fulfilment. In addition to Eastman's above-mentioned *Praying Through the Window*, a few of the major Spiritual Mapping publications were Kraft's *Defeating Dark Angels*[50] and Murphy's *The Handbook For Spiritual Warfare*.[51]

Wagner started his *Prayer Warrior Series* on 'spiritual warfare, Spiritual Mapping and identificational repentance'. For Wagner, this series was the 'centerpiece' of all his publications on these subjects.[52] The series included: *Warfare Prayer* (1992), *Prayer Shield* (1992), *Breaking Strongholds in Your City* (1993), *Churches That Pray* (1993), *Confronting the Powers* (1996), and *Praying With Power* (1997).

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[47] Dawson 1994; Wagner 1997, 95-117.
[48] Otis 1997.
[49] Siew 1999, 27.
[50] Kraft 1992(a).
[51] Murphy 1992.
[52] Wagner 1999(c), 166.

1993

The prayer campaign Praying Through the Window I was held in October, with YWAM as an important catalyst. This worldwide prayer effort would be repeated in 1995, 1997 and 1999.

On June 27 and 28, 1993 Sentinel Group organized the North American Consultation on Spiritual Mapping in Snoqualme in the state of Washington. According to Siew, this was the first public conference explicitly devoted to Spiritual Mapping.[53] Otis reported 107 participants from all over the US studying aspects of Spiritual Mapping such as its basic concepts, theological questions, methods, case studies, and practical counsel for the application of Spiritual Mapping on the local level. For Sentinel Group, this consultation was the jump start of regional consultations that were held annually by Sentinel, beginning in 1994.

The First International SWN Meeting in Seoul, South Korea, was held October 18-22, 1993 on the initiative of the UPT and SWN. It was the first event with which SWN went public. Some sources refer to this meeting as the Fifth Spiritual Warfare Network Meeting.[54] 307 invited visitors attended the meeting hosted by the Kwang Lim Methodist Church Prayer Mountain. Because of the number of participants, the meeting was called the Gideon's Army Meeting.[55] The main purpose of the meeting was networking. Participants were to get acquainted and exchange information on Spiritual Mapping. AD 2000 held in December 1993 a Strategy Consultation for the overall AD2000 work, of which the United Prayer Track was a part.

In 1993 several Spiritual Mapping books were published, like Steven C. Hawthorne and Graham Kendrick's *Prayer Walking*,[56] Jacobs' *Possessing the Gates*,[57] Kraft's *Deep Wounds, Deep Healing*[58] and Otis' *Spiritual Mapping Field Guide*.[59] SWN published its *Breaking Strongholds in Your City*[60] and Wagner published his *Churches that Pray*.[61]

1994

The First International March for Jesus, sponsored by the UPT, was held on The Day to Change the World. It was a combination of a Christian missionary street demonstration and a prayer walk. The concept of a public march for Jesus had been pioneered first in 1987 and 1988 in Great Britain and after 1989 in the United States, by Kendrick.[62] In 1994, from a total of 160 nations, Christians made demonstrative marches through streets and prayed for their cities or territories. In the terminology of the movement, they all 'took to the streets on the same day to demonstrate God's love and pray for the city'.[63]

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[53] Siew 1999, 32.
[54] Siew 1999, 33.
[55] Rumph 1993.
[56] Hawthorne and Kendrick 1993.
[57] Jacobs 1993(a).
[58] Kraft 1993.
[59] Otis 1993(a).
[60] Wagner 1993(a).
[61] Siew 1999, 23, 24; Wagner 1993(b).
[62] March For Jesus 2007.
[63] Wagner 2000(f).

Cardinal Points of Prayer took place in 1994, sponsored by the Australian office of YWAM. Teams of intercessors were sent to the furthest geographical north, south, east and west of all continents, to do intercession on the same day.[64]

On February 20, 1994 the United States SWN Founders Circle Meeting (6th SWN) was held in Anaheim to evaluate the consultation in Seoul. There was no agenda for the meeting; the most important subject of discussion was the question of the growth of the movement. It was decided that the networks were to be organized along regional, national and continental lines. For the United States, one network per state was established, with a coordinator for every state. The SWN was rechristened the United States Spiritual Warfare Network Founders Meeting (USSNNFM) and was to consist of these representatives together with the founders of the original SWN. This founders' meeting could not grow any larger, but the networks per state could grow without any numerical limits.

The First International Conference on Prayer and Spiritual Warfare was held in Anaheim February 21-23, 1994. Speakers were members of the UPT and of SWN. A total of 1,107 attended the conference. Many aspects of spiritual warfare were discussed, among which Spiritual Mapping was prominent.

Starting in May 1994, the North American Spiritual Mapping Consultations were organized in regions within the United States. The consultations were organized by Sentinel Group and the UPT. Its purpose was to stimulate and coordinate Spiritual Mapping. Nine consultations were held in 1994.

In 1994 there were many publications on Spiritual Mapping. Here we will mention Dawson's *Healing America's Wounds*,[65] Kraft and White's *Behind Enemy Lines*,[66] Otis' *Spiritual Mapping Glossary*,[67] Silvoso's *That None Should Perish*[68] and Wagner's *Acts of the Holy Spirit*.[69]

1995

In 1995 AD2000 organized the Global Consultation on World Evangelization II in Seoul (GCOWE '95). It had been preceded by around a hundred national preparation conferences, devoted to prayer and evaluation and development of future plans.[70] GCOWE II had been designed as an international mid-decadal assessment of the strategy to reach all unreached peoples in the 10/40 window by the year 2000.[71] Around 4,000 participants coming from 186 countries attended the conference. The purpose of the consultation was to mobilize the grassroots to reach the AD2000 goals by the year 2000. The president of the consultation was Thomas Wang from the People's Republic of China, and the president of the preparation committee was Joon-Gon Kim from South Korea. Two thirds of the delegates came from non-Western countries. Spiritual Mapping was an aspect of several plenary sessions. The *GCOWE '95 Declaration* did not mention Spiritual Mapping explicitly

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[64] Wagner 2000(f).
[65] Dawson 1994.
[66] Kraft and White 1994.
[67] Otis 1994.
[68] Silvoso 1994.
[69] Wagner 1994(a).
[70] Wagner 2000(f).
[71] Bush 2000.

but did connect intercession with church planting and social transformation in 'territorial areas'.[72]

AD2000 started the Joshua Project 2000 as a global cooperative strategy that had identified 1,739 peoples most needing a church-planting effort.[73] The project did research and produced 'People Profile Reports' on peoples or areas. Its purpose was to facilitate prayer and missionary work among all unreached peoples before the year 2000.[74]

The Second International Conference on Prayer and Spiritual Warfare was held in Colorado Springs, April 24-26, 1995, in the New Life Church under Haggard. Its explicit purpose was to stimulate and encourage those involved in spiritual warfare, to make prayer more 'effective' and to reflect on the 'spiritual causes for the social unrest and public sin in America'. The conference taught about repentance, prayer and Spiritual Mapping.

The first stone of the World Prayer Center, Colorado Springs, was laid on December 3, 1995, on the campus of the New Life Church of Haggard. Tye Yau Siew sees this as a sign of the quick growth of Spiritual Mapping, its consolidation and institutionalization.[75] The centre would be directed by Wagner, Otis and Haggard and it would be officially opened in 1998. Wagner would move to Colorado Springs in 1999 to lead the centre.[76] Its purpose was to be a 'switchboard' for communication, information and training; it was to be a 'state of the art communications hub designed to serve the burgeoning worldwide prayer movement'.[77] Computers were to connect networks and collect data. One of its main functions was to become the Spiritual Mapping Research Library. Groups or individuals could come to the centre to pray and fast, using the centre's data.[78] Of the publications in 1995 we should mention Haggard's *Primary Purpose*[79] and Otis and Mark Brockman's *Strongholds of the 10/40 Window*.[80]

Following the outline of this chronology, we notice that from 1992 to 1999 the movement was developing prayer campaigns through which individual adherents could become involved at low cost and through tailor-made formats. However, the reader should be aware that the first adherents of Spiritual Mapping started to shift focus at the beginning of 1996. Among those first signs was Wagner, who convened a symposium on new forms of church organization. In 1997 he would publish his last main work on Spiritual Mapping. Wagner did not abandon Spiritual Mapping, but he did demonstrate a change of interest.

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[72] AD2000 1995; 1996.
[73] Bush 2000.
[74] Bush 2000.
[75] Siew 1999, 37, 38.
[76] Wagner 1999(c), 166.
[77] Sentinel Group 1996, 1.
[78] Global Harvest Ministries 1997, 7, 8.
[79] Haggard 1995.
[80] Otis and Brockman 1995.

1996

Lynn Green of YWAM had designed a plan to walk the trail of the crusades in a prayer campaign lasting four years: the Reconciliation Walk. The prayer walk would be done in stages as a series of walks and were organized by the UPT and YWAM. The walks would begin at several points in Europe and follow the ancient trails and cross the territories where the sins of the crusaders were supposed to have defiled the land. The prayer walks would take place from Easter 1996 through July 1999 in Jerusalem. The purpose of the walks was 'identificational repentance' and breaking the demonic bondage of the territories involved. The walks were expected to bring 'substantial' reconciliation between the world's monotheistic religions. [81]

In May 1996 Wagner organized the National Symposium of the Postdenominational Church, on the campus of Fuller Theological Seminary. With 500 invited delegates Wagner studied what he perceived to be newly emerging organizational forms of churches. The symposium studied what it called 'new paradigms' of church structures, relations between local churches, financial organization, communication, evangelism, leadership training, prayer and dealing with supernatural powers. Wagner labelled this new form of 'being church' the New Apostolic Movement.[82] In 1999 Wagner edited, along with 18 others, *The New Apostolic Churches*. Wagner stated that this new paradigm was divinely initiated, eclipsing the Protestant Reformation.

In 1996 GHM and the UPT moved to Colorado Springs. GHM partnered with New Life Church in the establishment of the World Prayer Center. Pierce was asked to become part of the leadership team.[83]

In that same year the women's organization, Women Aglow International, established its first International House of Prayer in Edmonds, Washington, responding to a vision claimed to have been received by one of its members. Every nation should have a Women's Aglow house of prayer, so that the whole organization would become a 'Global House of Prayer'. In the year 2005 Women's Aglow would report a network of women in 150 countries praying and thus 'breaking ground for evangelism thrusts'.[84] The communication network was called the Aglow Prayer Net (APN). Of the publications in 1996 we should mention Dutch Sheets' *Intercessory Prayer*[85] and Wagner's *Confronting the Powers*.[86]

1997

In January the SWN branch in the US was reorganized under Jacobs' leadership into the United States Spiritual Warfare Prayer Network (USSPN).[87] Between 1997 and 2002 the USSPN would designate 50 coordinators (one for every state) and 14 'task forces' for ethnic minorities. Wagner had to concentrate on his international responsibilities.

Operation Queen's Palace was a large public prayer campaign begun in 1997 under Haggard and would continue until September 1999. It was directed

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[81] Wagner 2000(f).
[82] Wagner 1999(c), 167.
[83] Wagner 2002(a).
[84] Women's Aglow 2005.
[85] Sheets 1996.
[86] Wagner 1996.
[87] Global Harvest Ministries 2002(a).

against what was considered to one of the highest ranking demonic beings in the 10/40 window, identified by the movement as the Queen of Heaven, identified as the Moon Goddess of Jeremiah 7:18 and Diana of the Book of Acts 19:28, with her seat in Ephesus, Turkey.[88] A more recent manifestation was Mary worshipped as the Mother of God. This prayer campaign would result in a book by Otis and Andrew Jackson, *Praying through Turkey: An Intercessor's Guide*, which served as a guide for a series of prayer journeys through Turkey organized from 1997 to 1999.[89] It would culminate in the prayer event Celebration Ephesus in Turkey in 1999.[90]

In July, within the framework of AD 2000, four thousand delegates came to Pretoria for a Global Consultation on World Evangelization (GWOCE 97). Its purpose was to design a strategy for the last three years before the year 2000.[91]

In September, Operation Ice Castle, a prayer walk in the form of climbing the Mount Everest, which was considered to be a demonic stronghold, took place under the leadership of Mendez. Prophecy had revealed that the Mount Everest was the highest ranking demonic stronghold.[92] Involvement of the public was limited.

The prayer campaign 'Praying Through the Window III' took place in October. A selection of 137 'gateway peoples' had been targeted, i.e. peoples considered to be the most 'strategic' peoples of the 1739 identified peoples within the 10/40 Window. Each gateway people had at least one prayer team 'on-site' in October.

On November 16-19, The International Consultation on Spiritual Mapping took place in Tacoma, Washington. Around 450 participants came from 31 countries and discussed the theory and practice of Spiritual Mapping. Otis presented his Community Transformation Assessment Scale through which the practitioner could measure the spiritual condition of the people in his city. The scale introduced 28 phases of spiritual transformation. It was called the 'Otis scale'.

The Reconciliation Walk, following the trail of the crusades, reached the city of Istanbul in August 1997.

In 1997 Otis published his *The Twilight Labyrinth: Why Does Spiritual Darkness Linger Where It Does*.[93] The book, publicly announced and recommended by AD2000, was reportedly based on 1200 interviews and an investment of 400,000 dollars for research.[94] Besides Otis' publication, other major publications were Haggard and Jack Hayford's *Loving Your City into the Kingdom*[95] and Wagner's *Praying with Power*, his last major publication about Spiritual Mapping.[96]

1998

In 1998 the Second International SWN Meeting took place. It was the sequel to the first one in 1994. It was a meeting in Guatemala City of 2,500 participants representing their networks.[97]

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[88] Wagner 2001(b), 24, 44-47.
[89] Otis and Jackson 1997; Wagner 2001(b), 55.
[90] Wagner 2001(b), 53-58.
[91] AD2000 1997; Coote 1998, 160.
[92] Wagner 2000(f); 2001(b), 50.
[93] Otis 1997.
[94] AD2000 1997.
[95] Haggard and Hayford, 1997.
[96] Wagner 1997.
[97] Wagner 1999(c), 166.

Colorado Springs: The World Prayer Center

The Reconciliation Walk continued into Turkey following the paths of the crusades, and Operation Queen's Palace continued. The dedication of the World Prayer Center took place in Colorado Springs.[98] The Sentinel Group under Otis, GHM under Wagner and the Christian Information Network under Haggard worked together in the centre. The centre's purpose was to be a 'spiritual mapping repository'.[99] Wagner retired from Fuller Theological Seminary and started the Wagner Leadership Institute (WLI) as a branch of GHM and became its 'Chancellor'.[100] Major publications in 1998 were Sheets' *The River of God*,[101] Deiros and Wagner's *The Rising Revival*,[102] Wagner's *The New Apostolic Churches* [103] and *Confronting the Queen of Heaven*.[104]

1999

Wagner further developed the WLI to train leaders of the NAR, according to the non-academic pedagogical concepts of its own accreditation organization, the Apostolic Council for Educational Accountancy.[105] 1999 is the year that many Spiritual Mapping events came to a close. Wagner taught his last course at Fuller.[106] It was announced that AD2000 would close its offices and stop all activities by December 31, 1999.[107] Many activities would reflect this decision. In October 1999 the UPT of AD2000 organized its last international prayer campaign: Praying Through the Window IV. AD2000 estimated that around 30 million people partook in the first, second and third prayer campaigns. It estimated that 50 million people took part in the fourth campaign.[108]

The Reconciliation Walk came to a close when the prayer teams reached Jerusalem in July. A 'service of Jews, Muslims and Christians' was held as a ceremonial conclusion.[109] Over 5,000 people from 62 countries met in the stadium of the city of Ephesus, Turkey, for Celebration Ephesus. The UPT had organized

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[98] World Prayer Center 2000.
[99] Global Harvest Ministries 2000(d).
[100] Global Harvest Ministries 2002(b).
[101] Sheets 1998.
[102] Deiros and Wagner, 1998.
[103] Wagner 1998(a).
[104] Wagner 1998(b).
[105] Wagner 1998(b).
[106] Wagner 1999(c), 167.
[107] Wagner 2002(a).
[108] AD2000 2000.
[109] AD2000 2000.

this event as a culminating event of Operation Queen's Palace. It was designed to celebrate the victory over the demonic forces in the 10/40 window, just as Paul had experienced victory in Ephesus (cf. Acts 19:21-40). Celebration Messiah 2000, a mass gathering in Jerusalem, had been planned by GHM and the UPT, from December 27, 1999 through January 2, 2000. Its purpose was to conclude the decade of prayer for the 10/40 window and to reflect on the upcoming decade. 'Thousands' had been expected, but the event had to be cancelled due to organizational difficulties. The most important publications were Otis' *Informed Intercession*,[110] his video *Transformations I*,[111] both concentrating on Spiritual Mapping. Wagner's *Churchquake!*[112] and *Revival! It Can Transform Your City!*[113] focussed on the NAR.

Disintegration
Just as the determination of the date of birth of Spiritual Mapping has been somewhat arbitrary, so this is also the case regarding its disintegration. Interest waned and some adherents gradually became involved in other movements and began to implement other emphases in their ministries. This chapter sets the year 2000 not as the year of disintegration but as the start of the disintegration. It concerns the start of the disintegration of Spiritual Mapping *as a movement.* The practice would continue and became incorporated into other movements.

Different persons and different organizations had different patterns of declining involvement. Several changes around the year 2000 indicate the beginning of the decline of the movement. We will mention them briefly in this section. More details about the aftermath of the movement will follow in chapter four. Otis remained the individual most identified with Spiritual Mapping. His terminology changed over the years: his narratives emphasized terms like community transformation, and emphasized Church Growth terminology less. The realization of the Kingdom move to the foreground at the expense of church planting. But Otis' most elaborate publications on Spiritual Mapping date from 1997 and 1999 and in later publications he did not shy away from the concept of Spiritual Mapping.

Kraft did not show an explicit shift in interest. He developed his 'deep healing' concepts, which constituted an application of spiritual warfare concepts and Spiritual Mapping concepts in pastoral work. He continued to be involved in courses integrating teaching on the supernatural at Fuller's School of World Mission, including Spiritual Mapping. After Wagner's retirement he continued with these courses. Kraft's *Confronting Powerless Christianity* in 2002 was of a much broader nature and it did not mention Spiritual Mapping explicitly.

Analysis shows several specific indications of the disintegration around the year 2000. A first indication of explicit change was Wagner's shift in focus in 1996, as we saw above, which became even more pronounced in 1999. His involvement in Spiritual Mapping activities would become part of what he interpreted as the New Apostolic Reformation (NAR). This changed the function of Spiritual Mapping, as

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[110] Otis 1999(b).
[111] Otis 1999(a).
[112] Wagner 1999(b).
[113] Wagner 1999(a).

the next chapter will show.[114] According to Wagner the new reformation concerned the reinstallation of prophecy. Wagner referred to this explicitly:

> Something new happened in 2000. In the "waning months of the last decade" the Spirit introduced new dynamic spiritual warfare practices. Among them was the gift of prophecy. One of the greatest challenges the 'mapper' faced, was the analysis of data. Mapping was a research tool for the church of Christ. But now it became more than just that. Because of the prophetic gift Spiritual Mapping enables us to move into domains with valuable insights. God tells us through prophecy how to collect and interpret data. Prophecy 'activates' Spiritual Mapping. Global Harvest Ministries sees the change at the end of 2000 as follows. Before 2000 the model for Spiritual Mapping was comprised of actions to pray, research, and mobilize. Now the model is to pray (intercession), to hear the Lord's voice (prophecy), and to mobilize the church through 'Apostles'. [115]

Spiritual Mapping lived on as a technique but not as a rallying point in itself, as had been the case at the beginning of the 1990s. Prophecy, apostleship and Spiritual Mapping became an integral system of 'strategic-prophetic intercession' as a practice of the New Apostolic Reformation. In 1999 Wagner retired from Fuller and moved to Colorado Springs, where he had founded the WLI in 1998 and where he had dedicated the WPC. Both WLI and WPC would drastically change the form of Wagner's involvement.

A second indication of change was the official close of the AD2000 movement on December 31, 1999. It was a decision ('by design') to give 'the Spirit room to develop new things for the decade to come'.[116] Several of AD2000's tracks continued as independent ministries. AD2000's UPT continued within the framework of the WPC, including a Spiritual Mapping Division, under Otis. Some of the former tracks would disappear from the scene, and some would continue to flourish.

A third indication of change was the closing of several joint projects by the end of 1999, such as Operation Queen's Palace, the Reconciliation Walk and Praying Through the Window IV. These events were not replaced by similar efforts. It indicated the diminishing supply of customer-made campaigns for the public.

A fourth indication of change was that several organizations, such GHM, replaced the 10/40 Window with a new 40/70 Window. In 2000 Wagner published *The Queen's Domain: Advancing God's Kingdom in the 40/70 Window*.[117] He stated that the 'spiritual atmosphere' over the 10/40 window 'had changed for the good'.[118]

A fifth indication was that in 2000 the SWN changed its name to the Apostolic Strategic Prayer Network (ASPN), which indicated the new apostolic focus of the network. A sixth indication was a steady decline of publications on Spiritual Mapping. It was certainly not over, but interest had decreased. As indicated above, none of the core group would publish a major work on Spiritual Mapping

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[114] Wagner, 1999(b).
[115] Global Harvest Ministries 2000(b).
[116] Wagner 1999(c), 166.
[117] Global Harvest Ministries 2000(e); Wagner 2000(c).
[118] Wagner 2002(a).

after the year 2000. The same is the case for those this chapter places around the core group.

As Missionary Field Method

Having treated the development of the Spiritual Mapping movement in terms of its leaders, organizations and events, this chapter now turns to Spiritual Mapping as a field method in the 1990s. Plan Resistencia found many different applications, and Spiritual Mapping as a field method was developed with certain basic concepts in mind.[119]

Its aim was a large-scale evangelistic operation. In the beginning of the development of the movement, Spiritual Mapping concerned an entire city as demonstrated in Plan Resistencia. Later this would develop into other applications and larger geographical areas, like regions, states, even entire continents, or geographically or sociologically designated unreached people groups.

Spiritual Mapping concerned an operation for evangelism. Unreached peoples and cities had to be won over to the Christian faith and assembled in churches. This was supposed to transform and improve society. The emphasis was on evangelism in the first years especially. Individual conversion as a result of evangelism, and especially the sum of individual conversions, was supposed to produce social impact as its inevitable and desirable consequence. As the ties between Spiritual Mapping and the Church Growth Movement became looser through the years, the emphasis in Spiritual Mapping gradually shifted to social transformation, which still included evangelism, conversion and church planting but was now aimed primarily at the transformation of society as a whole.

At issue was the development of a prototype to be exported to the world. The testing aimed to produce a universally applicable method. After all, its essential component was the supernatural dimension, which was assumed to be the same all over the world. The field method was not developed as one universal straitjacket: it had to be a flexible structure that could be applied according to the specific needs of a given context.[120] This section will look briefly at Silvoso's method of prayer evangelism, Wagner's summary on research principles, Otis' operator's manual and we will mention briefly several practical applications of Spiritual Mapping.

The Resistencia Field Method
Silvoso's model had been developed in Resistencia and its primary strategy was the concept of prayer evangelism at the heart of which was Spiritual Mapping. Silvoso commented: 'Simply put, prayer evangelism is talking to God about your neighbour before talking to your neighbour about God' or: 'Prayer is the key to the fulfilment of the Great Commission.'[121] Prayer was considered the very key to success, and this was especially the case of prayer directed against unseen beings on the strategic level through the process of Spiritual Mapping. The identification of the model with

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[119] Blom 2003.
[120] Wagner 1993(a), 223.
[121] Silvoso 1994, 35, 64, 110.

Spiritual Mapping became such that the whole Plan Resistencia was often simply called Spiritual Mapping.

The laboratory of the prototype Plan Resistencia had been prepared in the years 1987 and 1988. It had been initiated by Charles and Sandy Starnes from the US, who came to Argentina to do research for Cosecha. They recommended that the city of Resistencia should be made the target of city-wide evangelism. Their recommendations were based on three ciriteria. First, 'several pastors' had extended an invitation for Cosecha to come to Resistencia. Second, the percentage of Protestants was considered unusually low for an Argentine city. Third, the city of Resistencia was considered a strategic center of social influence ('key city') in the north of Argentina. Fourth, the city 'was known', according to the Starnes, to be under the spell of a powerful demon called San la Muerte or Holy Death.[122] It is not clear in the sources why this fourth criterion led to the choice of Resistencia. San la Muerte is a Latin American phenomenon and is not geographically limited to Resistencia. Some sources seem to indicate that the intensiveness of the devotion to San la Muerte was exceptional in this city.[123]

Cosecha reported that its first proposal for a city-wide evangelism campaign 'was enthusiastically received' by 'more than half of the pastors'. It felt it had received enough favourable local cooperation to go ahead with the plan. The internal preparation took place in 1989, and Silvoso and his team developed ten preparatory steps to be taken outside the public arena:

1. Reconciliation between the local churches had to be worked out. Problems and divisions of the past had to be forgiven and forgotten in order to ensure unity and cooperation.
2. All churches had to pray together in united prayer meetings. The newfound unity had to be experienced and stimulated by joint prayer meetings.
3. The exchange of pulpits during the Sunday morning services had to take place as a practical demonstration of the unity of Christian churches.
4. 'Love offerings' for churches in financial need had to be organized.
5. Worship services with several churches together in one place had to be organized to show the breakdown of denominational barriers ad unity in faith in Christ.
5. The Lord's Supper had to be organized with several churches together at one place, as the ultimate experience of Christian unity.

The necessary prerequisite for public activities and spiritual warfare had to be unity among the Christians of the city (1-6). Unity was interpreted as an inner and informal process and not as a formal denominational unity. After unity had been secured, prayer had to start, which was found in the next phase.
7. Individuals and churches had to be trained in spiritual warfare through seminars to be conducted by Cosecha.
8. Grassroots prayer cells in the neighbourhoods had to initiated and organized. All those involved had to be mobilized.
The purpose was 'to blanket' the city 'under a cover of prayer' (7-8).

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[122] Silvoso 1994, 42-44.
[123] Rumph 1990(a), 61; Wagner 1992(a), 32-34, 156-158.

9. Social projects for the city had to be started. Those social projects aimed to give a positive image of Christians. In Resistencia this included the installation of ten water tanks in the slums, the donation of free medicine for people, and a donation of medical equipment to a local hospital. The funding of the project came largely from the US.

10. 'Aggressive warfare' had to be conducted in the city's main square. It was here that the confrontation with demons was supposed to start. After prayer and organizing the churches, and having collected Spiritual Mapping information about the demonic makeup of the city, a select group of Christians went to the central square of the city, which was considered to be the very geographic seat of its demons. The Spiritual Mapping information had been obtained by Víctor Lorenzo, inspired by Dawson's *Taking Our Cities for God*. In the local museum Lorenzo had been informed about the city's cultural, political and religious past, from which he had drawn his conclusions about Resistencia's spiritual makeup.[124] According to Lorenzo, the museum officials had revealed, unknowingly, the identity of the age-old territorial presence of spirits that had taken the form of old local deities and saints. The Cosecha team adopted his conclusions and used them as guidelines for warfare prayer. Now the last preparatory step was taken: confrontation of the powers in prayer in the very strongholds from which they held sway over their territories. The strongholds were their symbols, like statues, monuments, buildings and ley lines.

Having done this with a select group of initiated intercessors, it became time to go public.

11. Teams visited the city with prayer and Christian literature. These teams were made up of local Christians and volunteers from the US. Literature packages were offered door to door, and free of charge. Volunteer teams visited 63,000 houses on one day, which was announced through the media. The teams offered prayer for the sick and for any problem people would present. The day would end in an evangelistic rally.

12. Small evangelistic 'crusades' were conducted simultaneously in thirty-five neighbourhoods.

13. Three large-scale, city-wide evangelistic 'crusades' were held in the city, topped by a final 'crusade' that was the largest of all.

14. A large public baptism service was held to baptize all those converted during step 1-13. It had to be a public demonstration of the victory of Christ over the demonic powers.

Silvoso's plan emphasized its practical executive side. There were almost no developed criteria on how to do research and what to look for. The laboratory of Resistencia provided the prototype for a model that was intended to be exported throughout the world. It was not considered perfect as yet but developed enough to apply elsewhere.

Silvoso developed a field method with six steps, which he abstracted from Plan Resistencia. The abstraction made it flexible and applicable in other contexts. The steps of the model were:

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[124] Lorenzo 1993, 175, 176.

1. 'Establish God's perimeter in the City'.
Connect and start with a 'Faithful Remnant', which means Christians willing to
collaborate. They form a 'microcosm of God's Kingdom in the midst of Satan's
dominion'.[125]
2. 'Secure God's perimeter in the City'.
Assemble 'key leaders' and work towards spiritual unity. These leaders are
supposed to infiltrate the church itself, which is thought to contain strongholds.
These must be secured through repentance and reconciliation.[126]
3. 'Expand God's Perimeter'.
Show and celebrate unity among Christians. The church is the model the city can see
and envy. Once the church is in place as the model, an army of prayer warriors must
be raised inside in order to be able to launch an attack on the powers holding the
city.[127]
4. 'Infiltrate Satan's Perimeter in the City'.
From a secure Christian base, churches were to focus on the 'targets' like the
demons of the cities and neighbourhoods. This was to be done through Spiritual
Mapping and intercessory prayer. It is like 'parachuting behind enemy lines' in
order to weaken their power.[128] Behind the scenes, invisible in the unseen world, the
church was to undermine demonic power through prayer, so that the Kingdom of
evil in the area would suddenly collapse under the attack. This aspect explains in
part the secretive nature of Spiritual Mapping.
5. 'Attack and Destroy Satan's Perimeter'.
After having weakened demonic power, it became time for the frontal assault.
Through mass evangelism, with means like literature, radio, television and crusades,
the city should be taken from Satan. Like the walls of Jericho suddenly and
unexpectedly collapsed, a city would display a breakthrough through the numbers of
individuals converted, new churches planted and improvement of social life. New
believers had to be assimilated into the prayer cells and/or churches.[129]
6. 'Establish God's New Perimeter'.
Organization of the regular dominion of God's kingdom: 'Raid the camp of the
enemy, loot it and occupy it'. It is important to secure the results and keep up the
momentum of breakthrough and growth of churches. The Spiritual Mapping cycle
should be repeated to keep Christians from routinization and 'to keep the demons
pushed back'.[130]

Silvoso did not develop the Spiritual Mapping aspect in his following city-wide
models any further. The marketing and development would be called 'prayer
evangelism' over the years. His *Prayer Evangelism*, published in the year 2000, was
an elaboration and update of his publication of 1994. The six steps were mentioned
again and new lessons were added, but throughout the book Spiritual Mapping as
such is not mentioned. Silvoso intended 'to reverse the process of jurisdiction of a
city' through the means of 'prophetic acts of prayer' and 'seeking peace' to a city,

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[125] Silvoso 1994, 213, 217, 228, 294.
[126] Silvoso 1994, 40, 230.
[127] Silvoso 1994, 242.
[128] Silvoso 1994, 254, 255-256, 294.
[129] Silvoso 1994, 265, 269, 294.
[130] Silvoso 1994, 270, 294; Wagner 2006.

like for example pronouncing a blessing. On the whole, he sought less aggressive means and even denounced hand-to-hand combat methods to defeat Satan as 'one of the greatest mistakes'.[131] But his newfound methods did not change his perception of territorial spirits and their grip on human reality.

Practical Applications

In the 1990s Spiritual Mapping was developed further and applied in several different ways. It produced divergent and practical ways of application, of which a few examples are mentioned below. Many organizations had and still have their own circuits, support, adherents and methods.

A first example of Spiritual Mapping as a practical field method is Otis' application. He provided the most extensive practical operator's manual with his *Informed Intercession* (1999).[132] He aimed at coherent and customized data acquisition, analytical standards and report layouts. The approach had been field-tested and was developed to be learned and maintained in a relatively easy way. It was marketed through seminars, books, videos and online services.[133]

In *Informed Intercession* Otis opened with a lengthy opening chapter about what he perceived to be the reality of Spiritual Mapping in the world ('Snapshots of Glory'). He devoted two chapters to its basic concepts and continued to address practical concerns. He introduced the possibilities and limitations of research systematically and addressed the practical questions of how to set up a Spiritual Mapping research process, how to formulate research questions into discovery questions, and how to discover the landscape of a culture. Otis informed the readers about concepts one was supposed to find, like ley lines, time lines, local shrines and much more. A whole chapter was devoted to sources of information and how to evaluate them, including rules for observation, conducting interviews, and organizing data. One chapter dealt with the art of drawing conclusions. Finally the last chapter treated the question how to report the information to others ('Briefing the troops'). An extensive appendix of twenty-five pages was added, called 'Discovery Questions', to guide the practitioner through the Spiritual Mapping process, an appendix with a chart for community assessment, a glossary of Spiritual Mapping terms and an appendix with further resources like addresses of organizations and a list of recommended reading.

Sentinel Group provided a digital forum for practitioners of Spiritual Mapping. The site was meant to be used to exchange information, to share strategies, to give examples on how to conduct research and to provide eye-openers to others. The site formed a community for mutual encouragement as well. It was also meant for regular intercession, based on the information provided. Besides this Spiritual Mappers Forum Membership, Sentinel also provided the service of the 'Special Explorer Reports', which meant that adherents received Sentinel-approved reports regularly on prayer and community transformation all over the world.[134]

The Sentinel Group initiated the International Fellowship of Transformation Partners (IFTP), which served as an umbrella for the regional

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[131] Silvoso 2000, 81, 87.
[132] Otis 1999(b).
[133] Otis 1999(b), 14.
[134] Sentinel Group 2000(f).

Transformation Networks or Transnets.[135] It was a network or fellowship focussed on the exchange of reports and the study of the prayer principles behind them. The world had been divided into 30 regional Transnets, each of which had their own transformation network. Each Transnet had a Transformation Center with intercession and training at its heart. They were meant to be the local grassroots connection points for the networks. The individuals in the network were called 'transformation associates'. Sentinel created 'Fire Tours' as well, meant to organize excursions to places where God was supposed to have given revival through prayer.[136]

There are more examples of Spiritual Mapping as a field method. A second example is Silvoso's own application with his organization, 'Harvest Evangelism' and his Apostolic Transformation Network (ATN). The purpose was to develop a prototype for 'nation transformation' that could be duplicated in many other places. It stated that Argentina, with Plan Resistencia, had become such a model to be applied elsewhere in the world. It was seeking to produce more of these 'city and nation transforming' models.[137] Characteristic of Silvoso's ministry was the context of politicians and businessmen. The organization did not seek the involvement of masses and large numbers of churches primarily.

A third example of the application of Spiritual Mapping as a field method is the AD2000 UPT channelled through GHM under Wagner. Characteristic of this networking organization was its global approach of massive international involvement in the many prayer campaigns it promoted and sponsored in the 1990s. It adopted the framework of the 10/40 Window, and after 2000 GHM adopted the 40/70 Window. Wagner had published his guidelines for Spiritual Mapping in 1993 as a practical field method, but his emphasis was on the research aspect of Spiritual Mapping.[138] Wagner proposed two steps: the first was to gather relevant information needed to produce a spiritual map. His guidelines were rather basic.

'Step One' was 'Gathering the Information'. Wagner included historical research, such as the history of the given geographical area, their founding fathers, and the later development of the area. He also included the history of religions in the area and their relationship. Of importance were 'psychical research', geared toward occultism, 'spiritual research' geared toward spirituality and the Christian faith in the area. 'Step Two' was 'Acting on the Information'. Acting referred to selecting an area, securing the unity of the pastors in the area, making clear that the action was done on behalf of the whole church of Christ, and the participating leader had to be made 'spiritually' prepared for action. Then the research of step one had to be presented. It was to be used for 'strategic prayer'. Each of the two steps and sub-entries had an extensive list of research questions and action points. Overall, Wagner's inventory of guidelines showed a strong emphasis on research and was less developed on the practical side. His criteria for assessment of research data were scarce. Selection criteria were not provided.

Fourth, as an example of Spiritual Mapping as a field method, we can mention Jacobs with her organization Generals of Intercession, later called Generals

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[135] Sentinel Group 2000(e).
[136] Sentinel Group 2000(g).
[137] Harvest Evangelism 2005.
[138] Wagner 1993(a), 223-232; 2006(a).

International, which offered resources with articles and reports all over the world.[139] It existed to pray for the nation and to gather all those praying for cities and nations. Its approach was international, and its purpose was to 'mobilize God's spiritual army'. Jacobs emphasized at an early stage what she saw as the apostolic and prophetic contexts as well.

A fifth example is Sheets, with his Dutch Sheets Ministries, offering events such as seminars, conferences and a website with a community for prayer requests, reports, articles, a web shop, prayer messages, the most up-to-date prophecies and examples of strategic prayers. Part of Dutch Sheets Ministries was the National Governmental Prayer Alliance (NGPA), with a Governmental Prayer Alliance (GPA) in every state for strategic prayer. The NGPA presented itself as 'a clearing house for information', relevant for prayer for the government of the US. Most reports were not directly placed on the web but were used for internal distribution to intercessors. The NGPA under pastor DeKeyzer cooperated with other prayer organizations in the US. [140] Its overtones are nationalistic, show alignment with patriotic historical notions like 'America as one Nation under God' and identify with the Christian right. This is intertwined with a sense of national guilt about the treatment of 'native Americans', as experienced by some US citizens.[141]

A sixth example of Spiritual Mapping as a field method is Kraft's Deep Healing Ministries, offering publications and seminars aiming at pastoral care and exorcism. Spiritual Mapping was one of the components of this exorcism. It is Kraft's application of Spiritual Mapping to pastoral care.

Examples of how networks functioned in the exchange of reports and other kinds of information are numerous. There was contact through e-mail, downloads, chat boxes and web logs. As examples we can mention the USSPN, Spiritual Warfare Ministries, Glory of Zion and the Prayer Ministries Network.[142] The websites of the networks reflect the activities of the often not widely known grassroots individuals doing research and practising warfare prayers.

In conclusion, these examples of Spiritual Mapping show that it has been applied locally and regionally (Silvoso), internationally (Wagner) and to individual pastoral care (Kraft). It could take the form of web communities (Otis) and could be applied within the framework of nationalism in the US (Sheets). It was applied at an early stage in the context of prophetic and apostolic movements (Jacobs). Individual practitioners could choose which form of involvement they preferred. This involvement brings us to the following section.

Levels of Involvement
There are many different ways for adherents of Spiritual Mapping to become involved. Some practitioners were involved within the framework of a local or regional Spiritual Mapping prayer campaign that may have lasted up to two or three years. This was the case with churches uniting around a city- or area-wide effort, inspired by Silvoso's publications. Sometimes it was done within the framework of direct cooperation with Harvest Evangelism. The project had been announced and

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[139] Generals International 2003.
[140] Sheets 2006.
[141] Brendtro 1999; Neff 1998.
[142] Global Harvest Ministries 2000(b); Glory of Zion 2007; Intercessors for America 2007.

experienced as Spiritual Mapping. However, the plan was adapted to each local situation and the Spiritual Mapping component received more or less emphasis according to the local situation. Over the years Silvoso himself seems to have moved away, at least publicly, from a major emphasis on the Spiritual Mapping component, which changed the appearance of his field method. It is probable that the Spiritual Mapping part of an evangelism effort was performed by a select few, who had received special teaching on the subject, which seems to have been the practice from the beginning. In that case some were hardly aware or only partly aware of being involved in Spiritual Mapping. Those involved in the Resistencia model as Silvoso had intended had different levels of knowledge and awareness of Spiritual Mapping.

Other practitioners came into contact with Spiritual Mapping through the many global campaigns initiated by AD2000's UPT, GHM and YWAM. Some worked purposely along the lines of Spiritual Mapping principles, but others may have become involved in Spiritual Mapping through a simple desire to pray. The campaigns were channelled through the various networks, which were on different levels of understanding of and commitment to Spiritual Mapping. As we shall see below, there is possibly some truth to the claims that hundreds of thousands were involved in campaigns like March for Jesus or Praying Through the Window. But the duration of involvement, the understanding of the concepts and level of commitment are unknown. YWAM and Women's Aglow integrated Spiritual Mapping into their regular teaching programs, but their flexible and decentralized structures probably did not ensure a strict implementation.

Others such as Otis' Sentinel Group for example, devoted themselves to a meticulous and systematic approach to Spiritual Mapping. To acquaint oneself with the details of the method demanded a certain amount of endurance and members had to pay a membership fee. This group was therefore probably relatively small.

Since neither official membership in the movement nor an accountability structure existed, it is hard to determine exactly the who, what, how and where. This leads to the question of the movement's numerical growth and spread.

Numerical Growth

Argentina

Spiritual Mapping, although it did not develop into a movement in Argentina, did exist there from 1989 to 1992 and rode the waves of Pentecostal growth. Daniel Miguez and Hilario H. Wynarczyk confirm that, after 1992, the role of Spiritual Mapping did indeed exist, but its role was limited, as evidenced by the statement that it was 'not so frequently applied'.[143] Eduardo Lorenzo estimated in 2006 that around 150 individuals were involved in Spiritual Mapping in Argentina.[144]

It is important to note with respect to Argentina that the claims of Spiritual Mapping about Argentine church growth have often been formulated in terms of numerical superlatives. Spiritual Mapping sources typified Argentine Pentecostal growth as 'amazing' and nothing less than a divine 'revival', announcing a new

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[143] Miguez 1998, 28; Wynarczyk 1995, 111-126.
[144] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.

divinely initiated dispensation or 'paradigm'. Silvoso stated in 1994 that Spiritual Mapping was the major cause of the growth of the church in Argentina.[145] He concluded that the number of congregations had grown during the years 1989-1993 from 70 to 200, and the growth of the number of Christians was around 500%. For example, Silvoso spoke of Annacondia's 40,000 conversions in La Plata, 90,000 in Mar del Plata and 70,000 in San Justo, respectively called 'public professions of Christ', 'decisions' and 'who repeated the sinner's prayer'. Timothy Warner and Wagner spoke of '8,000 decisions a day', which means that 8,000 individuals per day were supposed to have become Christians.[146] Silvoso speaks of 'more than one million people making a decision for Christ in less than four years'.[147] Many more examples could be given.

Usually, there are no sources or working definitions offered to substantiate the movement's claims.[148] Spiritual Mapping did not present official census reports or similar data. In relation to Resistencia Silvoso mentioned the results of an 'informal census' and a newspaper article in the Evangelical *El Puente*, both in 1993.[149] Silvoso also mentioned an 'unverified report' and 'unconfirmed reports' that he used for his publications.[150]

The examination of any Argentine Protestant or Pentecostal growth is problematic. Data were and still are scarce.[151] However, some cautious contours can be given. The last governmental census asking for religious identity was in 1960. There is a consensus, however, that growth has taken place since then. It is the calculation of overall Pentecostal growth in the 1980s and 1990s that has been subject of debate, but the debate is of relatively recent date. Religious studies dedicating themselves to Argentine Protestantism are usually of recent date, as we saw in chapter two. Mark S. Alexander, Miguez, Saracco, Wynarczyk and others included sections in their studies discussing the issue. They based themselves first on the census of 1960, and secondly on the entries in the governmental *Registro de Culto*, which gave an indication of the registered numbers of churches, and thirdly on the number of churches as counted in greater Buenos Aires. Following these criteria, Protestantism had grown from 0.7% in 1895 to 2.6% in 1960 due to the immigration of Protestants and the conversion of (Indian) ethnic groups in the north. Growth as a result of converted Argentine nationals started slowly in the 1960s and in the 1980s accelerated growth had set in. Based on the increase of the numbers of Protestant churches in Buenos Aires, Wynarczyk and Semán estimated that overall Protestantism had tripled in the 1980s, from around 3% to 10% of the population.[152]

The governmental *Registro de Culto*, in which registration was mandatory, suggests that Pentecostals had grown stronger than other Protestant churches in the 1980s.[153] Saracco's estimate of Pentecostalism as 6% of the population in 1985 is in line with these trends.[154] Growth seems to have decreased in the 1990s. Saracco

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[145] Silvoso 1994, 17.
[146] Wagner 1991(a), 53-54; 1992(a), 12.
[147] Wagner 1991(a), 110.
[148] Wagner 1991(a), 36.
[149] Wagner 1991(a), 50-55.
[150] Silvoso 1994, 274, 281.
[151] Miguez 1998, 29; Miguez and Semán 2000, 326; Saracco 1989, 35-39; 2006.
[152] Miguez 1998, 30; Wynarczyk and Semán 1995, 9, 36.
[153] Miguez 1998, 31.
[154] Saracco 1989, 39.

calculated that Pentecostal membership in the 1980s had tripled but estimated that the growth of visitors to church services had multiplied six fold.[155]

Alexander analysed the growth of Argentine Baptist churches.[156] In the 1990s they were influenced by Pentecostal doctrines and practice, such as spiritual warfare.[157] Pentecostal influence was stronger on Baptist churches than other similar Protestant denominations.[158] In the same decade a group of ('renewed') Baptist pastors introduced Unción, as was pointed out in chapter two; these pastors included representatives of Spiritual Mapping, like Deiros and Lorenzo.[159] Alexander calculated a 3.14% numerical growth for the period 1968-1982, and 5.35% for the period 1982-1989. He had no reliable information available for the latter period but suspected a slight numerical decrease. For the period of 1992-1993 he calculated 13.8% growth, which he attributed to the effects of the introduction of the Unción. For 1993-1997 he calculated 2.05% growth. Alexander concluded that there was no 'explosive' growth. After 1982 growth had been more than the average growth rate to which the Baptist churches had been accustomed and more than the average population growth since 1938. He noted at the same time that recent growth percentages were relatively 'unstable'.

Alexander attributed the one exceptional year 1992/1993 to the introduction of the Unción. However, after 1993 the average growth rate fell below the 1982-1989 level. Alexander's conclusion was that growth as such was normal for Baptist churches but that the growth percentages have not become higher in the final decades of the twentieth century. For the purposes of this chapter it is important to note that it is not possible to prove that Spiritual Mapping has been a major growth factor for Baptist churches.

We can state the following about Argentine Protestant church growth in relation to Spiritual Mapping. Empirical evidence is extremely scarce. It is not possible to substantiate the high claims of the Spiritual Mapping movement. Argentina does not register church membership and existing registrations overlap. Johnstone and Mandryk estimated in 2001 a possible Pentecostal 'overcounting' of half a million members and double affiliation up to 3,840,000 members. This has posed a barrier to reliable accounting.[160] Protestant church services received more visitors than they had members in the 1980s. The numerical information as provided by Spiritual Mapping sources give the impression that they were on based the number of visitors. However, a visitor is not a member who identifies with the church and has responsibilities within it. Albeit generally measured in an imprecise and unwieldy way, growth was the general rule for many non-Catholic groups in the 1980s.[161] Within these groups, Pentecostal growth was not exceptional in the 1980s.

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[155] Saracco 1989, 165.
[156] Alexander 2004, 34-44.
[157] Miguez 1998, 31.
[158] Miguez and Semán 2000, 327.
[159] Alexander 2000, 44; Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006; Interview Lorenzo , Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[160] Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 77.
[161] Bianchi 2004, 303: Frigerio 2002, 117; Miguez 2002; Wells Davies 2006.

The United States of America

Most of the information about numerical growth in the US has been provided by
Spiritual Mapping in terms of rough estimates without reference to sources or
measuring methodologies. It was reported that Praying Through the Window I in
1993 involved 'up to 40 million intercessors' on one day. Praying Through the
Window IV was estimated at an attendance of 50 million[162]. The reader was
informed that an estimated 'up to 12 million Christians took to the streets in 168
nations of the world' on The Day to Change the World. The Reconciliation Walk
involved 'hundreds of Christians'. Operation Queen's Palace meant a 'major
worldwide mobilisation'.[163] There are no traces of internal discussions on the
question how to measure growth. Usually, the numbers concern visitors, attendees,
'decisions for Christ', the number of 'packed audiences' or other similar
expressions.[164]

In some cases the reports are somewhat more precise, as a few examples
below will show. An example is the prayer event Praying Through the Window I. At
the time of the fourth SWN meeting 240 teams were ready and trained to enter the
10/40 Window in 1993 to pray 'on-site'. Each the sixty countries would receive at
least one visit by a team. Members of the teams came from 50 countries. A second
example is Bush's report *A Day to Change the World: March for Jesus*, of June 25,
1994, in which he reported that 'globally around 12 million' in 177 nations
participated in the public march. Reports from AD2000 mention that there 20,000
participants on the island of Tonga, 850,000 participants in Sao Paulo, 2 ½ million
participants in all of Brazil, 200,000 in Costa Rica, 'over 185,000' in Argentina,
'more than 120,000' in Chile, 60,000 in Peru, 70 participants in El Salvador.[165] In all
of Latin America the number of participants was supposed to have risen to around 4
million participants. A third example is found in the numbers of participants in
conferences. Bush reported, for example, that the number of participants at the
GCOWE II in 1995 amounted to 4,500 from 200 countries. He reported around 100
preparatory national or local GCOWE II conferences in 1995 as well. A fourth
example is Wagner's comment that printings of his *Prayer Warrior Series* in
English hadreached 350,000 copies, from which we can conclude that its six
volumes produced a total of 2,100,000 copies.[166] In addition, the series had been
translated into 11 languages.

In some cases the estimated numbers are consistently high and have been
submitted while reliable numbers are hard to get by. For example, the percentage of
Christians in Guatemala and the city of Almolonga were persistently given above
customary estimates. In 1993 Guatemala had already 'more than 30 percent
Evangelicals' and Almolonga had '80 percent born-again Christians', according to
Wagner.[167] The Evangelical *Operation World* stated cautiously in 2001 that
Evangelicals are 'reckoned to be 60% of the population of Almolonga'.[168] Reliable
numbers for adherents of other religions (and their alleged decline!) are equally hard

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[162] AD2000 2000.
[163] Wagner 2000(f).
[164] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 20, 64.
[165] Bush 1994(b).
[166] Wagner 2000(b), 109.
[167] Wagner 1992(a), 154-155; 1993(b), 130, 207; 1996, 217.
[168] Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 289.

to obtain. An example in case is the anthropologisct Frank Graziano who studied the San La Muerte devotion in Resistencia in the 1990s. He points to its numerical growth and growing public visibility but does not offer hard data.[169]

Considering these examples above, it becomes clear that it is impossible to measure precisely the Spiritual Mapping movement and its numerical influence. The fluid nature of the movement did not make numerical measurement possible. Involvement in conferences, seminars, events and being part of a network was free of obligation. It could generate different degrees of participation. There were no monitoring and measuring structures in place. The movement was not interested in exact accountability. Its proponents considered the numerical success as obvious to such a degree that mere allusions to 'unverified reports' was deemed convincing. These 'unverified sources' were not identified to the reader either. In-depth statistical studies are simply absent.

The lack of reliable data does not mean that the information is of no value. The numbers provided cannot be proven, but some may be possible. Several considerations indicate that sometimes the movement's numerical reports may have been in the given order of magnitude.

      A first consideration is the vast potential of the Spiritual Mapping networks. Examples of AD2000, YWAM and Aglow illustrate the point. The AD2000 networks spanned the world. Lists of staff, contacts, conferences and seminars held, organizations and networks, betray major international interest and a vast array of potential facilitators.[170] Chapter two descibed the vast network of YWAM,[171] and of Women' Aglow International.[172] A second consideration is that Evangelicals in general have been known to use modern media effectively in mobilizing support, as has been illustrated by the Moral Majority, the Christian Right, Promise Keepers and other comparable movements.[173] The examples above all pertain to organizations using high-tech communication systems, being able to communicate on a large scale and at a relatively low cost. A third consideration is that of the many eye witnesses and critics who testify to Spiritual Mapping's impact around the world.[174] A fourth consideration is that Spiritual Mapping had been developed in the context of growing Neo-Pentecostalism. Barrett even records, as Jongeneel terms it, the 'meteoric growth' of worldwide Pentecostalism.[175]

Sometimes, the estimated numbers could be considered possible, but in that case it is very uncertain what the numbers stand for. The question of the *nature* of the impact is another matter. The use of high-tech media made quick mobilization possible. At the same time Spiritual Mapping had the tendency to create loose coalitions, which were not necessarily close-knit in the long term. The many different and fluctuating

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[169] Graziano 2007, 81, 82, 108; Personal e-mail exchange January 16, 2008.

[170] AD 2000 1999; Bush and Pegues 1999, 231-237; Johnstone, Hanna and Smith 1996, 113-119.

[171] DeKeyzer 2006; Drake 1992; Robinson 2002, 1223-1224; Rogers 1996, 4, 5.

[172] Griffith 1999, 133, 137, 138, 142; 2002, 1209-1211.

[173] Marsden 2001, 268, 274-279; Noll 2001, 199, 201; Schmidt, Kellstedt, Green and Guth 1999, 112, 125.

[174] Arnold 1997, 13, 14; Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 5-8; Holvast 2001, vi; Lowe 1998(b), 10; Rommen 1995 1-7; Verwijs 2003, 3.

[175] Barrett 1988; Barrett, Kurian and Johnson, 2001(b); Jongeneel 2006(b), 318.

degrees of involvement make it impossible to determine the levels of understanding and identification.

As to *who* underwent the impact, this chapter falls back on the studies of Poloma and Neitz about the social profiles of Charismatics and Neo-Pentecostals.[176] Generally, they were typically white, suburban, well educated and of middle socio-economic status. Neitz suggests that Neo-Pentecostalism is a reaction to the 'iron cage' of modern rationalized life and in that sense a reaction to a certain 'cultural crisis'. Although they consider their spirituality to be an answer to the 'crisis' of this cage, they nevertheless fit the current demographic profile in terms of social and political convictions.

Selected International Cases

In this section a few selected international case studies in their cultural contexts will be discussed. They are selected in order to describe one case per continent, with the exception of Australia. They are presented in alphabetical order. This section does not intend to give a complete description of the cases. First, it serves to give a brief description of the main Spiritual Mapping events and adherents. Second, it will give a short indication of its cultural and religious context and, third, it will describe the measure of influence coming from the US. This section will look at Guatemala, Kenya, The Netherlands and South Korea.

Guatemala
Spiritual Mapping in Guatemala can be characterized by the following three central aspects. The first is an event we find in the city of Almolonga, thought to be in the grip of the deity Maximon. The sources attribute to Almolonga a comparable function as that attributed to Resistencia in Argentina, although Almolonga is explicitly of lower status.[177]

The first Evangelical church had been planted in 1951 but did not make any headway.[178] In 1974 a man named Riscajche (Wagner: a 'pagan') converted and began healings and exorcisms. He reported hundreds of healed and exorcized individuals. Gradually the city began to prosper economically and socially.[179] In 1996 Wagner wrote:

> At least 80 percent of the people of Almolonga are born-again Christians…. Its [the territorial deity Maximon] worshippers fled the city with their idols and set up a shrine in the neighbouring city of Zunil. Pastor Lemus and others continued spiritual warfare against Maximon for years.[180]

Otis identified Maximon as the Mayan God Mam.[181] Prayer marches were organized in 1994. Four teams were sent to the cardinal points of the country to do the same. It

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[176] Neitz 1987, 251; Poloma 1982, 222.
[177] Kraft 2002(a), 60, 76, 231; Otis 1999(a); Wagner 1993(a), 15.
[178] Wagner 1996, 217, 218.
[179] Wagner 1996, 220.
[180] Wagner 1996, 217.
[181] Otis 1997, 310.

resulted, according to the movement, in a reduction of Maximon's power in Zunil as well. In June 1994 the newspaper *Cronica Semanal* reported that Maximon could survive only through gifts from tourists and that the cult had virtually ceased to exist.[182]

The second aspect is the role of Harold Caballeros, the founder and pastor of the El Shaddai church in Guatemala City, which was central to Spiritual Mapping events. Wagner considered Caballeros, a former attorney, to be 'part of the cutting edge segment of Christianity'.[183] According to Wagner, he discovered aspects of Spiritual Mapping 'on his own' and did 'significant pioneering work'. [184] Caballeros' involvement with Spiritual Mapping started with a dream of a woman in his church.[185] Caballeros had bought land in Guatemala City. Through archaeological research in the Spiritual Mapping process he concluded that the land was a section of an image 14 miles long of a Mayan spirit named 'Quetzacoatl', built in pre-Columbian days. Caballeros directed his El Shaddai church in 'high-level' prayer against this 'stronghold'[186] and developed his findings into a variation of Spiritual Mapping,[187] the 'typical El Shaddai approach', which meant three research teams, concentrating independently on historical factors, physical factors and spiritual factors.[188]

In Guatemala many Spiritual Mapping activities were employed with Caballeros as its driving force. The activities of Pastor Filiberto Lemus in western Guatemala, the 'World Congress on Intercession Spiritual Warfare and Evangelism', as hosted in 1998 by El Shaddai, and a total of 20,000 enlisted and trained intercessors active in Guatemala can be mentioned as examples .[189] In the 1990s Caballeros became Area Coordinator of the SWN and Latin American representative of the UPT of AD2000.[190] He became an apostle, part of the NAR and remained focussed on Spiritual Mapping.[191]

A third central event was the election of president Jorge Serrano Elías in 1990. Serrano was an active member of El Shaddai church. He had run for presidency in 1986 but lost the race. At that time, Wagner remarks, Serrano had been a member of a church that did not know about spiritual warfare. But in 1990 he became member of El Shaddai.[192] In that same year Caballeros started to send out Spiritual Mapping teams on a national level to 'clear the way' for the national elections. The teams did Spiritual Mapping in each state in Guatemala. They identified 'three powerful human beings who were being used by the spiritual forces of darkness as strongmen',[193] two of whom were presidential candidates, rating higher in the polls than Serrano. The first two candidates dropped out after warfare prayer, resulting, according to Wagner, in a record-breaking victory for Serrano. The

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[182] Morales 1994, 19; Otis 1997, 311.
[183] Wagner 1996, 250.
[184] Wagner 1993(a), 15.
[185] Wagner 1993(a), 133.
[186] Wagner 1992(a), 208.
[187] Wagner 1996, 86.
[188] Caballeros 1993, 123-146; Wagner 1996, 90-93.
[189] Wagner 1996, 212.
[190] Wagner 1993(a), 123.
[191] Caballeros 1997; 2004; Caballeros and Winger 2005.
[192] Wagner1993(b),207, 208.
[193] Wagner 1992(a), 209.

deciding factor, still according to Wagner, was Spiritual Mapping, the key to
Guatemalan politics and church growth. Wagner likewise attributes the demise of
the Peruvian Shining Path movement to a visit of Caballeros to Peru.[194]

The Guatemalan cultural and religious context presents us with a population of
which an estimated half or more is of Mayan (Indian) origin. The country was
traditionally Roman Catholic, with significant elements of Mayan folk religion
intertwined with its Catholic faith. In 1960 a total of 3 percent of Guatamala's
population were *evangélicos*, in 1982 around 20 percent and in a 2001 an estimated
25 percent.[195] Some sources counted roughly 25 percent for Pentecostals alone and
35 percent for the whole of Protestantism by the end of the century.[196] The statistics
reveal that in the 1970s Guatemala experienced an acceleration of Protestant growth
that had slowed down by the middle of the 1980s. Many reasons have been given for
this growth. It has been attributed to the proliferation of mission agencies and
independent national churches, coupled with intensive evangelism, training
programs and Bible translation into the vernacular languages. According to
Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, 'Foreign missions have lavished attention on the
land', because of the 'great freedom for Evangelicals'.[197]

Another factor is the effective use by Pentecostals of modern means of
communication.[198] The devastating earthquake of 1976 had shaken the country and
had given Evangelicals an opportunity to develop extensive and publicly visible
social programs.[199] In the 1960s, a thirty-year guerrilla war began that resulted in
200,000 dead, 40,000 'disappearances', an 'appalling' human rights record,
widespread torture and displacement of 1,000,000 national and 250,000 international
refugees. Officially, the war ended with a peace accord in 1996.[200] The economic
tensions between the poor and the rich, one cause of the war, had a racial and
cultural dimension, since the oppressed poor were mostly Mayan Indians.[201] The
decline of the Roman Catholic Church coincided with Protestant growth but also
with a revival of Mayan culture and its religion.[202]

Liliana R. Goldin and Walter E. Little state in their article
'Transnationalism and the Political Economy of Mesoamerica' (2007) that the city
of Almolonga was indeed 'more prosperous than many of their neighbours'.[203] Their
research indicated that the city had a tradition of being industrious and prosperous,
going back to the 17th century. They attribute the prosperity to keen marketing,
specialization in cash crop production and the timely adoption of new agricultural
technology. The authors mention the opinion, as found in and outside Almolonga,
that blessing from 'supernatural sources' and the 'impact of evangelization' were
additional reasons for the economic success.[204] This was said to contribute to an

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[194] Wagner, 1992(a), 154-155; 1993(b), 130;
[195] Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 288; Sywulka 2000, 418- 419.
[196] Burgess and Van der Maas 2002, 112; Wilson 2002, 157-167.
[197] Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 290.
[198] Bakewell 2004, 542.
[199] Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 288.
[200] Bakewell 2004, 543; Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 287-290.
[201] Bakewell 2004, 542.
[202] Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 289.
[203] Goldin and Little 2007, 354-355.
[204] Goldin and Little 2007, 256.

attitude of industriousness. However, Goldin and Little make it clear that Almolonga's 'noticable' economic performance was older than the arrival of Spiritual Mapping and that there were many more factors that contributed to the explanation of the phenomenon.

Guatemalan Spiritual Mapping has clearly been influenced by Spiritual Mapping from the US. It was part of its networks, hosted the 1998 SWN conference n 1998, as we saw above, and received visitors like Otis, Wagner and others. Guatemala's relative proximity to the US may have helped in this. The continuing interest in Spiritual Mapping can be explained in part by its public adoption by Caballeros, one of the most influential Guatemalan Evangelical leaders. In addition, the Guatemalan context had given Spiritual Mapping its very own cultural and political focus. Caballeros, Otis and Wagner noted the 'revitalisation' of Mayan culture and its religion with alarm,[205] and Caballeros and Otis betrayed a major interest in Mayan archaeology.[206] The dramatic political situation resulted in a political focus as well. This focus was attached in a direct way to presidential ballots. The movement's sources do not reflect on Serrano's presidency ending in disgrace and the continuing social and economic hardship in Guatemala.[207] Both the national political and cultural aspects may explain the continuing interest in Guatemala for Spiritual Mapping.

Kenya

Central to the description of Kenya's Spiritual Mapping is the Prayer Cave Church in Kiambu, a suburb of Nairobi, under Thomas Muthee, who was hailed by the movement as 'one of the best examples of power prayer'. After having been introduced to Wagner by Otis, he became a personal friend of the Wagners, East Africa Director of SWN, and one of the 13 board members of the World Prayer Center International Board.[208]

In 1988 Muthee returned from graduate studies in Scotland to work as an itinerant evangelist in Kenya. However, he soon felt that God called him to plant a church in Kiambu. According to the movement, Kiambu had a national reputation for having the 'worst crime, violence and drunkenness'. The city was an example of public disorder and poverty. In Christian circles the city had a 'reputation as [a] preacher's graveyard'. The largest church had only 60 members.[209] Before moving to Kiambu, Muthee prayed and fasted for six months; this was meant to function as 'proactive spiritual warfare'. Muthee did so because of his past experience in demonic resistance and exorcism.[210] He wanted to know what was keeping Kiambu 'socially, economically and spiritually oppressed'. This was his quest for the identity of the 'major principality of the city'. Muthee and his wife prayed and did research along the lines of Spiritual Mapping. They received a vision in which God told them that the major demon of Kiambu was called 'Witchcraft' and had many demons under him. After six months of prayer against 'Witchcraft', Muthee and his wife felt

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[205] Otis 1997, 303-308.
[206] Wagner 1993(a), 15.
[207] Bakewell 2004, 542.
[208] Otis 1997, 295-296; Wagner 1997, 13, 17.
[209] Otis 1999(a): Wagner 1997, 18.
[210] Wagner 1997, 19.

that the spiritual atmosphere over Kiambu had been 'sufficiently cleared' and that the demons were by now 'in disarray'.[211]

Muthee and his wife moved to Kiambu in January 1989 and started the first evangelistic meetings. Conversions and healings took place from the very first meeting on. They soon started a church: the Prayer Cave Church, in which prayer was maintained 24 hours per day. According to the movement, the main local witch serving 'Witchcraft' was 'Mamma Jane'. She uttered curses over Muthee and the first Christians of Kiambu, but after concentrated prayer and fasting Mamma Jane was said to have lost her power. Her Python was killed by the local police and she fled the city. The church followed up immediately with prayer walks in the streets and bars.[212]

The sources reported a quick and dramatic change: the economy of the city became prosperous, crime became virtually absent, alcoholism diminished and there was unity among Christians. In 1997 the church reportedly had 4,000 members. Many of these converts were reportedly converted from a non-Christian background, since there had been no churches in Kiambu. The Prayer Cave had structured church life around the principle of prayer warfare and Spiritual Mapping. Its activities were reported by Wagner and Otis as follows:

- Every Saturday morning from 7 am-12 am the whole staff is in church doing intercession together with other church members.
- A full-time staff member has been assigned to coordinate and organize prayer in church.
- A prayer team of 400 members has been formed for specialized intercession. This team devotes stretches of 3-4 days for prayer and fasting in a separate building next to the church, called the Powerhouse.
- Twice a month there is a one-day prayer retreat outside the city, called the 'Bush Retreat'. (9 am-5 pm)
- Every day the church has a prayer meeting called 'Morning Glory' (5 am-6.30 pm).
- Every night the church has a prayer meeting, called 'Operation prayer storm' (9.00 pm- 6.00 am).
- Friday night there is an all night prayer vigil.
- Every activity in the church, like the youth club, the women's group, the children's club, has a separate group of intercessors.
- Every day the Bible school of 'The Prayer Cave' has two hours of prayer for its students.[213]

The sources do not indicate the development of a Kenyan Spiritual Mapping movement or its adoption by a main denomination.

The religious and cultural context of Kenya is that of a country with about 78 percent Christians and 45 percent Protestants. During the last decades of the 20th century numerical growth of Protestants of all kinds has been noted, but reliable

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[211] Wagner 1997, 20-22.
[212] Otis 1997, 297; Wagner 1997, 25-28.
[213] Otis 1997, 295; Wagner 1997, 124-127, 129.

statistics for the overall religious situation are hard to obtain.[214] Double affiliation is a problem in counting membership, especially because of the emergence of independent churches, to which the Kiambu church belongs. Some of the independent groups have experienced 'considerable growth' in the closing decade of the century.[215] However, much of this is transfer growth from existing churches. In a country where around four-fifths of the population claim to be Christian, this is to be expected. Furthermore, urbanization, especially around Nairobi, is a continuing phenomenon. In this context the growth of the Kiambu church could be expected. But the Spiritual Mapping movement did not provide reports that prove the centrality of power prayer as compared to other growing churches nor did it present research on the origins of her new members.

In her *Religious Fragmentation in Kenya* Hannah W. Kinoti referred to the Kenyan independent churches as a bid to inculturate the gospel in African culture.[216] In the total picture of Kenyan post-independence proselytizing patterns, she described the tendency toward fragmentation in Christianity, Islam and Eastern religions. Charismatic groups followed the same pattern as society in their search for African identity. In their case it meant following 'preachers and mass crusaders'. This fragmentation entailed doctrines that created 'a state of frantic evangelism' before the close of the millennium and included the creation of a new form of ministry: 'ministries are becoming businesses'.[217] It often included prayer patterns geared towards healing and exorcism in Kenya and elsewhere in Africa, not unlike the traditional African understanding of witchcraft and the demonic.[218] Without being able to elaborate on these aspects, it can be said that it is not unlikely that Spiritual Mapping became absorbed by the Kenyan context. However, it probably had an invigorating effect on certain Neo-Pentecostal independent churches, as was experienced in Kenya after GCOWE III in 1997 in South Africa, and its national sequel in Kenya in 1998.[219]

The influence of Spiritual Mapping from the US appears to be limited in Kenya. Personal connections had been established through Wagner, Muthee and Otis. Yet African traditional understanding of witchcraft provided a typically African approach to demonic territoriality, which was not new to Africa. This notion of territoriality found its place in the Kenyan effort to contextualize Christianity, but it does not appear that Spiritual Mapping played any role of significance in these processes.

The Netherlands
Spiritual Mapping developed very differently in the Netherlands in comparison to Guatemala. It did not develop into a movement and was not propagated by one individual church or denomination. Several individuals and especially two

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[214] Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 380-381.
[215] Garrard 2002, 150-155.
[216] Kinoti 1999, 277.
[217] Kinoti 1999, 285, 286.
[218] Oosthuizen 1992, 117.
[219] Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 381.

independent organizations were the main vehicles for propaganda and dissemination of Spiritual Mapping.

The first organization was Serving the Nations, headed by YWAM missionaries Pieter and Helene Bos. They organized their first prayer conferences in Amsterdam in 1984 and 1985, in 1986 they initiated the Amsterdam City Prayer and in 1988 they convened the first European Prayer Leaders' Conference. In the 1990s Pieter was the coordinator of the Dutch 'city and regional prayer' (*stads- en regiogebed*) and co-founder of European Prayer Link. Serving the Nations was established in 1998 and researched 'the spiritual dynamics in society, including hidden influences and teaching the resulting insights to churches and intercessors, focussing on Reconciliation and Transformation of nations and cities'.[220] Its focus is national and international, with an emphasis on the latter. Serving the Nations refers to, among others, Dawson, Sentinel and Wagner. The website includes information about teaching events, research projects and reports, and resources developed mainly by Pieter and Helene Bos. On the national level, Serving the Nations networked with prayer networks, city and region prayer organizations, Joel News, Transformations.nl, which is a platform for prayer and revival and '*Gemeentestichting.nl*', a church planting platform. On the international level, it was connected with Dawson's International Reconciliation Coalition. The only major handbook in Dutch on Spiritual Mapping is Bos' *The Nations Called*, which was published in English in 2002 and became available in Dutch in 2006 under the title *De Volken Geroepen: Een Theologie over Volken en hun Verlossing*, in which he aims at a theological foundation for the concept of 'people' or 'nation' and its redemption.[221]

The second organization was Marc van der Woude's Joel Ministries. In 1994 Van der Woude and other intercessors became involved in the House of Prayer (*Huis van Gebed*) and held prayer walks through Utrecht. They collected historical and sociogeographical information about the 'spiritual history' of the city. Joel Ministries' publications refer to, among others, Jacobs, Rick Joyner, Mendez, Otis and Wagner.[222] It published news on prayer and revival through the email bulletins *Joel News International* in the English language and *Joel News NL* in the Dutch. The aim is broader than Spiritual Mapping alone. It was intended to stimulate national church development, strategic intercession and revival.[223] Joel Ministries is a network in itself and its website and email bulletin serve as a platform. The announcement of the publication of Spiritual Mapping handbooks, courses and seminars, the distribution of the Transformation video of Sentinel Group, visits by international speakers like Mendez, reports of conferences with Mraida and Deiros, reports on Almolonga, and much more were some of its activities.[224]

Joel Ministries and several other organizations united in a platform named Transformations.nl, in order to network and unite activities. The platform invited several internally known figureheads like Mendez and Petrie in 2001. Other events related to Spiritual Mapping took place as well. In 2000 Mraida had been invited to speak at a conference by the Agape Comité and the National Platform of Pentecostal

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[220] Bos 2005.
[221] Bos 2002; 2006.
[222] Joyner 1995.
[223] Joel Ministries 2000(a).
[224] Joel Ministries 1999; 2003(a), 2003(b); 2003(c),

and Full Gospel Movement (*Landelijk Platform van de Pinkster- en Volle Evangelie Beweging*). In 1999 Deiros and Mraida were the main speakers at the national Leadership Conference (*Nationale Leiderschapsconferentie*). Van der Woude reported a total of 65 Dutch practitioners of Spiritual Mapping coming from 20 different towns for the year 2000. He reported that informal research yielded 70 returned questionnaires from 'leaders' of Dutch Evangelical and Pentecostal churches, indicating that 20 percent had done Spiritual Mapping research, while 'most' of them agreed it was important as such.[225]

The cultural and religious context of Spiritual Mapping in the Netherlands is not one of political or economic crisis. Its background is rather a form of secularization, which has been remarkable in terms of the decline of church membership. The traditional churches experienced a steep decline in membership: Protestants from 60 percent of the total population in 1900 to 21% in 2000, and Catholics from around 40 percent in 1900 to 33 percent in 2000. Evangelicals in and outside the traditional denominations are experiencing modest growth and may add up to around 7 percent of the total population.[226]

In addition to the background of secularization, Evangelicals in the Netherlands tend to be fragmented and individualistic. This is reflected in Dutch Spiritual Mapping as well. The majority of the Dutch Pentecostal churches are independent. This fragmentation entails a wide variety in doctrine, spirituality and structure.[227]

The influence of Spirtitual Mapping in the US on Dutch Spiritual Mapping is evident in publications and conferences. Its international orientation is remarkable. Dutch Spiritual Mapping did not develop into a Dutch movement nor was it adopted by any denomination or influential existing Christian organization.

Spiritual Mapping remained an Evangelical undercurrent that was not large numerically. It looked like an undercurrent of interest: the concept was there, but it did not become institutionalized. But it did exist and organized activities. It shared some typical cultural concerns with the US, such its concern with Wicca and New Age groups. A typical Dutch identity has not developed, except in isolated cases, such as its application of 'identificational repentance' (see chapter four) on the Dutch colonial past in the former East and West Indies.

South Korea

A description of the main events and adherents reveal that the concept and movement of Spiritual Mapping, as described in chapters two and three, was in a sense virtually absent in Korea. This did not mean that elements of Spiritual Mapping were not known or practised. Pastor Cho was most prominent leader among the main events and organizations. Paul (later: David) Yonggi Cho was pastor of the Yoido Full Gospel church in Seoul, with a membership of over 700,000 members in 2006. Wagner had befriended Cho and had become a member of the

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[225] Joel Ministries 2002(b)
[226] Johnstone and Mandryk 2001, 474-476.
[227] Van der Laan 2002.

Board of Cho's organization, Church Growth International. It conducted annual church growth conferences, in which Wagner regularly attended as one of the teachers.[228] Koreans were active in the AD2000 network and staged impressive prayer marches, on account of which hundreds of thousands and even millions were reported to participate.[229] Cho had become part of the SWN network.[230]

Spiritual Mapping sources mentioned several pastors and churches playing an important role, such as Pastor Kim of the Kwang Lim Methodist Church and Pastor Hwan of the Myong-Song Presbyterian church, both in Seoul.[231] Cho appears to have been the most influential, with many publications and his prestigious Yoido church. Cho was certainly in agreement with the territorial aspect of demonology and its role in mission.[232] In his *City Taking in Korea* (1991) Cho wrote:

> When I first pioneered my church, nobody would come to our old, torn marine tent, because there was great demonic oppression over the village. The key to breaking that bondage was the casting out of a demon from a woman who had lain paralyzed for seven years. When, after months of prayer, the demon oppressing her was cast out and she was healed, our church exploded with growth. The sky above the village was broken open and the blessings of God began pouring down.[233]

As far as Spiritual Mapping as such had been formulated in South Korea, it stood within the framework of what Cho called the 'fourth dimension'. This concerns the belief that there are powers in another dimension. These powers can be used by everybody, such as Buddhists and practitioners of yoga, for example. However, Christians can use the same means and in the name of Christ even more effectively so.[234] Techniques have to be used for the progress of the Christian faith. Cho had also developed his concept of prayer, and, more particularly, intercession. He encouraged visualizing the things for which one is praying as a means of energizing God's answer. This prayer has a four-step formula: one should visualize a clear idea or object in one's mind, have a burning desire for the objective of the prayer request, pray until one receives assurance that it has been granted, and then speak or confess the result into existence ('Christ is depending on you and your spoken word …').[235] Techniques to manipulate the means of the fourth dimension and the use of visualization in prayer stand within the context of the so called 'prosperity theology' or 'Word of faith' theology that is prominent in Cho's teaching.[236]

The South Korean religious context was characterized by the fast growth of Christianity. As John T. Kim argued in his dissertation *Korean Protestant Church Growth in a Shamanistic Context* (1995), there is no simple answer as to the reason for Korean church growth.[237] However, the Korean cultural shamanistic background was considered by Kim to be a major contributing factor. He concluded that

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[228] Wagner 1992(b), 98, 152.
[229] Wagner 1993(b), 151-152, 216.
[230] Wagner 1992(a), 46.
[231] Wagner 1993(b), 24-25.
[232] Wagner 1997, 200.
[233] Cho 1991, 118.
[234] Cho 1979(a), 37, 41.
[235] Cho 1979(a), 83; 1979(b), 18-33.
[236] Wagner 1993(b), 47.
[237] Kim 1995, 3.

Christianity had put shamanistic elements to good use in the communication and practice of their belief. He saw a correspondence between the prayers of the shamans for material blessings and health, and those of the Christian pastor. Kim noted correspondence between the mutual worldviews, both including spirits, either good or bad. There is a notion of territoriality in this spirit world, but it is not as developed as it is in Spiritual Mapping. Kim noted the monotheistic element of a highest God in polytheistic Shamanism and its correspondence with the Christian God. He also considered Shamanistic faith to be an indigenous system of folk religion, functioning independently of the great world religions. According to Kim, there have been no major changes in thinking and believing in Korea.[238] In the context of this religious system, well-being, healing, prayer and exorcism have their place but not with a strong emphasis on the geographical aspect.

The influence of Spiritual Mapping from the US appears to be limited. As far as influence from the US reached Korea, it was handicapped by a much more insurmountable difference in language than was the case with Guatemala and The Netherlands. The same is true in terms of cultural distance. Spiritual Mapping was absorbed by the religious heritage in the form of Korean Pentecostalism. The territorial aspects of demonology had received their own place in the Korean worldview and its contextualization of the Christian faith. Even more, the growth of Christianity in Korea impressed North Americans who desired church growth to such an extent that many felt they went there to learn and not to teach.[239] Wagner admitted that Korea's contribution to Christianity was not the development of spiritual warfare but rather the practice of prayer.[240]

The case studies of Guatemala, The Netherlands, South Korea and Kenya present us with a mixed picture. Some influence from the US is evident, yet every context tended to absorb Spiritual Mapping into its own identity. This was probably why the Guatemalan identity continued on with it most consistently. This was probably also why South Korea, culturally the most distant among the case studies, displayed the least continuing influence by Spiritual Mapping.

Final Observations

This chapter on the development of Spiritual Mapping as a movement shows that Spiritual Mapping was in the first place an idea. As chapter one indicated, the idea as expressed by individuals was primary and its institutions secondary. It is an idea that created a loosely formed movement, difficult to measure or document historically. Some culmination points in history have been identified. In its year of birth 1989 the idea rising from the international Evangelical scene was tested in Argentina and its first major publications were forthcoming.

It did not develop into a full movement in Argentina. However, in the US it created organizations or 'ministries' around its leading personalities and their ideas, which cooperated informally in vast and loose networks. Its picture was that of

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[238] Kim 1995, 54, 302.
[239] Wagner 1992(b), 98.
[240] Wagner 1992(a), 15.

flexible and fluid networks of individuals, of whom Kraft, Otis and Wagner have been the most prominent on national and international levels but certainly not the only ones. This chapter indicated the reasons for 1989 as the year of birth and 2000 as the start of its decline. A representative chronology of the movement between 1989 and 2000 has been given.

Spiritual Mapping as a field method started in 1989 in Plan Resistencia in Argentina but was developed in the US in many different ways. Examples have been given of international mass applications, such as that by AD2000, application in pastoral care (cf. Kraft), a digital cyber community (cf. Otis) and other possibilities. The practical applications were many and the different levels of involvement were just as numerous.

It is impossible to measure numerical growth in any exact way. Yet the high claims of the numbers of participants do not seem to be impossible. The major question here is that of the nature of the 'participant'. Who was this adherent and what did this adherent know about Spiritual Mapping?

With respect to Argentina we noted that Argentine Pentecostalism had formed its own Argentine identity in 1989 and that its growth had received a boost in the 1980s. We described the social impact of the Falkland War and the extreme economic crisis at the beginning of the 1980s. At the dawn of the Alfonsín era in 1982, Pentecostalism rode the waves of the social movement and emotion seeking spirituality outside the discredited Roman Catholic Church.

By and large, it was felt that adherents from the US had used Argentina for their project in Resistencia. It had never been Argentine and never became the property of Argentines, as shown in the ready adoption of the Unción in 1992. It was different in the US. In the run-up to 1989 several influences played a role. The Evangelical Church Growth movement had developed an integration of theology and social sciences and had applied it to missiology. Kraft's missionary anthropology provided anthropological key concepts, such as culture, cultural change and 'animism', which made combination with the convictions of the 'Signs and Wonders' movement of the Vineyard churches possible. Personal contacts and cross-fertilization took place through personal contacts and publications by Charismatic and Neo-Pentecostal 'ministries'. Part of it was a strong millennial sense of the upcoming year 2000. Many aspects of the social development of Evangelicals and Charismatics were part of it as well.

Spiritual Mapping inherited the principle of organizational and theological diversity from the context of the Charismatic Renewal. The divine gifts, the 'miraculous' signs and power evangelism merged in Spiritual Mapping with the anthropological concept of power encounter. The Spiritual Warfare Movement emerged in line with these areas of interest. Evangelicals, Charismatics and Neo-Pentecostals were interested in the supernatural aspect of existence and of their own belief system. Their adaptation to the new culture of seeking, the spirituality of self-development, their experience in effective marketing of religious products, to name a few, made the development and dissemination of Spiritual Mapping possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE SPIRITUAL MAPPING MOVEMENT

Introduction

This chapter continues the movement's chronology of chapter three. The reason for
having the disintegration of the movement begin in the year 2000 has been given in
chapter three under the heading 'Disintegration'. It was also marked by the close of
one of its main vehicles of communication, the AD2000 network, and that of several
of its main joint projects, such as the Reconciliation Walk and Praying Through the
Window, without replacing these projects with new Spiritual Mapping activities.
The Spiritual Warfare Network was re-baptized as the Apostolic Strategic Prayer
Network. Prophecy became a prominent feature in an explicit way.

Its Decline in Argentina

Spiritual Mapping did not develop into a movement in Argentina, and thus there was
no decline either. Rather, Spiritual Mapping remained an undercurrent in Argentine
Protestantism. As far as Spiritual Mapping continued to be practised, it functioned
within the context of the Unción. In 2006 Eduardo Lorenzo estimated that some 150
individuals were practising Spiritual Mapping.[1] They did so as private individuals
and did not represent the endorsement or commitment of an organization or
denomination. These 150 people kept in informal contact, according to Lorenzo. For
example, some of them would meet spontaneously during Cosecha's Annual
Harvest Institute in San Nicolás or during other conferences.

     J. Norberto Saracco and Pablo A. Deiros stated that the Adrogué Baptist
church was the only one to continue with the development of Spiritual Mapping,[2]
and it did so on the local level. One of the Adrogué church members had developed
a software programme to meet the needs of Spiritual Mapping. The Adrogué Baptist
church used it, as we mentioned in chapter three, and it was offered for sale on the
Internet to other practitioners.[3] Deiros stated in 2006 that it had been used in local
Baptist churches, but, aside from the Adrogué church, it was not widely used
anymore. Deiros, Saracco and Oscar J. Bollini indicated in interviews in 2006 that
the period of Spiritual Mapping was basically over.

     Ed Silvoso's Evangelismo de Cosecha had not renounced Spiritual
Mapping. The Spanish translation of *Prayer Evangelism* (2000) had been made
available on the Internet,[4] and its website referred to Plan Resistencia as its identity

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[1] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[2] Interview Bollini, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006; Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13,
2006; Inteview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006; Interview Saracco, Buenos Aires, September
12, 2006.
[3] Leonetti 2006.
[4] Silvoso 2002.

marker.[5] However, as Clinton . Arnold had correctly noted, Cosecha had not developed the Spiritual Mapping aspect of its city-wide evangelism models any further.[6] The conferences, called the International Harvest Institutes, did include notions of Spiritual Mapping but did not as such view it as a separate reason to convene.

Cosecha developed contacts and projects in Argentina and in the United States, with an outflow to other countries. Cosecha granted a special role to Argentina in this. A 1993 Cosecha report mentioned a divergent array of activities in Argentina in terms of evangelism and social development projects, such as medical assistance, contacts with government officials, the business community and facilitating the Argentine branch of its international Apostolic Transformation Network (ATN).[7] Silvoso's publication in 2000, called *Prayer Evangelism: How to Change the Spiritual Climate over Your Home, Neighbourhood and City*, reiterated the already existing principles of Resistencia and added a stronger emphasis to the aspect of prophecy.[8] However, not all of Silvoso's continuing involvement with Argentina necessarily concerned Spiritual Mapping.[9]

Silvoso worked actively to promote his Argentine Resistencia model as a prototype for other countries. The ATN had been designed to help others 'transform their nations or cities', following the ATN Argentina 'prototype for nation transformation'. Silvoso sought to develop 'reproducible models' to be used all over the world. [10]

Some of ATN's activities as reported in 2005 were:[11]

- An ATN Annual Summit, only for those 'recognized as having an apostolic ministry',
- An International Institute on Prayer Evangelism and Nation Transformation, a meeting for the development of knowledge, vision and experiments with new models,
- Harvest Evangelism Seminars, also in Argentina, for the 'impartation' of new insights in regional and local networks,
- A National Advisory Board for Implementation, entailing representatives from every province of Argentina to discuss Cosecha's strategy,
- An Argentine Christian Chamber for Business People, Entrepreneurs, Professionals and Executives concerning coaching of businessmen and the development of social developmental projects,

Between 2000 and 2005 Spiritual Mapping in Argentina was limited. It appeared to be a small undercurrent, still existent but not prominent among Argentine *evangélicos*. A few Argentine proponents kept presenting themselves as part of what they perceived to be the Argentine revival, for example Jorge Cardacci in 2000 and

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[5] Silvoso 2005(a).
[6] Arnold 1997, 193-196.
[7] Silvoso 2003.
[8] Silvoso 2000, 26-33.
[9] Silvoso 2001.
[10] Silvoso 2005(b).
[11] Silvoso 2003.

2001, Donald Jeter in 2001 and George Otis Jr. and C. Peter Wagner.[12] Critics like Bernardo Campos were also engaged in public commentary and critique,[13] but on the whole scant attention was paid to the movement.

Changing Dynamics in the United States of America

In the US the movement started to dissolve. The term disintegration in the title of this chapter is meant to be relative: it concerns a gradual crumbling that took place over the years. This study is primarily a descriptive history of an idea. It is possible to substantiate the gradual disintegration of the visible institutions and conferences, as will be done below. However, it is not easy to substantiate the decline of the idea or even more to measure it numerically. Spiritual Mapping *as a visible movement* is subject to the transformation that occurred, rather than the idea of Spiritual Mapping as such.

Before turning to the chronology of events in the US, we should point out the changing function and context of Spiritual Mapping in the period from 2000 to 2005. First, the transformation of Spiritual Mapping as an independent movement is to be attributed in part to its increasing absorption by other movements, such as the apostolic and prophetic movements. These movements became more popular and more visible, as this chapter will indicate below. The general picture is that Spiritual Mapping became less of a rallying point in itself, and movements in the immediate context took over. This did not necessarily mean decline or cessation of its practice, as we will show below.

     Second, Spiritual Mapping had been adopted and incorporated by several Charismatic and Neo-Pentecostal organizations. Its practice had been secured, at least within certain circuits and it became less widely advertised as a novelty, simply because it was not a novelty any longer. As Timmerle DeKeyzer stated in 2006, with reference to YWAM: 'It is part of their fabric.'[14] It had become engrained as one missionary technique among other techniques. This chapter mentions YWAM, Women's Aglow, WLI and Fuller's School of World Mission as examples. Spiritual Mapping had become a natural part of the curricula of YWAM and Womens Aglow International.[15] it had become an integrated part of the overall curriculum at the Wagner Leadership Institute, and at seven affiliated schools in the United States and seven international branches in 2000.[16]

     At Fuller Theological Seminary's School of World Mission, renamed the School of Intercultural Studies (SIS) in 2003, Charles H. Kraft and Deiros continued to teach their courses on spiritual dynamics, including Spiritual Mapping.[17] Fuller courses on spiritual warfare continued over the years, such as MC551, the

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[12] Caballeros and Winger 2005, 101, 115, 187, 205; Cardacci 2000(a); 2000(b); 2001(a); 2001(b); Jeter 2001.
[13] Campos 2002.
[14] DeKeyzer 2006.
[15] Robinson 2002; Rogers 1996, 4,5; Women's Aglow International 2005.
[16] Wagner Leadership Institute 2000.
[17] Fuller 2007.

continuation of Wagner's experimental 'signs and wonders' course of the 1980s,[18] making use of publications on Spiritual Mapping by Otis and Wagner. Deiros continued his Fuller courses on renewal and contemporary revivals, featuring Argentina and Spiritual Mapping. In summary, the acceptance and adoption of Spiritual Mapping by other organizations had made Spiritual Mapping organizations less necessary. The product had been sold successfully, resulting in a general decline in organizations specifically designed to propagate Spiritual Mapping. It meant a decline in large-scale Spiritual Mapping events as well.

Third, Spiritual Mapping became increasingly practised in isolation from mainstream Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism in the US. After 2000 the organization AD2000 ceased to exist. The network had been generally accepted and had been used by many Evangelicals. The remaining networks were increasingly less extensive and more confined to independent Charismatic and Neo-Pentecostal groups. The increasing emphasis on apostolic and prophetic aspects within Spiritual Mapping publications did not enhance general Evangelical or Pentecostal acceptance of other networks. At Fuller Theological Seminary, Wagner's views on spiritual warfare had been tolerated, but his views had not been generally accepted. Wagner's emphasis on the apostolic and prophetic had not been welcomed at most denominational headquarters. J. Lee Grady reported in 2004 that 'most people in the academic community ignored Wagner's research' about spiritual warfare.[19]

Fourth, what gradually changed, in some circles at least, was how Spiritual Mapping was presented to the outside world. Some felt that a public emphasis on the demonic had not always enhanced church growth: non-Christians could shy away from the churches because they felt that this emphasis was strange.[20] This practical problem had made adherents of Spiritual Mapping more cautious.[21] In addition, the criticism as described in chapter five had some effect. It had given some adherents a growing awareness that many were not ready to accept Spiritual Mapping. They had grown tired of criticism and some had lost faith in dialogue on the issue altogether.[22] Some organizations tended to become somewhat secretive and practised Spiritual Mapping only within an inner circle of believers, without making it public.[23]

Fifth, since we have pointed out the dynamics above, it should be added that certain organizations and individuals remained active within Spiritual Mapping practice proper. Among these organizations are, for example, Otis' Sentinel Group, the School of World Missions at Fuller Theological Seminary and the National Governmental Prayer Alliance of Dutch Sheets Ministries. Otis' Sentinel Group even expanded its organizational structure to accommodate the growth of its Spiritual Mapping activities.[24] The National Governmental Prayer Alliance (NGPA), further developed Spiritual Mapping, specializing in the United States. Less visible and difficult to count or to locate are the many individuals active in Spiritual Mapping. Pastor DeKeyzer, national director of NGPA, commented on this aspect:

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[18] School of Intercultural Studies 2007.
[19] Grady 2004, 3, 5.
[20] Edwards-Raudonat 1999.
[21] Intervew Deiros, Buenos Aires,September 13, 2006; Kraft 2002; Stafford 2005.
[22] Kraft 2002.
[23] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[24] Sentinel Group 2000(d); 2000(e); 2000(f).

> It concerns mainly many individuals that know each other and connect with each
> other. Nobody has a total overview and nobody can have it. It concerns people that
> know each other and they are communicating what they know of the area they are
> in.… I receive Spiritual Mapping reports on a daily basis. Spiritual Mapping is not
> slowing down at all. It is the little grass roots people that do it. It is local people, the
> city mappers, that do the work.… Things as conferences are not as central as they
> used to be.[25]

DeKeyzer's comments fit the picture that will be given in the chronology below. To
the question about the numerical and geographical spread of Spiritual Mapping
DeKeyzer replied: 'I really do not know.' Chuck Pierce of 'Glory of Zion' indicated
that he received 'at least two Spiritual Mapping reports a week'.[26] Publications like
Joel News International showed that Spiritual Mapping was practised by individuals
and had certainly not been forgotten.[27] Within these circuits Spiritual Mapping
announcements, book reviews, exchange of reports, conferences and networking
continued vigorously. Reports and publications still appeared, such as John A.
Taylor's practical Applying Spiritual Mapping to Grace Church and the Mooresville
Community in 2002.[28] The many Spiritual Mapping reports, compiled by the many
individuals, were collected and published in the years 2000 – 2005 on the websites
of Sentinel Group, Glory of Zion International Ministries, Wagner Leadership
Institute, Dutch Sheets Ministries, WPC Observatory (until December 2002),
Generals of Intercession (later: Generals International) and others.

In summary, the general picture for the years 2000 – 2005 is one of
transformation as an independent and visible movement. However, this did not
necessarily happen to Spiritual Mapping as a practice.

US Chronology

Having considered the changing dynamics around Spiritual Mapping in 2000 –
2005, this study continues the thread of the chronology of chapter three, offering a
selection of the highlights. After the chronology the context of the transformation
will be examined further.

2000
By December 31, 1999, the office of the AD2000 National Office under Luis Bush
had been closed. It had been a decision 'by design': after all, the year 2000 had been
reached. The movement felt a new time needed a new approach.[29] Parts of AD2000
continued to function. On January 1, 2000, the UPT network was incorporated into
the WPC in Colorado Springs. The WPC divided the UPT into four units: a Spiritual
Mapping Division under Otis, a Reconciliation Division under John Dawson, a US
Prayer Track under Eddie and Alice Smith and a Strategic Prayer Evangelism
Division under Silvoso. The Joshua Project that had been started in 1995 by

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[25] DeKeyzer 2006.
[26] Wagner 2006(b).
[27] Joel News 2002(a); 2004(a); 2004(b).
[28] Taylor 2002.
[29] Wagner 1999(c), 166.

AD2000 became an independent organization and initiated cooperation with the Bethany World Center.[30]

The WPC Observatory had been inaugurated in 1998 and functioned under GHM on the New Life Church campus in Colorado Springs. The Spiritual Mapping Observatory had been designed as a repository for research and intercession. It was meant to become an international Spiritual Mapping 'switchboard', with conferences and seminars, an interactive website, a collection of Spiritual Mapping reports and a library.[31]

In terms of publications, we should mention the Spiritual Mapping publication of David Devenish's *Demolishing Strongholds* and Wagner's *Apostles and Prophets* and *The Queens Domain*.[32] In *The Queen's Domain* Wagner presented what he called the '40/70 Window', which included mainly Europe and central Asia.[33] It described how GHM had changed its focus from the 10/40 Window to the 40/70 Window (see appendices), which was believed to be the domain of the Queen of Heaven, one of the highest ranking demons on earth. Wagner wrote that the 'spiritual atmosphere over the 10/40' had changed 'for the good' after the prayer efforts of the last decade.[34] According to Wagner, churches were being planted 'everywhere in the 10/40 Window'. Wagner: 'We felt that we had accomplished the assignment that God gave us back in 1991.'

GHM had decided the movement would continue with its activities in the 40/70 Window, which was to be divided into two parts: Europe under the name Target Europe and Asia under the name Target Silk Road. The actions were to be held in the form of 'numerous prayer journeys', the sending of 'rapid-deployment intercessory teams to strategic points at a regular basis' and 'one large intercessory event per year' until 2005. Spiritual Mapping was to be used, along with prophecy, to facilitate the fact-finding and its interpretation. GHM published the *Prime 61* brochure to introduce the concept of the 40/70 Window.[35] The issues of the GHM magazine *Global Prayer News* from 2000 to 2005 addressed Spiritual Mapping explicitly. In 2000 GHM reported a total of 13,000 subscriptions.[36] It content was mainly devotional and gave information about conferences, prayer journeys and the overall activities around the 40/70 Window. It offered trips, completely organized by travel agencies, to GHM conferences, usually in combination with prayer walks or prayer journeys.[37]

In 2000 Wagner was appointed 'international apostle' over the Strategic Prayer Network (SPN). It was indicative of his shift in interest toward the prophetic and apostolic movements. He delegated the leadership of the USSPN to Cindy Jacobs and Pierce.

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[30] Joshua Project 2007.
[31] Trimble 2001; Wagner 2000(f).
[32] Devenish 2000; Wagner 2000(b); 2000(d).
[33] Wagner 2000(d); 2002(d).
[34] Wagner 2002(a).
[35] Global Prayer News 2000(a).
[36] Global Prayer News 2000(b).
[37] Global Prayer News 2001(c); 2002(d), 12; 2005(b), 6.

2001

In 2001 GHM developed several public activities to mobilize prayer for the 40/70 Window. In 2001 Target Europe was launched for the wider public at the Gideon's Army II conference, which attracted 2,500 attendees from 62 different nations in Hannover, Germany. Gideon's Army I of 1993 in Korea had launched the public 10/40 Window prayer initiatives. Target Europe was to be coordinated by 'apostle' Roger Mitchell from England and 'prophet' Michael Schiffmann from Germany.[38]

It was reported that every day an average of 25 conferences were held and/or were in preparation. From 2000 to 2005 several prayer walks and prayer journeys were organized every year within the 40/70 Window. There are no exact figures, since GHM considered itself to be a facilitating network and not a research centre.

Wagner's WLI provided training 'in the flow of the new paradigm' of the apostolic teaching, using the technique of Spiritual Mapping as part of its curriculum. In 2002 WLI would report 500 students, with branches in 9 countries in Central Asia, in 12 countries in the Pacific and 17 in Europe. In the year 2002 they reported a total of 61 graduates.

GHM had started Wagner Publications, a publishing house whose purpose was to be able to publish 'prophetic words' quickly. In 2001 and 2002 a total of 20 titles had been published. [39] Wagner continued as the international coordinator of the SWN, which had been renamed the Strategic Prayer Network (SPN). The SPN changed its style of operation: it would not initiate new prayer activities but only respond to initiatives coming from the local or regional networks.

The publications on Spiritual Mapping continued in 2001. Sentinel Group produced the video *Transformations II: The Glory Spreads* as a sequel to *Transformations I*, which had been produced in 1999.[40] Cindy Tosto published her *Taking Possession of the Land*, a practical manual.[41] Wagner's revised and updated *Confronting the Queen of Heaven* of 2001 reads like a report on the 1990s. It was published as an overview of the events of Operation Queen's Palace of the 1990s in the 10/40 Window, which is to be distinguished from *Operation Queen's Domain* in the 40/70 Window. [42]

2002

A total of 2000 adherents of Spiritual Mapping ('intercessors') convened in Sofia, Bulgaria, September 11-14, 2002, to pray for Target Europe. The conference was meant to draw participants from central and eastern Europe and was led by Mitchell and Schiffmann.[43] The conference reported that 126 prayer teams had been active in 56 of the countries in the 40/70 Window.[44] GHM facilitated a SPN meeting in Hannover, Germany. Regional consultations for Target Europe took place in France, Norway and the Balkans.

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[38] Global Prayer News 2002(d), 14; Mitchell and Mitchell 2001; Wagner 2001(d).
[39] Cassady 2005; Wagner 2002(a); 2002(d).
[40] Otis 2001.
[41] Tosto 2001.
[42] Wagner 2000(d); 2001(b).
[43] Global Prayer News 2002(a), 1, 6; Target Europe 2002.
[44] Global Prayer News 2002(a), 8.

In 2002 Kraft published his *Confronting Powerless Christianity: Evangelicals and the Missing Dimension*.[45] It was not a major work on Spiritual Mapping as such, but it did discuss Kraft's views on 'signs and wonders' extensively, worldview and anthropological notions as described in chapter four. The publication did not add new insights to previous publications. It was important because it indicated how Kraft and part of the Evangelical world had gone in different directions.

The WPC in Colorado Springs was taken over from GHM by Ted Haggard's New Life Church by the end of 2002. Its 'Observatory', the 'spiritual mapping repository', was closed by December 2002. The sources offer little information on this decision-making process. Three years later Haggard would state, without offering details, that he had not 'split' with Wagner, but that it was a 'parting', 'part of a normal maturing process'.[46] The available GHM's records do not mention the 'parting'. GHM's *Global Prayer News* mentioned the Observatory in its January 2003 issue for the last time. The next April issue was not made available in the archives for the public and the later issues did not mention the Observatory anymore.

Wagner expressed a desire in *Global Prayer News* in 2002 to start an independent, combined GHM/WLI campus in Colorado Springs, and GHM started to raise funds for the construction. The reason Wagner gave for this move was the need for more office and classroom space.[47] The new WPC under Haggard changed its emphasis from a Spiritual Mapping centre to a more general approach as a prayer centre for training and prayer retreats. In December 2002 the WPC launched an interactive website under the World Prayer Team, with a simpler version of the GHM software, which was dubbed by WPC as an 'effort intended but never fully realized'.[48] GHM stayed in the WPC building until it moved to its own building in 2005.

2003

In 2003 a total of 1,900 adherents of Spiritual Mapping ('intercessors') came to Almaty, Kazakhstan from 35 different countries for the Gideon's Army III conference for Asia. It launched the public activities to pray for Asia in the framework of Target Silk Road. The Target Silk Road activities were coordinated by a Korean missionary to Kazakhstan, 'apostle' Kim Kwang-Shin (or: Kim Sam Seong). It was reported that all of the Asian 40/70 Window countries received a visit from a prayer team.[49]

Sentinel Group published *The Quickening*, a video with some additional Spiritual Mapping terminology.[50] The WLI offered its courses for sale on a range of audio avenues: VHS, DVD, CD and through the internet.[51]

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[45] Kraft 2002(a).
[46] Walker 2005, 1.
[47] Wagner 2002(a).
[48] Charisma 2003, 1.
[49] Global Prayer News 2004(a), 8, 10.
[50] Otis 2003.
[51] Global Prayer News 2003(c), 12.

2004

In 2004 Sentinel Group developed and expanded its Transformation Networks ('TransNets'). These networks were meant to be 'highly relational' and were intended to facilitate international exchange of either diagnosis reports of the spiritual state of a society, or reports on improvement of a society because of Spiritual Mapping activities.[52] National and regional networks specializing in this 'community transformation' were established in 30 'geopolitical zones across the globe'. The whole of TransNets was called the International Fellowship of Transformation Powers (ITFP). The establishment of TransNet America in July 2004 as one of the geopolitical zones can be mentioned as an example.

The reason for the reorganization of the contacts of Otis' Sentinel Group into ITFP, was, according to the organization itself, the ever-growing demand for information and the ever-increasing number of reports. Regional centres were expected to absorb and facilitate part of the growing interest. Practitioners were not bound by their regional centre. Sentinel Group organized a digital forum that served as an international community of exchange and contact. [53] A more specialized and more expensive means of digital contact was the Explorer Program providing weekly updates with Sentinel approved reports from all regions of the world.

Wagner Publications, which had been founded by GHM in 2001, was discontinued in January 2004. A new publishing house, Arsenal Books, was established to specialize in the 'New Apostolic Reformation, prophetic ministry, prayer and intercession, spiritual warfare, spiritual mapping, city transformation, deliverance, power ministry and evangelism'.[54]

In August 2004 an international meeting was held by GHM in Santiago de Compostela, Spain, to stimulate the prayer activities of Target Europe.[55] The old pilgrimage site of Santiago was thought to be a seat of a demonic power holding sway over important parts of Europe. In the framework of the 40/70 Window project, 3000 participants from 30 nations reportedly were present.[56]

2005

In 2005 Wagner's GHM and WLI moved into a new building in Colorado Springs.[57] Rebecca Greenwood published her *Authority to Tread: An Intercessor's Guide to Strategic-Level Spiritual Warfare.*[58] Greenwood, having been involved with GHM since 1991, produced a practical guide based on her fourteen years of experience. She was considered one of the new generation to which the baton of Spiritual Mapping had been passed on.[59] The concepts she used were not new since they had been adopted directly from Gary Kinnaman, Otis and Wagner.[60] Greenwood's publication gave insight into practical procedures for organization and reporting of prayer journeys.

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[52] Sentinel 2000(e).
[53] Sentinel 2000(c); 2000(d).
[54] Arsenal 2005.
[55] Glory of Zion 2007.
[56] Global Prayer News 2004(d), 8, 12.
[57] Wagner Leadership Institute 2007.
[58] Greenwood 2005.
[59] Greenwood 2005, 1, 11.
[60] Kinnaman 1990; Otis, 1991; 1997; 1999; Wagner 2001(a).

Several regions within Europe held their final meetings as the closing for
Target Europe, for example for the United Kingdom in Portmouth in April 14 – 16,
with 300 attendees. GHM held its final Target Europe 'celebration' in 2005 in
Rome, called Rome 2005. Spiritual warfare meetings were held at the spot where
Paul landed in Puzzuoli (Acts 28:13) and at the Circus Maximus in Rome.
According to Marty Cassady, in July 2005 each of the 62 nations of the 40/70
window had received a least one visit by a prayer team during the 2000 – 2005
period. With the close in Rome, GHM considered its task for 2000 – 2005
completed.[61]

In 2005 Kraft edited *Appropriate Christianity*, a missiological textbook on
contextualization. His own contributions to the volume dealt with spiritual power as
a missiological issue and more in particular on its contextualization. By and large it
was a repetition of Kraft's functionalism.[62] Spiritual Mapping was presented by
Kraft as a modern 'technique' by means of which missionaries can contextualize
spiritual warfare as found in the Old and New Testament and in contemporary
religions.[63] He referred to Dawson, Otis, Silvoso and Wagner and his own
publications on the matter.

WLI restructured its regional extension centres in the USA. After 'several
unsuccessful attempts at starting WLI extension centres around the country', WLI
now organized denominationally-based schools, with a large measure of
independence in the area of finance, curriculum and faculty.[64]

The New Apostolic Reformation

Spiritual Mapping had become increasingly absorbed by the apostolic and prophetic
movements or influences. It had identified itself with the NAR, which is to be
distinguished from other apostolic groups like the New Apostolic Church
('Irvingites'), 'The Apostolic Church' (Australia, New Zealand), the 'Apostolic
Faith Gospel Mission' (Azusa), to name a few.[65] The term NAR was introduced in
chapter two. A few details of its self-understanding will be given below. The term
NAR is quite problematic. The NAR understood itself to be a new and distinct
movement that was changing the direction of the world Pentecostal movement and
even more, of the world in the end times. The term was used extensively by
adherents of the NAR itself, like David Cannistraci, Bill Hamon, Elmer Towns and
Wagner and many others.[66] Yet others, like Vinson Synan, doubted if NAR was a
new and distinct movement at all, questioning it from a historical point of view.[67]
Others seem to accept the existence of the NAR, like Dereck Morphew who
contrasted it with theological Vineyard positions.[68] Donald E. Miller and Stanley M.
Burgess did use the term but not without hesitation.[69]

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[61] Cassady 2005.
[62] Kraft 2005, 392.
[63] Kraft 2005, 384.
[64] Global Prayer News 2005(c), 8.
[65] Wagner 1999(b), 43.
[66] Cannistraci 1996; Hamon 1997; Towns 1996; Wagner 1998(a); 1999(b), 41-45.
[67] Synan 2001, 377-378.
[68] Morphew 2003; Wagner 1999(b), 50-53.
[69] Burgess 2002, 928; 2006, 39, 40; Miller 1997, 20.

This study is not the place to decide on the NAR as a new and distinct phenomenon or on its many interpretations. We will, with some hesitation, employ the term NAR, since it is part of the self-understanding of many adherents of Spiritual Mapping, and it will prove to be helpful in understanding the context of the years 2000 – 2005. The NAR presented itself as 'new', as 'apostolic' and as a 'reformation'. The movement called itself 'apostolic' in that it referred to and longed for what it perceived to be the authority and power of the New Testament apostles. It was apostolic in that it sought to be missionary, just like those apostles had been. It was apostolic in that it believed that the divine initiative had reinstated the office of apostleship during the 1990s. The NAR's apostolic philosophy rested mainly on two assumptions, one ecclesiological and the other eschatological, both of which were intended to enhance the movement's missionary orientation.

Ecclesiologically, the recognition of the office of apostle was essential. This is the belief that in the twentieth century new divinely initiated forms and operational procedures had begun to emerge in Christendom. New forms were found in areas of local church government, interchurch relationships, finance, evangelism, missions, prayer, the role of supernatural power and worship. Some of these changes could be found in a few denominations, but usually they were found in loosely structured 'apostolic networks'. An essential difference between the NAR and the traditional denominational churches concerned leadership and governance. The NAR was led not by a group but by an individual apostle. It was this divinely appointed apostle, as opposed to a board or presbytery, a democratic vote or institutionalized who was seen bearing responsibility for making decisions and guiding adherents.

Eschatologically, the emergence of the recognition of the office of apostleship was placed within the framework of the end times, in which many were expected to convert to the Christian faith. The NAR presented itself as a new paradigm through which God had been working since the close of the twentieth century.[70] According to Hamon, this new paradigm included the gradual restoration of the biblical offices of evangelist, pastor, teacher, and, finally in the 1980s, the office of prophet and, in the 1990s, that of apostle. [71] All this was considered to be the restoration of the divine design of Ephesians 4:11 and necessary in order to be 'fully equipped' for the final stage of world history. Thus the NAR was broader than the term itself suggested. Overall, its eschatology was optimistic. The victories in the spiritual war were expected to surpass defeats. The NAR believed itself to consist of three major historical components outside the US in the last times: the African Independent Churches, the Chinese House Church Movement and the Pentecostal Latin American grassroots churches. In the US the NAR was located in independent Charismatic and Neo-Pentecostal churches.

In sociological terms, the NAR fits the Neo-Pentecostal profile as presented in chapter three. Miller points to a few additional characteristics of the NAR, such as relatively young adherents. He emphasized the relational aspects of organization, leadership, tolerance and bodily rather than cognitive participation in worship.[72]

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[70] Wagner 2002(c), 930.
[71] Hamon 1997, 53.
[72] Miller 1997, 20.

Global Harvest Ministries

GHM, a major and visible facilitator and stimulator of Spiritual Mapping in the 1990s, experienced major setbacks in the years 2000 – 2005. It had lost the AD2000 network, had lost its Observatory and had parted with the WPC by the end of 2002, had experienced less success with the 40/70 Window prayer campaign as compared to the previous 10/40 Window campaign, and it did not succeed in launching successful extensions of WLI in the United States. Its *Global Prayer News*, the successor to AD2000's *Prayer Track News*, became an internal GHM magazine. Its contributions were written by mainly GHM personnel, i.e. Peter and Doris Wagner, Pierce and later Cassady. Its advertising had become confined to its own bookstore and the WLI.

The chronology given above does not account for the low-key presence of the 'little grass roots people' (DeKeyzer). The practice of Spiritual Mapping lived on, carried on mainly by individuals, publishing their reports on the websites of several networks. This numerical growth or decline is difficult to substantiate: 'Nobody knows', as DeKeyzer stated. It was at least less visible and less overtly propagated as compared to the 1990s. Other organizations, as Sentinel Group, continued their Spiritual Mapping activities. However, their activities became less public than before. Many of their activities are channelled through personal relationships and low-key digital contacts.

GHM undertook the following activities following 'apostolic' activities to facilitate the NAR:

1. The formation of the International Coalition of Apostles (ICA). In 2002 Wagner was the 'presiding apostle' over an international body of 229 'member-apostles'. The 'leadership team' of ICA consisted of Peter and Doris Wagner, Pierce and John Kelly.
2. The formation of the New Apostolic Roundtable (NAR). The NAR consisted of 25 apostles and convened once a year in Colorado Springs.
3. The formation of the Apostolic Council for Prophetic Elders (ACPE). It concerned a select group of apostles who desired to develop deeper personal relationships. These were the so called 'peer-level prophets'.
4. The formation of the Apostolic Council for Educational Accountability (ACEA). It concerned an alternative accreditation organization, based on the principles of the NAR. In 2002 over 40 schools had obtained accreditation with ACEA.
5. The formation of the Apostolic Roundtable for Deliverance Ministries (ARDM). This was a group of apostles who specialized in personal exorcism. The group convened in Colorado Springs once a year.

The increasing absorption of Spiritual Mapping into what adherents called the NAR was a distinct feature in the years 2000 – 2005. This gradual shift had started around 1996 already, when Wagner had convened a conference on what he initially called 'post-modern churches' and later identified them as 'new apostolic churches'. What had started small in 1996 became prominent after 2000.

Dominionism

Spiritual Mapping had moved away from the Evangelical mainstream of the US and its Church Growth Movement's ideology, the context of its inception in 1989. The trend was from a shift in emphasis on church planting to one on transforming society. Spiritual Mapping had been conceived as a missionary tool to enhance missionary work and had been designed to be used within an Evangelical theological framework and to make church planting and reaching unreached peoples more effective. Spiritual Mapping had become focussed on the transformation of society. The terminology had shifted over the years. The NAR belonged to the larger phenomenon of dominionism. Just like the NAR, this term is not without its problems: it is relatively new, has many different definitions and different ways of application.

The NAR itself used the term. Wagner wrote approvingly in 1999: 'Several apostolic networks advocate forms of what some call "dominion theology" meaning that Christians are expected to infiltrate social structures at all levels and, once there, use their influence to inculcate biblical values throughout their society.'[73] Looking back at the developments leading to the Global Apostolic Network, Wagner stated in 2007: 'Our theological bedrock is what has been known as Dominion Theology. This means that our divine mandate is to do whatever is necessary, by the power of the Holy Spirit, to retake the dominion of God's creation which Adam forfeited to Satan in the Garden of Eden. It is nothing less than seeing God's kingdom coming and His will being done here on earth as it is on heaven.'[74] In 2006 Wagner would publish *The Church in the Workplace: How God's People Can Change Society* and in 2007 *Dominion! How Kingdom Action Can Change the World*.[75] Wagner's comments summarized what had gradually happened to Spiritual Mapping. Not only Wagner, but Rick Joyner, Pierce and Cassady would also express themselves in similar terminology.[76]

Initially 'Dominionism' was a term used by social scientists like Sara Diamond and Chip Berlet in the 1980s. It described a movement among socially conservative Christians who sought to gain influence or control over secular civil government through political action. It was characterized by striving for a nation to be governed by Christians or by Christian principles. It concerned the Evangelical efforts to change public life and to make society exclusively Christian, dependent on Christians and not on social consensus.[77] Thus, the term dominionism originated in the 1980s as a description of the activities of the Christian Right in the US.[78] The term was popularized and used in many different ways[79] and, as such, it was controversial and not always well-defined. It would be broadened over the years and applied to a wider religious spectrum, as in the critical studies of Mark

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[73] Wagner 1999(b), 198.
[74] Wagner 2007(b).
[75] Wagner 2006(d); 2007(a).
[76] GPN 2003(a), 7; 2003(b), 7; Joyner   .
[77] Barron 1992,14.
[78] Barron 1992, 14, 15; Diamond 1989, 134, 201; 1995; House and Ice 1988.
[79] Berlet and Lyons, 2000, 213.

Juergensmeyer, David Hunt and Timothy L. Price.[80] Dominionism would become more closely identified with millenarianism.

As parts of Evangelicalism sought to secure a theological basis for its dominionism, they did not have far to look. Aspects of a theological version of dominionism were not new in the 1980s, having been present in parts of Protestantism in the US for a long time, such as, for example, the Calvinistic concept of divine sovereignty that was to be exercised over state, society and church. The idea of theological dominionism derived its terminology from Genesis 1:26 (KJV) in which God is said to have given 'dominion' over the earth to humankind. The dominionist interpretation formulated the idea that the world had to be subordinated to the rule of 'God's Word', which is the Bible. The mandate is a privilege, but it is not only that. It is also an urgent responsibility. The *de facto* establishment of God's dominion was considered imperative.

For the purposes of this study it is important that parts of Evangelicalism had become energized in the 1980s and 1990s by the idea that a 'culture war' was going on. With alarm, it had been postulated that Western Civilization was slipping away from its Judeo-Christian identity and was being degraded into a 'secular humanism'.[81] The novels of Frank Peretti as will be mentioned in chapter six, based themselves on this concept.[82] Christians were called to withstand this conspiracy and were to 'win back' aggressively the lost dominion over the US and the world.

This study will not discuss all the different debates around the term dominionism nor will it enumerate all its different versions. It is important here to note that Spiritual Mapping had become connected with several ideas related to dominion theology and ultimately became influenced by them. The idea of Christian dominion had been adopted and used by several Charismatics, of whom a well-known example is Robertson.[83] For this chapter, it is important to note that two kinds of dominion teaching were important for the later context of Spiritual Mapping: the 'Kingdom Now' teaching and the Manifest Sons of God teaching, both found in independent churches in the Charismatic Renewal and in Neo-Pentecostalism, although not exclusively.

The Kingdom Now Message is a right-wing Evangelical branch that is seeking to bring the US back under Christian control. Deriving its mandate from the concept of the US as a Christian nation, it seeks to re-assert control over political, social and cultural institutions. It includes groups that strive openly for theocracy or theonomy.

Theologically, these groups state that God has lost control over the world to Satan and is trying to re-establish control over the world through a special elite group of believers.[84] The church has to bring the world back to God's authority before Christ can return. This includes its social institutions. Consequently, church and state should not be separated. The Kingdom Now Message entails an assertive enforcement of God's kingdom over the US. Its goal is complete integration. The kingdom has to reinstated now – urgently.

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[80] Juergensmeyer 2001, 27; Hunt 2001, 51; Price 2005, 49.
[81] Berlet 1998, 24.
[82] Peretti 1986, 1989.
[83] Barron 1992, 12.
[84] Paulk 1986; McClung 2002, 958-959.

Kingdom Now teaching shared with Latter Rain Theology the notion of the restoration of prophets and apostles. The Pentecostal movement of Latter Rain of the mid-twentieth century had taught a new order of the 'Latter Rain'.[85] One of its most important publications had been George Warnock's *The Feast of Tabernacles*.[86] The latter rain of the biblical text Joel 2:23 was believed to have its second fulfilment in the end times, just before the return of Christ. The outpouring of divine end-time power had occurred, the movement believed, in the second half of the twentieth century in the US. By way of divine apostolic and prophetic power the kingdom could be made reality on earth. It believed that the world can indeed be conquered for God. In short, the task is to establish the kingdom here and now through miraculous divine power, of which Spiritual Mapping is one technique.

Akin to the Kingdom Now teaching is that of the Manifest Sons of God, also found in parts of the Charismatic Renewal and in Neo-Pentecostalism. Its advocates are Joyner, Hamon and Paul Cain.[87] This concerns a belief in a new kind of Christian elite who wield special spiritual power in order to subdue the earth and who will actually conquer the earth in the end times. The name was derived from Romans 8:19, where the expression 'the manifestation of the sons of God' is found. Joyner has high hopes:

> Angelic appearances will be common to the saints and a visible glory will appear upon some for extended periods of time as power flows through them. There will be no plague, disease of physical condition including lost limbs, AIDS, poison gas or radiation, which will resist the healing and miracle gifts working in the saints during this time.[88]

Here again, the task is to take action aggressively in order to obtain dominion of the earth. The church is to be guided by the spiritual elite, who are supposed to be able to wield a technique like Spiritual Mapping with extraordinary effectiveness.

Historically, aspects of dominion teaching grew gradually stronger through the influence of the Latter Rain Theology, which had been present at the inception of Spiritual Mapping in 1990 through the Kansas City prophets in the persons of Jackson and Cain already (see chapter two). Its restorationist elements were the recognition of the renewed offices of apostles and prophets, together with the other offices mentioned by Paul in Ephesians 4:11. It taught the 'impartation offices': functions to transfer spiritual power from one person to another. The divine power and 'spiritual gifts' were imparted through the laying on of hands and it was practised in the context of the expectation of the imminent return of Christ and missionary activism. The theology had become influential, especially in independent Charismatic churches with a central organization.[89] In 1999 Wagner openly identified with the Latter Rain Theology and especially with its apostolic aspect.[90]

The NAR and dominion teaching shared with Spiritual Mapping a definite eschatological and missionary emphasis conceived in a territorial way. It described

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[85] Riss 2002, 830.
[86] Warnock 1951.
[87] Britton 1986; Cain and Kendall 1999, 218; Hamon 2005, 385.
[88] Joyner 1997, 128, 129.
[89] Wagner 2000(b), 108-110; Riss 2002, 830-833.
[90] Wagner 1999(b), 135, 150.

apostolic authority as confined to a divinely assigned 'sphere', defined as either ecclesiastical, functional or territorial.[91] The prophet was subordinate to the apostle and his task was to pass on God's revelations. It could entail a revelation concerning the 'spiritual reality', a certain geographical area where the apostle is to take 'prophetic action' through 'prophetic prayer'. Its goal was to win a geographical area for the dominion (kingdom) of God.

With the NAR and dominion teaching, Spiritual Mapping became less focussed on research and more on prophecy. As the disintegration of the movement progressed, it became increasingly practised in a Neo-Pentecostal context.

Final Observations

Because this chapter compares Spiritual Mapping in its advent and its transformation, it will do so via diagram 2 of chapter two: Aspects of Spirituality in the US. Virtually all aspects mentioned in the diagram are applicable to the 2000 – 2005 period:

Diagram 3: Aspects of Spirituality in the US in Key Terms (repeated)

US:	Aspects in key terms:
- Marsden:	New Age culture
- Heelas and Woodhead:	subjective turn of culture
Evangelicalism:	
- Finke and Stark:	religious free market economy
- Marsden:	simultaneous adoption and resistance
- Noll:	cultural adaptive biblical experimentalism
- Smith:	thriving in confrontation
Neo-Pentecostalism:	
- Hunt, Hamilton, Walter:	accelerated form of restorationism
- Hadden, Shupe:	ethics of success
- Bradfield:	experiments for sccess
- McDonnell:	human potential development
- McGuire:	human empowerment
- Theron:	cognitive paradigm shift

A few aspects appear to stand out. The religious free market economy (Finke and Stark), with its merciless competition, appears to have functioned perfectly. Adherents of Spiritual Mapping were gradually lost as Spiritual Mapping lost contact with the broader Evangelical market though AD2000. Its shift to an apostolic and prophetic emphasis alienated at least some of its Evangelical clients. The product of the 40/70 window did not appeal to the public like the 10/40 window had done. The opinion that the job had been done and major breakthroughs had been

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[91] Wagner 2000(b), 39, 40.

reached in the 10/40 window had never been substantiated with convincing evidence. On the contrary, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 seemed to point at the Middle East as a continuing area of major evil. The 40/70 window contained areas like Europe, not considered by the public in the US an area of menacing evil in particular but a Western ally. Central Asia was less familiar and even further away. In other words, the 40/70 window was not the right product for that time. Wagner wrote that before 9/11 GHM used to have a financial reserve; after 9/11 this was no longer the case.[92] By way of illustration, after Haggard parted with Wagner in 2002, his New Life Church resumed emphasis on the 10/40 window.

From a few other aspects it appears that Spiritual Mapping underwent a certain radicalization. The cognitive paradigm shift as described by Theron appears to have received more emphasis in Spiritual Mapping than in the beginning. The aspects of Heelas and Woodhead's subjective turn of culture emerge in a more pronounced way than at its time of birth in 1989. The NAR and dominion teaching gave more emphasis to the non-rational practice of Spiritual Mapping. 'Human empowerment' (McGuire) became more focussed on the 'miraculous' and experiental. The increasing influence of the dominion teaching points to restorationism (Walker), and this framework became more pronounced than it had been in the beginning. If Spiritual Mapping had first been a novelty within the old Evangelical wineskin, it had now become a technique within an entirely new apostolic wineskin. The 'Ethics of Success' (Noll, Bradfield, Hadden and Shupe) continued to be an important aspect in that it produced its experimentalism. This helps to understand why Spiritual Mapping could continue to experiment and change. It explains in part how it could free itself from what it perceived to be 'stagnant' Evangelicalism.

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[92] Wagner 2007(c).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SELF-UNDERSTANDING OF THE SPIRITUAL MAPPING MOVEMENT

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to follow the narrative of the movement closely with respect to its self-understanding. It concerns a description of the emic (insiders') expressions of the movement's own theological and anthropological precepts. It will ask how the movement itself understood its own nature and actions and how it tried to define them in theological and anthropological terms. The combination of these areas provides useful insight into the movement's ways of arguing and actions.

This chapter will first discuss the relevant sources and the phenomenon of shifting concepts within the movement. Following that, it will examine and describe the movement's theological and anthropological self-understanding. Their theological self-understanding is examined through the movement's own indication of its historical roots and its perception of its own epistemology and hermeneutics. Its view of demonology is the most important. The theological part will be concluded by a brief examination of its eschatology, ecclesiology, missiology and pneumatology. The anthropological self-understanding gives a description of the movement's emphasis on its research methods and its perception of the concept of worldview.

Publications
This study and the Spiritual Mapping movement itself agree on what sources to use for the purpose of this chapter.[1] Occasionally, other sources will be used to supplement the information or to show ways of application. Generally, the publications are non-scholarly, easy to read, attractive in design and illustrated with maps and diagrams. They fit the picture that Roger Finke and Rodney Stark paint, as discussed in chapter two, concerning attractive products to be sold on the religious market. The titles are usually catching or even arresting. These characteristics can be seen in the publications we will use for this chapter, such as John Dawson with his *Taking Our Cities for God* (1989),[2] Cindy Jacobs' *Possessing the Gates of the Enemy* (1993),[3] Ed Murphy's *The Handbook for Spiritual Warfare* (1992),[4] and Ed Silvoso's *That None Should Perish* (1994), recounting the events in Argentina from 1989 to 1990.[5] The titles may contain allusions to biblical terminology that would appeal to the Evangelical public, such as the Old Testament's 'taking city gates' or 'possessing the gates' or the New Testament's language of 'to perish' and 'warfare'.

The publications often contained exciting and aggressive warlike language, such as Charles H. Kraft's *Christianity with Power* (1989), *Behind Enemy Lines* (1994) and *Confronting Powerless Christianity* (2002),[6] and C. Peter Wagner's

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[1] Kraft 1994, 123.
[2] Dawson 1989; 1994.
[3] Jacobs 1993(a).
[4] Murphy 1992.
[5] Silvoso 1994(a).
[6] Kraft 1989; 1994; 2002(a).

Prayer Warrior Series (1992-1997), with *Warfare Prayer*, *Prayer Shield*, *Breaking Strongholds in Your City*, *Confronting the Powers* and *Praying with Power*.[7] At the same time, the publications often appealed to the sense of the mysterious, such as George Otis Jr.'s *The Last of the Giants* (1991), *The Twilight Labyrinth* (1997), *Informed Intercession* (1999). [8] Many titles are geared toward a stimulating feeling of exciting progress, such as Pablo A. Deiros and Wagner with *The Rising Revival* (1999).[9]

As far as journals are concerned, the movement received, especially in the first years of its existence, a platform for a short while in the journal *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* (EMQ), a journal that is usually more journalistic than academic in nature. For the purposes of this chapter we will look at three articles: Wagner's 'Territorial Spirits and World Missions' (1989), 'Spiritual Power in Urban Centres' (1991) and Kraft's ʾWhat Kind of Encounters Do We Need?' (1991).[10]

The *International Journal of Frontier Missions* (IJFM) paid considerable attention to Spiritual Mapping and the wider spiritual warfare movement and devoted two special issues to it (1993, 1994).[11] This journal was disseminated through free distribution among Evangelicals and stimulated missionary mobilization and recruitment. IJFM devoted a special to AD2000's upcoming conference 'Global Consultation of World Evangelism' (GCOWE'95)[12] (see chapter two). All these articles, including publications by Otis, Winter, Murphy and Luis Bush, will be used as a selection for the purposes of this chapter.

Shifting Concepts

In chapters one and three we found that it was inherent to the nature of the movement that its self-understanding was in constant flux and diversified at the same time. This is reflected in its narrative. Some concepts remained the same throughout the years, whereas others changed in function or meaning.

First, in categorizing the reasons for this fluidity we note that it was caused by the constant flow of Spiritual Mapping reports. Case studies were important; ideas were formed by 'what we see happen'; concepts could be proposed in the form of a hypothesis. Yet the hypothesis could be dropped soon and not necessarily recalled or corrected in later publications. Some concepts could 'survive' by spontaneous consensus but not necessarily become defined in publications.

Second, concepts could disappear, since adherents followed what they perceived to the Spirit and abandoned old or incorrect interpretation of a move by the Holy Spirit. As we will see below, the movement held that this was how the Spirit of God was supposed to work. Christians live in the final days, just before God will wrap up time and space, and for these special times, the Spirit of God was doing 'new things', like 'restoring gifts', 'giving technologies for the end times',

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[7] Wagner 1992(a); 1992(b); 1993(a); 1993(b); 1996; 1997.
[8] Otis 1991; 1997; 1999(b).
[9] Deiros and Wagner 1998.
[10] Kraft 1991, 258-265; Wagner 1989(b), 278-288; 1991(c), 130-137.
[11] Brant 1993, 185-192; Grigg 1993, 195-200; Murphy 1993, 163-167; Robb 1993, 173-184; Johnstone 1998, 171-182; Otis 1998(a), 183-192; Otis 1998(b), 212-217; Weerstra 1998, 222-223.
[12] Bush 1994(a), 179-184; Hay 1994, 205-208; Holzman 1994, 216-220; Jansen 1994, 185-191; Johnstone and Robb 1994, 223-224; Rowland 1994, 211-214; Wang 1994, 173-176; Weerstra 1994, 171; Winter 1994, 193-195.

teaching the church 'new paradigms' ('insights') and organizational methods. These new things would empower Christians for God's work in this special hour.

It follows that the movement did not know where it was going and, even more, testified that it could not know. New insights could develop from a new case study but also from direct communication from God, as this chapter will show below. The concept of the 'Word of the Lord', for which the movement used the New Testament Greek word *rhema*, was often understood as valid for a specific time and place. A new *rhema* could likely be expected for a new time and place. Consequently, there was little striving for a coherent integrated picture of all the concepts. Ideas come and go, emphases do shift, and so, it was thought, it should be. Illustrations of this way of thinking abound in the sources. An example of the use of *rhema* is found in Wagner, who reported that he prayed for 'new revelations concerning an important step toward world evangelization'. It resulted in 'God-given discoveries'.[13] To Wagner, Spiritual Mapping was 'What I consider one of the most important things the Spirit is saying to the churches in the 1990's'.[14] Being part of Spiritual Mapping appeared thus to be an exciting adventure: 'God put me on the fastest learning curve I have experienced in 35 years of ministry.'[15]

A third reason for the fluidity was the diversification within the movement. An example of shifting emphases was found in Global Harvest Ministries (GHM). Within the framework of the AD 2000 and Beyond movement, the emphasis was on the 10/40 Window and the Garden of Eden as the seat of Satan.[16] In 2001 we find the 40/70 Window and the concept of the Queen of Heaven as the main target. Different organizations and networks had a different emphasis, 'vision', 'action' or 'project' per timeframe, resulting in shifting and different pictures of the movement. Some referred to Argentina; while others did not or hardly at all. Some emphasized healing and others prayer for nations. Some were primarily domestic, while others were international. There was no indication in any primary source that would betray dissatisfaction with this phenomenon.

Fourth, authors frequently stated that that they were in a learning process, caused by the end times, in which the Spirit was gradually teaching new technology previously unknown. For example, in 1997 Wagner wrote about 1991 as a time that Spiritual Mapping was 'still in its infancy', but even in 1997 he says: 'We can collectively look forward to much more information and many more insights in the days to come.'[17] Wagner added in 1998: 'This … is so new that even those who are at the forefront of the transition are still struggling to understand the enormous move from God, not only in Argentina, but on every continent in the world.'[18] Kraft wrote about Spiritual Mapping: 'Much we have still to learn …'[19] Silvoso was teaching that Spiritual Mapping as pioneered in Resistencia and he understood La Plata only 'gradually'.[20]

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[13] Wagner 2001(b), 42, 44.
[14] Wagner 1993(a), 12.
[15] Wagner 1992(a), 1.
[16] Otis 1991, 84-92.
[17] Wagner 1997, 92.
[18] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 19.
[19] Kraft 1994, 29.
[20] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 220.

Concepts would develop, disappear, fall in disuse or change in function. The Spirit directed through leadership, but a leader was in the first place a learner. Even the leadership was not aware of the Spirit's next intentions. That was the way it was supposed to be. Its self-interpretation was always in state of a process, being added to and corrected by the Spirit. Institutionalization and codification was at best temporary and never complete. The Spirit could choose others instead of the leaders to communicate a new insight or 'technology'. Leaders in the network, such as prophets or apostles, could respond to what the Spirit was doing *through others* and not necessarily through themselves. They networked and reported what they saw happening, but they did not give direction to the movement.

A fifth factor causing the fluidity was the phenomenon that definitions and systematic rationale were considered less important than the spiritual experience as such. According to the movement, it was better to experience the work of the Spirit without definitions than vice versa. Theory did not carry enough weight to give it careful consideration. As a result, the movement was not in the habit of revoking hypotheses that proved to be wrong or obsolete. The tendency was to go by its most recent publications and consensus without necessarily comparing it to previous publications.

A sixth factor was the fact that the movement was not centralized, as we indicated in chapter three. It should be taken into consideration that some authors were counted among the adherents of the movement in its early years, but some disappeared from the Spiritual Mapping scene, like Murphy and White, or developed into critics, like Arnold. Silvoso, instrumental in developing the Spiritual Mapping model in La Plata and Resistencia, and teaching the practice through his Annual National Harvest Institute in Argentina, initiated the concept of territoriality of demons in Argentina. Nonetheless, he did not stress identifying and directly confronting territorial spirits. His emphasis was on prayer, but he did not develop that part of his ministry.[21] Given the movement's diversity, this chapter will focus on the core concepts of the movement's narrative and discuss key terms as found in key publications.

Its Theological Self-Understanding

The theological narrative will be analysed by describing its patterns of thought according to the relevant categories of systematic theology. These categories were sometimes used by adherents themselves. Others were simply used because they are appropriate.

A few items of interest are important to note. It should be understood that Spiritual Mapping did not produce a fully developed systematic theology. It did not do so and had no desire to do so. The movement itself elaborated on only a few areas of its own specific theological interest. This was especially the case in demonology, hermeneutics and epistemology. The movement elaborated on these areas by emphasizing certain items or by adding to the existing systematic theological way of thinking that was by and large Evangelical theology in the US

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[21] Arnold 1997, 193-196; Silvoso 1994(a).

and notions from Neo-Pentecostalism, as described in chapter two. It will not be repeated here, but it is central to its self-understanding.

First, we will explore what the movement perceived to be its historical roots, followed by the categories of epistemology and hermeneutics in order to understand where the movement located its sources of knowledge. This will be followed by an examination of the key concepts of the movement in the framework of its demonology. Finally, this study will consider a few categories that were affected because of the above categories, such as eschatology, ecclesiology, missiology and pneumatology.

Historical Roots

The movement identified itself, in terms of theological self-understanding, as a part of Evangelicalism in the US, with an emphasis on Evangelical and Neo-Evangelical churches and organizations, as indicated in the chapters above. This was especially true for the early years, when identification with this Evangelicalism had not yet given way to other emphases. Deiros defined his teaching as 'more or less in accord with standard Evangelical teaching'.[22] Deiros was typifying the 'new wave of the Spirit', which to him included Spiritual Mapping, as follows: 'This new wave comprises Evangelicals within traditional denominations who have received and who see the more spectacular gifts of the Holy Spirit, but who reject the label of Pentecostal or Charismatic.'[23]

There is 'strong adherence' to the influential Evangelical Lausanne Declaration of 1974, the founding document of the Lausanne movement ('virtually no disagreement'). This is found in almost any author touching on the subject, especially concerning article 2 on the authority of Scripture.[24] Wagner stated: 'I have always seen myself as a biblical inerrantist.'[25] Article 12 on spiritual conflict was explicitly mentioned to indicate that Spiritual Mapping had no disagreement with the Lausanne Declaration ('virtually no disagreement with AD2000 …').

Spiritual Mapping was not attached to one particular denomination but saw itself as part of the broader Evangelical movement: 'We want all those who participate to be themselves'. 'There are no restrictions at all on prayer styles ….'[26] In addition to the Lausanne Movement, Wagner linked Spiritual Mapping with the World Evangelical Fellowship (now: Evangelical World Alliance), Fuller Theological Seminary and the National Association of Evangelicals.[27]

Adherents of Spiritual Mapping wanted it to be identified historically with traditions within Evangelicalism – its demonology, its revival tradition and its prayer tradition. It presented itself as a novelty but within the above traditions.

Spiritual Mapping viewed itself as originating within Evangelicalism in the US and its publications on demonology, referring to many non-academic Evangelical publications in that field. Most references were mere allusions, and there was no

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[22] Deiros and Wagner,1998, 39.
[23] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 33.
[24] Kraft 1994, 123; Stott 1996, 1-57; Wagner 1996, 256.
[25] Wagner 1996, 51, 257.
[26] Wagner 1996, 260, 261.
[27] Wagner 1996, 250-251.

discussion of the exact contents of the publications referred to. It shared a few
assumptions with the publications, such as the ontological interpretation of the
demonic and its perceived inherent danger for Christians in their daily lives.

There is mention of the Evangelical classic, Jessie Penn-Lewis' *War on the
Saints* (1912).[28] This work reported on the events of the 'Revival of Wales' of 1904
– 1905, and its main thesis was that demons can imitate the expressions of the Holy
Spirit. The demonic imitation of miracles had stopped the revival in Wales.

The acceptance of the ontological interpretation of the demonic with a
warning about its danger was found in the fiction of British scholar Clive Staples
Lewis as well. He published his *Screwtape Letters* on demonic interference in the
individual lives of Christians in the US in 1943,[29] and this book was frequently
referred to in Spiritual Mapping publications. In his *Miracles* (1947), Lewis
commented that the supernatural is not remote but 'a matter of daily and hourly
experience', a present realm of 'as intimate as breathing',[30] and was quoted by Otis.
In Lewis' fiction, the demonic was considered a daily but not very overt threat to
Christians.

Other publications followed the interpretation above and were noted in
publications on Spiritual Mapping: Merill F. Unger's *Biblical Demonology* (1952),[31]
and Isobel Kuhn's missionary writings such as *Ascent to the Tribes* (1956) and *In
the Arena* (1958).[32] Demonology was implicit in much of her works, but the
emphasis was on intercessory prayer as a weapon.

A more academic approach influential in Evangelical circles was that of the
German Lutheran pastor and missionary Kurt E. Koch.[33] In 1965 he published
Christian Counselling and Occultism, a translation of the Ph.D. thesis he defended
in Tübingen in 1956. The subtitle of the publication was: *The Pastoral Treatment of
People Who Because of Involvement in Occultism are in Psychological Distress or
Otherwise Afflicted by Illness*. Koch's publications made demonology socially
acceptable in academic circles – or was supposed to do so. He shared the
Evangelical ontological interpretation and view of the demonic as an inherent
danger, but Koch's approach was cautious. His rule of thumb was that whatever an
affliction was discovered and however it might resemble demon possession, it ought
to be explained first on the basis of natural causes. No demonic explanation ought to
be invoked as long as a natural one remained plausible. The author was wary of
demonizing all kinds of phenomena. The scholarly nature of the publication still
ensured its status as a work to be used by students, pastors, counsellors and other
professionals.

Publications on the demonic prior to the 1970s were by and large
occasional occurrences. In the 1970s there was an increase in the number of
publications in Evangelicalism in the US that displayed a growing interest in the
demonic. Some treated the subject of demonology systematically and distinguished
its various aspects. However, the way these publications treated the demonic was
quite diverse. Some treated the subject at length, like Unger who published his *The*

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[28] Penn-Lewis 1947; White 1993, 61, 219.
[29] Wagner 1988(b), 180; 1992(a), 85, 86; 1993(a), 22.
[30] Lewis 1943; 1947, 42; Otis 1997, 58, 59.
[31] Unger 1952.
[32] Kuhn 1956; 1958.
[33] Koch 1972, 14; Kraft and White 1994, 199; Wagner 1988(a), 168, 176, 178, 193; White 1993, 222.

Haunting of Bishop Pike in 1968 and his *Demons in the World Today* in 1970,[34] and especially several publications by Koch.[35] In 1973 Frank and Ida Mae Hammond published *Pigs in the Parlour,* a practical how-to guide on demonic deliverance.[36] Not all the writers in the 1970s to whom referred Spiritual Mapping pay much attention to the demonic. A case in point is Francis A. Schaeffer, who showed openness towards the subject in his publication *Genesis in Space and Time* (1972). He stated that the supernatural dimension is not far and that there is 'a cause and effect relationship between it and our own visible world at every existential moment'.[37] His book was quoted by Otis, but Schaeffer was not anywhere near the world of thought of Spiritual Mapping. Billy Graham published *Angels: God's Secret Agents* in 1975, to which Spiritual Mapping referred. His treatment of demonology is short and not very specific (in: 'Lucifer and the Rebellion of Angels', 69-84).[38] Graham's works were reminiscent of publications prior to 1970.

Spiritual Mapping referred to Evangelical academic publications or semi-academic publications on demonology as well. Michael Green, with his *Exposing the Prince of Darkness* (1991), presented a more or less popularized Evangelical version of demonology. Mentioned and used frequently were James W. Montgomery's *Demon Possession* (1976) and Fred Dickason's *Demon Possession and the Christian* (1987).[39] Wagner and Kraft used these publications in their courses at Fuller Theological Seminary.[40] Paul G. Hiebert's publication 'The Flaw of the Excluded Middle' (1982) (see chapter two) was often referred to.[41]

Spiritual Mapping referred to the above sources, but that did not always entail a careful representation of their contents. It was frequently a mere allusion, and often referred to one or sometimes a limited set of aspects. The reader will search in vain for an in-depth study of the above sources. The function of the quotation or allusion seems to be identification or desired justification of an opinion. As such it tells us something about the self-understanding and of the way the movement prefers to portray itself.

Spiritual Mapping viewed itself as originating from the Evangelical Revival tradition. Revival was an overarching theme of the movement and the term was often used to indicate the aim of Spiritual Mapping. Revivalism was a long-standing tradition within Evangelicalism, expressed in its desire and striving for revival.[42] Revival refers to an activity by the Spirit in people in such a way that brings them to the Christian faith and commitment to it. Throughout the years, many different definitions of the concept of revival developed. Deiros made clear what kind of revival was desired in connection with Spiritual Mapping. For him, revival was not restructuring, renewal, updating, restoring nor revitalizing – those are the *results* of

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[34] Unger 1968; 1970.
[35] Koch 1971; 1973; 1978; 1986.
[36] Hammond 1973.
[37] Schaeffer 1972; Otis 1997, 55.
[38] Graham 1975; Kraft and White 1994, 240; Wagner 1988(b), 25, 170; 1992(a) 16, 34, 58, 103, 123; 1993(a) 67, 78; 1993(b), 81; 1996, 45, 211.
[39] Dickason 1987; Green 1991, 82-83, 248; Montgomery 1976.
[40] Fuller Theological Seminary, 2007.
[41] Hiebert 1982, 35-47.
[42] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 8, 9.

revival. Deiros' definition of revival was as follows: 'The essence of revival is a combination of dynamic ingredients which moves the church to its theological roots in the Scriptures, accompanied by a missionary commitment in obedience to the lordship of Jesus Christ to fulfil a mission.'[43] 'Theological' must be understood here as 'spiritual' and not in the sense of academic theology. Revival has a missionary function.

Wagner referred to the long-standing Evangelical tradition of revivalism as well. He saw the 'move of the Spirit' that started in Argentina as standing within that tradition but at the same time also saw 'something new to it'. The revivals of history, Wagner wrote, lasted for a while and then petered out ('two years, give or take').[44] In his analysis, the initiating event was the intense time of 'revival fire', followed by an 'afterglow'. He illustrated this by the revival of Savonarola in 1496 – 1498: those two years were the revival fire and the Reformation of 1517 was the 'afterglow'. The Great Awakening had its 'revival fire' in the years 1739 – 1741 alone, the rest was afterglow. The Second Great Awakening, or Evangelical Awakening, had its fire in the years 1800 – 1804, with an afterglow that lasted until 1831. The revival fire of the Third Great Awakening (or: the 'Prayer Awakening') of 1857 – 1858 lasted only nine months. The entire Pentecostal movement was the afterglow of the revival fire in Azusa Street in 1906 – 1909. Contemporary revivals were those of Charismatic ministries of people such as Oral Roberts, Rodney Howard-Browne, Benny Hinn, John Arnott, David Copeland, Henry Blackaby and others. The most recent revival events of the 1990s were the Toronto Blessing and the Pensacola Revival.

Wagner stated that what had started as a revival in Argentina in the 1980s was qualitatively different from all other revivals to date. The Argentine revival did not stop with an 'afterglow' but continued and spread to other parts of the world through the Toronto Blessing movement and the Pensacola Revival. According to Wagner, it brought 'stunning results' in 1990s: '100.000 accepted Christ or rededicated lives to Christ.'[45] Wagner admitted that reality was more complex than a simple cause and effect situation, but he held that the anointing of the revival was released by God through Argentina. How the movement interpreted this, this chapter will discuss below under 'eschatology'.

Finally, the movement placed itself within the tradition of the prayer movement.[46] This was a long-standing tradition within Evangelicalism in the US. The intercessory aspect of prayer was common in popular Evangelical literature and especially in popular missionary literature. Prayer was a generally accepted aspect of Evangelical spirituality, and particularly in its missionary and more aggressive form of intercession. In the Evangelical tradition, the concept of battle was usually connected with fervent intercessory prayer as a necessary provision for the advance of missionary work. Popular publications about prayer were so numerous that it will not be possible to present a complete list of publications that influenced, directly or indirectly, Spiritual Mapping. By and large, there was a multitude of sources, such as the use of Sunday school books, sermon illustrations, children's books, Billy

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[43] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 44.
[44] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 13-14.
[45] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 9-12.
[46] Wagner 1996, 250.

Graham movies, (Christian) school books and other sources. Many popular ideas about the missionary 'heroes of the faith' abounded. It is evident from the sources that adherents of Spiritual Mapping were able to tap into a rich tradition and had no problems referring to it. A sampling of the most important references to the prayer movement, as provided by Spiritual Mapping itself, is given below.

Wagner referred to principles of prayer in the Protestant Reformation.[47] Adherents cited popular classics of the Evangelical tradition such as those from the time of the Great Awakening. An example was David Brainerd (1718 – 1747), missionary to indigenous Americans, who had been influenced by the Great Awakening. He left his *Life and Diary* (1834), which became a devotional classic and inspired and motivated generations of Evangelicals.[48] Jonathan Edwards (1703 – 1758) wrote his *Revivals of Religion* (1742),[49] in which he tried to reconcile the experiental aspects of the Awakenings with the traditional doctrines of Protestantism. Emerging from these awakenings was a stream of devotional literature, considered by many Evangelicals as classics that demonstrated the life of devotion and prayer of 'men of God' and the ensuing 'miraculous' work of God in their lives. For the nineteenth century we can mention *The Memoirs and Remains of R.M. M'Cheyne* (1863) by Andrew A. Bonar[50] and the autobiography of Charles G. Finney, *Memoirs of Charles G. Finney* (1876).[51]

The twentieth century produced Evangelical 'classics', such as *Hudson Taylor: The Man Who Believed God* (1929), by Alfred J. Broomhall.[52] Much was published on the central place of intercessory prayer in Evangelical missionary work. There is a vast amount of literature about the reported or alleged prayer lives of the 'heros of the faith', of which Spiritual Mapping alludes to only a fraction, such as Dwight L. Moody,[53] George Müller,[54] Andrew Murray,[55] Edward M. Bounds,[56] John Hyde,[57] Rees Howells,[58] Isobel Kuhn and James Fraser.[59] Several adherents of Spiritual Mapping paid tribute to the Eastman's publications on Dick Eastman. [60] These publications created an Evangelical ideal of prayer. It showed how it could, and often how it should, be done.

Wagner found a new development within the tradition of the prayer movement: 'I began observing a segment of cutting edge Christianity.' This had to do with 'new forms of prayer for nations and unreached people groups formerly not

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[47] Wagner 1988(a), 140-141.
[48] Brainerd 1949; Wagner 1992(a), 81.
[49] Edwards 1978; Jacobs 1993(b), 232; Wagner 1993(b), 139.
[50] Bonar 1863; Wagner 1992(b), 81.
[51] Finney 1876; Jacobs 1993(b), 232; Wagner 1992(b), 15, 16, 57, 103; White 1993, 223.
[52] Broomhall 1929; Wagner 1992(a), 81; 1992(b), 186-187, 197.
[53] Chapman 1900; Kraft 2002(a), 3, 215, 242; Wagner 1992(a),81; Wagner 1992(b), 114-115, 119-121, 137.
[54] Pierson 1899; Wagner 1992(a), 81.
[55] Murray 1885; 1895; Jacobs 1993(b), 32; White 1993, 61, 219.
[56] Bounds 1990; Jacobs 1993(b), 32; Wagner 1992(b), 15,17, 108, 121; 1997, 80; 1997, 143-144, 147, 148, 158.
[57] Jacobs 1993(b), 32; McGraw 1970; Miller 1953; Wagner 1992(a), 81, 88.
[58] Grubb 1975; Jacobs 1993(b), 31; White 1993, 61.
[59] Taylor 1942; Wagner 1992(b), 186-187, 197.
[60] Jacobs 1993(b), 32; White 1993, 222. Wagner 1992(a), 163; 1992(b), 15, 17, 31, 124, 191; 1993(b), 16-17, 31, 215, 218; 1996, 16, 74, 250, 261; 1997, 63, 70, 73, 189, 225, 226.

known ….'[61] The new prayer leaders and new prayer movements had new concepts, such as power prayer, prophetic intercession and prayer for cities and nations. Thus, Wagner called Spiritual Mapping a new branch on the trunk of the Evangelical prayer movement. However, there was some ambiguity about the question of how 'new' it actually was. Spiritual Mapping was a 'relatively new approach'.[62] It was considered new in the sense of deepening the existent theological approach of knowing Satan's devices: 'Orthodoxy is necessary, but is not enough'. Otis wrote: 'As Christians we have been taught by Scripture and tradition to acknowledge the spiritual dimension as the true nucleus of reality. We must learn to see the world as it really is, not as it appears to be. This new way of seeing I have labelled as *spiritual mapping.*'[63]

It was new and yet it was not entirely new in the prayer tradition. The movement itself was not entirely sure how new they were. Wagner argued that perhaps there was more to the history of Spiritual Mapping than Christians realized, but 'the research has not yet been done'. However, even if it was new, 'it is not contrary to the nature of God to do a new thing'. Perhaps previous generations had never asked themselves relevant questions.[64] Eduardo Lorenzo pictured his experiences as follows:

> It was all very new to us … we started to understand … we called it territorial spirits, just to give it a name. In the years 1985-1986 we have been looking for someone who had knowledge about this. But we could not find anyone…. We did not quite know how to verbalize it.[65]

Epistemology
We will continue discussing the movement's theological self-understanding with the question how it understood its own notions about epistemology and hermeneutics. Where does the movement base its teaching?

To some authors, it appears that the question 'How do we know what we know?' was important, since it was considered central to its technology. Spiritual Mapping is a way to get to know what we usually do not know. Wagner treated this important question at length in his *Confronting the Powers*, primarily to answer his many 'critics.' Wagner defined epistemology as 'trying to figure out how we know what we know'. More important, the question was rephrased to accommodate Spiritual Mapping: 'How do we know what we know about the invisible world?'[66] Wagner held that readers know about the nature and function of powers only in a general sense. However, how can we know more precisely? To understand all this, Christians need, according to Wagner, 'ground rules for theology'.

The first ground rule was a definition of theology itself. For Wagner, 'theology is a human attempt to explain God's works in a reasonable and systematic way'. The implication of the definition was that theology concerns *human* positions: 'We are at best engaged in an attempt that by nature welcomes future revision, as

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[61] Greenway 1995, 19; Wagner 1996, 251.
[62] Wagner 1996, 260.
[63] Otis 1994, 84, 85.
[64] Kraft 1994, 139, 140.
[65] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[66] Wagner 1996, 40-43.

opposed to a dogmatic conclusion forever set in concrete.' According to Wagner, the Scriptures are divine in origin, but theology is a human affair.[67]

A second ground rule was that all people think theologically in a 'Conviction Spectrum'. In this spectrum we encounter 'unnegotiables' and 'absolutes' at the very centre of concentric circles. These are things we believe that can never be changed. For example, absolutes are verbalized in the Apostle's creed. In the second circle we find our interpretations that may be changed and throughout history actually do change. In the third circle we find our deductions and, beyond these three circles are subjective opinions, personal preferences, feelings and cultural norms. The Conviction Spectrum is found in Ted Haggard's publication *Primary Purpose* (1995). Wagner wrote that Spiritual Mapping concerns interpretations:

> This should teach humility, to both the critics and adherents of Spiritual Mapping. Adherents should be aware that interpretations could be subject of change. Critics should be aware that the status of spiritual mapping is one of freedom of interpretation, just as Christians have had for centuries.[68]

A third ground rule was that 'ministry generates theology'. Wagner stated: 'A following ground rule is the notion that ministry precedes and produces theology, not the reverse'. [69] Paul's theology was rooted in his experience and thus flowed from what he did, from what he saw and from what God told him, rather than from his rabbinical training. Likewise, the modern mission movement did not emerge from theological reasoning but from William Carey's call, his ministry and the ensuing modern missionary movement. The development of modern missiology may serve as an example. Carey's work was based on reinterpretation rather than on traditional understanding. Missiology developed as missions expanded their work. What Christians 'see God doing' is frequently a starting point for the development of theological analysis.

A fourth ground rule was that the Spirit calls for world evangelization and not for philosophy or theology. The Spirit is more goal-oriented than process-oriented. Wagner affirmed this by saying: 'The theories I like best are, frankly, the ones that work'. Wagner's theological interpretations 'are greatly influenced by what they may or may not produce in advancing the kingdom of God …'.[70] The function of theology is to produce theories that work.

Having defined his ground rules, Wagner came back to his explanation of epistemology. He discerned three kinds of knowledge: intellectual, observational and experiental. Wagner emphasized that he is a 'Bible believing Christian', thus stressing that he is fully orthodox in the Evangelical sense of the word. He identified two kinds of 'word' in the Bible. Evangelicals, Wagner argued, know about the Greek word *logos* (word), the written 'Word', the Bible, used as a weapon in battle against Satan by Jesus in Matthew chapter 4:1-11 ('It is written …'). The Greek word *rhema* (word) concerns the directly communicated personal word from God for a special situation. Wagner claimed that Evangelicals were not familiar to this

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[67] Wagner 1996, 41, 42.
[68] Haggard 1995, 58; 1997; Wagner 1996, 43, 44.
[69] Wagner 1996, 43-44.
[70] Wagner 1996, 46-47.

kind of 'word'. He referred to a publication by the Evangelical Deere, *Surprised by the Power of the Spirit,* who gives an account of his newly won insights through personal 'listening to God'.[71] The personal *rhema*, which Christians experience, opens the door to 'see' things that they did not see without that experience of hearing the voice of God. Experience allows one to notice things that are not explicitly mentioned in God's Word (*logos*) and yet believe it, because it comes to one as *rhema*. In other words, there is more than what Christians learn from the Bible. Spiritual Mapping is learned from everyday practical experience and observation. Yet it should not contradict the Word (*logos*).

Believing is seeing, but seeing is not always believing – according to Wagner. Interpreting or experiencing the words from God is possible only if one is convinced beforehand that these things are possible: 'In the final analysis, it is a matter of faith.'[72] This is why Kraft wrote in 2002 that Argentina was the *experiental* proof of Spiritual Mapping.[73]

If experience can give new knowledge or 'new revelation from the Spirit', and if experience produces new knowledge on the same level as *logos* knowledge, then Christians urgently need criteria for verification. How does one recognize the voice of God? Eduardo Lorenzo responded: 'When God speaks, one knows.'[74] He added that there should be enough consensus among the believers and that the results should glorify God. Wagner stated that any 'new revelation' should be subject to the following criteria:[75] it should neither contradict the *logos* nor violate any of the general biblical principles; it should bring glory to God and conform to the known will of God; it should bless people and 'measurably' advance God's kingdom on earth; finally, it should be affirmed by 'credible witnesses' and agreed upon by 'responsible and like-minded' colleagues.

Another way to obtain knowledge of the 'unseen' is to learn from 'animistic peoples', whose beliefs and practices do have some validity. Wagner said that animistic cultural information on the unseen reality *can* be accurate. Some parts of reality are primarily discerned in a spiritual way and therefore do not lend themselves to scientific analysis, but philosophers, gurus, lamas, shamans and others may have gained considerable expertise and may be able to communicate useful information about the unseen reality.[76] Moreover, not only information from 'converted occultists' is useful but that from demons themselves as well.[77] Demons are supposed to tell the truth when questioned by Christians who are 'under the authority of Christ'. Wagner stated that he believed in 'limited dualism' – 'limited' because Satan is not equal to God and because he has been defeated on the cross; 'dualism' because the world is divided into the kingdom of darkness and the kingdom of God. Animism can provide insight into the kingdom of darkness because of its age-old *experiental* knowledge.

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[71] Deere 1993; 1997; Jacobs 1993(b), 75, 85; 1997; Kraft 1989, 158-159; Wagner 1988(b), 15-16; 1991(a), 15-16; 1996, 51-53.
[72] Wagner 1996, 47, 51.
[73] Kraft 2002(a), 60.
[74] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[75] Wagner 1996, 63.
[76] Otis 1991, 91; Wagner 1990(b), 85-86; 1991(a), 94, 1992(a), 100-101, 147; White 1991, 61.
[77] Kraft 1992, 56-59, 157-175, 194, 198; 1993, 268-269; Murphy 1992, 30-31, 53, 315, 438, 461, 474; Wagner, 1988(a), 202-203; 1990(b), 84-85; 1996, 64-69.

Wagner attributed the ongoing Argentine revival to the broad acceptance of experiental knowledge. Eduardo Lorenzo affirmed this: 'Our Spiritual Mapping was not the result of reflection, but the result of practical confrontation.'[78] Wagner explained this by the 'Wilkes Spectrum', a profile of upper-class and lower-class values, [79]

Diagram 4: The Wilkes Spectrum, Class Preferences for Christian Values

Upper class <- - - continuum - - - >	Lower class
Personal Inclination:	
1. Intellectual	Intuitional
2. Rational	Emotional
3. Scientific	Experiental
4. Deductive reasoning	Inductive reasoning
5. Literacy essential	Literacy optional
6. You control life	Life controls you
Spiritual Tendencies:	
1. Faith is complex	Faith is simple
2. Conversion is gentle	Conversion is confrontation
3. Biblical criticism	Biblical literalism
4. Systematic theology, philosophy-based	Pragmatic theology, ministry-based
5. Relative ethics	Absolute ethics
6. Preaching based on study	Preaching based on ministry
7. Mild demonology	Strong demonology

The spectrum was developed and first presented in Argentina by Peter Wilkes, pastor of South Hills Community Church in San Jose, California. The Argentine revival is for the common people; it is a social phenomenon that upper-class people tend to be more rational and lower-class people more intuitional. It is, in essence, thinking versus feeling. Wagner commented: 'It has been to the credit of the leaders of the Argentine revival that the movement has maintained its position toward the right', i.e. the right side of the Wilkes Spectrum. The point was to let people experience God and his power. The important question in converting to the Christian faith is not if it is true but: 'Does it work to bless people?'[80]

How do we know what we know? Christians discovered in the end times that we can obtain knowledge not only though a *rational* approach (*logos*) but even more – and better – through the *experiental* approach. Wagner described this as 'trusting your feelings'. Through experiental knowledge, both Kraft and Otis affirmed, 'we can never comprehend reality *absolutely*, but we can perceive it

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[78] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[79] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 23, 24; Wagner 2006(b).
[80] Wagner 2006(b), 25.

adequately' (italics mine).[81] It is because of this experiental approach that Wagner could say about one of his most important publications on Spiritual Mapping, *Breaking Strongholds in Your City*: 'I believe that more than any other book I have written, this one emerged from the immediate leading of God.' The basis for this statement was an experience during a prayer time while in Portland, Oregon. Wagner testified that he directly 'received' from God the outline of the book.[82] Experiental knowledge thus meant the perceived urging of the Spirit, which Christians can sense in their emotional life. In that case Christians 'know.'

Another form of experiental knowledge is obtained through a natural human capacity that is to be developed through experience. It is an 'Inner Geiger Counter'. Human beings have 'spiritual senses' with which they can sense the presence of the demonic. This natural capacity develops towards more effectiveness because of a 'close walk with the Lord' or 'past association with the occult'. Expressions like 'they suddenly felt', 'they experienced', 'she was acutely aware of …' or 'she perceived …' may be used.[83]

The pattern of thought in the narrative under 'epistemology' is that the primacy of experience can be combined with traditional Evangelical understanding of the authority of the Bible. The narrative is apologetic in nature. We should remember that this chapter does not treat the question if the movement's self-understanding is correct or complete. What is central is the perception of the movement itself. This will be the same for the movement's definition of its hermeneutics.

Hermeneutics
'Hermeneutics' was loosely defined by Wagner as 'the question of interpretation of the Bible'.[84] Evangelicals make two major mistakes when it comes to hermeneutics, according to Wagner. In the first place Evangelicals were said to be influenced by the anti-supernaturalism of the Enlightenment. The result is that they do not even notice or try to ignore the supernatural in theology. Wagner offers a few comments on the role of the Word (*logos*) in Spiritual Mapping by lamenting the

> pervasive influence of the Enlightenment' on Evangelical Bible interpretation. The Enlightenment brought rejection of supernaturalism and put in its place rationalism. Reality was thus limited to and defined as what our five senses can verify…. The result was that Christians find it hard to believe in demons. The Enlightenment worldview gives Christians a flawed look at reality: a mental grid through which we process all information that comes our way.

It filters out what Spiritual Mapping rediscovered, i.e. the supernatural.[85] Kraft agreed with Wagner, stating that hermeneutics is 'a sub-category of our worldview'. A worldview determines what we 'see' in life. A fully objective interpretation of the Bible is not possible, but *experience* of the power in exorcism and healing can lead

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[81] Kraft 1989, 15; Otis 1991, 85.
[82] Wagner 1993(a), 13, 14.
[83] Dawson 1989, 153; Jacobs 1993(b): 102 148; Murphy 1992, 521; Otis 1991, 86, 87; 1993(b), 36; Wagner 1990(b), 80; 1991(a), xi; 1992(a): 86, 87; 1993(b), 36.
[84] Wagner 1996, 76.
[85] Wagner 1996, 77.

us to the correct interpretation of the Bible. This is what Jesus meant by saying: 'I will lead you into all truth' (John 16:13). Wagner lamented what he saw as a lack of dualism in theological thinking. He added that he did not accept *philosophical dualism* but did propound his version of *limited dualism*, as we saw above.[86]

This limited dualism has consequences for the movement's concepts of evidence and proof. According to Wagner, it is a mistake to declare something 'unscriptural', as the Evangelicals do, if it is not mentioned in the Bible. Wagner objected to this way of reasoning. He compared it with prayer meetings or Sunday schools that are not explicitly recommended in the Bible, and yet Evangelicals accept their existence. He compared it to the use of the term Trinity, to slaves set free, to an accepted canon of sixty-six books and to the use of Sunday as the day of worship. The apostles, Wagner argued, did not accept anything that violated their Scriptures, but they did accept many new things. They adhered to general scriptural principles but were willing to change practices. That there is no comparable model of Spiritual Mapping in the New Testament does not mean that 'it cannot be from God'.[87] Wagner made the following distinction:

> In this book I am not claiming biblical *proof* for the validity of … spiritual mapping…. I will, however, claim that we do have sufficient biblical *evidence* to warrant: 1. At the *least*, a working hypothesis that we can field test, evaluate, modify and refine; 2. At the *most*, a significant relatively new spiritual technology God has given us to meet the greatest challenge to world missions since William Carey went to India more than 200 years ago.[88]

In Wagner's terminology, 'proof' leads to an inevitable conclusion. He conceded that he did not have any proof, but he did state that he had (circumstantial) evidence, which is a matter of probability. Kraft agreed with Wagner. For him, experience not only guides interpretation of the Bible but also adds to what we find in the Bible. Through our experiencing his power Jesus shows us 'new truths' that were not necessarily found in Scripture. Our worldview can prevent us from 'seeing' these new truths, like Spiritual Mapping.[89] Otis used the same argument.[90]

Wagner expanded his treatise on hermeneutics through the interpretation of historical sources. Responding to the criticism that Spiritual Mapping has not been in existence for almost twenty centuries, Wagner stated that there was indeed a new movement by the Spirit in the end times, but there may have been more Spiritual Mapping in the history of the church than Christians might think.

Wagner formulated his 'five principles for probing history'. The first is that 'not everything that happens is recorded'. The idea is that we have limited knowledge of what the Spirit did in biblical times. The second principle is that 'not everything written was preserved'. The third is that 'not everything preserved has been found'. The fourth is that 'not everything found is available' ('I am certain that much more on the subject of strategic-level spiritual warfare is available than we were able to find, given our limited time and our limited skills as historians'). The

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[86] Wagner 1996, 114.
[87] Wagner 1996, 79, 82.
[88] Wagner 1996, 89.
[89] Kraft 2002(a), 24, 60.
[90] Wagner 1993(a), 35.

fifth principle is that 'not everything available is interpreted in the same way'.[91] Consequently, Wagner could end up finding no proof or evidence at all, or an abundance of material, or only a few examples – 'in my opinion it does not matter much'.[92]

The pattern of thought of the narrative under the label 'hermeneutics' was that Spiritual Mapping does not contradict traditional Evangelical hermeneutics but does expand the narrow views of Evangelicalism *on its own terms*. Just as in the above section on epistemology, the function of this particular part of the narrative is largely apologetic.

It may be clarifying to the reader to mention that the movement did neither clearly define nor distinguish epistemology and hermeneutics. It did express, however, a somewhat anti-intellectual and even more clearly, an anti-academic attitude. This will become more pronounced as we come to the key concepts of its theological self-understanding, i.e. its demonology.

Demonology

The Spiritual Mapping movement stated that demonology had not received widespread emphasis in Evangelical theology; it played a relatively minor role. Spiritual Mapping set out to develop Evangelical demonology, paying scant attention to 'good' angels and concentrating on 'evil angels', 'spirits' or 'demons'.

One aspect of this development was an emphasis on the close correlation between 'the seen and the unseen'. There was greater emphasis on the interdependence of the two realms to such an extent that one realm could not be interpreted without the simultaneous interpretation of the other. Spiritual Mapping readily interpreted and identified specific phenomena as visible or tangible signs of this interdependence. Through what was presented as research and divine revelation, adherents felt free to make demonological features and principles concrete in time and space.[93] A classic among the descriptions of Spiritual Mapping was an early definition by Otis: 'Spiritual Mapping is an attempt to see the world not as it appears to be, but as it really is.'[94] In other words, without knowing about demons, human beings see only a part of the total picture. This could also be concluded from Kraft's statement that 'there is a very close relationship between the spiritual and the human realms'.[95] Close correlation and a ready identification in the visible world were characteristics of the new development of Spiritual Mapping in demonology. It made knowledge about demons even the more urgent.

Wagner argued that God 'has permitted dark angels to exercise their power to steal, kill and destroy'. Whether Christians want it or not, they are in a conflict and have to fight with 'personalized supernatural powers'. Wagner granted that 'the animistic worldview, its beliefs and practices have some validity'.[96] Kraft added that there are two dispensers of superhuman spiritual power: God and Satan.[97] Animistic

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[91] Wagner 1996, 93, 94.
[92] Wagner 1996, 92.
[93] Wagner 1993(a), 49-72; 2006(a).
[94] Otis 1991, 49.
[95] Kraft 1994, 35.
[96] Wagner 1996, 64, 66.
[97] Kraft 1994, 35.

cultural information about the unseen reality *could* be accurate. Of course, in line with current Evangelical demonology, 'these dispensers, God and Satan, are unequal'. Satan was only a creature and Christ defeated him on the cross. Nonetheless, the daily fight was considered all too real, as will become clear below.

The movement's orientation on aggressive and offensive prayer and spiritual warfare is characteristic. The church's task was not supposed to be only defensive against powers, as Ephesians 6:10-20 had usually been interpreted, but to take the offensive in spiritual warfare through Spiritual Mapping. The command was to be victorious (*nikao*, Revelation 2:1-7), or to use Spiritual Mapping terminology: 'To have victory over' Satan and his powers. Thus the development of an appropriate plan of attack was considered to be a divine command.

A first aspect of the movement's demonology was its interpretation of the nature and purpose of the 'powers'. The narrative of the movement holds to an ontological interpretation of the demonic and a 'literal' interpretation of Genesis chapter three. The movement made a conscious effort to define these technical terms, some with terminology from the Bible, some from social sciences. Behind the scenes the spiritual opposition was supposed to exist in the form of 'demonic powers', in biblical terms, as 'principalities and powers' (Ephesians 6:12), defined as 'demonic agents and structures that exert control over co-conspirational human political kingdom and systems',[98] or identified by another biblical term: 'world rulers of darkness' (cf. also Ephesians 6:12, 13), defined as 'demonic forces involved in deceptive and destructive manipulation of natural elements and systems'.[99] What are 'demons' or 'powers'? 'Demons' are '(evil) powers', 'fallen angels' or '(evil) spirits' or 'strongmen' (derived from Mark 3:27). These terms were used interchangeably.

Demons could be divided into three main categories.[100] Demons of the first category work on the ground level, which means that they possess individual humans or animals. The second category of demons consists of demons that work at the 'occult level', which means that they are involved in organized occultism such as astrology, New Age, divination and the like. The third category consists of demons at the strategic level, identified in the Bible by 'principalities', 'rulers' and 'powers'. All these powers are lower in status than human beings in the order of God's creation and yet they are extremely dangerous for humans because of Satan's 'legal rights' over humankind and creation.[101] This will be explained further below. Demons are the personal spiritual powers that rule the earth on behalf of Satan to whom the cosmos rightfully belongs since the fall in Genesis 3. Satan gained authority over creation from Adam, since Adam obeyed Satan and not God.[102] 'Since Satan can be in only one place at a time', the other demons, who belong to a hierarchy, carry out his orders. Demons have different personalities, different functions, different responsibilities, different powers and differ in degree of wickedness.[103]

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[98] Otis 1999(b), 254.
[99] Otis 1999(b), 259.
[100] Kraft 1994, 85.
[101] Kraft 1994, 35.
[102] Kraft 1994, 36.
[103] Kraft 1994, 85-86.

The purpose of the powers is to obstruct God's purposes and have dominion over creation. The demons' aim was to maintain Satan's domination and obstruct anything that would bring the cosmos back to its creator and its redeemer: Jesus Christ. Consequently, Christians are supposedly 'their prime target' in the war against God. The demons attack, among other things, the Christians' minds (2 Corinthians 10:4), produce false doctrine (1 Timothy 4:1) and affect health (Luke 13:11).[104] One method the powers use is to inhabit and consequently have power over the object inhabited. Demons also seek to inhabit people, social structures and territories in order to dominate them. They seek to belong to something or someone and live in it. In other words, they look for 'territoriality'.

Another aspect of the movement's demonology is its principle of demonic territoriality. 'Spiritual territoriality' was defined as 'a concept acknowledging that spiritual powers routinely forge strategies that are uniquely linked to specific cultures and geography'. The territoriality of demons was described with an extensively developed terminology. 'Territorial spirits', acting upon the principle of territoriality, are 'demonic powers that have been given controlling influence over specific sites, peoples and areas'. It 'often involves protective deities linked to homes, temples, clans, cities, valleys and nations'.[105] Here they usually follow the design of the territories as defined by human beings.[106] The demonic territories were labelled with a variety of terms derived from biblical imagery. One of the most important biblical texts that was supposed to establish the existence of territorial spirits is Daniel 10: 12, 13, 20 (NIV) in which an angel says:

> Do not be afraid, Daniel. Since the first day that you set your mind to gain understanding and to humble yourself before your God, your words were heard, and I have come in response to them. But the prince of the Persian kingdom resisted me twenty-one days. Then Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me, because I was detained there with the king of Persia. Do you know why I have come to you? Soon I will return to fight against the prince of Persia, and when I go, the prince of Greece will come.[107]

The 'princes' were identified by the movement as territorial spirits. Another central biblical text is Ephesians 6:12 (NIV) where Paul writes:

> For our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the powers, against the world forces of this darkness, against the spiritual forces of this wickedness in the heavenly places.

A 'spiritual stronghold' is defined as an 'ideological fortress that exists both in the human mind and in objective territorial locations. Manifesting both defensive and offensive characteristics, these strongholds simultaneously repel light and export darkness'.[108] The term stronghold was derived from 2 Corinthians 10:4 (NIV): 'The

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[104] Kraft 1994, 101.
[105] Otis 1999(b), 257; Wagner 1991(a), xii.
[106] Kraft 1994, 37.
[107] Otis 1993(b), 35; Wagner 1988(a), 59.
[108] Otis 1999(b), 257.

weapons we fight with are not the weapons of the world. On the contrary, they have divine power to demolish strongholds.'

Another term is the 'city gate', derived from the biblical imagery of the city gate being the centre of political deliberations and power in a Canaanite city: 'centers of political influence and authority, or portals through which new or important influences enter a community,'[109] A territory has a 'high place', which means a 'specific location where a community or its leaders pay obeisance to tutelary deities and/or idolatrous philosophies'.[110] In the Old Testament these high places are mountains or towers. Such a place is also called a 'spiritual quest site', defined as 'any natural or man-made location that facilitates spiritual investigation, ritual or worship. Examples include everything from temples and mosques to sacred mountains and metaphysical bookstores'.[111]

The city gates and high places were also called 'power points' or 'places of power', for they are the places of exchange of supernatural power: 'Specific natural or man-made locations that are widely regarded as bridges or crossover points to the supernatural world. Such sites are often made numinous by the investments of faith offered over time by large numbers of people.'[112] In his study on spiritual territoriality Siew mentioned Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus and Origin as the most important church fathers confirming the principle of territoriality.[113] The concepts of territoriality, possession, attachment and transmission through objects and territories were important cornerstones of Spiritual Mapping.[114]

What are the effects of the establishment of a stronghold? The stronghold holds its population in 'social bondage' and consequently the stronghold is called a 'social bondage site', defined as 'strongholds of community suffering, destabilizing social values and/or destructive vices'. In this way Satan holds creation in bondage socially. In the minds of the people within the stronghold, Satan's demons create bondage on an individual level in the form of 'head nests': 'Psychic habitats consisting of neural patterns created through sinful choices….'[115] These 'potent platforms' within an individual are the base from which a demon manipulates 'our inner world'. The specific curse of spell through which this manipulation works, depends on the nature of the bondage and the nature of the demons involved.[116]

Territorial strongholds tend to expand or to spread. There are several possible patterns for spreading. A stronghold will often spread from a location called an 'ideological export centre', being 'a specific location, most commonly a city, that serves as a recognized distribution point for adverse moral, philosophical and spiritual influences'.[117] The ideological export centre is usually the centre of a 'suprastate': 'An area of expanded size and common features or interests' (like the greater Navajo Nation or the Andean Altiplano).[118] It may be exported itself to urban areas through a conglomerate of 'City Islands', defined as 'communities whose

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[109] Otis 1999(b), 248.
[110] Otis 1999(b), 251.
[111] Otis 1999(b), 256.
[112] Otis 1999(b), 253.
[113] Siew 1999, 285.
[114] Kraft 1992, 198, 231; 1994, 47; Wagner 1993(b), 182.
[115] Otis 1999(b), 251.
[116] Jacobs 1991, 138; Kraft 1992, 76.
[117] Otis 1999(b), 251.
[118] Otis 1999(b), 257.

spiritual or philosophical connections are with cultures outside their immediate geographic area'. According to Otis, expanding global networks and large-scale migration have made these situations more common than ever.[119]

How do territorial demons acquire strongholds? Since the Fall in Genesis 3, Satan has full legal right to dominion over the cosmos and to inhabit the earth.[120] In this sense, the whole cosmos has become, in principle, Satan's stronghold. However, the obtained right of dominion has to be implemented, whereby Satan was confronted three tasks.

Satan's first task was the enforcement of the 'legal submission'. After the Fall, the earth had to be subdued to Satan's rule. Satan had to bring humankind to rightful obedience. The starting point is that humankind has to be lured away from obedience to God first, which Satan does so by deceit. He tempts humankind through religions, myth, sorcery, philosophical traditions or any means by which he can keep humankind away from their creator and manipulate humankind. He carries out this intention through a stronghold: the geographical connecting point of demons with humankind. In the end the objective is always destruction and to thwart God's purposes. This explains why the strongholds always (!) result in social deprivation, war, poverty, and 'community deformation'.[121] The examples are many: Buddhism with its temples, Canaanite religions with their holy shrines, Taoism with its philosophy.

After the death of Jesus on the cross, Satan's second task was to enforce 'illegal submission'. After Christ's death on the cross Satan lost legal ownership of the cosmos. Christ had bought creation back by paying the price of ownership with his own life. By doing so, Christ 'disarmed the powers and authorities, he made a public spectacle of them, triumphing over them by the cross' (Colossians 2:15). The movement did not reflect on the theological roots of the idea of the cross as a victory. Christ paid the ransom with his life and thus took Satan's legal rights. Consequently, the movement stated, Satan had to revert to deceit and intimidation in order to maintain or to extend his strongholds. Satan is fighting an illegal and hopeless cause. Examples of these illegal satanic actions are, again, many: Islam with its territorial conquest, New Age with Neo-Pagan worship sites and many others.

Satan's third task is to 'battle against the redemptive plan of God'. God sets out to win back the earth by initiating his plan of salvation in history. He did so in time and space, in Satan's territory, starting with Abraham, continuing through the people of Israel, and culminating in Christ's suffering on the cross, followed by the advance of his church today. Satan has always resisted this plan of salvation and thus spiritual conflict between the kingdom of Satan and the kingdom of God was born. The base for operations against the advance of God's redemptive activities are the strongholds. Demons actively resist any advance of the divine redemptive plan.

The third task of Satan means that people groups have to be brought under 'corporate sin', being defined as 'group rebellion against God's law and purpose'. 'The offending collective may be a family, clan, tribe, neighbourhood, city nation or

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[119] Otis 1999(b), 248.
[120] Kraft 1994, 19.
[121] Otis 1999(b), 249.

church'.[122] The group can do so by inviting a demon, veiled in the form of a religion or philosophy. It may start the worship of a deity by inviting a priest to perform the rituals because the group feels it fills a felt need. Humans can extend an invitation consciously or unconsciously, but it will always be an act of sin, which gives a demon a supposed 'legal right' in that particular territory at that particular time. The invasion or possession of a person or a territory happens through an allegiance with demons, hidden within the particular religion or philosophy.

Once the allegiance has been established, next generations may receive it as an 'inheritance'. It means the genealogical transmission of allegiance through, for example, inheriting a 'contract' with its curses of the past. A territory can inherit a spirit of Freemasonry, Mormonism, Islam, sickness, economic disaster and the like.[123] Points of contact through which demons start a stronghold are found in the 'confluent of events': 'External influences that flow into the life of a community and help shape its character.' These tributaries may include 'wars, migrations, natural disasters and new state laws' or 'the arrival of an ideology'.[124]

This 'confluent of events' leads to 'contouring events': 'Community choices and/or actions that alter the historical landscape….' These events may include 'local elections, moral choices … or actions taken to preserve a deceptive tradition.' The choices lead to practical 'participatory activities', which means 'direct involvement with questionable spiritual rituals or objects, and/or deliberate exposure to "how to" techniques in books dealing with occult subjects. Such things are forbidden for Christians, even in the name of research'.[125] Thus choices and activities lead to group rebellion and corporate sin.

The 'legal rights' or 'commitments' given to demons extend to ideology, property and territory.[126] However, human beings without Christ do not know about Satan's defeat on the cross and do not have access to the power of Christ to break Satan's hold. Satan, without 'legal rights' after the cross, will use deception and intimidation to trick people into submitting to him and become entrapped in his tight grip, and will not easily be dislodged from his strongholds. Only Christ's name and power can decisively and overtly break the power of a stronghold. There is a definite difference in intensity in the strongholds. Generally, it is believed that the more sin, in terms of quality or quantity, the stronger Satan's grip will be on a territory.[127]

An important aspect of the movement's demonology is the visibility of demonic territoriality. How does one see or sense it? According to Spiritual Mapping, human beings suffer from 'conditions of pain', defined as 'social suffering' such as 'injustice, poverty, violence and disease'.[128] Demons obtain territory by offering a short-term solution to human beings. In exchange for this practical help demons enter into an alliance with humans in the given territory. Human beings now owe long-term obedience to the demons. Humans may or may not be aware that demons

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[122] Otis 1999(b), 250.
[123] Kraft 1994, 84, 88; Murphy 1992, 437-438.
[124] Otis 1999(b), 249.
[125] Otis 1999(b) 253.
[126] Kraft 1991, 35.
[127] Kraft 1994, 100.
[128] Kraft 1999(b), 248.

are behind this. Once a territory has been obtained by demons, they try to keep up the relationship through a Faustian 'quid pro quo contract': 'an arrangement whereby individuals or communities offer long-term allegiance to spiritual powers …'.[129] This contract can take the form of any religion, ideology or ritual. In case changes in circumstances demand that the contract be adapted, we speak of 'adaptive deceptions', designed to 'replace earlier strategies whose beguiling powers have waned'. They may be seen as 'corrections' or 'upgrades' and explain why religions change through the times.[130]

Demonic territoriality can be discerned. A general description is: 'Any evidence of a new or ungodly alliance that may be forming against the cause of Christ.' It always means practical 'spiritual opposition', [131] any form of demonic 'empowerment' by spirits.[132] What are its visible indicators?

Demonic territoriality may express itself practically in politics and legislation. Mentioned here are 'possible legislation against Christian values and/or practices', and 'decisions and actions of a politician, a bureaucrat, judge or police official'. This usually involves 'the erosion of commitment to Judeo-Christian values'.[133] The National Governmental Prayer Alliance targeted the government of the US in its desire to work towards nationwide revival.[134]

Territoriality may express itself in specific problems Christians face. It may be 'mockery of Christians', 'physical persecution' or 'damage to Christian property'.[135] It may be public opposition to evangelism and church growth. It may be 'instances where Christian workers have suffered from inexplicable illnesses, financial reversals or accidents' or 'bouts of depression among preachers and evangelists'.[136] Territoriality may be indicated by what the movement perceives as social problems: 'Specific examples might include crack houses, nightclubs, gang hideouts, abortion clinics and porno theaters'.[137] Territoriality may express itself in the presence of certain social groups, such as 'radical feminists', 'homosexuals' and a 'spirit of homosexuality'.[138]

Territoriality can be discerned by the presence of New Religious Movements with phenomena like 'local witches or shamans' and all groups working with the concepts of geomancy as ley lines,[139] timelines[140] and ecology, dowsing, architecture, astronomy, astrology, mythology and cosmology.[141] It concerns spirits attached to 'trees, bodies of water, tools, households or other objects',[142] sites or buildings that 'are generally known to be haunted or demonized' or 'a disproportionate number of demonized people'.[143] The New Religious Movements

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[129] Otis 1999(b), 254.
[130] Otis 1999(b), 247.
[131] Otis 1999(b), 236-238.
[132] Kraft 1994, 34, 37.
[133] Wagner 1993(a), 45.
[134] Interview DeKeyzer, Colorado Springs, September 25, 2006; Sheets 2006.
[135] Otis 1999(b), 237.
[136] Otis 1999(b), 238.
[137] Otis 1999(b), 255.
[138] Wagner 1992(a), 173; 1993(a), 59-60; 1993(b), 61.
[139] Otis 1999(b), 252.
[140] Otis 1999(b), 258.
[141] Otis 1999(b), 250.
[142] Kraft 2002(b), 1095.
[143] Otis 1999(b), 237.

and their practices were often lumped together as 'occultism or other spiritual bondages'.[144]

The same can be said for all the older non-Christian religions with their 'religious festivals or ceremonies' and their deities, which are demons, like 'the Hindu, Buddhist, the various Islam spirits'.[145] Everything that is not Christian is of the same demonic quality: 'Mormonism, Islam, Freemasonry.'[146] A Spiritual Mapping group like the 'Battle Axe Brigade' includes the Roman Catholic Church as a 'corrupted religion'.[147] Territoriality may express itself in certain cultural phenomena, such as 'rituals, certain music and other non-material entities' such as 'games, movies, artistic productions'.[148] However different they may seem on the surface, a 'clear example' of demonic territoriality is found 'in Mecca or Hollywood',[149] both being the expression of allegiance to demons.

The notion of offensive warfare is important. The movement does not limit itself to a defensive stand, but the task of churches is to work offensively towards 'community transformation', defined by Otis as

> A condition of dramatic socio-political renewal that results from God's people entering into corporate vision, corporate repentance and corporate prayer. During these extraordinary seasons the kingdom of God pervades virtually every institution of human endeavour. Confirmation of this new heavenly order is typically provided through the secular media.[150]

This 'corporate vision' is an important key for success. It is 'a situation where local ministries subordinate or abandon personal agendas in order to participate in a city wide collective cause'.[151] It presupposes a 'commitment to the land' of the practitioner, which concerns a proposition of 'single-minded devotion to a particular community which necessarily precedes the release of spiritual insight into that community'.[152] Two other 'core factors' are 'persevering leadership and fervent, united prayer that appear to initiate divine involvement in the process of community transformation'.[153] Community transformation will not happen without commitment to the land, corporate vision, persevering leadership and prayer.

The practical 'technology', 'diagnostic tool', 'diagnostic research' or 'discipline' to come to community transformation is 'Spiritual Mapping': 'The discipline of diagnosing the obstacles to revival in a given community. The practitioners are able to 'measure the landscape of the spiritual dimension and discern the moral gateways between it and the material world.'[154] Its goal is 'to

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[144] Wagner 1992(a), 173.
[145] Kraft 1994, 100, 135.
[146] Kraft 1994, 85.
[147] Battleaxe 2001.
[148] Kraft 2002(b), 1095, 1096.
[149] Otis 1999(b), 257.
[150] Otis 1999(b), 248.
[151] Otis 1999(b), 249.
[152] Otis 1999(b), 248.
[153] Otis 1999(b), 249.
[154] Otis 1999(b), 256.

know the devices of Satan'. Spiritual Mapping studies Satan's battle plan.[155] It is the necessary preparatory work for 'effective evangelism'.[156]

A part of Spiritual Mapping is 'character mapping' by which a practitioner concerns himself with 'the process of identifying, or re-identifying, a community on the basis of its spiritual allegiance, social reputation and ongoing pattern of behaviour' and puts it on a map.[157] The resulting maps will show the character of a territory, which may indicate the nature and function of a territorial spirit. Examples of character mapping are found in biblical descriptions of Babylon as 'Mother of Harlots' and Niniveh as 'Mistress of Sorceries'. Apparently, Otis concluded, Babylon was under the dominion of a demon of promiscuity and Niniveh under a demon of sorcery. This 'identification of principalities' involves the examination of factors like history, habits, language and ideology.[158]

A necessary prerequisite for Spiritual Mapping is 'a clear understanding' of the concept of 'worldview': 'the perspective adopted by a given individual or culture on the world which surrounds them.'[159] The idea is that the adherent should distance himself from the rationalistic 'Western worldview' and, more particularly, appreciate the 'worldview of Animism', defined as 'the belief that all natural elements – such as mountains, rivers, trees, thunder, fire, stars, animals and human beings – are endowed with, and linked to, a persuasive and conscious spiritual force'.[160]

The movement did not teach the adoption of all that animism has to offer but did appreciate the view that the natural and supernatural are intertwined. This has to do with the view that a Christian worldview should be three-tiered, consisting of the transcendent world (or 'heaven'), a middle layer featuring supernatural forces on earth and the third layer of the empirical world of our senses.[161] If one does not understand these principles, one will not be able to 'see'. As Wagner exclaimed, 'I lived for 14 years in Bolivia and I had never 'seen' demons!'[162] One will miss the lessons to be learned from geomancy, defined as a system of harmonization of 'human activity with natural patterns', integrating 'ecology, dowsing, architecture, astronomy, astrology, mythology and cosmology'. One will miss out on the many 'ley lines', the 'geographic continuums of spiritual power' that 'are established by or recognized by certain peoples'. Ley lines are straight lines thought to be a route or historical road that joins prominent features of the landscape, like hilltops, and that are supposed to have some kind of scientific or magical significance. These lines may be 'conduits of spiritual energy or may be boundaries of for spiritual authority'.[163] The study of ley lines often leads to strongholds.

Once the prerequisites are in place one can 'see' spiritual reality and start organizing Spiritual Mapping in a practical way. Otis starts out with a 'field unit', 'a team cell that extracts useful information from primary sources within a

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[155] Wagner 1996, 4.
[156] Kraft 1994, 140.
[157] Otis 1991, 247.
[158] Kraft 1994, 135.
[159] Otis 1999(b), 259.
[160] Otis 1999(b), 247.
[161] Otis 1999(b), 250; Hiebert 1982, 35-47.
[162] Wagner 2006(a).
[163] Otis 1999(b), 250, 252.

community', usually through interviews and observation.[164] Otis especially developed an organizational system with 'special briefings', including a set of 'discovery questions' and 'essential elements', tools to stay focussed on the research assignment and with a preparatory study of 'rules for interpretation' (see epistemology).[165]

Once the 'intelligence' has been obtained, it must be organized. It has to be put on a map with the help of technical tools for the development of 'data sets', 'data overlays', 'timelines', 'thematic chronologies' and 'grid mapping'.[166] This leads to standardized Spiritual Mapping products such as the 'neighbourhood report', which is defined in a flexible way since it can be a campus, a military base, an estate or a 'Native Reservation' as well. It may lead to a standardized 'regional report', which deals with large units like cities and nations.[167] All the reports are collected in an 'information control system', such as digital databases, journals, tape logs and other information storage facilities.[168] The role of the Holy Spirit remains important in handling the 'technology':[169] he must 'open our eyes' and give 'understanding' and help in the 'progressive revelation' in which community information is 'incrementally' disclosed.[170]

Once the Spiritual Mapping process has yielded the revelation of the strongholds it is time to act 'in the authority of Christ'. A term often used is 'to take authority'.[171] Christ 'disarmed the powers' (Colossians 2:14-15) and thus gained authority over them. For Christians, the cross did not 'only' provide atonement for sins but also practical victory in confrontation with the powers as well. The authority of Christians rests on Christ's authority: Christians have the authority, in Christ's name, to act on that decisive victory. Jesus gave his disciples authority 'to bind the strongman'. See Matthew 12:29, 'Or again, how can anyone enter a strong man's house and carry off his possessions, unless he first ties up the strong man? Then he can rob his house', and Matthew 16:19, 'Whatever you bind on earth, will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.'

The only real power demons are thought to have is deception. Christians have 'all the power over the enemy'. They are in a position similar to that of the Allied Forces on D-day on June 6, 1944. Victory was certain after the successful landing but required follow-up activity until May 1945: 'Just as God gave us a digestive system but expects us to take the initiative to eat in order to stay alive, he has also given us weapons for spiritual warfare.'[172] Christians have to implement a victory already won.

This is generally labelled 'spiritual warfare', the conflict with demonic strongholds, fought by means of 'non-carnal weaponry'. It involves prayer – 'warfare prayer', 'intercessory prayer', 'praying down' or 'praying against evil

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[164] Otis 1999(b), 250.
[165] Otis 1999(b), 250, 255.
[166] Otis 1999(b), 249, 251, 257, 258.
[167] Otis 1999(b), 252, 254.
[168] Otis 1999(b), 251.
[169] Kraft 1994, 85.
[170] Otis 1999(b), 254.
[171] Interview Eduaro Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[172] Kraft 1994, 128, 129.

spirits' – so that the strongholds will be uprooted.[173] 'Prayer is, 'in the broadest sense, communication between those of us in the natural world with personalities in the invisible world'. Consequently, 'prayer is not just talking with God', Wagner wrote, but also commanding demons or breaking demonic strongholds. 'Prayer is a missionary instrument … prayer is a tool', Deiros stated.[174] Prayer can be used as offensive warfare against demons.

Knowing the above rules and being informed by Spiritual Mapping research, the process should lead to the 'power encounter', defined as 'a visible, practical demonstration that Jesus Christ is more powerful than the spirits …'.[175] This was supposed to result in the 'binding of the strongman', which neutralizes 'the deceptive hold or enchantment that demonic powers have achieved over given human subjects …'.[176]

Víctor Lorenzo described his experience in Resistencia as follows:

> We battled fiercely against the invisible powers over the city for hours. We attacked them in what we sensed was their hierarchical order, from bottom to top. First came Pombero, then Curupí, then San la Muerte, then the sprit of Freemasonry, then Queen of Heaven, then the Python spirit whom we suspected functioned as the coordinator of all the forces of evil in the city.[177]

The power encounter can be achieved through offensive praying during 'prayer walking', which is 'the practice of on-site, street-level intercession, during a walk through a village or neighbourhood ('praying on-site with insight'). Another possibility is the 'prayer journey' after travelling to a city to perform prayer walking. 'Prayer expeditions' are 'long-distance, trans-territorial prayer walks along strategically developed routes', aiming at large areas.[178] Several organizations developed 'prayer walking profiles' giving 'intelligence' for practitioners during the walk. Specific forms of a prayer journeys are 'pilgrimages of repentance', during which adherents address sin of previous generations through 'identificational repentance'.

'Identificational repentance' implies acknowledgement of the guilt of an 'affinity group' (family, clan, nation or otherwise) to which the trip is organized. The affinity group is supposed to be guilty of some form of 'corporate sin'. The practitioner prays that God will use his personal prayer to forgive the sins of the past, such as for the Crusades, wars or ancient slavery. The practitioner identifies with people groups or territories and repents on their behalf. As Víctor Lorenzo says concerning warfare prayer in La Plata, Argentina: 'The leaders humbly begged God to erase the consequences of sin and to remove the curse from the city.'[179] In doing so, he could break the power of the stronghold that gained the 'legal rights' because of injustices in the past.

It should be mentioned here again that Patristic sources were used as references, except in the anecdotal sense by Wagner, for a few references that have

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[173] Kraft 1994, 129; Otis 1999(), 252, 257, 259.
[174] Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[175] Otis 1999(b), 253.
[176] Otis 1999(b), 247.
[177] Lorenzo 1993, 177.
[178] Otis 1999(b), 253, 254.
[179] Lorenzo 1993, 190.

the function to confirm Spiritual Mapping. Those mentioned were Gregory Thaumaturgus, Martin of Tours, Benedict and Boniface in order to illustrate historical precedents of power encounter.[180] There was no discussion of their respective theologies.

The result of offensive warfare is the practical transformation of society. Thus a practitioner knows for certain that God is acting on his prayers. This certitude is usually confirmed by a personal sense of peace. As Víctor Lorenzo said: 'When we finished, an almost tangible sense of peace and freedom came over all who had participated. We were confident that this first battle had been won and that the city could be claimed for the Lord.'[181]

The very first phase of the process is the establishment of a 'spiritual beachhead' in the area of a stronghold. The establishment of a beachhead is first felt among Christians in the form of a hunger for unity, the increasing intensity in desire for holy living and dedicated prayer. This causes the stronghold to crumble. The second phase toward community transformation is the 'spiritual breakthrough' characterized by rapid and substantial church growth. Evangelism spreads spontaneously and churches grow. The stronghold has been broken down. The third phase is complete 'community transformation' or 'spiritual transformation' with the ensuing social changes in society. [182] This transformation is assessed by 'character snapshots', defined as 'Reassessments of a community's spiritual status in the aftermath of important historical decisions or events', which roughly means a diagnostic check of the progress in the process of warfare and/or its effects.[183]

What the transformed society should do is to speak out in 'united prayer', i.e. the official act of declaring to heaven that the newly transformed community is ready for partnership with God. The purpose is to 'renew the allegiance', i.e. to reaffirm spiritual pacts and practices as initiated by predecessors. The spiritual foundation of a people is renewed in this way. Having done so, the next important step is 'spiritual maintenance'. This is the action to preserve the transformation of society. Every generation has to keep the powers pushed back. This means the right attitude and action in politics, commerce, press and educational system. Spirits come back if they are not actively kept at bay.[184]

Eschatology

In eschatological terms, the Argentine revival gradually became considered more and more to be a breaking point in God's way of working in human history. God started this 'new way of working' in 1982, and it was still developing. Deiros identified this new way as the third paradigm of God's work in history.[185] Initially, Spiritual Mapping was considered to be an exciting new way for the Evangelical community to do missions in the end times. However, it gradually became perceived as part of an entirely new way of God's work in history: a new paradigm.

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[180] Murphy 1992, Wagner 1996, 105-108, 112-113.
[181] Wagner 1996, 177.
[182] Otis 1999(b), 255, 256.
[183] Otis 1999(b), 248.
[184] Otis 1999(b), 255, 256, 258; Wagner 2006.
[185] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 46-53.

The first paradigm was the 'apostolic paradigm' of the church model of the first three centuries. The second paradigm took place from 313 until 1982 and was called the 'Christendom paradigm'. It is characterized by traditionalism and an inward looking church. The third paradigm is the 'New Apostolic Paradigm', characterized by a church with an outward looking orientation on a global scale, in an apocalyptic time, 'because of redeeming intervention of God in preparation for the glorious return of Christ'. This third paradigm is 'the last of its kind to emerge before the glorious return of Christ'. Its dominant characteristic is a change in attitude: Christians change from being oriented to 'institutional maintenance' to being oriented to one of mission and service in 'power'.

Deiros sees many signs of this New Apostolic Paradigm in Christian churches: the democratization of charismata, new experimental models of being church, new forms of worship, exorcism, missionary models, de-institutionalization and new forms of spiritual warfare, which includes Spiritual Mapping. This new paradigm means a new approach to spiritual warfare: 'A new level of spiritual warfare has been entrusted to the Church.' It means restoration as well: 'The authentic government of the universal church is, once again, in place.'[186] Wagner stated:

> We are the first generation in centuries to live in a time ripe for the greatest manifestation of the Holy Spirit ever poured out across the earth. With the ongoing revival in Argentina and the worldwide prayer movement God is doing something unique in history. The timing represents a divine convergence of historical factors. The defeat in the Malvinas war shattered the spiritual stronghold of pride over Argentina and opened Argentina to the work of the Spirit.[187]

Deiros admitted that many actors played a role in this divine convergence, but 'nevertheless, to many the decisive factor was not political, social or economic, but was, quite simply, an extraordinarily powerful move of the Holy Spirit'.[188] This is the 'Third Wave of the Spirit' or the 'post-denominational era', in which many theological definitions changed. For example, prayer changed from person-centered pietistic prayer or individual exorcism, to spiritual warfare as in Spiritual Mapping. God was entrusting the churches with the new end-time weapon of prayer, such as 'strategic-level spiritual warfare, Spiritual Mapping, identificational repentance and prayer evangelism'.[189] 'A new apostolic order came into being', in order 'to fashion new wineskins'. 'The new apostolic paradigm … signals the most radical change in the way of "doing church" since the Protestant Reformation.' It 'began to influence the whole of Christianity'.[190]

At last Satan's very seat had been identified. According to Otis, it was right in the middle of the 10/40 window, in the Garden of Eden in present day Iraq. The entrance for Satan was Adam and Eve's sin in the Garden (Genesis 3). The decisive last battle may take place at the same location. 'There is striking evidence that the serpent of Eden has established a global command and control centre atop of the oily residue of the Garden's once flourishing vegetation and animal life'. Iraq is the

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[186] Wagner 2001, 8.
[187] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 15, 22.
[188] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 30.
[189] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 16.
[190] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 17.

centre of satanic activity and Saddam Hussein was the most recent incarnation of
Satan himself.[191]

On the domestic level, Satan's activities in the US were identified with
cultural changes, interpreted as conspiracies. For example, Neo-Paganism was
considered to be a threatening high-tech community, influential in the automation
industry and Silicon Valley, taking the lead in Western cultural life and a menace to
the Judeo-Christian tradition. A satanic conspiracy was thought to be seeking to
destroy the church and the Western world in order to achieve dominance over 'our
own national policy, the CIA, government administration ... and armed forces ...'.[192]
As a consequence, it was important to identify what was behind every cultural,
political and economic change. Thus Kraft's explicit aim was to 'to help Christians
... to face up to their culture and traditions so that they can move beyond them ...'.[193]
'Satanic power can reside in cultural forms such as words and objects', Kraft
stated.[194] He warned against the 'wide-ranging ramifications' of cultural change and
urged his readers to 'exert control' over the patterns and structures of their culture.

The last battle will not produce a total victory before the return of Christ. In
a paper called A Model for Discerning, Penetrating and Overcoming Ruling
Principalities and Powers, Tom White stated that supernatural evil will continue
until the very end.[195] Otis stated: 'It is simply not realistic to expect that that we can
facilitate the wholesale elimination of demonic powers prior the second coming.'[196]

According to Otis, Spiritual Mapping 'binds the strongmen' and we could expect
'great things', but in the final analysis 'there is no guarantee that people will
respond'. 'The fact that a man comes out of a drunken stupor does not mean that he
has been delivered from alcoholism'. Spiritual Mapping opens up new possibilities,
but does not offer a guarantee of success.[197] Wagner held that demons are pushed
back by warfare prayer but did not state it will destroy them. Every generation has to
keep pushing the demons back.[198] There is no guarantee during the end times, but it
is a unique situation for the church of Christ nonetheless. 'The most significant new
development for Christian leaders that has surfaced in the 1990's is that God's
people are now positioned to complete the Great Commission of Jesus in the life
span of this present generation', Wagner said. 'No previous generation could have
said this … one reason being that no previous generation has had the technological
tools to measure the precise dimensions of the remaining task.'[199]

The eschatology of Spiritual Mapping was a considerably reduced form of
Evangelical eschatology. Many questions that were debated in a lively way within
Evangelicalism, are not found in publications on Spiritual Mapping. The
eschatological discussions on pre- or post-millenarianism, a pre- or post-tribulation
rapture and other forms of dispensationalism, prominent in Evangelicalism, were
ignored. They were not denied – they were just not discussed.

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[191] Otis 1991, 99, 100.
[192] Robb 1994, 169.
[193] Kraft 1989, viii.
[194] Kraft 1989, 54-57, 162.
[195] White 1989.
[196] Otis 1997, 279.
[197] Otis 1997, 282, 283.
[198] Wagner 2006(b).
[199] Otis 1991, 2.

In conclusion, we note that the narrative of eschatological thinking of the movement showed an important shift from Spiritual Mapping as a tool for Evangelicalism's missionary work and the movement as a valuable addition to Evangelicalism, to the perception of it as the vanguard of an entirely new way of divine work on earth.

Ecclesiology

The church is above all a missionary church, meant 'to disciple all nations'. Spiritual Mapping viewed the missionary function of the church as its 'primary mission'.[200] It was the desire to make the church more effective in the pursuit of this missionary task, in accordance with the principles of the Church Growth Movement. Spiritual Mapping was frontier fighting in the spiritual war to reach the 'lost' and set them free by fighting the powers that control them. Spiritual Mapping had a direct function for world evangelism. However, Spiritual Mapping was not just a helpful or optional tool for the church. The church needed to become involved in Spiritual Mapping, because otherwise it would 'not survive long or well'.[201] Without it, the church was handicapped and could not see reality as it is. The church had to adopt Spiritual Mapping if it was ever going to function as God intended it to function. This tension between Spiritual Mapping and the church would characterize the relations and ensuing discussions.

A certain distinction within the church between the spiritual and not-so-spiritual, those 'used by God and those not used by God' was common in popular Evangelical thinking. Otis referred to this Evangelical tradition, popularized in the prayer tradition, when he says: 'Although Carey, Clive S. Lewis, Graham and Mother Teresa will always be remembered for their unique contributions, even these luminaries cannot match the collective glow of countless faithful intercessors down through the ages.'[202] For Otis, the ecclesiastical heroes were those who prayed. There had always been a group of cutting-edge forerunners, the spiritual within the church of God. Now this applied to those involved in Spiritual Mapping.

In the beginning the overall tone of the movement was open and explanatory. There was hope that the 'critics' would accept Spiritual Mapping. There was a commitment to being Evangelical and maintaining its particular precepts, as illustrated above in this chapter. It is still the discussion of Evangelicals among each other. In 1994 Wagner explained to adherents the 'diffusion of innovation theory', in which four kinds of adopters of new ideas figure: the early adopters, the middle adopters, the late adopters and the laggards. Spiritual Mapping belonged to the 'early adopters', but soon many would follow once they saw what was happening and experienced it firsthand.[203] As chapter four showed, it did not work out that way.

In the second half of the 1990s, the discussion became more polemical. There was growing irritation concerning the 'unwillingness' of Evangelicals. As long as Spiritual Mapping had not been adopted by the church, the Spiritual Mapping movement belonged to the 'cutting-edge segment of Christianity', Wagner

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[200] Otis 1991, 96.
[201] Kraft 1989, 15; Otis 1991, 85.
[202] Otis 1997, 313.
[203] Kraft 1994, 124-125.

stated in 1996. Gradually, the utterances became more schismatic. Otis, certainly not the most polemical, started writing in 1997 in terms of a dichotomy between Christians who know and those who do not know. It was Spiritual Mapping against a majority without spiritual insight 'not patient enough to unpack God's revelations'.[204] In 1998 both Wagner and Deiros distinguished between 'those like-minded' and those not like-minded, between 'those who have not seen' and the 'spiritually minded'.[205] Wagner said concerning Spiritual Mapping in 1999: 'God has been raising up such an extraordinary group of leaders for His Kingdom in the generation following mine…. I can say with great confidence that the body of Christ is in good hands for the future.'[206] The future of the church was supposed to be in the hands of this particular group of people but not in the hands of other Evangelicals.

Since the movement had to deal with the fact that Evangelicalism had not adopted Spiritual Mapping, it underwent a process of reinterpretation, reflection on criticism and 'listening to what the Spirit has to say'. The conclusion was that the movement was not part of Evangelicalism anymore. In 2001 those who accepted the New Apostolic Reformation called themselves 'the authentic government of the universal church'.[207] Kraft state in 2002 that within the church a group of Christians are living with 'a new paradigm', in 'a new dimension', 'as normal Christianity was meant to be in the Bible'. He said about himself: 'I believe I have been led by God to break through that glass ceiling into a new dimension in which I am experiencing something close to normal Christianity as defined biblically.'[208]

The consequence was that those outside the movement were living in another dimension. It should be kept in mind that in Evangelical circles this was schismatic language. The identity of Evangelicalism, as it sees itself, is the very return to biblical roots and living the faith of the first generation Christians. However, according to Kraft, they were not experiencing 'normal Christianity' and were far from a faith 'as defined biblically'.[209] They were 'not yet partaking in God's power' and they had not yet discovered 'the spiritual realm'.[210] Evangelical theological schools were considered out of touch with 'reality' and generally 'powerless'. He typified Evangelical leaders as 'unwilling' to deal with what the Spirit was obviously doing.[211]

The concepts of 'church' or 'people of God' were never defined by Spiritual Mapping. The view of the church betrayed a strongly territorial emphasis. The church's pattern of expansion followed the path of victories over geographically defined strongholds. Over the years, there was a tendency to emphasize the ideological aspect of the stronghold at the expense of the geographical aspect. DeKeyzer noticed 'some' shift from territorial to ideological.[212] This, however, did not mean a change of definition, but a shift in emphasis.

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[204] Otis 1997, 67, 88.
[205] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 2-56.
[206] Otis 1999(b), 2.
[207] Kraft 1994, 8.
[208] Kraft 2002(a), 7-10
[209] Kraft 2002(a), 5, 16.
[210] Kraft 2002(a), 7-10.
[211] Kraft 2002(a), 46.
[212] Interview DeKeyzer, Colorado Springs, September 25, 2006; Hiebert 2000(b), 68.

Another shift in emphasis was the emphasis on the aspect of church planting at the expense of the extension of the kingdom: the process of discipling still had to lead to the multiplication of churches, but the emphasis on the phase *after* church planting became stronger. Eduardo Lorenzo commented: 'The sad thing about the Church Growth Movement is that it taught us to multiply churches. They made Christians pay attention to the church instead of the city they live in.'[213] It is the upcoming emphasis on total community transformation. The first years of the movement showed an attachment to the Church Growth Movement, but gradually a process of detachment took place. The increasing influence of prophecy and apostolic movements replaced it. The interest in multiplying *Evangelical* churches waned as such, and a desire for a new form of Christianity set in. This new paradigm aimed at 'nothing less than community transformation'.[214]

This important shift would lead to the New Apostolic Reformation, as we described in chapter four. Wagner was aware of this shift, considering the title of his book *Churchquake!* of 1999.[215] The transformation of Spiritual Mapping seemed to be the realization that a new ecclesiastical era had started. Spiritual Mapping brought many to this realization and its function changed afterwards. It was no longer a central rallying point, but it did remain as a 'technology' of the new era. Thus, the narrative showed Spiritual Mapping to be a vanguard within Evangelicalism, and its shift throughout the 1990s increasingly to the New Apostolic Reformation.

Missiology
Spiritual Mapping did not develop its own missiology. Its framework was the missiology of the Church Growth Movement, usually divided into a theological, an anthropological and an historical dimension.[216]

In terms of its theology of religions, it is clear that other religions were evaluated from the perspective of Christianity, or more in particular, from that of the movement itself. The movement was exclusivist in its approach. The Christian message, 'the Gospel', had to be preached to the whole world. Only those who hear and respond to the Gospel were 'saved' for eternity. The narrative frequently used the term 'the lost' for non-Christians. 'Preaching the Gospel' meant confronting evil in other religions as well. Mission meant confrontation with 'false religions', a device of Satan. Although it was acknowledged that other religions could contain some truth, in the end it was always considered a devilish creation used as a stronghold against Christ.

The function of Spiritual Mapping was primarily missionary. For missiology, Spiritual Mapping was primarily a help in strategizing and getting numerical results. It was, according to Deiros, 'in missiology significant to help fulfil the churches' missionary task in the world'.[217] It was part of what he called 'spiritual missiology'. It studies prayer, among other things, not only in the vertical

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[213] Inteview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[214] Otis 1999(b), 4.
[215] Wagner 1999(b).
[216] Tippett 1987, xxiv.
[217] Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.

dimension of communion with God but also in its horizontal dimension as a missionary tool. Prayer was considered to be a missionary tool.

Spiritual Mapping was a 'tool' or 'technology', meant to reinforce the existing missionary endeavour. It was not the missiology as such that was new but its application. Caballeros compared Spiritual Mapping with X rays: 'What an X ray is to a physician, spiritual mapping is to intercessors.' Beckett compared Spiritual Mapping with smart bombs in the Gulf war. The army does not use randomly launched missiles anymore. Thanks to modern military technology, an army is capable of discerning, aiming at and hitting select targets. Spiritual Mapping is spiritual 'skillful reconnaissance' so that our bombs, i.e. our warfare prayer, hit the target ('smart bomb praying') exactly.[218] The more information Christians obtain and the more insight they have into the phenomenon of Spiritual Mapping, 'the more powerful our prayers are likely to become'.[219] Precision equals power in prayer. This is why Christians must 'learn the language, principles and protocols of the spiritual dimension'.[220] The technology had been given 'so that we can all participate to the maximum in making disciples in all the remaining unreached nations or people groups'. Its goal was 'nothing less than community transformation'.[221]

The missionary targets were often worded in geographical terms. Dawson's aim was to heal 'America's wounds' – i.e. in the territory of the US. Spiritual Mapping is a rescue mission of the US. Others stressed, sometimes at the same time, that Spiritual Mapping was an attempt to save 'the lost', thus using soteriologically exclusivist terminology. Spiritual Mapping was there to save the Judeo-Christian heritage of the US; there was a sense that the US had a covenant with God, based on the understanding that it was to be a society under God. If this covenant was not upheld, God could exercise his wrath and withhold his blessings from the nation. If Christians did not exercise their 'authority in Christ', evil could overtake the US. As Wagner said about the possibility of God's wrath over the US in the 1990s, 'We came awfully close.'[222]

The community to be transformed was not only the US – the whole Western world, culturally and religiously connected with the US as it appeared to be, came next. The ideal of their transformation was a Christian version of the US. In the end this was true for the whole world.

The missiological narrative reflected the shift in emphasis from Spiritual Mapping as a tool for help in world missions to a means for total community transformation.

Pneumatology

According to Deiros, in the field of pneumatology 'Spiritual Mapping can be categorized as one of his ways of working in the world'.[223] It was part of neo-Pentecostalism and shared its characteristics. A striking feature was the use of many interchangeable terms, such as God, the Lord, the Spirit, the Holy Spirit. In line with

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[218] Wagner 1997, 75, 76.
[219] Wagner 1997, 92.
[220] Wagner 1993(a), 32; 1997, 80.
[221] Otis 1999(b), 2, 4.
[222] Wagner 2006(b).
[223] Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.

Evangelical theology, the movement expressed verbal adherence to the concept of the Trinity, as we saw above.

Which divine person was actually *performing* the divine actions was not important for the movement. Wagner wrote on the same page: 'God has been equipping His people for this special hour', 'The Holy Spirit has been speaking some new things to the churches' and 'God has chosen this decade ….'[224] Otis could speak of the 'leading of the Lord', 'waiting upon God' and being 'nudged by the Holy Spirit'.[225] The nature of Spiritual Mapping and prayer was considered one of dialogue. The practitioner asks questions and God answers, as Eduardo Lorenzo says: 'God revealed to us …', 'but God showed us …', 'I received an image …', 'He said …', and 'God had spoken …'.[226] The indiscriminate use of these terms suggests that adherents were not interested in precise theological accountability on this particular subject. The point was that God works in response to his technology. Whether the actual performing power was a (good) angel, Jesus Christ, the Father or the Holy Spirit, was not considered important by the movement. However, the movement was interested in the *experience* it was considered to stand for.

The movement followed the line of the traditional understanding of the functions of the Holy Spirit. The Bible was supposed to be the revelation of the Spirit. In addition to the divine inspiration of the Bible, the movement adhered to the role of the Spirit in salvation and sanctification. It followed the line that the Spirit's role in salvation is relational rather than ontological. A third function of the Spirit, that of his work in prayer, devotional life and worship, was expanded by the movement. It included the Spirit's activities of 'discernment' in the Spiritual Mapping process, and the 'power' given to address the strongholds. The direct communication of the Spirit in discernment (*rhema*) gave it the same status as the divine 'revelation' of the Bible (*logos*).[227] Eduardo Lorenzo explains how the Spirit helped his church 'discover' that Ezekiel 40-48 was a description of the process of warfare: 'It is a code revealed to us.' For Lorenzo, Isaiah 60-66 was a plan for Spiritual Mapping in code. The Spirit could use almost any means of communication: a thought, a newspaper heading, historical information, an image, a code hidden in Scripture, a dream.

Its Anthropological Self-Understanding

This chapter will turn now to a description of the movement's self-understanding in anthropological categories. As this chapter will show below, the movement claims to use anthropological categories. In the analysis of the narrative we find a few anthropological categories by which the movement paints a picture of itself. The reader is referred to chapter two for the section on Kraft's missionary anthropology. It is mainly, although not exclusively, Kraft who elaborates on the use of anthropology for missions and who applies it to Spiritual Mapping. Other people use Kraft's writings and refer to it.

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[224] Otis 1999(b), 2.
[225] Otis 1999(b), 186.
[226] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[227] Otis 1999(b), 173, 215.

Research Method
The explicit intention of the movement was to adhere to the current principles of scientific anthropological research. After all, Spiritual Mapping was presented as a 'discipline', subordinated to specific methods. In the above section on demonology we already encountered a few terms from social sciences. Wagner stated that the movement works with 'agreed-upon field methodologies'.[228] Scientific research was supposed to be helpful, because the overall assumption was 'that God has built regularities into the ways in which the spiritual and human spheres interact'. This interaction is part of creation. Its dynamics are 'built in' by God and can be described in scientific models, just like any other law of nature.[229] For Otis, Spiritual Mapping was a multi-disciplinary scientific endeavour: 'a science of many disciplines.'[230] Prominent in the early publications was the use of the term 'hypothesis'. Case studies lead to a hypothesis that could be 'field-tested' and result in a model.

Spiritual Mapping combines method with spiritual experience. It should be understood that scientific methods in relation to Spiritual Mapping could be used only (!) under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Although scientific research methods were to be respected in principle, the scientific methods were to be used under God's direct guidance. Scientific method was to be used as intertwined with prayer and as listening to the voice of the spirit. Every 'fact' or 'evidence' found had to be 'prayed back to God'. This referred to the restoration of New Testament prophecy, which helped to identify, interpret and select the data involved.[231] Research was necessary but as such not enough: 'For while clues to spiritual realities may be discovered by honest inquiry, they become valuable only when they are interpreted by the Holy Spirit. He alone illuminates to us that magnificent guidebook to the spiritual dimension known as the Bible.'[232] Consequently, the intertwinement referred to the process of using scientific methods, together with Bible reading and the inner voice of the Spirit. Víctor Lorenzo gave the following summary: 'Spiritual mapping combines research with divine revelation, and confirmatory evidence in order to provide complete and exact data concerning the identity, strategies and methods employed by spiritual forces of darkness to influence the people and the churches of a given region.'[233]

Otis referred explicitly to the above intertwinement as a threat to an objective scientific approach. In the section 'Reviewing the rules of interpretation of practical case studies of spiritual mapping', he stated the following: 'The line between faith and superstition is exceedingly narrow and often crossed.'[234] Otis did not provide definitions of 'faith' and 'superstition' but tried to ensure 'an objective approach' via the following considerations. According to Otis, researchers had 'to winnow out' the 'possibly true' hypotheses from those not worth bothering with.

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[228] Wagner 1996, 260.
[229] Kraft 1994, 34
[230] Otis 1991, 96, 97.
[231] Wagner 1999(b), 261, 262.
[232] Otis 1997, 67.
[233] Lorenzo 1993, 176.
[234] Otis 1999(b), 199, 203, 205-207.

They had to apply the rules of cultural studies and test their own cultural assumptions as well. Otis urged the reader to start with the simple explanations, never to interpret the whole on the basis of the particular, and 'to recognize spiritual patterns and continuums as the very essence of spiritual mapping'. Despite Otis' hesitation and attempt to formulate rules to avoid subjectivity, he argued that precisely 'the action of combining the facts' with scientific method under the leading of the Spirit made an action veritable Spiritual Mapping. Adherents owed 'God-given insight to His willingness to partner with human beings'. In this process of partnership and intertwinement Christians weigh and validate data through checking the relevance of the data, the integrity of the source, the level of confirmation (from the Spirit) and its 'Scriptural validation'.

Spiritual Mapping formulated guidelines for the assessment of reports. How should the movement deal with the reports of research done by its adherents? In 1996 Wagner stated the following about reports he received:

> How then do we do it? In the final analysis, we validate the authenticity of reported narratives on the basis of the credibility of those who observe them or experience them. [235]

Although Wagner did not state it explicitly, it is clear from the immediate context that this credibility referred to both personal integrity and to the proper use of methods. In 1998 Wagner added: 'My own inclination is to accept revival reports more or less at face value without subjecting them to my own critical evaluation.'[236] The idea was that one of the criteria refers to the effect of the report. Did the event reported produce an experience of the Spirit? When the effect of Spiritual Mapping was revival, it was considered as such to be convincing, excluding the need for further investigation. This was why Kraft stated briefly in a response to critics: 'Anecdotes equals evidence.'[237]

The use of anecdotes was standard procedure in the movement.[238] This did not imply that Wagner and Kraft renounced scientific methods of research but that the 'evident work' of the Spirit, such as the many conversions and growth of the church, made further scientific checking unnecessary. After all, Wagner wrote, 'experience' is a spiritual rather than a scientific category, and it does not apply primarily to the skill of anthropologists but to God-given insight.[239]

Wagner was aware that checking a revival report usually did not convince critics: 'I should point out that relying on scientific proof for testing the validity of such accounts will usually turn out to be a dead-end street, not convincing many sceptics.'[240]

The decisive factor in accepting reports was supposed to be the worldview of the critic, as is discussed in the next section of this chapter. Scientific testing was considered part and parcel of the old Enlightenment paradigm. In the new paradigm of the Spirit, adherents gain knowledge through the direct experience of divine

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[235] Wagner 1996, 59.
[236] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 9.
[237] Kraft 2002(a), 75.
[238] Murphy 1992(a), 236-237; Otis 1991, 89-90; Wagner 1988(a), 83-84, 164-166, 242; 1988(b), 83, 96.
[239] Wagner 1992(a), 149.
[240] Wagner 1996, 58.

power. Therefore, scientific analysis was a waste of time, as Deiros stated: 'If what is happening in Argentina today is truly from God, I do not want to waste my time debating it or analyzing it, but rather living it in all its intensity.'[241]

The employment of anthropological sources usually meant using its descriptive phenomenological data. Spiritual Mapping did not show interest in anthropological discussions on philosophical presuppositions. Intricacies of interpretation and categorization were not mentioned. The description of 'facts' of history, cultures and religions were appreciated and used. The movement's sources were full of examples of this use of anthropology. As an illustration, we can look at Wagner's use of anthropological data in his explanation of the many Bengali cyclones. Wagner noticed that in 1991 a cyclone left 200,000 dead and millions impoverished in Bangladesh: 'How come that most of the world's deadliest cyclones hit Bangladesh?' Meteorologists have no consensus in explaining the phenomenon, according to Wagner. But he found a clue in anthropological data. A hundred years ago a famous Bengali poet offered a 'hypothesis': it was Rudra, the storm god, that caused the cyclones. Wagner found a lesson to be learned in history. Rudra, a powerful territorial spirit was the source of misery in Bangladesh until the present.

Old stories and old worship sites were indications of his territorial demonic activity. It was important for Spiritual Mapping to read the anthropological data with 'discernment' while studying these phenomena.[242] The movement's use of anthropological sources showed no discussion of its choice of research methods, interpretation templates and the limitations of the data.

Within the descriptive aspects of anthropology the specific focus of the movement narrowed the field of interest down to the search for strongholds: 'The trick is to determine where the real power is concentrated.' Central was the identification of 'satanic control centres' or 'spiritual capitals'.[243] Adherents have to find traces of 'encounters with the world next door' through anthropological data that indicate 'something supernatural', i.e. data that show that 'there is something out there', an 'ultimate basement of reality', a 'labyrinth' where darkness resides.[244] For example, investigating the past is the way to discover the cause of the atmosphere of oppression in Titograd in the former Yugoslavia. The data show old pagan worship sites and remnants of Islam ('the Spirit of Islam remains …'). These are the forces behind the spiritual disquiet today.[245] Clues for navigating the labyrinth of darkness are phenomena such as 'heights, imaginations, gateways, rebellions, traumas, pacts, traditions, festivals and technology'.[246]

There is wide interest in the phenomenology of the religions: 'Babylon, Assyria, Tibet, Incas and Indian native deities.'[247] Clues for discerning strongholds are often found in either spectacular 'advances of the gospel' and 'unprecedented

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[241]Deiros and Wagner 1998, 58.
[242] Wagner 1992(a), 143.
[243] Otis 1991, 93-95.
[244] Otis 1997, 17-45, 54, 55.
[245] Otis 1991, 87.
[246] Otis 1997, 68.
[247] Otis 1997, 231.

levels of success',[248] as found in statistics and geographical data or the contrary: from 'territorial counter attacks' by demons, such as persecution of Christians in Arabia, Algeria and Iraq. Other clues are found in signs of 'collective possession' and 'cultural exorcism'. The second letter of Paul to the Corinthians shows that people can be collectively blinded by Satan. Whole nations, and regions can be blinded by Satan through local deities with pacts with peoples or cities.[249] The use of descriptive mythology of these areas gives 'intelligence' about the devices of the devil today.[250]

To help the practitioner ask the relevant questions and thus apply anthropological resources for Spiritual Mapping purposes, several authors published questionnaires. The practical methodology has been described in chapter three. The early questionnaires were relatively short and introductory, like Dawson's *Taking Our Cities for God*, [251] Tom White's *The Believers Manual on Spiritual Warfare,* [252] Jacobs' *Possessing the Gates of the Enemy* [253] and Wagner's summary 'Mapping Your Community' in *Breaking Strongholds in Your City*.[254] In 1994 Wagner had extended the list somewhat with his 'Twenty-One Questions'.[255]

By far the most elaborate were Otis' *The Twilight Labyrinth* of 1997 and *Informed Intercession* of 1999. *Informed Intercession* was the most extensively developed guide to practical Spiritual Mapping. Otis discussed research principles, data from journals, dissertations and other academic publications. He offered a list of practical research questions as a guide for doing Spiritual Mapping, which contained research questions on typical cultural anthropological categories such as worldview, religious practices, forms of social organization, patterns of social transformation, ethnicity, prevalent ideologies, rituals, religious discourse and power structures.[256] Other practical manuals of the twenty-first century are Cindy Tosto's *Taking Possession of the Land* of 2001 and Rebecca Greenwood's *Authority to Tread* of 2005.[257]

At the end of the research process comes the 'hypothesis'. As we saw above, more than any other author, Otis was wary of the random development of wild theories. In order to safeguard a 'healthy way' to come to 'reasonable hypotheses' he published elaborations on the practical application of Spiritual Mapping, offering definitions and guides and questionnaires. Yet he was aware that 'navigating the spiritual realm' cannot fully be planned beforehand. It is a journey into the unknown: 'The goal is hidden in the journey itself.' In principle, the unthinkable is possible, but 'nothing is more paralyzing … than limitless possibility'. Researchers, Otis argued, 'must be selective about the theories they quarry'. His solution was 'Okham's Razor' (sic), which in Otis' definition was the principle that 'the simplest explanation that accords with the evidence is usually the best'. But Ockham's razor

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[248] Otis 1997, 234.
[249] Otis 1997, 274.
[250] Otis 1997, 257.
[251] Dawson 1989, 85.
[252] White 1990, 28.
[253] Jacobs 1993(b), 237-238.
[254] Wagner 1993(a), 223-232.
[255] Wagner 1994(b).
[256] Otis 1999(b), 186, 227-242.
[257] Tosto 2001; Greenwood 2005.

was not infallible, according to Otis, and thus 'we must keep an open mind' and listen to what God has to say.[258]

The narrative on anthropological method shows a desire to adhere to research methods. Its practical application is limited to what has been summarized in this section. It was subordinated to the discernment given by the Spirit and a distinct selective focus on descriptive 'facts' which focussed on possible strongholds.

Worldview

An important prerequisite for an adherent of the movement to be involved in Spiritual Mapping was a clear 'change of worldview' (see chapter three). Spiritual Mapping saw itself as a movement that called for a paradigm shift toward a new worldview, which was presented as the worldview of biblical times as well. In this sense Christianity was called back to its roots.

Kraft took the anthropological study of cultures as his starting point. Cultures have patterns: patterns of 'surface-level behaviour' and patterns of 'deep-level assumptions'.[259] In order to understand the 'significance' of surface-level patterns, adherents needed to know the 'deep-level assumptions and values' on the basis of which 'people generate that surface-level behaviour'. The deep-level assumptions are equal to 'worldview'. Kraft wanted adherents to be aware of the fact that there are many possible worldviews and that the worldview of the reader 'was not the only one that makes sense': 'We can therefore, perhaps learn something more about REALITY as God sees it by taking seriously the insights of those of other societies.' Every culture, Kraft admitted, 'sees dimly'; every culture has 'a limited perspective'. Consequently, Evangelicals must learn and 'get insight into both the strengths and weaknesses' of their own perspectives. Kraft wrote that 'all worldviews seem to serve certain functions for the members of the society of which they are a part. These are the 'worldview functions'. [260] The worldview explains aspects of life according to socially approved ways 'to see REALITY' and evaluates all aspects of life in socially approved ways. It validates common perceptions and behaviour and assigns commitment priorities that help people identify with that to which they are supposed to pledge allegiance. It interprets things in a way consistent with the rest of society and integrates all aspects of life.

Our worldview helps us to categorize phenomena and helps us relate to them. It helps us to related cause and event and to space and time. There are important differences between our Western culture and contemporary non-Western cultures and the worldview of biblical times. An important implication for Spiritual Mapping is the Christian's view of causality. Kraft's central questions were: 'What causes things?' 'What power lies behind causation?' 'What forces produce what results?' Kraft distinguished between 'natural world causality', as expressed in the law of gravity, 'human causality', such as human action in ordinary 'political, social and economic dynamics', over against 'supernatural causality', which is the influence of unseen powers. Different cultures attribute different proportions of attention to any one of these three causalities. 'Western Christians' show little

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[258] Otis 1997, 64-66.
[259] Kraft 1989, 181-184.
[260] Kraft 1989, 197-200.

interest in the supernatural, and tend to pay more attention to the natural. Kraft called this a 'lack of development' in the supernatural area. This, Kraft insisted,

> makes it very difficult for us both to understand either the Bible or the concerns of the non-Western peoples in this area…. It is usually easier for non-Western peoples both to understand and to receive God's message directly from the biblical accounts than from Westerners.[261]

The worldviews of biblical peoples and the worldviews of contemporary non-Westerners are more on each other's 'wavelength'. However, a major difference from the biblical worldview is that the latter is 'squarely on God', whereas in 66% of the countries of the world the focus is 'usually more on spirits than on God'.[262]

An important conclusion was that 'most of the world's people are seeking greater spiritual power to cope with the exigencies of life', and as a result we are to use 'spiritual power as a primary method of communication', just as Jesus did. The approach focussing on 'power demonstrations and power encounters would then seem to be warranted by both Scripture and common sense'.[263] Here we are at the very heart of Spiritual Mapping. The 'common sense' that brings us here is the anthropological reasoning of Kraft. As an illustration, Kraft presented a comparison between aspects of the 'Western and Hebrew paradigms'. The 'Hebrew paradigm' includes the worldviews of all biblical authors in the Old and New Testament ('except for possibly Luke') who were taught 'Hebrew assumptions' as they grew up. Kraft contrasted the following: [264]

1. The Western worldview, with its 'incredible faith' in chance, with cause and effect as key factors that limit what is supposed to happen, over against the Hebrew worldview where 'God causes everything'
2. The Western worldview where 'humans are in charge of nature through science', over against the Hebrew worldview where 'God is in charge of everything'
3. The Western worldview that assumes that 'scientific strategy and technique will give humans total power over all things', over against the Hebrew one that puts the 'strategy and technique in the spirit realm' and forms the source of 'whatever we may achieve'
4. The Western worldview that assumes that we receive power over others 'via business, politics and other organizations', over against the Hebrew one that assumes that we receive power over others through structures ordained by God
5. The Western worldview that assumes that there are no invisible beings in the universe, over against the Hebrew worldview which assumes that 'the universe is full of invisible beings who are very powerful'.

Kraft admitted that these statements are 'oversimplified', but they are illustrative of his material presented above.

Kraft's publications on worldview in relation to Spiritual Mapping had been widely appreciated and adopted throughout the movement. Many sources base

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[261] Kraft 1989, 201, 202.
[262] Kraft 1989, 203.
[263] Kraft 1989, 204.
[264] Kraft 1989, 204-205.

themselves on his publications on worldview. This chapter will mention a few examples as illustrations. Wagner refers to Kraft's *Christianity with Power* as 'a milestone book', which has helped thousands to go through 'a paradigm shift' of worldview.[265] Christians have to become 'unshackled' from their Evangelical rationalistic/scientific ways. The adoption of the non-Western worldview meant a return to the worldview of early church as well, which was supposed to be the 'biblical worldview'. Both Otis and Wagner took Kraft's publications on worldview as their starting point.[266]

The 'Western worldview' could become a demonic stronghold in itself, if Christians and cultures decided to stick to it. With reference to Francis Frangipane, John Robb defined it as a 'demonically induced pattern of thinking', a satanic 'mind set' that keeps Western Evangelicals blinded from reality.[267] Jacobs defined the Western mind as:

> A stronghold that Satan has built within the culture of the United States and other countries that denies the supernatural and relegates reality to what can be proven scientifically or what can be known by physical senses. The result upon the Western church is one of disbelief of the work of territorial spirits, thus Satan's kingdom is protected from attack by disbelieving Christians. [268]

The denial of the supernatural, as Spiritual Mapping saw it, seemed to be the very sin through which the stronghold could establish itself, as a typical Western ideology within Western territories.

Kraft, in his *Confronting Powerless Christianity* of 2002 indicated the same. Evangelical leaders were supposed to be 'unwilling' to adopt the new worldview, causing 'a crippling disease' or a 'crippling defect' in a consequently non-functional Evangelical world. By 2002 Evangelicals were not approached as people who did not yet understand the worldview but as unwilling, because they were thought to be defending their own interests. Evangelicals were by now: 'Comfortable, staid, dignified and academic', and hindered the work of God on earth. Their worldview hindered the progress of Gods kingdom.[269]

In conclusion, the anthropological narrative showed a view of reality that tried to capture both its visible dimension and its non-visible dimension. Since both formed the total picture of reality, both dimensions were needed to serve God effectively.

Final Observations

The above description of theological and anthropological aspects of its self-understanding reflects the movement's concepts of thought, as expressed in its desires, intentions and pretensions. This chapter will now select aspects of this self-understanding and consider them in the context of chapters two and three.

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[265] Wagner 1996, 49.
[266] Otis 1997, 56; 1999(b), 259; Wagner 1996, 67.
[267] Frangipane 1989, 21.
[268] Kraft 1994, 178-179.
[269] Kraft 2002(a), 27, 46, 245.

Its Self-Understanding in the Theological Context
The first selected aspect is the movement's interaction with its theological context. Theologically, Spiritual Mapping stood within the context of Evangelical classical theology. The movement did not develop its own theology but based itself on existing Evangelical categories. The framework of classical Evangelical theology is hardly identified explicitly by the movement itself. Study of the educational and denominational background together with the (implicit) use of theological categories reveal the position of the movement. Theological textbooks were not usually mentioned. As far as the sources refer to theological textbooks, they use existing Evangelical Anglo-Saxon textbooks that were used at seminaries and Bible schools in the US, like Fuller Theological Seminary.[270] Many references to Bible texts are found in the sources and their indexes, but the relevant theological interpretive frameworks were taken for granted.

In a general sense, some sources referred to the broader framework of the Lausanne Movement, Fuller Theological Seminary or Evangelicalism at large.[271] For Evangelical academic demonology some sources refer to Unger and Dickason for example.[272] However, overall the sources did not show major interaction with historical or systematic theology or exegetical sources.

Patristic sources were not referred to, except in the anecdotal sense. There was no discussion of their respective theologies. Siew, an adherent, was the only one to publish a critical study with a brief section on the principle of territoriality with Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus and Origin. More recent theologians, such as Spengler and Schleiermacher did not figure in the narrative.

There was no interaction with modern cultural expressions of reflection on Satan or demonic imagery, like John Milton's, Hector Berlioz', Jean-Paul Sartre's or Fjodor Dostoevsky's, or even more recently, the film *The Exorcist* from 1973. There was some mention of Lewis' *Screwtape Letters*, popular in Evangelical circles, but it was in a mere illustrative sense.[273]

There was no interaction with recent theological developments in Gnostic studies, Apocalypticism or recent interest in the concept of Satan, as expressed in studies of Ton H. van der Hoeven, Henry A. Kelly or Eliane Pagels, for example.[274] In other words, the movement's interaction with academic theology was rather limited.

References to the non-academic Evangelical circuit of pietistic popular publications written by or about 'many prayer giants' (term of Jacobs) like Bounds, Howells, Murray, Charles H. Spurgeon, Bob J. Willhite, and others are numerous in Spiritual Mapping narrative.[275] It gives the impression that the movement wanted to be identified with these sources of popular Evangelical religiosity and its informal theology, rather than primarily formal academic publications. Spiritual Mapping

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[270] Dickason 1987; Unger 1952.

[271] Wagner 1992(a), 39-45: 1993(a), 1929; 1996, 14-18.

[272] Dickason 1987; Kraft 1994, 90; Murphy 1992, 20, 49-51, 277; Unger 1952,

[273] Murphy 1992, 17, 389, 517; Wagner 1992(a), 85; 1993(a), 22; 1996, 75, 90.

[274] Kelly 2002; 2006; Pagels 1995; Van der Hoeven 1998.

[275] Bounds 1990, Grubb 1983; Jacobs 1993(b), 25-30; Kraft 1994, 188-191, 224; Murphy 1992, 64, 553; Murray 1983; Otis 1997, 93-94, 348; Wagner 1992(a), 190-1991; 1992(b), 15, 17, 108, 121, 138; 1993(b), 80; 1997, 145, 158; Willhite 1988.

wanted to be considered the successor of these 'saints' and as operating in the same spirit. [276]

A second selected aspect of self-understanding in its context is the place of the movement's demonology. Within the classical theological framework a major emphasis was put on demonology, and its function shifted considerably. Demonology became a central feature in the accomplishment of the missionary task of the church. Demonology received a strong missionary function. Its knowledge had to be mobilized and practically applied to enhance mission. What made it central in mission was a dualistic perspective of reality. The 'natural' and 'supernatural' dimension of reality were supposed to be intertwined to such a degree that missionary work in the 'natural' was not considered effective without involvement of the 'supernatural'. In other words, demonology became the overall framework of missiology.

With a variation on Van der Hoeven's cultural-theological categorization of the functions of Satan in *Het Imago van Satan* (The Image of Satan), the function of demonology became that of a tool of empirical analysis: the determination of evil (*where* is our enemy?), the determination of a qualitative analysis of evil (*what* or *who* is the nature of the enemy?) and the determination of the statistical quantification of evil (*how* many?).[277] Mission came to be understood within the framework of a dualistic and polemic picturing of the enemy. The essence of mission is warfare. Mission is primarily action against an enemy.

Understanding demonology not only became a prerequisite for mission but received a central function in the execution of the missionary task. Prayer became *warfare* prayer, redefined as an aggressive and offensive action against demons. Thus the movement's demonology not only determined good and evil but also offered its solution. It had the function of exorcism and, more particularly, collective exorcism. The turn to collective thinking had been inherited from the Church Growth Movement. Its aim was more than the individual – it was to plant *churches* and reach *peoples*. The collective notion of the *plantatio ecclesiae*, expressed in ecclesiocentric missiology, was at its very heart. Missiological collective thinking was linked to cultural concepts such as geographical territories and people groups in an attempt to integrate theology and social science categories. In this light, the Spiritual Mapping movement understood its demonology as a natural development and application of these in collective concepts.

A third aspect of the movement's self-understanding is the context of revelation, its pneumatology and the principle of theological diversity. To a large extent, this was inherited from the Charismatic Renewal. Theology flows from the leading of the Spirit and his new revelatory initiatives. A cognitive framework should follow experience because it is there that the Spirit leads. It is not found in dogma or institutionalization. Divine action may change. Thus shifting theological concepts are not considered a threat but a normal feature of theological thinking. A truly divine initiative is to be followed, discovered and to be experimented with. Understanding will become confirmed by its actual results. The understanding of the

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[276] Jacobs 1993(b), 30.
[277] Van der Hoeven 1998, 91.

moment may become wrong, as the movement grows in understanding and practises the new concepts. The learning process of the divine will make the possibility of mishaps even likely.

Spiritual Mapping narrative very rarely retracted past mistakes or lack of understanding. It was not deemed necessary. Past misunderstandings were more than once presented as hilarious or even cute. Concepts are supposed to be diverse and change. This is not to be interpreted as an attempt at escape from responsibility but as a natural result of the understanding of the ongoing nature of divine revelation and the ongoing human way of gradual understanding through practice.

This aspect of self-understanding can be understood in the context of spirituality in the US, as discussed in chapters two and four of this study. The element of theologically-fuelled Evangelical confrontation with and resistance to its cultural surroundings was maintained,[278] while at the same time it created room for creative adaptation to that same changing externality together with the outside world. It gave freedom to experiment with new concepts[279] if previous concepts did not produce the expected results assumed by its own ethics of success.[280] It guaranteed the flexibility needed in the religious free market economy.[281] The ensuing movement's interpretation of its own epistemology and hermeneutics reflect the cognitive paradigm shift.[282] In this light the start of the decline of the movement is not considered to be a defeat, but the next divine move.

This aspect of diversity and flexibility gave the movement its penetrating power. It had many faces and could function in many different contexts. It gave the movement its vulnerability as well. Content-wise, virtually anything could become acceptable for consideration. The experiental could easily override the existing cognitive notions.

Its Self-Understanding in the Sociological and Cultural Context

One aspect of its self-understanding is the movement's understanding of cultural anthropology. Kraft was foundational for the formulation of the self-understanding of the Spiritual Mapping movement in anthropological terms, mostly confined to the concepts of worldview and culture. He made these anthropological concepts useful for the movement and integrated the 'supernatural' into its worldview. It was intended to make the rational accountability of the concept of Spiritual Mapping possible. However, it was more than just making it possible: Kraft used it to give adherents direction for developing their 'Western' and 'rationalistic' worldview. They should become more 'animistic', focussing on power encounter rather than truth encounter, thus giving place to technologies such as that of Spiritual Mapping. The adaptation of the adherent's worldview was aimed at a defence of the heritage and worldview of the Western 'Judeo-Christian heritage', a moral system built on the Ten Commandments. Kraft's version of structuralist functionalism gave Spiritual Mapping a strongly pragmatic slant in relation to cultural and theological forms. It

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[278] Marsden 2001, 266; Smith 1998, xi, 140-14.
[279] Bradfield 1979, 59-66; Noll 2001, 2.
[280] Hadden and Shupe 1988.
[281] Finke and Stark 2005, 9.
[282] Theron 1996, 84.

was simplified to 'what works'. These forms were considered functional only if they produced the desired success in missionary work.

As was the case with theology, the movement did not attempt to create its own cultural anthropology. The movement's cultural anthropological orientation did not lead to interaction with cultural anthropology of its day. Otis and Wagner do not mention other anthropological theories but go directly to the 'data' and the 'facts', which in practice meant the phenomenological descriptions of religions. Because of Kraft, the movement is oriented to the structuralist functionalism of the 1950s and the 1960s. In other words, the movement is rather selective in its use of cultural anthropology. The next chapter will show how some critics react to this.

The method and models of Kraft, Otis and Wagner go further back, to Evangelicalism's tradition of Charles Finney's 'scientific' planning for revival, going back to the concept of science as an ally of the Bible. Through spiritual experiments hypotheses should be made and developed into models in order to determine the new divine order for the last days. They thought that it was possible to incorporate matters of faith and the supernatural itself into rational models. This is managerial missiology, which set out to capture the whole of the seen and unseen reality in models so that it could be managed in order to enhance mission.

The movement claimed to present anthropological rationale via cultural anthropology. However, this chapter did not find much cultural anthropology as such. The movement's limitation of a few anthropological categories, such as worldview and anthropological research, to a very specific interpretation does not make its rationale anthropological. We will return to this in chapter six.

A sociological aspect of the movement's self-understanding is the context of Apocalypticism and millenarianism. In terms of eschatology, the movement is Evangelical with a historical interpretation of prophecy, looking forward to a final crisis and the end of existence as we now know it. Since that very moment is drawing near, Spiritual Mapping was given to the church as an end-time technology. At the same time, the movement harboured the concept of millennial reform, domestically applied, including the concept of social reform in order to reach the ideal of 'A City on a Hill', the ideal of the US as a Christian nation in a covenant with God. This heritage of revivalism was present in Spiritual Mapping.

Here Spiritual Mapping is a typical modern version of Apocalypticism. It includes the dualism of the present and the coming age and places its hope on the coming age, since the present age is infested with demonic territorial activity and is characterized by warfare against the saints. The divine plan gave the elite in the church, the 'spiritually minded', special technology, to survive and to advance. As many individuals as possible, and preferably whole peoples and cities, should be saved before the last final crisis of history. History is viewed in terms of missionary-military concepts like retreat, advance, growth, and conquest. A culture is either 'won for Christ', 'not yet reached for Christ' or 'lost for Christ'. If a people group is won for Christ, its culture is cut of from the old pagan bonds and the victorious Christ replaces the old paganism. Allegiances with old gods, sacred places and rites all have to be abandoned.

Christianity was considered to have been progressing and 'winning' people groups for the Christian faith since Pentecost. The advance has been notable especially since the start of colonialism: it looked like the church was winning the

battle of spiritual warfare. In the twentieth century the optimism of growth became frustrated by the emergence of what Marsden called 'New Age spirituality'.

Spiritual Mapping can be identified most closely with the books of *Enoch* and that of *Jubilees*.[283] Their worldview is dualistic and eschatological, and the divine purposes are hindered by demonic forces. The moment the books were written, God was ready to end history. In the last days believers are to work together with the angels to fight against the demonic forces. Creation is not just out of balance because of human activity but also (or especially so) through demonic activity. Demons stay on earth, they wrestle with humans, angels protect nations. They have names, hierarchies and their functions are described.

Apocalypticism became a tradition that expressed itself over the centuries in countless millenarian movements. The tradition 'is still alive and potent', Norman Cohn wrote, hinting especially at the United States.[284] Cohn offered characterizations, some of which are strikingly applicable to Spiritual Mapping. First, it is the random collection of the elaborated, reinterpreted and vulgarized sources the movements used, as is the case with Spiritual Mapping. Second, its claims were virtually boundless. Its context does not concern limited objects but the whole cosmos, not some friction with Satan but the final war with evil, not yet another phase in history but the final cataclysm. Such is the case with Spiritual Mapping working with 'global' and 'final plans' of the end times. Third, millenarianism usually emerged in a group in social distress, as was the case with Evangelicalism during the fast social changes in the US. It is, for example, striking to note the simultaneous occurrence of the first Gulf War 1990 – 1991 and Spiritual Mapping's emphasis on Iraq and the Garden of Eden as the seat of Satan on earth.[285]

Fourth, the apocalyptic prophets, Cohn argues, found their following in an unorganized and atomized population, since Spiritual Mapping did not operate within the framework of denominations or cohesive organizations. Fifth, the movement needed ascetics or prophetic persons to whom it could look. It was the need for some incarnation of divine intention, some form of supernatural authority. Spiritual Mapping presented the 'spiritually minded' and the 'cutting edge leaders' and organized its ministries around these individuals. Sixth, millenarianism often emerged in the midst of a wider movement of a group of its kind. Spiritual Mapping rides the organizational and theological waves of Evangelical and Neo-Pentecostal dynamics.[286]

Another aspect of the movement's self-understanding in its context is that it developed features similar to aspects of New Religious Movements of its time. George Marsden, Christian Smith, Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead give examples of the characteristics of these movements. In this section the similarities between Neo-Paganism and Spiritual Mapping can be selected, because of their striking resemblance. At first sight, this resemblance was not to be expected. The movement considered Neo-Paganism to be a threat to Christianity . However, both shared certain ('animistic') worldview assumptions resulting in similarities in interest and

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[283] Charles 1973; Cohn 2001, 179-192; Collins 2000, 40-45; Nickelsburg and Vanderkam, 2004; Pagels 1995, 53-56.
[284] Cohn 1970, 233.
[285] Otis 1991.
[286] Cohn 1970, 181-286.

techniques. Marsden's tension between simultaneous adoption of and resistance against contemporary culture and Noll's adaptive experimentalism play into this. These similarities are found in the Hermeticist Golden Dawn, ceremonial Magick and Thelema traditions, as well as in Shamanism as described by Mircea Eliade, for example.[287] This chapter will list a few of these specific similarities between concepts and their practices below, according to descriptions of critical studies[288] and Neo-Pagan sources.[289]

A first similarity is the technique of prayer walks and prayer journeys. The notion that certain territories (areas, lines, spots) have specific spiritual significance is recognized by several Neo-Paganistic traditions like Wicca. Traditional walks of witches over lines in the land or according to patterns in a given landscape are common. Celtic druids and Norse traditions recognize the importance of territorial presence and rituals as well. The Lesser Banishment Ritual of the Pentagram (LBRP) is decidedly territorial. In Spiritual Mapping terminology, these specific areas are called 'spiritual bondage sites', 'spiritual beachheads', 'social bonding sites' or 'city gateways'.

A second similarity is the concept of allegiance. It is a long-standing 'pact' and/or its practices that was or were initiated by ancestors. It is usually inherited down through the generations. Traditions usually take the form of rituals, festivals and pilgrimages. Neo-Shamanism, Magick and other forms of New Age movements have similar aspects. The aim of Spiritual Mapping is to abolish this pagan 'pact' and replace it with allegiance to Christ.

A third similarity is that of the concepts of ley lines and geomancy and its subsequent practices. It is similar to the 'energy lines' in the 'Harmonic Convergence' event. According to Otis, a ley line is a

> geographic continuum of spiritual power (or physical energy) that is established and/or recognized by certain people groups. Depending on the culture in which they are found, ley lines may be viewed either as conduits through which spiritual power is transmitted or as demarcation lines for spiritual authority.[290]

A fourth similarity is the power encounter. This is the ritual encounter with powers that rule the universe as found in Hermeticism, in Magick (LBRP) and in forms of Neo-Shamanism. It is the principle of encountering the unseen powers. For Spiritual Mapping this is 'technology' for the end times.

A fifth similarity is the belief in timelines. Harmonic Convergence, Hermeticism and astrology work with timelines and periods of time with their own significance. Time harbours power and influences and even determines fate of man.

In summary, there are similarities with the worldview and practices of Neo-Paganism. It is ironic that in order to preserve the so-called 'Judeo-Christian heritage', techniques similar to those found in pre-Christian traditions were employed.

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[287] Eliade 1951.
[288] Blain 2002; Burnett 1991; Hutton 1999; Suttcliffe and Bowman 2000;
[289] Arguëlles 1987; Knight and Telesco 2002; Nightmare 2001; Resherry 2006.
[290] Otis 1999(b), 252.

CHAPTER SIX

CRITICISM OF THE SPIRITUAL MAPPING MOVEMENT

Introduction

In this chapter we will analyse tbe criticism that has been made of Spiritual
Mapping. The central question here is how the critics perceived the movement and
its concept. This section will start with a discussion on the relation between the
movement and its critics, the nature of the criticism, its sources and how the critics
saw the movement's historical roots. Next this chapter will continue with what the
critics present as their theological and anthropological criticism. This chapter will
conclude with a discussion of the criticism in its context.

The Movement's Views of the Critics
The movement itself was well aware of its critics, and many of its publications
referred to the critics at least once. Several tendencies concerning the movement's
attitude towards outside criticism can be detected. A first tendency was to agree with
critics when it came to the misuse of Spiritual Mapping: the authors were aware its
own practitioners misused Spiritual Mapping. For example, Otis refuted what he
saw as 'reckless claims and baseless expectations'.[1] 'Of course, the idea was abused
by people trying it out', Pablo A. Deiros admitted.[2] He agreed with critics about
what he called 'the poverty of biblical exegesis' and a general lack of reflection on
the theological issues.

     The early publications of the movement reacted to criticism as coming from
the same circle in which it arose, members of the same Evangelical tradition. These
early publications radiated an atmosphere of trying to explain something new to
those of the same tradition. After all, men like Charles H. Kraft and C. Peter Wagner
were professors of the prestigious Evangelical School of World Missions at Fuller
Theological Seminary. Otis had a longstanding working relationship with the
Evangelical Lausanne Committee. God was believed to have been given new tools
for these Evangelicals precisely and it had to be explained to them. The overall tone
was open and exploratory.[3]

     In some cases the parties agreed to disagree. Relations remained cordial,
such as those between Walter Wink and Wagner.[4] At the same time, these early
publications displayed a tendency to evade discussion. Wagner noted in 1993 that
there had been critics of his teaching, but he refused to 'enter into polemics and
attempt to refute our critics': 'We have no intention to make ourselves look good by
making our brothers and sisters in Christ look bad, and you will find none of that in

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[1] Otis 1997, 277.
[2] Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[3] Wagner and Pennoyer 1990.
[4] Wagner 1993(b), 22; Wink 1992, 314.

this book.'[5] This led quickly to a complaint by the critics that the movement was evading discussion and accountability.[6] J. Norberto Saracco stated:

> Once I tried to confront Wagner and Silvoso with their exaggerated stories. We made an appointment with Wagner and Silvoso, while they were in Buenos Aires. I went with a delegation of the council of pastors of Buenos Aires. But when we arrived at their address, they told us they had to leave within thirty minutes to the airport. So there was no time to talk. We had to go back without any talk.[7]

The tendency to avoid controversy would grow stronger over the years. Throughout the years the undertone of the interaction became more negative and accusatory. For example, Deiros stated in 1998:

> The evidences of His supernatural operation are abundant and growing. Only those who are inattentive, who are overly preoccupied with the negative, who are unaware of their own prejudices and presuppositions, who have turned into themselves or who are chained to institutional commitments, cannot see that there is a special grace of God operating through the people who confess His name in Argentina.[8]

Deiros characterized his critics as 'inattentive', prejudicial and 'chained to institutional commitments'.

George Otis Jr. stated: 'My only request is that they remain honest seekers', suggesting that the critics were not sincere.[9] As we will see below, the movement's attitude shifted from a willingness to engage in dialogue to an attitude of entrenchment. This entrenchment can be noted in two statements by the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization: the *Statement on Spiritual Warfare* (1993) and *Spiritual Conflict in Today's Mission: A Report from the Consultation on "Deliver us from Evil"* (2001).[10] Both reports reflect an attempt to arrive at an Evangelical consensus on the subject of spiritual warfare. The latter report was more extensive and contained a balanced section entitled 'Areas of Tension'.[11] Another example of entrenchment was Kraft's *Confronting Powerless Christianity* (2002), in which he confronted Christianity, i.e. his Evangelical peers, with strong language about 'those unwilling to see' and about his own 'defection from powerless Christianity'.[12] Not 'seeing' was, according to Kraft, not a question of *intellectual* integrity but of *moral* integrity. We will arrive a better understanding of these statements below.

Nature of the Criticism
In order to determine the nature of the criticism, it is useful to describe what we will not discuss in this section. This historical, descriptive study will not discuss the wider Evangelical debate of the 1990s about spiritual warfare, the demonic or theodicy. A discussion took place in the 1990s as a reaction to the emerging interest

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[5] Wagner 1993(a), 19.
[6] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 59.
[7] Interview Saracco, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[8] Deiros and Wagner 1998, 55.
[9] Otis 1997, 57, 277, 290.
[10] Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization 1993; Engelsviken and Moreau 2001.
[11] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 92-94.
[12] Kraft 2002(a), 46.

in the subject. However, this discussion did not necessarily refer to Spiritual Mapping. For example, the discussion between Gregory Boyd with his *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict* (1997) and Donald A. Carson with his *God, The Bible and Spiritual Warfare* (1999) did not mentioned either sources related to Spiritual Mapping related or the phenomenon itself.[13] This study will not discuss the many publications that offer critique of the misuse of Spiritual Mapping or local applications too specific to be useful for this chapter.[14] Cases of misuse can certainly be found, but it would be an unfair diversion from the issue itself.

By far, most critics of Spiritual Mapping are Evangelical theologians, anthropologists and missionaries from the US. 'It must be remembered that this is an intramural debate between Evangelical, mission-oriented Christians', Chuck Lowe correctly reminded us.[15] The context of criticism of Spiritual Mapping was the US Evangelical context. The criticism did not take place in the context of social phenomenological views on Satan and the demonic, as represented by Elaine Pagels and others.[16] It did take place – but only to a minor extent – in the context of non-personalized and non-ontological views of Satan and the demonic, represented by Wink.[17] The interpretation of demons in an ontological way, as defined in chapter one, was unacceptable for Wink. He did not agree with the view that demons are intrinsically evil. For Wink, demons were rather bipolar, harbouring both good and evil. He did not agree with the collective exorcism 'in the air' and feared that Spiritual Mapping would forget the institutional sources of the demonic.[18] Thomas McAlpine, writing on behalf of World Vision, enumerated the possibilities of interpreting the powers, including the non-ontological ones.[19]

Both Wink and McAlpine are exceptions. The overwhelming majority of criticism took place in the context of the orthodox Protestant ontological view of Satan and the demonic. Virtually all critics adhere to this ontological interpretation. It is not the question if these demonic beings exist that is central to the discussion but what their expected role is today.

Criticism of Spiritual Mapping centres around two main questions. The first question concerns the perceived possibility of supernatural intervention on earth in the form of 'miracles'. Is divine action, like supernatural healing or prophecy, a possibility to be considered today? The critics were divided into two categories:

a. No: those who consider it an *a priori* impossibility altogether,
b. Yes: those who accept supernatural intervention as possible.

The second question followed from an affirmative answer to the first: How can one know? In other words, how it can be discerned and tested? Here again, the critics were divided into two main categories:

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[13] Boyd 1997; Carson 1999.
[14] Payne 2001, 4-5.
[15] Lowe 1998(b), 24.
[16] Pagels 1995.
[17] Wink 1992.
[18] Wink 1992, 314.
[19] McAlpine 1991.

a. 'Strict' critics, who view supernatural intervention to be possible, and test such via the criteria of exegesis and existing doctrine.
b. 'Open' critics of the view that supernatural intervention is possible, using the criteria of exegesis, doctrine and integration of social sciences.

With respect to the first question, there are those who deny of the possibility of supernatural intervention. These are 'Cessationists' who view any interpretation of phenomena as 'supernatural' as impossible, such as John MacArthur, Thomas Ice and Robert Dean Jr, Daniel Korem, Paul Meier and David A. Pawlison.[20] These critics write from the perspective of Evangelical Cessationism whose main assumption was that Christ does not perform 'miracles' since the New Testament canon was closed.[21] 'Miracles' are not supposed to happen in this current dispensation. This assumption gradually lost influence in the second half of the twentieth century.

It was Jack Deere, former professor of Old Testament at Dallas Theological Seminary and pastor of a Vineyard Church in Dallas in 2005, who wrote about his personal pilgrimage from Cessationism to the acceptance of 'signs and wonders'.[22] Deere was connected to circles around Spiritual Mapping and involved in Neo-Pentecostalism. Wagner mentioned Deere and his publications against Cessationism approvingly.[23] Spiritual Mapping publications referred to Deere frequently. It was Otis who mentioned MacArthur, probably the most important representative of this category.[24] Cessationism was not the most fruitful in terms of exchange of ideas, since the impossibility was a dogmatic *a priori* starting point for it.

With respect to the second question, there are those critics who view supernatural intervention as possible and sometimes even normal and desirable.

Its first sub-category is that of the 'strict' critics: relatively strict orthodox versions of US Evangelicalism, who were emphatically non-Pentecostal, anti-Ecumenical, and not adherents of Spiritual Mapping and were above all Protestant. Included in this category were circles such as the Evangelical Missiological Society (EMS), publishing the *Occassional Bulletin*, founded partly as a reaction to the American Missiological Society (AMS), which published *Missiology: An International Review*. EMS includes Evangelicals who did not feel at ease with the AMS because of its inclusion of Catholics, Orthodox and other Christian traditions.[25]

The approach of the critics in EMS was, as we will see below, generally in the tradition of Jonathan Edwards' reflections on the eighteenth-century revivals: testing new doctrine on the basis of (mostly Reformed) doctrine and exegesis. The experience of the work of the Spirit is seen as necessary for Christian life, but every experience – and even more every resulting new doctrine – has to be tested within the framework of existing doctrine and careful exegesis. These critics were not

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[20] Ice and Dean 1990; MacArthur 1992; Moreau 2000(a); Korem, 1988; Korem and Meier 1981; Powlison 1995.
[21] Ruthven 1993; Warfield 1918.
[22] Deere 1993, 55.
[23] Wagner 1997, 44, 47-55.
[24] Otis 1997, 57.
[25] Evangelical Missiological Society 2002.

Cessationists, according to Robert J. Priest, Thomas Campbell and Bradford A. Mullen:

> When we question some accounts of the supernatural given by Kraft, Warner, Wagner, or Otis, we do so not with the commitments of the enlightenment rationalists who refuse to accept the validity of any account of the supernatural which are congruent with what we know about the supernatural from Scripture …. It is only when such accounts imply ideas about demonic power not given in Scripture – not demonstrable through careful biblical exegesis – and when such accounts are being appealed to as the basis for constructing new doctrine, that we are interested in submitting such accounts and doctrines to careful scrutiny.[26]

We will look at three publications as exemplary for these 'strict' critics: the EMS article by Priest, Campbell and Mullen, 'Missiological Syncretism: The New Animistic Paradigm', in *Spiritual Power and Missions*, edited by Edward Rommen (1995),[27] Lowe's book *Territorial Spirits and World Evangelization?* (1998)[28] and Mike Wakely's article 'A Critical Look at a New "Key" to Evangelization' in *Evangelical Missionary Quarterly* (1995).[29]

The 'open critics' affirm the possibility of supernatural intervention as well. These critics are Evangelical authors who combine exegetical and doctrinal testing with the achievements of social sciences. The integration of sociological and anthropological notions with theology allowed more room for the concept of contextual theology. Theological boundaries were explored with the help of social sciences. As in the EMS, the ontological reality of the demonic was accepted.

An example of 'open' criticism is the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization with its Occasional Paper no. 29 entitled *Spiritual Conflict in Today's Mission.* It is a compilation of some preparatory papers for the *Consultation Statement* as agreed upon by the Lausanne consultation "Deliver Us From Evil" in Nairobi in the year 2000.[30] The papers and the statement of this consultation are the most comprehensive and include a former *Statement on Spiritual Warfare* by the Lausanne Intercession Working Group of 1993.[31] As an international platform whose members were Evangelicals involved as private individuals, the Lausanne Movement mediates also views other than that of the EMS. Its statements are often of a diplomatic nature.

Within this category of 'open' critics we find divergent and shifting positions. For example, Clinton E. Arnold had published several theological works in the area of spiritual warfare. He had taken part in SWN meetings in the nineties and served in a consultant capacity for the AD2000's UPT. He was an adherent who gradually shifted to a critical stance, as reflected in his *Three Crucial Questions about Spiritual Warfare* (1997).[32] Another example is Sydney H.T. Page's *Powers*

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[26] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 25.
[27] Rommen 1995.
[28] Lowe 1998(a); 1998(b).
[29] Corwin 1995, 148-149; Wakely 1995, 152-162; Yip 1995, 166-173.
[30] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 82-96; Lausanne Committee For World Evangelization 2000; Moreau, Adeyemo, Burnett, Myers and Yung 2002.
[31] Lausanne Committee For World Evangelization 1993.
[32] Arnold 1997.

of Evil (1995) with its Evangelical demonology and interaction with Spiritual
Mapping.[33] Yet another example is John D. Geib's dissertation, An Examination of
the Spiritual Mapping Paradigm for Congruence with Biblical Orthodoxy and
Ethnography (1997),[34] which was an endorsement of the theological basis of
Spiritual Mapping but a disapproval of its ethnographic basis. The interdisciplinary
but more theological dissertation by Tye Yau Siew, called Spiritual Territoriality as
a Premise for the Modern Spiritual Mapping Movement (1999), was mainly
approving.[35]

Among the 'open' critics, the anthropologist Paul G. Hiebert showed
himself to be a major critic of Spiritual Mapping and more in particular of the
worldview, epistemology and cosmology of the wider spiritual warfare
movements,[36] in 'Spiritual Warfare and Worldview' in *Global Missiology for the
21ˢᵗ Century* (2000). Other examples of this sub-category were the publications by
Scott A. Moreau[37] and a few classical Pentecostal authors, such as Robert A.
Guelich, Gerry Breshears and Margaret M. Poloma.[38]

Other forms of criticism came from sources that did not treat spiritual warfare or
Spiritual Mapping as such. They treated related subjects that had ramifications for
Spiritual Mapping. These were sources that discussed Wagner's exegesis and
theological system of Wagner, touching on his ideas on territorial spirits, such as
Arie van Brenk's 1994 dissertation[39] and Shawn L. Buice's 1996 dissertation, which
focussed on the use of a selection of New Testament texts by Donald A. McGavran
and Wagner.[40] Other critics treated several different perspectives while including
Spiritual Mapping. Lawless' 1997 dissertation focussed on the relationship between
evangelism and spiritual warfare in the US in the years 1986-1997.[41] Mark S.
Alexander's dissertation (2004) mentioned Spiritual Warfare doctrines of the
Unción Movement in Baptist churches in Argentina.[42] As this study showed in
chapter two and as will be shown below, these critics offered valuable insights.

Sources of the Criticism
The critics of Spiritual Mapping expressed themselves through a bewildering array
of its media like books, brochures, magazines, journals, websites, cassette tapes and
conference papers.

The dissertations came from Evangelical seminaries like Fuller Theological
Seminary, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Southwestern Baptist Seminary,
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Mid-America Baptist Seminary, Oxford
Graduate School and others. The publishing houses included the main Evangelical
publishing houses such as Baker, Zondervan, MARC (World Vision), William

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[33] Page 1995.
[34] Geib 1997.
[35] Siew 1999.
[36] Hiebert 1992, 41-50; 1994, 203-216; 2000(a), 163-178.
[37] Moreau 1995(b), 166-182; 1997; 2000(b).
[38] Arnold 1997; Breshears 1994; Poloma 1998; Wakely 1995.
[39] Van Brenk 1994.
[40] Buice 1996.
[41] Lawless 1997.
[42] Alexander 2004.

Carey Library and others. Pentecostal schools and publishing houses published on the aspect of signs and wonders and the broader spectrum of spiritual warfare, rather than Spiritual Mapping.

The debate on Spiritual Mapping was also, or perhaps especially, found in periodicals. The relevant journals were Evangelical, usually missiological or missionary journals. This section will trace the most important journals and articles of the debate on Spiritual Mapping or those touching on it.

Proportionally, the critics received the most attention in the journal *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* (EMQ), a publication of the Evangelical Missionary Information Service (EMIS) that originated in circles of the Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies (EFMA) and Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association (IFMA) and is to be characterized more than any other of the quarterlies in this section as a grassroots publication. EMQ was a popular cross between a missions magazine and a missiological journal. It presented itself as a journal for Evangelical missions, discussing trends and reports on recent events. Other movements related to Spiritual Mapping received attention from the EMQ as well, like Bryant's Prayer Movement, which was considered by Spiritual Mapping as one of its roots.[43]

The heyday of EMQ's attention was in the years 1994 and 1995, when it featured articles and debates on the topic; after 1995 attention diminished to a few book reviews. EMQ initially gave space to both adherents and critics but towards the end of the 1990s only the critics were published.[44]

A second journal is *Missiology: An International Review* published by the American Missiological Society (AMS). The journal was more academic than EMQ. It published three articles that have a bearing on our subject. The following article by Hiebert played a major role 'The Flaw of the Excluded Middle' (1982), as we saw above. Although this article had been referred to many times in Spiritual Mapping, Hiebert would turn out to be a critic of the movement. Arthur F. Glasser's article 'Church Growth at Fuller' (1986) was an academic justification of Church Growth at Fuller after McGavran's retirement and the upheaval about the Signs and Wonders course in its School of World Missions in 1985. Both Hiebert and Glasser's articles shed light on the discussion on worldview and Signs and Wonders preceding Spiritual Mapping. Here again, the attention for the movement itself was at its highest level in 1994 and 1995. However, the articles in *Missiology* were more critical than in EMQ: aside from one book review in 1993, adherents of Spiritual Mapping were not published in *Missiology*. The major articles were Charles R. Gailey's 'Review of Engaging the Enemy' (1994) and David Greenlee's 'Territorial Spirits Reconsidered' (1994).[45]

A third journal to take into consideration is the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (IBMR) published by the Overseas Ministries Study Center in New Haven. As an academic publication, it was, in comparison to *Missiology*, even more distant from a grassroots movement like Spiritual Mapping. It had paid a great deal of attention to the Church Growth Movement, its personalia and publications from Fuller's School of World Missions. The publication devoted extensive space to

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[43] Wagner 1997, 63.
[44] Corwin 1995, 148-149; Wakely 1995, 152-162; Yip 1995, 166-173.
[45] Glasser 1986, 401-420; Gailey 1994, 250; Greenlee 1994, 507-514; Hiebert 1982, 35-47.

Latin America, including Argentina, but reviewed publications by anthropologists such as Karl-Wilhelm Westmeier, David J. Garrard and David Stoll but not publications by Otis or Wagner. Both Kraft and Wagner figure in the My Pilgrimage in Mission series. Relevant for our research are several book reviews, i.e. those on Kraft's *Christianity with Power* (1989) and reviews of publications by the critics Rommen, Moreau, Arnold and Lowe.[46] IBMR did not follow grassroots trends but reviewed publications of a more mature nature, i.e. the later publications that had had time to absorb the criticism that had been expressed over the years. None of it was presented in the form of a feature article, but in the form of reviews and all of them rejecting Spiritual Mapping. There was no debate with adherents of the movement.

A few Pentecostal and Evangelical journals devoted some space to spiritual warfare in general. All these articles basically disapproved of Spiritual Mapping. Scattered throughout the journals are articles useful for our research, as in *Evangelical Review of Theology (*ERT*)* with Peter T. O'Brien's 'Principalities and Powers' (1992) and Hiebert's 'Spiritual Warfare and Worldview'. In the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society (*JETS*)* we find Breshears' 'The Body of Christ: Prophet, Priest or King?' (1994). *Pneuma* published Guelich's 'Spiritual Warfare: Jesus, Paul and Peretti' (1991), Pratt's review of the recent debates about the third wave of 1991 and Cecil M. Robeck's 'Signs, Wonders Warfare and Witness' (1991). All of these articles will be taken into consideration.[47]

Christianity Today, a Neo-Evangelical magazine, did not offer in-depth articles but is useful in that it keeps up with currents of thought within Evangelicalism in the US. Over the years, the periodical mentioned or alluded to the wider spiritual warfare concepts and movement. We will mention the articles relevant for our research below:[48] W.D. Eisenhower's 'Your Devil is too Small' (1988), Ken Sidey's 'The Horror and the Hype' (1989), Arnold's 'Giving the Devil His Due' (1990), James Packer's 'The Devil's Dossier' (1993), Lowe's 'Do Demons Have Zip Codes?' (1998) and Arthur Moore's 'Spiritual Mapping Gains Credibility …' (1998).

The above inventory of sources shows that the interest of critics was basically over by the end of the 1990s.[49] It also shows that not all of the relevant journals offered Spiritual Mapping a platform. Only EMQ gave the impression of a debate on more or less equal terms.

Historical Interpretation
Chapter five described the movement's historical self-understanding. How did critics view the movement's historical roots? In general, critics did not show extensive interest in this subject. Usually, they preferred to pay attention to exegetical, doctrinal or anthropological subjects.

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[46] Brunner 1991, 81-82; Hiebert 1997, 43; Howell 1999, 180-182.
[47] Breshears 1994, 3-26; Guelich 1991, 33-64; Hiebert 2000(a), 240-256; O'Brien 1992, 353-384; Pratt 1991; Robeck 1991.
[48] Arnold 1990, 17-19; Eisenhower 1988, 24-26; 48-50; Lowe 1998(b), 57; Moore 1998, 57; Packer 1993, 24; Sidey 1989.
[49] Brendtro 1999.

In his introduction to *Spiritual Power and Missions* which he edited, Rommen agreed with much of the movement's historical self-understanding but indicated that the roots were very diversified: 'The interest grows out of such a wide range of Christian traditions and raises such a diverse catalogue of issues as to almost defy being described by one concept.'[50] Rommen gave examples of roots in the recent past by naming a variety of examples of groups focussing on prayer: David Bryant's Concert of Prayer movement, Wagner's AD2000's UPT, Cindy Jacobs' of Generals of Intercession and her activities within Women's Aglow, Dick Eastman's Every Home for Christ and Hawthorne's and Kendrick's emphasis on prayer walking. This indication of the movement's roots was in line with the self-understanding of Spiritual Mapping itself.

Rommen drew the following lines to the more distant past. First, he pointed to the general history of the church, which shows healings, exorcisms and power encounter throughout the ages. Every generation had its own way of handling this 'spiritual battle'. A second line is the general history of missions, which shows different expressions of the concept of power encounter as a means for bringing people to conversion, even before the term had been coined. A third line was the history of mission strategy, which shows the search for an effective strategy, of which the Church Growth Movement was a new expression. Spiritual Mapping had sought help from social sciences as a means for producing church growth and added 'spiritual means'. Thus, missiology became attuned to the search for 'spiritual weapons', according to Rommen. A fourth line between Spiritual Mapping and history were the so-called renewal ministries, which showed an emphasis on the miraculous in Classical Pentecostalism, the Charismatic Renewal, and the Signs and Wonders Movement.[51]

Moreau and Lowe were the most categorical in rejecting the validation of Spiritual Mapping from an historical perspective. Lowe stated: 'Variations on strategic-level spiritual warfare were taught in inter-testamental Jewish literature. The New Testament, however, implicitly rejects these teachings.'[52] Moreau denied any possible grounding in the Bible or in church history.[53] Lowe commented on the Middle Ages: 'Many early and medieval Church fathers reconstructed demon taxonomies, but even at their wildest they did not come close to the magnitude of the present speculations. Even so, their theories were roundly condemned by the Reformers.'[54] The *Consultation Statement* of the Lausanne Committee on World Evangelization was more cautious: 'We will do well to listen to the rich heritage', it said in a diplomatic way.[55]

Priest, Campbell and Mullen admitted that notions of the modern spiritual warfare movement did exist in the history of the church but commented:

> Such paradigm shifts have occurred in the lives of many missionaries since the beginning of modern missionary movement. Until recently this has occurred on an individual and somewhat *ad hoc* basis. What makes the current situation

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[50] Rommen 1995, 2.
[51] Rommen 1995, 3,4.
[52] Lowe 1998(b), 75.
[53] Moreau 2000(a), 7; Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 60.
[54] Lowe 1998(b), 85.
[55] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 18-26, 93.

unprecedented is the extent to which new doctrinal understanding of demonic power
– derived from paradigm-shift experiences.[56]

In the past, the notions were *ad hoc* and did not lead to new doctrines. Experiental knowledge did not bring about new doctrine, according to Priest, Campbell and Mullen.

After examining the early New Testament apocrypha (The Shepherd of Hermas and Acts of John), and other historical sources, especially those on Gregory Thaumaturgus, Martin of Tours, Benedict of Nursia, Boniface and others, Arnold admitted that these writings expressed the widely held early Christian belief in demonic spirits. These spirits were believed to be involved in pagan cults and were to be opposed to the spread of the Gospel. The sources expressed a belief in exorcism. However, Arnold concluded: 'There are still no examples in church history that I have seen illustrating a Christian leader taking authority in the name of Christ, directly addressing a ruling spirit over a "territory" (an empire, province, region, city, or village), and commanding it to leave.'[57]

What did critics see as the direct historical causes for the emergence of Spiritual Mapping at this time? It was clear that most critics do not see the Holy Spirit as the (only) source. Rommen gave three reasons:

First, the prevailing worldview of the West had been strongly influenced by modern rationalism and the godless orientation of society. We have witnessed the emergence of eastern mysticism, occultism, and various forms of New Age. In other words, Spiritual Mapping followed the social trend. Engelsviken agreed with Rommen and added that the declining denominations especially had been most influenced by these phenomena.[58] Lowe added: 'Strategic-Level Spiritual Warfare is popular, despite its fundamental errors, in large measure because its worldview is characteristic of populist Evangelicalism.'[59]

Arnold agreed and labelled the phenomena 'the inadequacy of naturalism'.[60] Moreau saw the emergence of Spiritual Mapping as a parallel to cultural developments in the US, such as the growing fascination with spirit beings, expressed in movies, computer games, websites and bookstores. For him, it was just a modern form of technology combined with age old 'spiritism'.[61]

Second, Rommen stated that the 'apparent failure' of missionary strategies had caused a new interest in the question how mission can be made more successful. There was the perception that our strategies are inadequate. This was coupled with a drive for success and caused Evangelicals to look for new tools. Engelsviken and Moreau added the awareness that Pentecostal and Charismatic churches were growing and that these very churches had shown openness to experience.

Third, Rommen asked if the emergence of Spiritual Mapping did not indicate a more general sense of helplessness: 'Is this demand for power a result of a sense of helplessness?' It could well be a search for new empowerment that was

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[56] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 10.
[57] Arnold 1997, 173.
[58] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 5,6.
[59] Lowe 1998(b), 143.
[60] Arnold 1997, 28.
[61] Moreau 2000(a), 1.

found in society.[62] According to Engelsviken and Moreau this feeling caused doubt regarding the existing beliefs and practices of Evangelical churches.

Arnold added a fourth reason, which Rommen did not mention. He attributed Spiritual Mapping to the awareness among Christians that there was 'more than germs, psychological disorders and red-blooded sin'. It was the awareness that there is a psychic dimension active in everyday life. This was Arnold's, albeit partial, explanation of the success of Frank Peretti's Christian novels about everyday Christian lives and the demonic dimension.[63]

Theological Criticism

Considering the general consensus of the critics on the central place of the Bible in belief and practice, theological criticism was considered the most important form of criticism. Not all was considered wrong, according to the critics. Some critics expressed a certain degree of appreciation for aspects of Spiritual Mapping: Lowe wrote about 'benefits'. [64] Almost all critics expressed the feeling that the demonic had not received enough attention in the past. Thormod Engelsviken and Moreau agreed that it took Satan and powers more seriously than traditional Western approaches.[65] Page appreciated the emphasis on the reality of the unseen world and the importance of prayer.[66] Various critics also appreciated some of the effects of the movement: 'Prayer meetings are crowded and vibrant', Lowe stated. Wakely, Oscar J. Bollini and Moreau agreed and stated with satisfaction that it advocated focus on prayer, more than merely strategy and planning.[67]

Lowe wrote with appreciation about the activating effect of the movement: 'Christians are lifting their eyes beyond their insular local domains, and are recovering an interest in missions.' [68] It entailed the positive effects of an emphasis on unity of the Christian churches, on the fulfilment of its mission, the recognition of the evil spiritual dimensions of a culture, and the emphasis on repentance. Arnold added appreciation for the collective thinking of Spiritual Mapping: 'In a social climate of Western individualism, John Dawson's attempt to make us aware of corporate responsibility is a welcome biblical emphasis.'[69] This section will indicate the critics' theological comments according to three categories: epistemology, demonology and pneumatology.

Epistemology
First, this section with discuss the movement's concept of epistemology. How do Christians know what they know? 'Strict critics' Priest, Campbell and Mullen stated their criteria for valid theological knowledge was identical to how Edwards tested

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[62] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 4-6.
[63] Arnold 1997, 30-32; Peretti 1986; 1988.
[64] Lowe 1998(b), 12.
[65] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 59-60.
[66] Page 1995, 65.
[67] Interview Bollini, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006; Moreau 2000(a), 6; Wakely 1995, 154.
[68] Lowe 1998(b), 12; Wakely 1995, 154.
[69] Arnold 1997, 178.

experience at the time of the Great Awakening, i.e. doctrinal and exegetical.[70] A first source of valid theological knowledge is doctrine, and here Spiritual Mapping was found to be lacking. With respect to doctrine, Spiritual Mapping presented *new* doctrine that could not be found in the established Reformed doctrines. A second source of theological knowledge is exegesis of the biblical texts according to its general classical Protestant rules. Here again Spiritual Mapping was found lacking. The critics considered the movement's attempt to link their new doctrine to specific passages a failure: 'Biblical support is often oblique and but superficially suggestive'; 'Alternate interpretations are rarely entertained.'[71]

'Open' critics like the Lausanne's *Consultation Statement* and Moreau agreed. The latter stated that the most important problem was that Spiritual Mapping 'is not in the Bible and not in church history, at least without some serious stretching of the accounts'.[72] We will show below how the critics applied this to specific Biblical texts.

So far, strict and open critics agreed. However, beyond doctrine and exegesis there was much discussion (and disagreement) on the experiental and scientific basis of theological doctrine and practice. Strict critics like Priest, Campbell and Mullen lamented the lack of 'epistemological underpinnings of these doctrines'.[73]

First, they found them lacking in terms of knowledge of anthropology:

> Epistemologically, it is inconsistent and unbiblical to assume that folk beliefs about spirits bear an intrinsic truthful correspondence to actual spirit realities. If we do integrate animistic information into the Christian belief system, we invariably end up syncretistically incorporating animistic and magical notions of spirit power into our doctrinal understandings of the demonic world.[74]

Second, Priest, Campbell and Mullen criticized the value attached to pragmatic results: 'The epistemological issue of pragmatic results is, in a real sense, purely hypothetical.' No field research and no research findings 'which pass even the most elementary requirements of research design' support Spiritual Mapping.[75] Even more, any appeal to pragmatism as a way of gaining knowledge was considered irrelevant, because even if the correct methods to measure 'success' had been used, positive results would by necessity validate the movement's assumptions. Other variable factors could have produced the results, according to Priest, Campbell and Mullen.

Third, there was Spiritual Mapping's way of dealing with spiritual experience. The critics rejected the possibility that humans could develop a divinely guided 'discernment'. Priest and the others rejected the existence of an internal Geiger counter by means of which a human being could 'sense' the spiritual. There is no way 'to discern' the presence of demons and their strongholds. The only discernment was found in Reformed doctrine and exegesis. After all, these 'spiritual

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[70] Edwards 1976, 209.
[71] Priest, Campbell and MacMullen 2001, 25, 55.
[72] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 60; Moreau 2000(a), 7.
[73] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 25.
[74] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 2001, 35.
[75] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 2001, 49.

senses' could not be defined or measured. They were considered just 'free floating emotions'.[76]

The 'open' *Consultation Statement* of the LCWE of 2001 was cautious but not as categorical in its rejection as Priest, Campbell and Mullen were and stated:

> Tension exists concerning the extent to which we can learn and verify things from the spiritual realm from experiences not immediately verifiable from Scripture, in contrast to limiting our understanding of the spiritual realm to Scripture alone. Some have maintained that experience is crucial to understanding spiritual conflict; this is a key point to be explored in ongoing dialogue.[77]

The *Consultation Statement* noted the danger of speculation and subjectivity of experience as a source of theological knowledge. But it did not categorically reject the possibility. It called this epistemological question a 'key point' in an 'ongoing discussion'.

Both strict and open critics agreed that biblical texts and Reformed doctrine did not support Spiritual Mapping. Both groups of critics did not elaborate explicitly on the subject of hermeneutic princples. Its only explicit mention is found in a preparatory paper by the Lausanne *Consultation Statement*:

> The hermeneutical method found in Acts 15 reveals that the early church not only had a place for the text in their interpretive activity, but also a very real appreciation for the role of the Holy Spirit, as well as for appreciation for the role of the believing community in the interpretive process.[78]

The door had been kept open to something more than existing doctrine and exegesis. Its wording of 'appreciation' was diplomatic, and it lacked specific definition.

Demonology
Virtually all critics shared with Spiritual Mapping the Evangelical theological background as described in chapter two. When it came to the ontological and personalized reality of intrinsically evil demons, there was no disagreement. Paul's powers as found in his letters were considered the same as the demons in the gospels.

A first point of critique concerning demonic territoriality was its exegetical justification. Strong opposition to the principle of demonic territoriality came from the strict critics, based on their exegesis of the key biblical texts. Daniel 10:13, 14 and 20 was considered 'crucial' by Priest, Campbell and Mullen, seeing it as the *locus classicus* for territorial spirits.[79] In connection with the questions of the nature of the Prince of Persia and the reason for twenty-one days of delay, they examined the assumption that an angel was battling 'to get through' in a geographical sense. The critics concluded that the Prince of Persia may be identified as a demon but it

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[76] Priest, Campbell and Mulen, 2001, 50.
[77] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 93, 94.
[78] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 17.
[79] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 70, 73.

cannot be inferred from the passage that the authority of the demon (given to him by Satan) is geographical. The critics added that there is no mention of a 'force-field area'. The power in the text is presented by referring to persons, which makes it look like a battle over leadership and influence, rather than territory. Priest, Campbell and Mullen preferred to interpret the Prince of Persia as a human 'prince', as Calvin had done and fit the more common usage of 'prince' in the Book of Daniel. [80] That it is parallel to Ezra 4 points to a human prince who tried to hinder the rebuilding of the temple, identified as the Persian king's son Cambyses.

Priest, Campbell and Mullen were brief with respect to a second *locus classicus* of Spiritual Mapping, Ephesians 6:12, 13. They briefly stated that it was impossible to use Ephesians 6 for spiritual territoriality, giving the impression they did not take this interpretation seriously. They justified their brevity by stating: 'Most of these authors rest the bulk of their argument on other than biblical grounds.'[81] Lowe stated: 'The Bible does not portray demons as geographically specific. Tutelary spirits do appear on occasion, but only to make the point that opposition to the people of God is motivated by Satan. The Bible provides little additional information about demon taxonomy.'[82]

Many critics, without necessarily being strict critics, agreed that demonic territoriality is not found in the biblical texts. Guelich had already criticized Peretti's novels for their emphasis on spiritual territoriality. According to Guelich, the concept of territorial spirits is not found in the Gospels. [83] Breshears stated:

> Nowhere in the New Testament do we find a territorial view of demons. Jesus never casts out a territorial demon or attributes the resistance of Nazareth or Jerusalem to such entities. Paul never refers to territorial spirits, nor does he attribute power to them – despite the paganism of the cities where he established churches.[84]

The open critics formed a continuum between hesitation and acceptance of demonic territoriality as being based on biblical texts. The possibility of territoriality was not categorically rejected. On one hand, some open critics left the possibility open but with caution. Lausanne's *Consultation Statement* saw it as possible that spirits manifested themselves 'more strongly in certain areas than others', but the statement is cautious: 'We agreed that there seems to be little biblical warrant for prayer warfare for a number of teachings associated with some forms of spiritual conflict which focus on territorial spirits.'[85] The statement was somewhat vague and left room for 'further investigation'. On the other hand, some critics attested to the existence and activity of territorial spirits. Arnold stated: 'There is a hierarchy among the demons and angels in the evil spiritual domain. Some evil angels have assignments over empires, people groups, countries, regions, territories and cities.'[86]

The open critics presented different exegetical interpretations of Daniel 10. The papers written in preparation of the Lausanne *Consultation Statement* left open

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[80] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 73.
[81] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 70.
[82] Lowe 1998(b), 29.
[83] Guelich 1991, 33-64.
[84] Breshears 1994, 15.
[85] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 93.
[86] Arnold 1997, 197.

the possibility of interpreting Daniel 10 as referring to territorial spirits.[87] On the other hand, Arnold and Page did accept fully its interpretation in terms of territorial demons. Arnold stated: 'The notion of territorial spirits receives unequivocal support from the book of Daniel.'[88] Page informed the reader that 'the clearest Old Testament references to angels who exercise influence over specific nations' are Daniel 10:13, 20-21.[89]

There is more consensus among open critics concerning Ephesians 6:12 and territoriality. For Lausanne's preparatory papers of the *Consultation Statement*, the struggle in Ephesians 6:12 'is not an advocacy of warfare directly against territorial spirits. The statement comes in the context of the Christian's daily struggle, not the church's strategic level spiritual warfare strategy.'[90] Arnold, attesting to the reality of demonic territoriality as noted above, stated nonetheless: 'The list of powers in Eph. 6:12, believed by many strategic-warfare advocates to represent territorial spirits, are actually presented as demons that attack individuals.' In a word study on verse 12 he stated: 'These terms do probably not represent the so-called territorial spirits that we find in Daniel.'[91] Page, who had identified territorial spirits in Daniel chapter 10, did not even mention the possibility of interpreting this passage as dealing with territorial spirits. In his exegesis of Ephesians 6:10-20 he did not venture any further than: 'Paul places moral issues in a cosmic perspective.'[92] Among critics generally, Daniel 10 was considered a better basis for demonic territoriality than Ephesians 6.

A second point of critique on the principle of demonic territoriality was its use of biblical imagery. The strict critics Priest, Campbell and Mullen pointed to the function of biblical imagery, discussing 'certain parallels' between biblical narratives and 'magic-animistic practices', as a way to establish the function of demonic imagery in the Bible. They stated that in the Bible there is no real demonic or divine attachment to places and objects. Jesus' garments in Matthew 9:20, the handkerchiefs of Paul in Acts 19:11-12, the mix of saliva and mud in John 9:6-7, Elisha's bones (Second Kings 13:21) – all effected miracles. Or did they? Priest, Campbell and Mullen agreed that they were all supernaturally influenced physical objects and thus changed, but this was not the case because of intrinsic demonic attachment: 'Kraft is not wrong, then, when he detects certain parallels with the use of such objects in biblical narratives and their use in magic-animism. Both in magic and in biblical miracle contiguity and/or symbolic association are present.' However, they considered Kraft's interpretation a mistake:

> The function of contiguity or symbolic association in biblical miracle, however, is quite different from its function in magical and animistic thought. In magic and animism the assumption is that contiguity and symbolic association are themselves the key to power, its transmission and its effects. Without contiguity and symbolic

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[87] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 16.
[88] Arnold 1997, 153.
[89] Page 1995, 64.
[90] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 60.
[91] Arnold 1994, 39, 47.
[92] Page 1995, 248.

association, power is inoperative. *In Scripture, however*, (italics RH) there is no
indication that God required such means for His power to be operative.[93]

The association is possible in the Bible but not necessary. It is a helpful
accommodation to communication and interaction. The Bible is using the term
'sign' and is thus suggesting that it is a communicative act. The fall of Jericho did
not depend on the trumpets, and Naaman's healing did not depend on the water of
the Jordan. External acts provided a means for people to respond. Human displays of
faith often involve imagery, but the key was always faith in God.

Priest, Campbell and Mullen objected to Kraft's suggestion that God and
Satan 'empower' objects. They argued against the idea of empowerment as a 'force-
field' that infused into objects or territory. They did not agree with the idea that such
a power operates on its own law-governed properties. On the contrary, they argued,
this was exactly the case in connection with the Ark when it had been thought to be
a source of power in itself (1 Samuel 5:6). It had been 'the Lord' who acted, not the
Ark.[94] Human communication and thought use metaphor and metonymy. Animism
treats these not as communication devices, but as devices for the transmission of
power: as necessary circuits for supernatural power. Magic postulates that these
powers require contiguity (metonymy) and symbolic association (metaphor) for the
power to be transmitted. In the Bible these associations are there, but they are not
necessary for power to operate. On the contrary, Christians can eat meat from
heathen temples without fear (1 Corinthians 8).

Not all open critics were willing to reduce demonic attachment to
communicative terms as advocated by the strict critics. In its section on territorial
spirits, the Lausanne *Consultation Statement* addressed briefly the possibility of
identifying the Old Testament spirits who happen to be located in one area.
However, it added that these spirits do not appear to have control over these
territories. The specific mention of demons located in desserts (Leviticus 17:7;
Isaiah 13:21), gods in specific locations (1 Kings 20:23), gods identified with
demons (Deuteronomy 32:8-17) and spirits and angels attached to nations (Daniel
10:19-20) were given as examples.[95] Here the *Consultation Statement* papers were
less elaborate and less strict in their rejection of territoriality, as compared to Priest,
Campbell and Mullin.

A third point of critique of the principle of demonic territoriality concerned its
mechanistic interpretation of the biblical concept of power, as expressed in the
concepts of force field and technology. For the critics, this was the same as the (non-
Christian) concept of magic manipulation.

First Priest, Campbell and Mullen objected to the power of the force field
as an impersonal power. Demons were supposed to use divinely created mechanisms
to keep control. The mechanisms operate on their own once instated in a
stronghold.[96] Priest, Campbell and Mullen objected to this mechanistic idea of
power. They rejected it as an 'animistic' concept that was nowhere to be found in
the Bible. Second, they objected to the assumption that demonic power could be

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[93] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 56-57.
[94] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 58-59.
[95] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 16.
[96] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 66.

enhanced through mechanistic human rituals or technologies, like a curse. This had
to do with the concept of a human action that was thought be able to manipulate,
direct or enforce demonic power. The critics objected by saying that human beings
cannot add to the power and desire of demonic powers to do harm. They simply are
not in a position to do so.

The 'open' Lausanne *Consultation Statement* presented a clause under
'Warnings' admonishing people in general terms 'to avoid any syncretism with non-
Christian religious beliefs and practice' and added:

> We call for discernment concerning magical uses of Christian terms and to avoid
> making spiritual conflict into Christian magic. Any suggestion that a particular
> technique or method in spiritual-conflict ministry ensures success is a magical, sub-
> Christian understanding of God's workings.[97]

A fourth point of critique on the principle of demonic territoriality concerned the
assumption of the genealogical transmission of demons ('inheritance'). The strict
critics acknowledged that humans are sinners from conception on and quoted Psalm
51:5 to substantiate their claim. Humans are sinners because they are Adam's
children. The transmission of human sinful nature was an established Evangelical
doctrine. However, the transmission of the demonic was considered unknown in the
Bible: 'The Bible does not address this issue.'[98] The movement's allusion to Exodus
20:5 and 34:7 was considered 'an enormous lap of inference'. The critics
acknowledged the many descriptions of parental influence on children. However,
they stated that parental influence in Bible is moral, not magical. They argued that
the Old Testament prophets repudiated such a magical notion in Jeremiah 31:29 and
Ezekiel 18:2-4. This doctrine of the genealogical transmission of demons rested on
extra-biblical principles of inference, the critics lamented, such as words of
knowledge, demonic revelations, anecdotes, and 'native beliefs'. The Lausanne
Consultation Statement did not address this issue.

A fifth point of critique concerning the principle of demonic territoriality had to do
with church history and historical theology. Both strict and open critics are brief on
this point. Lowe referred briefly to the first Book of Enoch, the Testament of
Solomon, Tertullian, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, John Calvin and
John Wesley.[99] His aim was to prove that the principle of demonic territoriality had
been rejected consistently throughout church history. The 'open' Lausanne
Consultation Statement simply mentioned the history of 'the early church' and its
historical 'frequent links' between evangelism and power encounter. Its preparatory
papers mentioned historical views on demon possession and exorcism in a cursory
way, but territoriality was not mentioned. The conclusion was limited to a general
admonition to listen to 'the historical experience of the universal church'.[100] Arnold
did not find examples of Spiritual Mapping in church history.[101]

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[97] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 91.
[98] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 67-68.
[99] Lowe 1998(b), 76-102.
[100] Lowe 1998(b), 18-26, 92.
[101] Arnold 1997, 173.

What should be the role of the Christian believer in his battle against demonic territoriality? A first point of critique concerning offensive warfare concerned the definition of 'warfare prayer'. Should it be one of offensive aggression or a defensive stand? Strict and open critics shared were in agreement for the most part. Most of the critics objected to offensive 'warfare prayer' against demons. Lowe stated: 'The Bible does not call us to attack a ruling demon; in fact, it warns us not to. Nor need we do so, for God has already defeated them in Christ.'[102] This did not imply that there was no war going on. Priest, Campbell and Mullen expressed 'full recognition of satanic forces arrayed against us …', as did Hiebert, R. Daniel Shaw and Tite Tiénou.[103] However, they argued that, even if the territorial demonic interpretation of Daniel 10 would be proven to be correct, there still would be an 'enormous gap' between the interpretation of Spiritual Mapping and the text, since Daniel had no knowledge of the battle. He was simply praying to God without knowledge of maps; he did not attack or bind spirits and he had no evangelistic purposes. Daniel did not perform acts of offensive warfare. Satanic attacks were considered a reality, but countermeasures should consist of a defensive stand. Lowe commented:

> Though Satan has been decisively defeated, he is engaged in a desperate counterattack against the Church. Our role is to hold our ground in the strength provided through the use of traditional spiritual disciplines. We conquer Satan not by overwhelming all opposition to the gospel but by remaining firm in the face of opposition.[104]

The papers written in preparation of the Lausanne *Consultation Statement* were cautious. The believer's role was largely believed to be that of an observer of God's accomplishments in spiritual warfare. Believers were to stand back and remain faithful in temptation: 'There is no evidence in the New Testament that shows that the early church was concerned with territorial spirits', the statement says.[105]

The Lausanne *Consultation Statement* added: 'We experienced tension over whether there is biblical warrant for prayer warfare against territorial spirits as a valid tool for evangelisation.'[106] Arnold and Page, both of whom endorsed the concept of spiritual territoriality, were cautious as well. Page stated that even Daniel 10, which in his view attested to the concept of territorial spirits, did not constitute grounds for thinking that Christians can or should attempt to identify them and the areas they control.[107] Arnold accepted the view that 'there is a struggle and warfare between the angels of God and the angels of Satan in the supernatural realm that has an impact on the unfolding events on earth'. He accepted prayer as a means to be 'dependent in him'. But he saw no 'biblical evidence that God has given us responsibility to bind, to expel, or thwart territorial rulers'. 'We do not have the responsibility, and we do not have the authority to directly engage territorial spirits …'[108] but we certainly have the right 'to appeal to God to hinder and obstruct the

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[102] Lowe 1998(b), 45.
[103] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 14; Hiebert, Shaw and Tienou 1999, 276.
[104] Lowe 1998(b), 59.
[105] Lowe 1998(b), 17.
[106] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 93.
[107] Page 1995, 65.
[108] Arnold 1997, 197.

grip of a demonic ruler over an area so that the gospel can be proclaimed and the darkness may be lifted from the eyes of the unbelieving'. This brought the critics to a more traditional definition of prayer.

The concept of prayer was considered important: 'Prayer was not intended to be a sophisticated spiritual "weapon" but a means of fellowship, growth and strength', as we read in the preparatory papers of the Lausanne *Consultation Statement*.[109] The statement warned against the 'magical' use of prayer.[110] Warfare prayer is not a concept found in the Bible, Arnold said: 'As important as informed prayer is, seeking information about he spiritual realm as a means of overcoming the evil powers or gaining special knowledge does not appear to be portrayed as necessary (or even significant) in Scripture.' After all, even the concept was doubted, in addition to the exact terminology: 'The idea of serving notice, evicting and binding spirits over territories does not have biblical warrant and carries too much emphasis on techniques and effectiveness.' According to Arnold, Christians do not need to feel responsibility to engage in a direct confrontation with the powers: 'We appeal directly to God, who will direct his angels to fight the battles against the high-ranking powers.'[111]

A second point of critique concerning offensive warfare was related to the concept of 'identificational repentance' or remitting or making atonement for the sins of the nations. Here the strict critics remained by and large silent, whereas open critics discussed the issue. Arnold pointed to what he saw as two flaws in the concept. Christians were not supposed to be able to remove a curse placed on unbelievers. Arnold saw it as

> an appropriate way of leading the people of God in dealing with issues of corporate sin. It does not, however, enable Christians to "remit" the sins of the nonbelieving population of a city, remove the curse of God's judgement on them, or result in the weakening of the grip of territorial spirits over the unbelieving population.[112]

In addition, Christians were not supposed to perform a priestly function for a nation. In analogy to Israel in the Old Testament, Spiritual Mapping taught that a nation can have (and should have) a covenant with God, as the US was thought to have. However, Arnold argued, the US is not Israel and there is no such a thing as a covenant between the US and God.[113]

A third point of critique concerning offensive warfare involved the interpretation of the verbs in biblical texts like 'rob the house', 'binding', 'loosening' and 'tearing down'. The concept of 'binding the strongman' interpreted as the active attacking and defeating of a territorial demon of a stronghold, as found in Matthew 12:29, Matthew 16:19, Mark 3:27 and Luke 11:21 was examined by a few critics. Page devoted a footnote to 'some recent authors' and mentioned Dawson. He called this an 'unfortunate use of the expression', in that it refers primarily to Satan and not a

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[109] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 60-61.
[110] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 91.
[111] Arnold 1997, 298.
[112] Arnold 1997, 198.
[113] Arnold 1997, 181.

territorial spirit and, second, it refers to Christ's decisive victory in his own ministry over Satan.[114] Arnold stated that 'binding' is indeed what Christians have to do after the victory of Jesus on the cross (Colossians 2:15). We are to rob Satan's house. Satan has not been bound 'absolutely', so the church has to carry out the last part of the parable.[115]

But the concept of receiving the keys and binding and loosening as found in Matthew 16:19 was, according to Arnold, 'not a mandate for believers to bind territorial spirits'. The text concerns the message of Christ, through which there is access to salvation. The keys offer entry into the kingdom of God and have nothing to do with territorial strongholds.[116] Page did not even mention the text in his study of Satan and demons.

The concept of tearing down strongholds as found in 2 Corinthians 10:1-3 was addressed as well. Arnold commented:

> These uses of the term may well be a correct application of the passage by extension, but they fail to recognize that the critical thrust of the passage is directed against Christological heresy…. Demolishing a stronghold refers to changing wrong ideas about Christ in the minds of believers who have been influenced by demonically inspired teaching.[117]

The 'tearing down' is directed at Christians' ideas, not territories of demons. The concept of demonic dominion in the human mind raised fear among the critics that the sense of personal responsibility for sin of the individual Christian could be diminished. The Lausanne *Consultation Statement*' papers warned:

> Another possible danger is that we detach demons from people, which de-emphasizes our own participation in the rebellion against God. In concentrating on finding out the various forms of territorial demonic attachments and focussing our attention on them, we ignore the fact that that all too often the enemy is in *us*….[118]

Guelich was concerned that the spiritual warfare metaphor for the Christian life would shift into an aggressive metaphor of 'spiritual combat techniques' for attack in order to seek power.[119] Strict critics hardly touched on these active verbs. Open critics, as far as they discuss the issue, do not usually follow the interpretation of Spiritual Mapping.

Pneumatology
Pneumatology was debated more than missiology. Critics did not have major objections to its missiology and especially its theology of religions. The Lausanne *Consultation Statement* warned the reader about the danger of syncretism,[120] but most critics shared with Spiritual Mapping its basic Evangelical missiological notions, as noted in chapter two.

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[114] Page 1995, 106.
[115] Arnold 1997, 50.
[116] Arnold 1997, 168-169.
[117] Arnold 1997, 54.
[118] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 61.
[119] Guelich 1991, 60-64.
[120] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 91.

With respect to hearing the voice of the Holy Spirit directly, Priest, Campbell and Mullen did not accept the concept of personal inner revelations: 'We do not dispute that God can and does give special insight to individuals concerning special situations. We do question whether God is continuing to give special revelation. Insight does not add new doctrine. New revelation does.' In other words, the work of the Spirit may come in the form of insight, but it is not of the same quality as revelation and thus will never lead to new doctrine. Whatever happens, it is not 'revelation'.[121] Since insight was subjected to the criteria of existing doctrine and exegesis, mere insight could never change doctrine.

The Lausanne preparatory papers for the *Consultation Statement* did not distinguish between revelation and insight as such. It did not reject the possibility of a directly given 'discernment'. However, it did point to a practical aspect: 'The concept of "discerning" the names and the functions will always be subjective at best.' This cautious remark was repeated in its *Consultation Statement*, to which this study will return below.[122]

Alternatives

Some critics presented alternatives for Spiritual Mapping. Here, again, the difference between strict and open critics became clear. Strict critics wanted to go back to the 'long-standing' Evangelical tradition of dealing with the demonic. Lowe stated:

> While theory and practice of strategic-level spiritual warfare are indefensible, the proposal at least highlights recent laxity in the Evangelical practice of spiritual warfare. The solution is not to be found in formulating a new teaching or technique, but by returning to the longstanding, but recently overlooked, theology and practice.[123]

The 'open' Lausanne *Consultation Statement* was willing to explore new possibilities but remained ambiguous all the same. It urged that Christians first be given time to develop 'a biblical worldview' that would acknowledge the role of the powers in life. Its message was that Christians need time to adjust to a worldview that includes the supernatural. Second, Christians needed time to learn to acknowledge the existence of the powers but at the same time to become detached from powers in our thoughts and emotional life. This meant not only dying 'to sin and to our private egos, but also to the powers'. 'We need to die to the powers, rather than follow the desire to overcome them.' [124] Finally, the goal should be the integration 'of the spiritual, the personal, the cultural and the social' and 'to stop placing all blame on the spirits and start recognizing the human side of the choice to rebel against God's will'. The statement did not limit itself to 'long-standing' doctrines, but signalled the need for more study: 'We need a more careful study of

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[121] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 53, 55.
[122] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 60, 94.
[123] Lowe 1998(b), 129.
[124] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 62, 94.

Scripture, which will allow us to transcend the biases of our own limited worldviews.'[125]

Arnold saw a 'significant role' for Spiritual Mapping in the future in the form of a redefinition of its concepts:

> "Spiritual Mapping" or as I would prefer to call it, creating a "spiritual profile" of people in a city or country, is a useful way of helping people pray more specifically. It is also beneficial for informing the teaching and discipling of new believers.[126]

He considered it 'biblically sound to encourage people to pray with specificity'. He saw the role of Spiritual Mapping as facilitating information gathering: 'This information needs to be used in developing contextually relevant training programs for new believers. Closely related to this is the later stage of developing a contextualized theology for the nation.' He admitted that these two ways of using Spiritual Mapping had not been emphasized in the movement's writings.

Anthropological Criticism

Research Method
The criticism presented by the critics as anthropological criticism focussed on three areas: the research methods, the concept of worldview and the anthropological interpretive model. The issue of research method was addressed by almost all critics. After all, Spiritual Mapping had claimed to use generally accepted methods, as has been described in chapter five. The critics stressed the need for fixed criteria.

The strict critics, although relying primarily on doctrine and exegesis as decisive factors, pointed to the need for 'clear and defined' conditions for the interpretation of contemporary observed phenomena.[127] Experience could furnish new anthropological data as well, but, as Lowe wrote: 'Arguments from experience are admissible, but more careful selection and sober evaluation of the data are necessary before the case study evidence can be persuasive.'[128] He stated that he had not found objective criteria in Spiritual Mapping. Priest, Campbell and Mullen stated that no field research reports 'which pass even the most elementary requirements of research design are currently in print …'.[129]

The most extensive academic analysis of the movement's ethnographic research methodology was done by the 'open critic' Geib, who referred mainly to Otis. Geib was sympathetic towards Spiritual Mapping and in the area of theology had confirmed the movement's orthodoxy. However, in the area of ethnographic research he concluded that the 'Spiritual Mapping paradigm was found only tangentially congruent with academic ethnography'.[130]

First, Geib concluded that the movement's ethnographic team research model was intended to address the complexity of research and therefore demanded

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[125] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 33, 64.
[126] Arnold 1997, 177.
[127] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 40.
[128] Lowe 1998(b), 113.
[129] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 41
[130] Geib 1997, 272.

trained qualitative researchers with multiple disciplinary skills. However, Spiritual Mapping used the model for a pragmatic division of labour, performed by untrained adherents, based on the assumption that observations of amateurs would be adequate. Geib characterized this as 'scientific naïveté'.[131]

Second, Geib argued that academic ethnography's goal is to present a non-injurious etic (outsider) view of a culture. However, Spiritual Mapping postulated its version of the demonic and consequently tended to produce etic-based depictions of the demonic in a culture.[132]

Third, the generally accepted heuristic methods of ethnography involve six sources of data: direct observation, participant observation, interviews, documents, archives and physical artefacts. However, Spiritual Mapping, which intended to be a form of 'macro-discernment', resorted to research techniques greatly reduced to 'micro ethnography or highly selective types of case study research'.[133]

Fourth, academic ethnography produced multiple descriptions of cultures and multiple methods over an extended period of time. It was primarily descriptive of process and product. However, Spiritual Mapping produced primarily products that were explanatory in nature and rational.

Fifth, academic ethnography aimed at clarity in description and credibility. But Spiritual Mapping was designed to produce (semi-)secret intelligence reports that pertained to theory-building case studies, employing categories in linear logic of data presentation.

Strict and open critics doubted if the movement's research design could even be hypothetically possible. First, the relevant variables, an object or territory with a demon attached and its spiritual effects of contiguity, pose problems for operationalizing them. It is doubtful that it would be at all possible to create controlled conditions that would rule out other explanations. Second, 'the subject matter concerns personal beings, rather than impersonal forces or processes'.[134] The Lausanne *Consultation Statement* stated:

> We are not agreed as to whether or how the truths about spiritual realities and spiritual conflict methodologies can be verified empirically. Some engage in active experimentation in spiritual-conflict ministry as a means of developing generalities concerning spiritual conflict, while others are not convinced of the validity of this way of learning.[135]

In addition to the methodological objections above, the critics objected to the movement's actual execution of its version of the anthropological method of ethnography. Critics had much to say about the results of the movement's research method.

A first example was given by Priest, Campbell and Mullen who detected a mere copying of the beliefs and their accompanying interpretation as furnished by the sources themselves. 'Folk religions' accredited and propagated their ideas by telling stories and therefore accredited a range of beliefs about spirits as well. These

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[131] Geib 1997, 280.
[132] Geib 1997, 283.
[133] Geib 1997, 176.
[134] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 49.
[135] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 94.

data require critical analysis, critics held: one cannot merely copy the interpretation of others. In Spiritual Mapping's use of anthropological data, stories did not have the function of a mere *illustration* of a truth stated, but the stories are part of the construction of the truths involved. The extensive use of stories and anecdotes as supporting various doctrines in the publications of the movement had made this approach 'foundational to the ideas they propose' Priest, Campbell and Mullen complained.[136] In addition, a lack of careful verification criteria often heightened the importance of the assumptions of the person interpreting the event. The result was a one-sided and highly selective interpretation of the data.

Another example of criticism related to ethnographic research method and its outcome was criticism of the 10/40 Window. This criticism has been summarized in Rynkiewich's 2007 article 'Corporate Metaphors and Strategic Thinking'. The 10/40 Window concept had been closely identified with Spiritual Mapping, although it had not been synonymous with it. Michael A. Rynkiewich referred to publications on the matter of Robert T. Coote in 2000 and Alan Johnson in 2001.[137] The window is said to be unclear in its definitions and was based on unclear and outdated anthropological insights, such as a static view of culture. The world does not consist of discrete cultural groups, and individuals do not have a clear-cut identity as members of one group. Identities are not static but are shifting and often multiple. Also, the window reflects a US Evangelical worldview, alien to those on other continents. Rynkiewich concluded in his research that the 10/40 window resonates 'with the larger American Evangelical rhetorical vision in which organisational and military language is blended with religious language to form a view of how America fits and operates in the world'.[138] All in all, these are serious criticisms concerning the ethnography of Spiritual Mapping.

So far, this section has described the critics' observations about a lack of clear research criteria, the methodological flaws and two examples of what they perceived to be unfortunate results of these flaws. However, critics had more to say. They noted that Spiritual Mapping claimed but did not strive in earnest either to develop or to follow viable research procedures. Statements like Kraft's 'Anecdotes equals evidence' and Wagner's statement that anecdotes should be taken 'at face value', as noted in chapter three, were examples. The critics complained that research had deteriorated into collecting mere anecdotes. Wagner addressed this complaint by arguing that he considered the sources to be 'sincere, lucid people' and thus did not want to doubt the content of their anecdotes.[139] Priest, Campbell and Mullen objected by commenting that the criterion should not be one's love and respect for a person but the epistemological question of what would constitute a sufficient basis for new doctrine. They considered testing to be a biblical demand according to 1 Timothy 4:1,7 and 1 Thessalonians 5:21.[140] Accepting anecdotes at face value is not equal to the biblical task of testing all things, critics held.

Critics indicated that the analysis of the anecdotes showed a lack of reliability. The sources display many examples for the critic, a few of which will

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[136] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 36.
[137] Coote 2000; Johnson 2001; Rynkiewich 2007, 224.
[138] Rynkiewich 2007, 232.
[139] Wagner 1988(a), 242.
[140] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 39.

suffice. A first example is the testing of the report of 'a town on the border of Uruguay and Brazil' in which one side of the street showed considerably more openness for evangelistic efforts than the other. Testing revealed that the report did not contain detailed numbers, that it concerned a small sampling of unknown people on an unspecified afternoon, that it had occurred in 1947 (Wagner reported it in 1988),[141] that no reports were kept, and that the missionary in question (Ralph Mahoney) could not remember the name of the town.[142] It appeared to be an uncertain anecdote about a single instance. Priest, Campbell and Mullen concluded that whatever the report may have been at time, it was now an uncertain and huge leap to understand it today in terms of territorial demons.

Another example is the oft-repeated report on the missionary Lester Sumrall concerning a breakthrough in missionary work in the Philippines.[143] A single victory over a demon was supposed to have caused tens of thousands to have come to Christ. Upon examination, it appeared that Sumrall himself had drawn another conclusion: he attributed the spiritual breakthrough to the media coverage after the exorcism. Wagner had identified a territorial spirit; Sumrall himself did not. Priest, Campbell and Mullen concluded: 'This is not the kind of report than one can rely on to validate ideas about territorial spirits.'[144]

A further example is Lowe's examination of reports on 'dramatic' church growth in Latin America: 'Upon closer evaluation, even enthusiastic proponents apparently do not portray strategic-level spiritual warfare as a sufficient – or even as a specially effective – cause of church growth in Latin America.'[145] Bollini, vice-president of the Federación Allianza Cristiana de Iglesias Evangélicas de la República Argentina (ACIERA) stated: 'As far as I am concerned, I have not seen any results at all…. But it depends on who interprets the situation. In any case, numerically nothing has been proven.'[146] Saracco commented as follows: 'Please note that Wagner is not always careful in his writings', before he gave his examples of wrong or exaggerated reports. Saracco quoted Omar Cabrera saying: 'Wagner makes me bigger than I am, it becomes disappointing to look at myself now.' Saracco added:

> I know Resistencia very well, since I lived there and I lived there exactly at the time of this plan…. An extraordinary revival in Resistencia? I have not seen it. The growth is just the same growth as elsewhere in Argentina at that time. The church was growing in the eighties everywhere, and so did the church in Resistencia…. The methodology just does not work. [147]

The Lausanne *Consultation Statement's* papers cautioned its readers to be careful in analysing success stories and expressed concern about the need for thoroughly verified sources.[148]

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[141] Wagner 1988(a), 201, 202.
[142] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 40.
[143] Wagner 1988(a), 197-198; 1990, 81; 1991(b), 44-45.
[144] Wagner 1991(b), 49.
[145] Lowe 1998(b), 113.
[146] Interview Bollini, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[147] Interview Saracco, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006.
[148] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 62.

The movement stated that success validates the assumptions on which its research methods worked. Moreover, the methods did actually produce positive effects, according to the movement. An appeal to pragmatism as a way to gain relevant knowledge was as such deemed acceptable to Spiritual Mapping.[149] The critics had two questions on this point.

In the first place, how would the movement show credible 'positive results'? As noted above, reliable reports and analyses were considered lacking. Priest, Campbell and Mullen held that there were no studies that compare the results of evangelistic actions that include the notion of demonic territoriality with those that do not:

> Furthermore, since the effects to be measured are spiritual ones, such studies would be difficult to carry out. The measuring of the effects of operation out of certain assumptions would not only require the study of those who had personal contact with Kraft, Wagner et al, but of those who read their books, listened to their tapes, taken their courses, etc.[150]

According to these critics, we do not know what the results are. Spiritual Mapping presented readers with a random sampling of reports but not the overall analysis that would be required for careful measurement.

The critics' second question was that if positive results were to be found, how would they validate the assumptions? Do positive results validate the assumptions? The critics' answer was negative. Their reasoning was that God may work supernaturally even when a method was clearly wrong. In addition, it was deemed by the critics unlikely for a human being to work with completely accurate assumptions anyway. That a method 'worked' did not mean that another method would not 'work' or could work even better. Finally, even when methods worked, they could work for reasons other than those assumed by the practitioner.[151]

Worldview

The criticism presented by the critics as anthropological criticism had its focus on three areas: the research methods, the concept of worldview and the anthropological interpretive model. This section will discuss their criticism with respect to the concept of worldview.

The first objection here was the opinion that the movement was drawing incorrect comparisons between 'Western' and 'non-Western', and 'animistic' and 'biblical' worldviews. Priest, Campbell and Mullen. stated: 'This account of things involves a partial cultural misreading both of "the West" and animistic cultures.' They added:

> The claim that enlightenment rationalism shapes the world view of most westerners distorts reality. It does not take into account the pervasive influence today upon the West of mystical romanticism, existentialism, and "new age" spiritualities. Western

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[149] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 41.
[150] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 42, 43.
[151] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 43, 44.

> Christians are in danger of being influenced by opposite and equally unbiblical philosophies.[152]

Not only did critics consider the comparisons wrong in the contrasting sense, but they identified what they saw as incorrect similarities as well. Lowe commented: 'The cosmology of animism is incompatible with that of Christianity.'[153] They may look alike, but are incompatible: 'Many of these authors are overly impressed with the extent of continuity they find between the biblical view of spirits and the view of spirits found in folk religions around the world, and are insufficiently attuned to the degree of discontinuity between the two.'

Priest, Campbell and Mullen stated that, as a result of flawed comparisons between worldviews, the movement had adopted notions alien to the Christian faith:

> Furthermore they fail to recognize the extent to which ideas and beliefs shape human experiences of spirit realities and the interpretation of these realities…. To accept the validity of an experience and to draw inferences from it, is often to accept unwittingly animistic and magical beliefs implicit in the experience itself.[154]

The flawed comparisons lead to the acceptance of notions that the movement should have rejected if it had followed its own principles. Priest, Campbell and Mullen noted this regarding animism: 'We argue in this paper that many missionaries and missiologists unwittingly have internalized and are propagating animistic and magical notions of spirit power….' Arnold stated likewise that the wrong comparisons and contrasts lead to 'an exercise of imagination and incredible speculation' and the adaptation of wrong and even plainly non-Christian beliefs.[155]

Deiros, who was not a critic but an adherent and practitioner of Spiritual Mapping, commented concerning the Enlightenment worldview:

> You see, Spiritual Mapping is a way of rationalizing things. Charting is very rational. It has been said that post-Modernity is the last breath of Modernity. Spiritual Mapping is a way of measuring and imagining the natural, to get to know the supernatural.[156]

Consequently, according to Deiros, the movement used an Enlightenment method that belonged to a worldview of which the movement itself disapproved.

A second objection to the movement's use of the concept of worldview was that its phenomenological description was often taken to be ontological reality. Phenomenological descriptions about demons were quickly taken as ontological reality. Priest, Campbell and Mullen agreed that 'it is true that spirits in many cultures are connected to certain geographical features, such as caves, mountains, rocks, rivers, etc.' It is 'an almost universal notion in folk religions' but stated that 'there is no simple congruence between what pagans believe about supernatural powers and what is actually true about demons'.[157] Here, through the avenue of a

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[152] Moreau 1995, 166; Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 11.
[153] Lowe 1998(b), 101; Wakely 1995, 155.
[154] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 11.
[155] Arnold 1997, 176.
[156] Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.
[157] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 35, 68; Greenlee 1994, 25.

discussion of the concept of worldview, the critics came to the same criticism regarding research methodology as noted above: 'These authors abandon sound anthropological understanding when they confuse a culture's social construct with reality.' They add: 'It is a reality into which people have been socialized, but it is not a mirror reflection of what actually exists.'[158]

A third objection to the movement's use of the concept of worldview concerned the development of models that they claimed to have universal application. A Spiritual Mapping prototype, although presented as a flexible model, was deemed likely to fail. The Lausanne *Consultation Statement* cautioned:

> Spiritual conflict is expressed in different ways in different societies, we strongly caution against taking ideas, methods or strategies developed in one society and using them uncritically in another.[159]

Supernatural spiritual realities could perhaps be the same, but their cultural expressions were not.

If the movement's use of the concept of worldview had led to the adoption of non-Christian notions from worldviews other than the biblical one, where was the crux of their mistake to be found?

Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou approached the concept of Spiritual Warfare from the perspective of myth.[160] With Wagner, Otis and Kraft they noted that the Western world was marked by Cartesian dualism, which means that there are two realities to the cosmos. Christians living in the Western world are faced with two dominant myths. The first is the myth of the reality of the natural world, concerning the myth of evolution for natural progress through the battle between strong and weak. The second is the myth of the supernatural reality, concerning the battle between God and Satan, angels and demons, good and evil. In some Christian circles this has little to do with everyday events on earth. For some, this meta-narrative would lead to a practical and theological demythologization of the Scriptures. In other Christian circles, it was supposed to be vividly felt by humans on earth. Here it could lead to a view in which there is active involvement in the spiritual battle.

Spiritual Mapping was quick to seize upon similarities between the latter application of Christian myth and the practice of many animistic societies. It concerned concepts of warfare as a battle between different alliances of beings, often based on territory or ethnicity. 'Land plays an important role in traditional views of spiritual warfare', Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou agreed.[161] Defeat in war is to be blamed on the weakness of these beings. In this sense any war is almost always a spiritual war.

In Western cultures, the Indo-European myth, which comes from Babylon, Canaan, Greece, India, and Germany 'to name a few', paints a picture of the cosmic battle of good and evil. The authors stated:

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[158] Priest, Campbell and Mullen 1995, 76, 77.
[159] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 91.
[160] Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou 1999, 269.
[161] Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou 1999, 270-272.

> During the Middle Ages the formal religious beliefs or Europe were Christianized,
> but popular entertainment, including sports, movies, fables, politics, and wars,
> remained based on the Indo-European myth. [162]

For this reason, it is fundamental in the West that good and evil are two eternal independent entities in conflict. This is reflected in our appreciation of phenomena like nations, humans and angels. In doing something unexpected, any one of these entities may incidentally become bad or good, but fundamentally they are either good or bad. The battle between good and bad is the battle for control of the universe. It is about the establishment of a kingdom characterized by either wickedness or by love and justice: 'To win, therefore, is everything.' 'Ultimate victory … is evidence of who is good and who is evil.' Conversions often followed dramatic 'power encounters', Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou added.

The underlying belief is that relationships are based on competition, which is viewed as good because it generates progress. Stories, games and sports are made interesting by competition. Indo-European religions may have died out in the Western world, but the myth still dominates modern thought:

> In Christian circles the Indo-European myth leads to a view of spiritual warfare as a
> cosmic battle between God and Satan in which the battle is fought in heavens, but it
> ranges over sky and earth. The central issue is power: Can God defeat Satan? Can
> Christians overcome demons? Humans are seen as passive victims who will turn to
> Christ if they are delivered from the control of Satan.[163]

Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou stated: 'Biblical cosmology differs radically from the modern animistic and Indo-European myths.' When it comes to worldview, here the crux of the mistake of Spiritual Mapping was found: its essential flaw was not theological but anthropological.

How would Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou describe the differences? They go back to what they called a 'biblical worldview' in which God is eternal, righteous, loving and good. Evil is not eternal. Satan, sin and sinners appear only later in creation. The qualitative difference is clear. Creation depends on God for its present existence. There is no independent existence apart from God. Satan, sin and sinners are all contingent. The battle is not one of power to see who wins – God always wins. God's omnipotence is never in question. Even Satan's power is God-given and temporary. The encounter between God and Satan is a moral encounter. Israelites are not defeated because other gods were stronger but because of God's judgement on sinful behaviour. It is a battle between justice and injustice, love and hate.[164]

Christ's death on the cross makes no sense in Indo-European myth, the authors argued. Following the Indo-European myth, Christ would have called his angelic hosts and would have left the cross. In the ensuing 'competition' Christ would have marched on to destroy sinners. However, in the Bible, the battle is not one of power: Satan is (only!) a faithful steward, a member of the heavenly court (Book of Job 1-3). He became a rebel who condemned even God's ultimate messenger, Jesus Christ. Then, according to Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou:

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[162] Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou 1999, 273.
[163] Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou 1999, 273-274.
[164] Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou 1999, 275; Moreau 2000(a), 8; Hiebert 2000(a).

> the case is appealed to the supreme court in heaven. There the judgement is found to
> be unjust, and the case is overturned. The lower court itself is found to be evil, and,
> therefore, no longer legitimate, so it is removed from power and punished. The
> central issue is not one of power, but of justice and legality.[165]

In this light, the cross is the total undoing of Satan (Colossians 2:15).

Spiritual warfare exists today, the authors inform us, but it is a moral battle in the hearts of individuals, whom Satan is trying to keep and God is trying to win. 'It is for the allegiance of human beings, and not for passive victims caught in cosmic battles.' The moral battle is expressed on the corporate level as well: 'On corporate level the battle is for human systems', like ideologies, societies and cultures. These systems may blind human individuals. However, this is not the result of demonic activities but the result of the fallen state of humans and God's judgment on sin. Conversion to the Christian faith is not hindered by the demonic but by human cultural and social systems, as indicated in Romans 1:18-25.

Therefore missionaries should avoid the equation of Satan and demons with territories: 'It sells human sinfulness short.' Demons do not capture humans or territories. Human beings can summon demons and renew their corporate rebellion against God. It is a matter of what comes first and to whom responsibility is attributed. In summary, Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou interpreted modern Spiritual Mapping as related to the Indio-European myth rather than to the cosmology of the Bible. Deiros would probably not agree with the above criticism, but in an attempt at self-critique, he did admit: 'We do not have an answer to the question how evil and Satan relates to us.'[166]

Other critics did not refer to this as explicitly as Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou had done. The Lausanne *Consultation Statement* referred to 'magical sub-Christian understandings':

> We call for discernment concerning magical uses of Christian terms and caution
> practitioners to avoid making spiritual conflict into Christian magic. Any suggestion
> that a particular technique or method in spiritual-conflict ministry ensures success is
> a magical, sub-Christian understanding of God's workings.[167]

Arnold related Spiritual Mapping to a 'non-Christian understanding of occult power'. Some of the concepts depend on 'tribal and occult religious beliefs about the movements of spirit-power'.[168]

Symbol and Meaning

The criticism presented by the critics as anthropological criticism focussed on three areas: the research method, the concept of worldview and the anthropological interpretive model. This section will discuss criticism of the latter.

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[165] Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou 1999, 276.
[166] Interview Deiros, Buenos Aires, Setember 13, 2006.
[167] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 60, 91.
[168] Arnold 1997, 176.

As was described in chapter two, Kraft's missionary anthropology was an important basis for Spiritual Mapping. Kraft worked along the lines of structural functionalism. Hiebert argued against Spiritual Mapping along the lines of symbolism. The relationship between symbol and meaning was central to his critique. He developed his argument by describing what he saw as the three major paradigm shifts of anthropology, even though he was aware of a degree of simplification.[169] Before taking up the discussion, the paradigms are given below in key terms in diagram 5.

Hiebert's reasoning with respect to Spiritual Mapping was as follows. In the second paradigm meaning was supposed to be preserved by changing form (dynamic equivalence translation principle). However, it appeared that this was not the case. Meaning was more than a subjective ('purely arbitrary') perception in the minds of people: there still was an objective reality against which meanings were to be tested. Communication could not be considered merely culture-bound and subjective.

Diagram 5: Paul G. Hiebert's Anthropological Paradigms in Key Terms

The first paradigm and its characteristics:	
Worldview	Western worldview of the colonial times.
Cultural theory	Cultural evolution.
Epistemology	Positivism (naïve realism).
Theology	Objective truth in formal statements.
Missiology	Indiginization (central: missionaries' message).
The second paradigm and its characteristics:	
Worldview	Western anticolonial era.
Cultural theory	Structural functionalism, forms 'purely arbitrary'.[170]
Epistemology	Instrumentalism, 'encased in Kuhnian paradigms'[171].
Theology	Subjective with relative categories.
Missiology	Contextualization (central: what audience understood).
The third paradigm and its characteristics:	
Worldview	'Global area'
Cultural theory	Symbolism, semiotic view of symbols,
Epistemology	'Critical realism'
Theology	Two dimensions: objective and subjective
Missiology	Contextual theologies.

Hiebert argued on the basis of symbolism and wrote that both form and meaning are linked to realities. There is correspondence between human mental

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[169] Hiebert 1994, 54.
[170] Hiebert 1994, 60.
[171] Hiebert 1994, 62.

maps and reality. Communication is not measured by what sender and receptor comprehend, but by the *correspondence* between what the sender and receptor experience and understand about reality. Symbols stand for realities and are defined in terms of realities, forms and meanings. Therefore, symbols have objective and subjective dimensions. In anthropological terms: what replaces instrumentalism? It is replaced in the first place by a semiotic view of symbols and in the second place by a critical realist view of knowledge.

This view had repercussions for theology. Theology is known as Theology when it is God's revelation, Hiebert argued. We speak of theologies when it concerns our partial understandings of a greater Truth. The relationship is one of limited correspondence or analogy, like blueprints or roadmaps. Our theologies are objective in the sense that they can (and must) be tested by reality. After all, a roadmap is either useful or it is not. Our theologies are subjective in the sense that they are determined by contexts *as well*.

The difference between Hiebert's symbolism and Kraft's social functionalism as described in chapter two is at the very centre of Hiebert's critique of Spiritual Mapping .[172] In Spiritual Mapping this functionalism had been applied with a high degree of pragmatism. If a theological concept 'worked', it was considered 'functional' and consequently valid. The central concern was not whether a concept was 'animistic' in nature or not nor whether a concept was 'biblical' or not. What did matter was the desired result. Theology and missionary practice find 'meaning' in the growth of churches, transformed societies or in 'success'. The process towards the desired result is almost an 'empty' process. It is the Spirit's leading that is central and brings 'results', regardless of the very content of the divine communication.

Kraft stated that, even if one is able to determine satisfactorily the meaning God and the biblical author determined,

> We still need to be open to what he [the Spirit] seeks to say to contemporary hearers in contemporary cultural contexts. *These messages will be within the range of allowable interpretation of the original utterances but may differ from our emic understandings* [Italics his]. [173]

It is a 'repackaging' of the Christian message. For Kraft, we derive theology not only from Scripture 'but also from a maximum of relevance to the emic-ethnic situation …'. No reply from Spiritual Mapping to Hiebert is known to exist.

Alternatives
The anthropological criticism focussed on the movement's research methods, its concept of worldview and its anthropological interpretive model.

The Lausanne *Consultation Statement* did not present an alternative to Spiritual Mapping's research methods. It stated that anthropological data, provided that they be correctly studied and reported, should be taken into consideration. It did not offer criteria for its interpretation:

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[172] Geertz 1973; Hiebert 2000(b), 68-69.
[173] Kraft 1979, 302, 32.

> Much of what has been written in recent years on spiritual warfare has an anecdotal
> character. It constitutes a vast body of empirical data that is potentially helpful, and
> therefore should not be jettisoned by those who have difficulties with some of these
> writings. How they are to be interpreted is the important point.[174]

Geib's alternative entailed what he called 'a synthetic bridge between supernatural
theology and naturalistic inquiry'.[175] This included first a Spiritual Mapping research
team headed by an academically trained, 'qualitative advocate ethnographer';
second, carefully instructed and supervised Christians; third, 'blatantly identified
rapid appraisals of highly selective applied case study research findings with no
scientific pretension and as etic worldview interpretation'; and fourth, to be done
with the purpose of prayer. Geib was not sure whether Spiritual Mapping could be
successfully combined with academic research. Therefore, he proposed a research
project on the question if the Spiritual Mapping paradigm could 'be constructed in
terms identified with academically defined social action research'.[176] Whatever the
outcome of this question would be, Geib certainly felt Spiritual Mapping had not yet
proven that point.

This ends the section on the criticism with respect to anthropology. The next and
final section of this chapter will address its context.

Final Observations

The above description of what critics presented as theological and anthropological
criticism reflected its Evangelical thoughts and assumptions. As we did in chapter
five with respect to the movement's self-understanding, in this section we will select
aspects of the criticism and consider them in the context as given in chapters two
through four.

Theological Context

A first selected aspect of the criticism in its context is that of its theological overlap
with Spiritual Mapping. The critics' classical Evangelical theology was by and large
the same, except for Wink.

The critics' theological Neo-Evangelical framework and the Church
Growth Movement have been described in chapter two. The critics did not argue
against the use of its many collective categories, such as unreached peoples, group
conversion, collective sin, collective repentance, collectively transmitted guilt and
plantatio ecclesiae. Many of these concepts had apparently become familiar in the
Evangelical context. The critics did argue against a wrong application of the
integration of theology and social sciences, but they did not reject the idea of
integration as such.

To some extent the critics showed the same orientation to non-academic
popular Evangelical spirituality as Spiritual Mapping had done, but their criticism

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[174] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 33, 94-96.
[175] Geib 1997, 288-290.
[176] Geib 1997, 291.

was theological. The concepts of revivalism and the desirability of experience were not contested, except in some Cessationist circles, which held that all miraculous activity of the Spirit was supposed to have ceased when the New Testament canon was closed. The revivalistic concept of the domestic millennial reform, including social reform aimed at the US as a shining 'City on a Hill' was accepted.

The critics concentrated on the epistemology and demonology of Spiritual Mapping. Other categories of systematic theology were not discussed and probably taken for granted. It shows that a great deal of the theological contexts of both critics and adherents was considered the same. For example, the hamartological concept of the Augustine 'legal rights theory', a particular doctrine of sin, was not contested. The critics did not argue against the millennial interpretation of eschatology and the historical interpretation of prophecy.

The critics were familiar with the concept of ecclesiological 'primitivism': the desire to let the church return to New Testament belief and practice was strong. Theology had the task of bringing the church back to its 'primitive' roots, and revival was a tool to this end. Things changed when Spiritual Mapping shifted from being a means to enhance revival to an alternative for Evangelicalism in the form of the New Apostolic Reformation.

In terms of missiology, the theology of religion entailed the endorsement of the soteriological exclusivist approach. Non-Christians were considered to be without salvific faith in Christ and consequently condemned for eternity. This was often communicated in an implicit way through terms like 'the lost', 'saved for eternity' and other related terms. Explicit discussion of the subject is non-existent.

Differences among the critics revealed that Neo-Evangelicalism expressed itself in the form of a continuum. The Bible, accessible through established doctrine and exegesis, was accepted by all as an indispensable mutual testing ground. However, the integration of social sciences and theology produced different views. For the 'strict' critics, doctrine and exegesis were supposed to lead to one theology. Generally contextualization entailed differences in terms of cultural forms of application. The theological tradition was supposed to be universally applicable.

'Open' critics spoke of the development of contextual theologies. Their different ways of integration of doctrine, exegesis and social sciences, produced different opinions. Their answer to Spiritual Mapping was not simply negative.

A second aspect of the criticism in its context is that of its demonology. The framework of the relevant demonology was the same for critics and adherents. As noted in chapter two and three, the overlap entails the ontological and personalized interpretation of Satan, his status as a fallen angel, and the other fallen angels as subordinated demonic powers. The powers of Paul's letters are the same as the demons in the gospels. The powers are intrinsically evil. Social structures were considered to be influenced by the powers but were not to be identified with the powers themselves. Structures are neutral in themselves and become corrupted only through demonic possession and dominion.

Spiritual Mapping concepts like territoriality, the empowering of objects, the mechanistic working of power and genealogical transmission were, in principle, new for Evangelical theology. The concepts were examined in the light of doctrine and exegesis by the 'strict critics'. Their view was that Spiritual Mapping could not develop its demonology from exegesis and existing Reformed doctrine. The

conclusion that these two criteria do not support the concept was enough for this category.

For 'open critics' it was not that simple. Some accepted spiritual territoriality on the basis of exegesis, such as Page and Arnold. However, the question then remained as to what conclusion should be drawn from this. The Evangelical theological context generally agreed that the church was to relate to the demonic by resisting its seductive influence. The central issue for the critics was not if the powers had to be fought – the question was *where* the ontological and personalized reality of the demonic expressed itself, followed by the question of *how* they had to be engaged. As described above, the Evangelical tradition preferred to limit the engagement to holy living, prayer and the defensive principle of resistance to temptation. The aggressive and offensive warfare prayer against demons was generally rejected. This was especially the case where Spiritual Mapping became a central feature in missiology.

A third aspect of the criticism is the view of what critics and adherents called epistemology. In true Reformed fashion, the Spirit was believed to help one understand the Bible, but this was not equal to the concept of revelation. The Spirit gives light but not revelation, which had already been received in the Bible. The critics were quick to make this distinction. However, Evangelicalism had a strong mystical tradition of experiental listening to God's voice. The critics often shared this tradition through the common use of popular Evangelical spirituality, as noted above. The critics knew about the concept of divine guidance through the direct internal hearing of God all too well.

Spiritual Mapping had not established a clear distinction in their publications between inner guidance and biblical revelation. God-given insight was presented by using the word 'revelation' without making it qualitatively different from the Bible. Thus, personal 'discernment' quickly became 'revelation' as well.

For 'strict critics' discernment came from the revelation of the Bible, in the form of exegesis and established doctrines. However, they were still concerned with the quality of the research methods. This served the purpose of supporting the truth of Bible and doctrine. If something was not true biblically, it could not be true through another avenue. Moreover, the critics argued, if Spiritual Mapping had followed the research rules, it could have known it was not true.

The 'open critics' were open to learning from extra-biblical or doctrinal sources. This made their position more difficult and their work more complicated. Those like Geib and Hiebert who desired to integrate theology with social sciences developed different positions, as this study will describe below.

Social and Cultural Context

A fourth aspect of the criticism in its context is that of the integration of anthropology. There is no rejection of the idea of Neo-Evangelical integration as such. Looking back to the previous chapters, critics did not object to the use of anthropology, but to its way of application. It concerned what the critics perceived to be the wrong use of research methods and the confusion of phenomenological description with ontological reality. It also concerned its use of the concept of

worldview, which entailed the embracing of animistic notions and the Indo-European myth.

This criticism concerns Kraft's missionary anthropology, the movement's form of applied functionalism, as was noted in chapter two. So far, criticism confronted the movement within its own system. However, a more fundamental form of criticism came from outside the movement's academic anthropological context. This was Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou's contrasting of functionalism with symbolism. Here a new way of looking at reality and its symbols was presented. There is no source in which the movement addressed this issue.

A fifth aspect of the criticism in its context is that of Apocalypticism and Millenarianism. Evangelicalism had been mobilized to 'stand against' evil in society actively. The idea of domestic reform, revival and mobilization against social evil had resulted in social activism and involvement. However, the question of *how* to be involved is what divided most Evangelicals.

Some critics actually do place Spiritual Mapping within the framework of apocalyptic dualism, like Lowe and Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou. However, these authors consider Apocalypticism to qualitatively different from the New Testament and their version of Evangelicalism. For them, the Bible is divine revelation, which may harbour apocalyptic elements but is set over against Apocalyticism. The latter is considered to be an aberration of and derivation from biblical truth. The ante-Nicene, Nicene and post-Nicene church fathers are supposed to be outside heretical Apocalypticism. Thus Spiritual Mapping is a mere repetition of an age-old heresy.

None of the sources refer to the concept of millenarianism, and Spiritual Mapping is often applied in a millenarian framework. Social evil is depicted in the context of the time. We noted Rynkiewich's conclusion that the 10/40 window resonated 'with the larger American Evangelical rhetorical vision in which organisational and military language is blended with religious language to form a view of how America fits and operates in the world'.[177] In the political context this study mentions the territorial aspect of President Reagan's depiction of 'the evil empire' in his definition of society-menacing evil. It was mentioned for the first time at the convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1983. We should also mention that in 2006 the World Prayer Center sold works by Robert Kagan, an influential neoconservative publisher and scholar, who called for a 'benevolent hegemony' of the US over the world.[178]

A sixth aspect of the criticism in its context is comprised by the New Religious Movements in the US. The critics left sociological studies largely unused and did not employ the aspects mentioned in chapters three and five of this study.

The resemblance of Spiritual Mapping techniques to those of Neo-Pagan groups was scarcely mentioned. Critics issued warnings against 'animistic' tendencies, but specific applications were rarely made. Generally, the critics shared the movement's negative interpretation of and alarm over these religious movements. They agreed that Evangelical measures should be taken against the rise of these movements but disagreed with the movement as to *how* this should be done.

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[177] Rynkiewich 2007, 232.
[178] Kagan 2004.

The critics made hardly any use of notions from sociology or comparisons with New Religious Movements in this disagreement.

The next chapter will show what conclusions can be drawn from the points above.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SPIRTUAL MAPPING: A BLIND ALLEY IN EVANGELICALISM

Introduction

Chapters two to six followed the historical descriptive approach. This chapter will
interpret the previous six chapters, but we will first make some brief comments on
the method used. The primary historical aim does not entail the illusion that 'the
facts' can be found and described in such a way that past reality can be presented 'as
it was'. This is so for at least three reasons.

First of all, this study has chosen to narrow down this interpretation to its
theological and cultural contexts. So far, this study has sought to use elements of
several interpretative models, not necessarily interconnected, as presented in chapter
two (diagram 2). The selection of these elements was based on the – often striking –
resemblance between their aspects and Spiritual Mapping. This approach has been
chosen in the awareness that reality is complex. The selection of elements will be
placed in a broader framework in this chapter.

Second, the 'facts' and their interpretation as presented in this study are by
necessity limited to the data available today. It describes what we know, not what
we do not know. Although Spiritual Mapping is of rather recent date and although
there is more information than can be described in this study, some data have
become irretrievably lost already. There are various reasons for this. Some primary
sources remained officially unpublished and are hard to obtain. It appeared that it
was not in the nature of the movement of Spiritual Mapping to maintain archives or
to publish reports based on empirical evidence. Other primary sources simply
disappeared, such as outdated websites, as organizations upgraded their publicity.
Some of these websites played an important role at the time. Fortunately, for this
study numerous copies of these websites had been secured, either in print or
digitally. For different reasons, not every adherent of Spiritual Mapping appeared
willing to cooperate with academic research. 'Green Berets' are by nature secretive
warriors. Others considered academic research to be a phenomenon of the old
paradigm and not worthy of attention. All in all, it is certain that some information
has simply been lost.

Third, this study has chosen to cover a broad spectrum. It is an historical
description of the broad spectrum of Spiritual Mapping, representative of the main
outlines of the concept and movement. This study set out to select and summarize
the vast amount of available information on the international, national, regional,
denominational and individual levels. Consequently, it is selective to a high degree.
This selection process and its criteria were discussed in chapter one so as to limit its
subjectivity. This study concentrated on Argentina and the USA and selected the
main spokesmen, organizations and publications. The reader should keep in mind
that many national, cultural and denominational contexts have not been touched on
in this study. The reader should take the limitations of the method into account.

This study left many questions about Spiritual Mapping unanswered. For
example, the political aspect was not discussed. Research could be done in the area

of the relationship between Spiritual Mapping and conservative political views and practices in the USA. Concepts like the 'evil empire' and the 'axis of evil' invite the researcher to do so. How did Spiritual Mapping as 'spiritual' warfare without physical violence relate to Evangelicalism's views on real-time violence and war?

The psychological aspect could be studied as well. After all, in the light of the psychology of religion, the question could be asked as to why Spiritual Mapping occupied itself with the negative, i.e with demons, and not with the positive, with (good) angels. Why did Evangelical angelology become so predominantly demonology? Why was its dualism so one-sided?

A question of a different order is how to study movements like Spiritual Mapping. Future historical descriptive studies of such movements will be hindered greatly by lost digital information. Websites, blogs, discussions on web forums and e-mail messages are not stored in archives. Some adherents of movements may either be unwilling to give interviews, as was the case with Spiritual Mapping, or will soon pass away. The question is how these movements will be studied in the future.

Selling the American Dream

The title of this study is *Spiritual Mapping: The Turbulent Career of a Contested American Missionary Paradigm 1989-2005*. Spiritual Mapping was a product to be sold on the religious market of the USA. Sales initially went well but later faltered. Its marketing history was turbulent, contested and was carried out within a missionary framework as found in the US.

Spiritual Mapping had a turbulent history indeed. It mobilized millions around the globe, presented dazzling global plans and prospects, published scores of books, brochures and websites. It made highly effective use of modern media and did not shy away from the sensational. It had praying Christians walking in every nation of the world, including areas like North Korea, the north and south polar regions, the paths of the Crusaders and Mount Everest.

The turbulence was caused not only by the movement's very actions but also by the content of its beliefs. Spiritual Mapping pretended to be at the very centre of divine action on earth. It stood at the very end of times, chosen by God to execute the very final missionary efforts. Then the end would come. The movement's beliefs were strongly dualistic and were presented in speculative Dantesque images. These images were projected at everyone's very own country, city or street. The movement's beliefs forced Evangelicals to respond – they had no choice. After all, they were confronted with what was presented as the will of no one less than their own God himself. It included their very own neighbourhoods, streets, their own governments and international politics as they saw it on their televisions. It concerned their way of doing mission. There was no escape.

The turbulence caused a wide range of critics to express themselves. Most critics were Evangelicals, concerned about the influence of Spiritual Mapping on their own Evangelical hinterland. The movement and its beliefs were fiercely contested, and its career was as tempestuous as it was short. Having begun at the end of the 1980s and continuing to develop through the first half of the 1990s, already in the second half of the 1990s the movement saw, in addition to global prayer

campaigns, the first signs of shifting interest. After 2000 the movement started to disintegrate. Its crumbling was accompanied by a transformation into other movements.

There was more. The history was not just turbulent and contested. The title presents the defining paradigm of the movement as *American*. Here we will point to the wider context of the movement as being *American*.

Spiritual Mapping should be considered as an outflow of Americanism as found in the US.[1] This includes the idea that the US, as a chosen nation, has a special role in the world to give hope and new perspectives to this world. The US, with its constitutional ideals, democratic institutions and freedom for the individual, is considered to be a unique guide for other nations.[2] Its ensuing 'American Dream' entails the social ethos of many citizens in the US. The myth is the US as a freedom-loving, democratic and peaceful people, a new nation, an experiment, a new order for humanity. The definition of the term 'American Dream' is under constant discussion,[3] but, roughly speaking, it contains an agglomeration of beliefs and actions concerning individual freedom of choice in lifestyle, equal access to economic prosperity and 'the pursuit of shared objectives mutually advantageous to the individual and society'. The generic definition of the term 'American Dream' goes back to James T. Adams in *The Epic of America* (1931),[4] but the concept itself goes back to the 16th century. George S. Scouten argues in his dissertation Planting the American Dream: English Colonialism and the Origins of American Myth (2002) that the 16th and 17th-century English promoters of colonialism laid the groundwork for the concept of America as the land of plenty, opportunity and destiny.[5]

In the nineteenth century, a Christian version of the Pilgrim story emerged within the framework of the American Dream. It was the myth of the Puritan foundation of the US as a Christian nation under God. The Puritan immigration in the 17th century and its establishment of a Puritan Commonwealth as the divinely sanctioned foundation of the US was included in America's rich folklore. The 'deification of the national enterprise' included the notion of a nation founded on the natural laws of the (Christian and mainly Protestant) Creator, the notion of the US as a covenant people 'under God' and the notion of the veneration of the US and its principles.[6] Mark A. Noll does not hesitate to call these views fraudulent.[7] Protestant thought was dominated by the presumed superiority of its own Christian civilization, its democratic principles as its highest expression, and the inevitable advance of these principles.[8]

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[1] Smith 1998, 6; Wald 1988, 18-20, 59.
[2] Van Rossem 2002, 166.
[3] Hochshild 1995, 26, 27-30.
[4] Adams 2001, 404.
[5] Scouten 2002.
[6] Lipsitz 1990, 21, 32; Marsden 2001, 53
[7] Noll 2001, 201.
[8] Marsden 2001, 106, 107.

Selling Manifest Destiny

The title of this study indicates that Spiriual Mapping is a *missionary* paradigm as well. A dual heritage of secular and religious aspects produced imperialism and 'foreign missions' in the US.

Americanism is closely related to the concept of Manifest Destiny.[9] This socio-political term was used in 1840 for the first time in politics by the Democrats to justify the annexation of the Far West and had been adopted by the Republicans in the 1890s to justify territorial expansion outside the US (Hawaii, The Philippines). The notion of Manifest Destiny had developed as a mystical concept and in its application contributed to the Mexican-American war, the Spanish-American war, the extermination of native Americans and much more. Domestically, it contributed to crusades against social evil.[10]

The superiority of the US and its civilization was to be exported 'overseas'. For many citizens of the US, Manifest Destiny became the lens through which they viewed the world. Throughout the years this lens was indicated by means of many equivalent expressions: Natural Right, Geographical Predestination, Extension of the Area of Freedom and last but not least: World Leadership and Leader of the Free World.[11]

Manifest Destiny was fuelled by a religious dimension as well.[12] In the eighteenth century Jonathan Edwards saw the fulfilment of certain biblical prophecies taking place in the new colonies in America:

> Surely the islands look to me; in the lead are the ships of Tarshish, bringing your sons from afar, with their silver and gold, to the honor of the Lord your God …' (Isaiah 60:9, NIV).[13]

The concept of Manifest Destiny was connected with Anglo-Saxon Israelism, the idea that the Anglo-Saxon race is the descendant of the ten lost tribes of Israel. This makes the US people, along with a selection of other 'white' peoples, the genetic descendants of God's chosen people. The concept probably originated in the seventeenth century in England, and John White is believed to have formulated and popularized it in its present form, especially through his publication of *Our Israelitish Origin* (1845 in London and 1850 in the US).[14] Modern representatives of this view are Herbert W. Armstrong with *The United States and Britain in Prophecy* (1980) and Roger Rusk with *The Other End of the World: An Alternate Theory Linking Prophecy and History* (1988).[15] Spiritual Mapping does not betray any racial emphasis. There is no overt connection with Anglo-Saxon Israelism. Nonetheless, it does implicitly share the general feeling that the US is a natural epicenter of divine initiative on earth.

One of the direct contexts of origin of Spiritual Mapping, as we saw in chapter two, the Church Growth Movement, was embedded in this mystical and

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[9] Noll 2001, 193, 200.
[10] Smith 1998, 4.
[11] Stephanson 1995.
[12] Marsden 2001, 59, 62, 70.
[13] Edwards 1998, 381-383; Presser 1949, 508, Marsden 2001, 34, 35.
[14] Melton 1978, 119, 447.
[15] Armstrong 1980, 4; Rusk 1988.

political Americanism and sense of Manifest Destiny. Both Spiritual Mapping and its critics did not question Evangelical mission theology as used in the US. They did not question or hardly questioned the US' central and leading role in the missionary world scene as advanced by Spiritual Mapping. The naturalness with which the movement and most of its critics accepted southern California and later Colorado Springs as obvious centres is striking. Despite the pretence of being an 'international' movement, budgets, schools, initiatives and personnel came predominantly from the US. By far, most of the figureheads of the movement were either citizens of the US or non-US citizens under the influence of the US through education or funding. The strategizing for non-US territories was done as a matter-of-course; its justification was not questioned.

For Spiritual Mapping, the destiny of the Christian version of the US was manifest. In chapter six we mentioned Michael A. Rynkiewich's comments on the 10/40 Window to the effect that it reflected a form of the geopolitical outlook of the US of its time. Spiritual Mapping and the foreign events in which their nation was involved went hand in hand. George Otis' *Last of the Giants* of 1991 reads like a commentary on the Gulf War of 1991, locating the very seat of Satan in the Garden of Eden in Iraq. Wagner's and AD2000's interest in Islam and the Middle East and his enthusiastic embracement of the 10/40 Window, and, not least, its enthusiastic reception by many Evangelicals, coincide with what many citizens of the US saw on their television sets. Many other Evangelical missions shared the focus. The Christian faith and its ensuing missionary zeal were embedded in American ideals. As noted in chapter two, it was the time that Evangelical religious elements played an increasingly important role in politics in the US.[16]

Problems arose in two areas in which the concept was sold to the public. The first problem occurred within the movement itself. Its application in the form of the 40/70 Window turned out to be damaging for the Spiritual Mapping effort. When the AD2000 office was closed on December 31, 1999, the movement had discarded the 10/40 Window. GHM had launched its new product, the 40/70 Window, covering Europe and Central Asia. The movement had just started its first public efforts in Europe ('Target Europe'), when terrorist attacks in the US on September 11, 2001 turned public attention in another direction. The national focus became the Middle East and Muslim extremism – in other words, the 10/40 Window again.

When GHM had just started its public efforts concerning the other part of the 40/70 Window, Central Asia ('Target Silk Road'), the USA invaded Iraq in 2003. Parts of the flexible Evangelical networks directed their attention to the Middle East. Chapter four noted GHM's dramatic decline in donations received in this period. The prayer focus on Europe, considered an ally in the war against terror and on the unknown central Asian republics did not attract the US public. The marketing of the Window 40/70, although presented as 'a fresh initiative from God', came at the wrong moment. Not God but the political interests of the US seemed to be leading them.

The second problem occurred with respect to the critics. The movement's teaching on demonology and mission was considered either suspect or simply wrong. The argumentation rested first of all on theological grounds and secondly on

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[16] Van Rossem 2002, 46.

anthropological grounds. This chapter will not repeat the theological roots of the movement as discussed in chapter two and three. However, here we should emphasize that Spiritual Mapping was rooted in popular piety as found in the US, as a manifestation of Manifest Destiny, rather than academic theology or anthropology.

The factors that generated religious life in the US were, among other things, the continuing revivals and collective experiments with the ideal of a new society.[17] Manifest Destiny had to be achieved in an activist manner. The revivals that were held, for example, in camp meetings or later in tabernacle meetings produced a rich world of preachers with strong suggestive power, prophets, fanatics and devotees. The emotional conviction of sin, ecstasy, visions and healings and a folkloric mythology were produced.[18] Some eventually began thinking that a revival could be planned scientifically. Finney stated that while God produced revival but humans could evoke and control it.[19]

Countless collective experiments took place, with all kinds of utopias on the edge, outside or within Christianity, like those of the Shakers, Adventists and Mormons. There was ample room for experimentation on the frontier.

As a missionary paradigm of the US, Spiritual Mapping draws on these Evangelical folkloric traditions. The roots of popular piety as indicated in chapters two and three strongly point to this. Its activism is part of the notion that Manifest Destiny has to be actively realized. Revival can be planned in a rational way, however irrational revival in itself was supposed to be. Spiritual Mapping in itself was a very rational approach to help God produce supernatural and irrational change. Continuing experimentation with new forms of society was aimed at transforming society. Spiritual Mapping is part of the continuing traditions of experimentation and domestic cleaning-up of society. As revivalism wavered between the US as God's own nation on the one hand and the US as a nation full of sin on the other, so did Spiritual Mapping.[20]

Revivalism produced a tradition of big-business 'ministries' around charismatic figureheads that showed a high organizational aptitude coupled with even more highly developed commercial instincts. Examples were found in Dwight L. Moody, Aimée McPherson and Billy Sunday. Spiritual Mapping's organizations like AD2000, GHM, Sentinel Group, Generals International, the Observatory all stand in this tradition.

One of the macabre sides of the Manifest Destiny is the notion that the US has to be defended against threats to its mission. For example, the excesses of the paranoid Cold War McCarthyism were shocking. Its felt need to identify 'enemies' and the ease with which rumours and fear were used for manipulation were dominating factors in society. Evangelicals developed their pictures of enemies as well. They shared in the shock of Vietnam and Watergate. The emergence of the multireligious and multicultural US, 'Roe versus Wade' (abortion), New Age – everything contributed to the sense of Evangelical alarm. It was felt that the Nation under God was threatened. The US was thought to be faltering in its resolve and its destination looked less manifest than it should have been. Enemies were defined and

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[17] Marsden 2001, 50,
[18] Presser 1949, 172, 173.
[19] Finney 1989, III.
[20] Marsden 2001, 170.

coalitions established like the Moral Majority, the Christian Right and others, which paved the road for Spiritual Mapping. There was an enemy out there who required more careful definition. The threat could not be human – it came from behind the scenes, from Satan and his forces. Thus, Spiritual Mapping had been fuelled by the concept of Manifest Destiny.

Spiritual Mapping shared its graphic conceptualizing of evil with its surrounding culture and politics. It shared the same with its historical Evangelical roots of revivalism. Graphic terms like the evil empire, the axis of evil, territorial spirits remind the reader of the notions of ancient Apocalyptic dualism.

The task that stemmed from Manifest Destiny was to be performed within the framework of free enterprise. Initially, Spiritual Mapping and its 'ministries' had been highly successful in the adoption of modern forms of management and marketing techniques.

The movement had been able to market its products with tremendous effectiveness. Its organizational skill through the use of modern communication technologies and its work with low-cost flexible networks probably made the movement able to mobilize often thousands and sometimes millions. Spiritual Mapping is an example of how marketing and management techniques, with flexible and decentralized organization, have proven to be extremely effective in religious mobilization.

As we saw above, the decline of the movement was to be attributed in part to problems with its unfortunate marketing of the 40/70 Window, when major events directed public attention to the 10/40 Window that had just been abandoned. The marketing of the 40/70 Window came at the wrong moment and the managerial weakness of the flexible networks showed itself. The flexibility backfired. Without a binding and mobilizing 'product', without a common theological identity, without formal long-term obligations, with informal connections based on personal acquaintance, it appeared difficult to create a mobilization that was lasting and coherent.

Manifest Destiny includes faith in the free religious market, with its stiff competition for adherents and money. One can lose, and Spiritual Mapping lost.

Along with Roger Finke and Rodney Stark's model (see diagram 2 in chapter two), this study considers the religious and cultural market an important factor in the movement's initial success and its later disintegration.[21] Colorado Springs became the home of major Evangelical organizations, like the eye-catching Focus on the Family, a multimillion-dollar business under James Dobson with a large campus. Colorado Springs is the home of Dutch Sheets Ministries, New Life Church with its impressive World Prayer Center, and many others. Many of them continually endeavour to expand, update and upgrade their programmes, all priding themselves on numerical growth. Success is considered to be a divine blessing. They usually feel responsibility for their own ministry but not for other ministries. The free religious market has the effect of an in-house Evangelical competition. Finke and Stark noted characteristics such as Christian cartel arrangements, marketing tactics and the mutual disagreements that come along with it.[22] Its hard reality looks like a competitive jungle, where members of the same faith became dangerous

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[21] Finke and Stark 2005, 8-12, 248-253.
[22] Finke and Stark 2005, 106, 218-220, 274.

predators. From this perspective GHM had become victim of the American Dream it so diligently pursued.

This explains as well why Wagner was so restless in issuing a constant stream of new publications (see bibliography). Books and videos are a part of the income of an organization. An amazingly constant flow, not only of publications but also of conferences and seminars, was kept up. The public had to be kept interested by new initiatives. This may partly explain why every appetite-whetting plan was followed by an even more fantastic plan. Intriguing names like The Queen's Domain and Cardinal Points, visits to fascinating geographical sites like Mount Everest, ancient Ephesus, Santiago de Compostela, book titles like *The Last of the Giants, Behind Enemy Lines, Taking your Cities for God* – everything looks as if they were designed to attract and hold interest.

It also explains why there was so very little accountability. The organizations were extremely shy of publishing anything that could put them in a negative light. The religious consumer does not like problems and does not care about exact accountability either. He bought his product and may shop somewhere else next time. After all, it is the same God, and he has no obligation to any particular ministry.

What also made the career of Spiritual Mapping turbulent was the harshness of some of the critique. Some of it probably stemmed from honest conviction. However, the market mechanism produced inevitable competition. Chapter six presented more polished and well thought-out versions of the critique, but various brochures and websites wrote with considerable venom. Popularity and growth is a blessing for an organization, but the free market system may make it a curse for others.

The lack of differentiation in one's religious product may mean the end of a ministry. This may not necessarily be consciously intended, but competition requires something new. Old products reach their expiry date quickly. They sell for a certain period of time; after which one should come up with something new, something 'cutting-edge', which, in the course of time necessarily becomes 'cutting-edge' no longer. The new frontiers present themselves as a matter of course and regularly – this belongs to the dynamics of Manifest Destiny.

If result and success validate correct theology, as described in chapter four, the desired goal of a ministry is likely to grow large and become an 'empire'. A direct neighbour of GHM in Colorado Springs, The Focus on the Family Campus of Dobson, is an example.

In comparison, Peter en Doris Wagner's ministry looked promising in the beginning. He had become a well-known professor among Evangelicals at the respected Fuller Theological Seminary, a popular successor to the legendary McGavran. Wagner's involvement with the Spiritual Mapping gradually alienated him from part of his academic colleagues, who tolerated him. However, he connected very well with the Evangelical public: he had struck a chord with the notions of their popular folkloric spirituality. After his retirement in 1999, all seemed go well initially. His Global Harvest Ministries (GHM) had plenty of income, AD2000 appeared to be a great network, his alliance with New Life Church's Ted Haggard looked promising. and his new school, Wagner Leadership Institute (WLI) was off for a good start. The impressive Observatory became

GHM's seat. However, the decline came fast. The AD2000 network fell away, the marketing of the 40/70 Window failed, he parted ways with Haggard, finances fell short and the extension schools of WLI did not get well off the ground.

After 2003 GHM operated out of a modest building, nothing like those of many (much) larger neighbouring Evangelical ministries. On a national level, other ministries like Bill Hybels' Willow Creek Community Church and Rick Warren's Purpose Driven Church with their innovative church concepts had taken over. The prominence of the notion of success makes the Evangelical arena a tough world.

Selling Popular Evangelical Spirituality

The American Dream, its socio-political expression of Manifest Destiny and the free religious market dynamics appeared to be the leading factors in Spiritual Mapping. Was there a role for theology? There was room for spirituality, but there was something more, since the concepts of Spiritual Mapping had not been derived from careful reflection on spirituality.

Of primary importance were the folklore and popular Evangelical pietistic sources of the US.[23] Chapters two and three enumerated a selection of these sources. The roots of Spiritual Mapping are the primarily popular, non-academic traditions of the US. The rich tradition of revivals harboured, in addition to moderate preachers, fantastic characters like prophets and fanatics of many kinds. The revivals contained prolonged and massive events of emotional satisfaction at feelings of guilt. They addressed the craving for personal transformation or conversion. Collective repentance, as John Dawson argued in 1989, was not new. Expressive theological terminology was used without restraint, containing a mythology of a world in monstrous format.[24] In part, it was the continuation of old European traditions, as, for example, illustrated by stories about Marike van Nieuwmeghen and Faust.

Bob Ellis, an Evangelical and professor of American studies, published his study *Raising the Devil* in 2000, which described grass roots folkloric stories about the demonic, circulating in Evangelical circles and accepted as unquestioned fact.[25] Ellis held that conspiracy theories, Pentecostals and some media were to blame that these stories had been raised to the level of a menacing and satanic scare in the 1980s and 1990s. Ellis' publication depicted processes of anecdotes and stories being adopted and interpreted without adequate substantiation. Anecdotes had quickly been taken as 'evidence' without being subjected to valid research methods. Folkloric anecdotes became building blocks of popular theological concepts. Here we are at the very heart of Spiritual Mapping.

Spiritual Mapping is a millenarian expression of Evangelicalism in the US. It had many characteristics of old millenarian and Apocalyptic movements. For example, part of this was the movement's Apocalyptic dualism of good and evil. Another example was the movement's instrumentalism. Knowledge and experience were considered to be mere tools for change.

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[23] Latourette 1962(a), 15; 1962(b), 12; Noll 2001, 10-12.
[24] Presser 1949, 173.
[25] Ellis 2000.

Historically, the emergence of new religious groups coincided with the emergence of Spiritual Mapping. The social uncertainty and distress of the Protestant middle class of the USA, in the middle of cultural shifts in the second half of the twentieth century sought solutions in typical millenarian ideas as collective, terrestrial, imminent, total and miraculous salvation. The enumeration of new religious features resulted in a striking resemblance to Spiritual Mapping, like ley lines, Wicca practices, prayer walks, territorial rituals and a general tendency toward a subjective orientation in life. These solutions were a typical way to formulate modern millenarian concepts in the USA.

As a concept and a movement Spiritual Mapping behaved like a symbiont. It did not develop a school or movement of its own but rode waves like the American Dream and Manifest Destiny, their popular spirituality, Neo-Evangelicalism, the Church Growth Movement, elements of the Charismatic Renewal and later dominion teaching. It rode the waves of institutes like Fuller's School of World Mission, the AD2000 movement and its 10/40 Window and during its later transformation the wave of the NAR.

As a product of popular spirituality in the US, Spiritual Mapping was handicapped outside the US. In terms of international cultural dynamics, Spiritual Mapping did not create a lasting movement outside the United States. The role of Argentina, the country of the first large-scale Spiritual Mapping effort, was peculiar. It served as a laboratory; it was extensively used as mythological foundation of the newly-found 'technology' and was marketed as the new international divine move in the end times. This study has substantiated that Argentina was indeed the place of the first Spiritual Mapping effort. However, its effect ('revival') was hard to determine. The lack of a development of a lasting movement in Argentina suggests that it was indeed a US project.

The typical American Spiritual Mapping approach was the reason for the movement's failure to gain a lasting foothold outside the US. The model was supposed to be applicable in all cultural contexts. However, it became absorbed in local and national dynamics and in a very different way in each. Spiritual Mapping was too much a product of the US. The movement did not study conceptual differences between the theological terminology, the respective languages and their anthropological categories. For example, demonology was considered to be the same in each context.

The claim of the worldwide lasting influence of Spiritual Mapping is in this sense questionable. It had more of a temporary influence, which at its height was very intense. Ad Verwijs spoke of a hype. The possibility that millions were mobilized worldwide at certain moments was mentioned in chapter three. A major accomplishment was the movement's propaganda and its mobilization. However, this mobilization did not last.

The folklore of the Manifest Destiny included the optimistic belief in success and in what could be accomplished through enterprise. The theological concept of blessing became defined as success in the form of measurable results. The movement even stated that its theological validation rested on its results. Here Spiritual Mapping became victim of its own notion of success.

After all, reports of numerical 'results' or 'success' have not been substantiated in any proper way. Reliable numbers were either hard to obtain, simply unavailable, or the numerical growth was not greater than in other comparable geographical areas without Spiritual Mapping. For example, the city of Resistencia, its very laboratory, showed growth records comparable to other cities in Argentina.[26] The 10/40 Window did not show major spiritual 'breakthroughs' in the 1990s nor did the 40/70 Window in the first decade of the 21st century. When changes were reported, they could not be attributed in any authoritative way to Spiritual Mapping. Spiritual Mapping simply could not be substantiated.

Manifest Destiny coloured the theological concept of blessing in terms of numerical success. This turned against the movement, because no success meant no divine endorsement. The movement's only option was to switch feverishly to new concepts, to produce no accountability reports on past activities, or (in some cases) simply to report glowing results without substantiation.

Selling Spiritual Mapping with Theology

The American Dream, its socio-political expression of Manifest Destiny, and the free religious market dynamics had expressed themselves through the avenue of popular Evangelical spirituality. We need to ask if it was only popular folklore and spirituality in the US. It was not, although Spiritual Mapping did relate to formal academic theology.

Theologically, Spiritual Mapping was born in the context of Evangelical theology. Spiritual Mapping did not produce any new basic doctrine. It based itself on the existing Neo-Evangelical interpretation of Evangelical theology. Many of its precepts had been known and formulated in Protestantism for centuries. We should mention a few doctrines that are almost self-evident in the Spiritual Mapping narrative, such as the inspiration of Scripture and the doctrine of grace. More particularly, we should mention the doctrine of the ontological and personalized reality of the demonic. Spiritual Mapping did not invent it but used it and expanded it. In particular it would develop the latent dualism inherent to Evangelical theology. Further, we should mention the general Evangelical strong emphasis on mission, coloured by the Church Growth Movement and including an exclusivist view of salvation. The Neo-Evangelical model of integration of theology and social sciences was important. This study considers Spiritual Mapping's intention to relate theology to society and its felt needs to be positive. However, the way in which Spiritual Mapping tried to integrate theology suffered from several weaknesses. The weaknesses are categorized in six points below, moving from the general to the more specific.

A first theological weakness is that it simply did not relate to much of what academic theology had to offer. In the twentieth century its precursor had been pre-Second World War Fundamentalism. Thus, its context of origin was neither the theological debate between Anglo-Saxon and Continental theology between the two

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[26] Interview Saracco, Buenos Aires, September 12, 2006; World Christian Database 2006, 6.

World Wars, the International Missionary Council, the Hocking Report nor the World Council of Churches.

There is much to which the movement did not refer further back in church history and historical theology. For example, the theological aspect of the demonic is the movement's most conspicuous feature. The adherents offered no or little interaction with demonology in historical theology.[27] Most information from the movement is anecdotal. Among the critics, Clinton E. Arnold, Chuck Lowe and the Lausanne *Consultation Statement*'s preparatory papers mentioned intertestamental literature, the early and medieval church and the Reformation. However, its treatment was short, sketchy and narrowed down to only hints of the aspect of territoriality of the demonic (Lowe and Arnold) or the general concept of exorcism (*Consultation*). Church history and historical theology were not at the centre of the debate between the movement and its critics. Both the movement and its critics did not take historical theology and church history seriously.

They hardly touched on centuries of development of demonology in the early and medieval church. The critics did not go back or rarely went back to Apocalypticism, Gnostic studies or other related forms of religious and social history. There was scant interest in 1 Enoch, the Book of Jubilees and in studies on the phenomenon of demons and deities in and outside the Bible. Lowe's treatment is, albeit concise, the most elaborate of the critics, but he produced no more than a mere enumeration of selected highlights.

The historical data with possible implications for territorial concepts of demonology were largely ignored. Ignatius,[28] Justin Martyr,[29] Origen,[30] Gregory Thamaturgus[31] and Augustine,[32] to name a few, were either not or hardly discussed. The Roman Ritual with its 'exorcism of persons and place'[33], Martin Luther's order for Baptism (*Taufbüchlein*) in relation to exorcism,[34] the Anglican-Puritan Gurnall's *The Christian in Complete Armour* did not figure in the sources.[35] The Salem trials were not studied. R.M. Neff's study on Winston-Salem refers to the city of present day Winston-Salem and not the colonial Puritan Salem.[36]

The publications of the twentieth century started to play some role in the discussion, but even then they were used as illustrations rather than foundationally. This applies both to the narratives of the movement and the critics as noted in chapters two, three and six. There was no or little interaction with studies reflecting on modern cultural expressions regarding Satan or demonic imagery.[37] There was a wide variety of possibilities for interaction in the 1980s and the 1990, as with the popular sector of the US, the Star Wars films and President Reagan's SDI shield. This applies to both the movement and the critics.

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[27] Kelly 2002, 124-135.
[28] Roberts and Donaldson 1989, I, 49-56.
[29] Roberts and Donaldson 1989, I, 194.
[30] Roberts and Donaldson 1989, IV, 395.
[31] Roberts and Donaldson 1989, IV, 7-74.
[32] Shaff 1988, I.3, 229-276.
[33] Weller 1964.
[34] Pelikan and Lehman 1986, 197.
[35] Gurnall 1979.
[36] Neff 1998.
[37] Kelly 2002, 131-132.

The failure to interact with these aspects of theology indicates that the movement did not try to develop a healthy interaction with the theological past, missed out on the cross-fertilization of its concepts and thus did not develop a thorough theological grounding.

In line with the first weakness a second theological weak point needs to be considered. The integrative mechanism of theology and social sciences did not work. Not only did the Neo-Evangelical inclination to the reductionist use of theology manifest itself, but one branch of science was either subordinated to the other or randomly collected elements were joined together arbitrarily in a loose conglomeration.

Erickson states that some Neo-Evangelicals fail to keep up with recent research.[38] This complaint is correct. Whatever one may think about Neo-Evangelical theological presuppositions and the model of integration, the whole suffered from a lack of credibility pertaining to its execution. Millard J. Erickson's complaint also applies to many of its critics. Evangelicalism's theological criticism was often based on specific Evangelical ways of doing exegesis and formulating doctrine. Much of the theological field remained unused by the critics. In this way most criticism suffered from the same flaws as its Neo-Evangelical context. Their road was narrow. In contesting Spiritual Mapping in the field of theology, the critics concentrated on exegesis and systematic theology.

Spiritual Mapping's use of theology was highly selective, sometimes simply incorrect. For example, the simple contrast of the Greek word *logos* as the written 'Word of God' (the Bible) versus *rhema* as a personal word of God cannot be derived from exegetical analysis.

The movement operated in a limited field of theology and adhered to a classical form of theological demonology and its ontological interpretation. The choice as such was a choice of belief, which has many precedents in the history of Christianity. However, its application of the integrative Neo-Evangelical model was highly selective and shallow. Its failure to interact with the wider spectrum of theology had not been the intention of the integrative model of Neo-Evangelicalism. Comprehensive theological studies were virtually absent. The movement appeared to be virtually out of touch with modern research on Apocalyptic literature and modern non-Evangelical studies on Satan and the demonic. Most theological discussions were haphazardly constructed with scores of Bible texts, names and anecdotal information. Spiritual Mapping failed to create a solid theological basis.

This lack of academic theological credibility did not matter to the movement itself. It was guided by US folklore and its cultural setting, as described in chapter two. The impression is that the movement used theology like a fig leaf. It was needed to give adherents the impression of being 'biblical' and 'Evangelical', a few of the main shibboleths of Evangelicalism. It was needed to market the new concepts and their ministries by giving them an air of scientific credibility.

The turbulence to which the title of this study refers was the turbulence of marketing aptitude and the turbulence of the evocation of popular traditions of the US rather than theological turbulence. The problem was the movement's misuse of what had already been a Neo-Evangelical flaw in itself.

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[38] Erickson 1968, 224; Grenz 2000, 123.

A third theological weakness is the movement's unique combination of Neo-Evangelical missiological collective categories and the speculative demonic. Spiritual Mapping was an application of the Evangelical shift in emphasis from the individual conversion ('saving souls') to thinking in terms of collectives such as group conversion. The new way of theological thinking in collective social categories had caused a renewed emphasis on the notion of *plantatio ecclesiae*. The first individual emphasis had never been abandoned, but it had become subordinate to thinking in collective categories. Even more, in a later phase the collective *plantatio ecclesiae* had become subordinate to the transformation of the whole of society.

The combination of *plantatio ecclesiae* and demonology was not necessarily a flaw in itself, but its application was highly speculative. Church planting had been combined with speculation, which became the leading factor. This combination was fiercely contested and certainly made its career turbulent. However, this specific combination made Spiritual Mapping virtually unique.

A fourth theological weak point is that Spiritual Mapping developed unwittingly into something akin to Liberation Theology. This striking resemblance had neither been planned nor desired. Born in an atmosphere of polarization between Evangelicals and Ecumenicals in the 1970s and 1980s, early Spiritual Mapping emphasized its adherence to the Lausanne Covenant of 1974 and the 'Inerrancy of Scripture'. Yet it developed views analogous to Liberation Theology.

The goal of Spiritual Mapping was the transformation of society through confrontation. Theology became attached to social action in the form of mapping. Mission became a call to arms against evil oppression and prayer became an act of an aggressive 'martial' liberation of a people or a city. Praxis theology stood at the service of social transformation; orthopraxis was given precedence over orthodoxy. The source of theology became experience and what was considered to 'work' in everyday life. In what the movement called epistemology it pointed to experiential knowledge as an important source of its beliefs and praxis. Theology was not primarily a result of reflection but one of 'practical confrontation', as Eduardo Lorenzo stated.[39] In terms of biblical hermeneutics, the Bible was increasingly read as a narrative of liberation. The hermeneutical methodology was interaction between concrete historical reality on the one hand and the biblical text on the other.

The praxis of Spiritual Mapping deteriorated into pragmatism. The critics quickly noticed and condemned it. However, the critics did not present an alternative to how praxis could be used in Evangelical theology. The matter unveils a deficiency in the Evangelical critics. Chapter two mentions Christian Smith's observation concerning the failing Evangelical 'personal conversion strategy'. This had been found lacking and powerless to change social and economic structures. How was one to move beyond this individual approach? In chapter 6 we saw that Evangelical critics did not present an alternative to social action beyond individual conversion and morality. There was a lack among the critics concerning social transformation. They were quick to condemn but not as quick to present an

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[39] Interview Lorenzo, Buenos Aires, September 13, 2006.

alternative for addressing social evil. Spiritual Mapping shared with Liberation Theology a common urge to be relevant for society.

A fifth theological weakness that needs to be considered is its combination of Johan H. Bavinck's missionary Elenctics with the demonic. The term Elenctics dates back to Gisbertus Voetius and 17th-century theology and was revived in the 19th century by Abraham Kuyper. Bavinck made it a central principle in his missiology in the 20th century.[40] Elenctics is the study of mission as the activity of confronting and reproving and was apologetic in essence. Mission was considered an attempt to unmask all false religions as sin. In the second half of the twentieth century Bavinck's missionary Elenctics received some attention in Europe from authors like Johannes Blauw, Walter Freytag, Spindler and recently Cees Haak.[41] However, in Europe the term was not widely adopted.[42] It had been preserved better in some Evangelical circles in the US and the Lausanne Movement. Stott in 1975, Harvey Conn in 1984, Robert J. Priest in 1994, John M. Terry in 1999 and Steven S. Hawthorne in 1999 can be mentioned as examples.[43] Leading evangelical theological schools offer courses in missions and missiology, explicitly including Bavinck's Elenctics, such as Westminster Theological Seminary, The Canadian and American College of Reformed Churches, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Covenant College, Fuller Theological Seminary and Wheaton Bible College. The *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions* of the year 2000 has approving entries on 'J.H. Bavinck' and 'Elenctics'. It informs us that Elenctics has grown more significant during the last ten years in North American Evangelical missiology.[44] In addition, there were those sources in use at Evangelical schools that do not use Elenctics *expressis verbis* but do work with the concepts of cross and mission as a confrontation of sin and Satan.[45] Mission is confrontation and combat as well.

The interpretation of Bavinck's Elenctics did not emphasize Bavinck's Elenctics as a precursor of dialogue.[46] Elenctics considered mission as confrontation; Elenctics was essentially apologetic in nature, 'to unmask heathendom' and 'all false religions as sin to God'. Religions are not partners in dialogue but expressions of sinful rebellion by those who are in need of repentance. Elenctics is confrontational and directive. In addition to being a theological concept, it was a missionary approach theory as well. Knowledge of another religion was considered a useful tool in the sympathetic communication of the confrontational message. Dialogue can help one come into contact and create an understanding of the confrontation. It helps to build the case of Christian persuasion. Yet, in the end, true Christian faith is never deemed possible without Elenctic confrontation and repentance. The confrontation is supposed to include 'powers'.

Opinion differed on the form the combat should take. Spiritual Mapping can be interpreted as a radicalized form of Elenctics, with millenarian and

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[40] Bavinck 1960, 221-266.
[41] Blauw 1950; Freytag 1957; Haak 2005, 69-82; Spindler 1967, 169, 170.
[42] Jongeneel 2006(b), 392, 393.
[43] Conn 1984, 315; Winter and Hawthorne 1999, 33; Priest 1994, 291-315; Stott 1975, 69-71; Terry, Smith and Anderson 1998, 687.
[44] Austen 2000(a); 2000(b).
[45] Berkhof 1958, 148; Erickson 1985, 445; Duffield and Van Cleave 1983, 529;
[46] Visser 1977, 245-247.

apocalyptic elements (see below). Whereas writers like Blauw, Spindler and Freytag did not develop the concept further, Spiritual Mapping ventured into a rather uninhibited application of its demonic aspect. The movement ventured to go where others did not dare. Its missionary Elenctics was spontaneously carried over into the daily faith and practice of the church, often in almost tangible pictures and stark graphical terms. It decided what exactly was to be rebuked in physical terms. Its flaw was that it did so in highly speculative terms and that it changed the Elenctic confrontation from morality to physical and geographical confrontation.

A sixth theological weakness is found in its connection between the demonic and geography. Mission has not only been interpreted in terms of moral confrontation or numerical growth but also in terms of geographical extension. It was supposed that evil could be located geographically.

In this respect Spiritual Mapping stands in a long tradition of which several examples can be found in history. Many in and outside Christianity happen to think about religion in territorial terms of possession and advance. An example is Kenneth S. Latourette's series *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* with its geographical overtones of Christianity's spread over the globe.[47] Another example is the Roman Catholic missionary reorganization of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith of 1632, with its appointment of Vicars Apostolic *in partibus infidelium* ('in the lands of unbelievers'), in areas where the church had not yet set up a regular diocese. Formerly, the titular bishops *in partibus infidelium* had been those who no longer lived in their diocese of appointment, which could result from fleeing their diocese if it had been conquered by non-Christians. They retained their titles and rights while serving in other dioceses. In 1632 this missionary reapplication of bishops *in partibus infidelium* was intended to reinforce the Roman Catholic missionary thrust.[48] In 1882 the Congregation abolished this use of the term, but related terminology like 'Christian countries' contrasted with 'heathen areas' kept being used.[49]

Outside Christianity one finds the example of the Muslim notions of *Darul Harb* and *Darul Islam*, the Abode of War and the Abode of Islam. The terms originated in the early times of military Muslim expansion. They serve today as geographical indications of that part of the world where the Muslim law is applied and the part where it is not.[50]

The movement did not interact with or refer to any historical precedent linking theology with geography. The question could be asked whether the movement had developed any theological support or framework for its geographical concepts. It had not. An example of an attempt at a theology of 'geographical space' (*l'espace*) was written by Spindler in his dissertation *La Mission, combat pour le salut du monde* of 1967, as referred to above.[51] Spindler pointed to the practical geographical dimension of mission as an inalienable part of a theology of mission, referring to the Roman Catholic and Protestant territorial notions. Spindler grounded his theology of geographical space in several disciplines of systematic theology and

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[47] Latourette 1962; 1970.
[48] Mulders 1957, 283.
[49] Livingstone 1997, 1691, 1692.
[50] Wagtendonk 1987,114.
[51] Spindler 1967.

combined this geographical notion with the above-mentioned Elenctics. It could be debated whether Spindler's attempt was successful. However, Spiritual Mapping, with its strong geographical emphasis, should have made a similar attempt. Moreover, the movement did not stop at identifying 'Christian' and 'unbelieving' territories but went beyond this: it determined geographical evil itself, even itemized it in degrees of intensity.

Both the movement and its critics neither developed nor refer to such a theology of geography. The only adherent to attempt to do so was Pieter Bos in The Netherlands in 2002 with his treatise on nationhood.[52] This attempt lacked depth but was nonetheless laudable for having identified this major issue. The lack of development of such a theology raises the question of whether it is at all possible to allocate evil geographically. The movement did not produce any indication that such is the case.

Having considered the above weaknesses in terms of academic theology, the picture is disappointing. It is clear that the movement did relate to theology, but that theology was not directive for its ideas and actions. As noted above, Spiritual Mapping did not produce any new doctrines. It based itself on existing doctrine, although it developed them in a radicalized and dualistic form, which in the end did not prove to be sustainable. It was too speculative and lacking in credibility. The weaknesses indicate a theological blind alley within Evangelicalism.

Spiritual Mapping was often remarkable and sometimes even unique in its combination and application of existing elements. However, in the end, it appeared that theology was (mis)used to sell its products.

This theological failure contributed to its turbulence as well. The critics did recognize their affinity with the movement's precepts but found that its particular way of working the doctrines out was a blind alley indeed. In the Evangelical context Spiritual Mapping meant an exaggeration of generally accepted doctrines. The critics' protests did not concern the respectable doctrines but the specific way in which they were applied. It was perhaps possible to sell Spiritual Mapping to the general public but not to theologians.

Theology was subordinated to and driven by something else: the overarching American Dream, and the Christian version of Manifest Destiny had subordinated theological notions to mere Evangelical excuses or shibboleths. The movement did not endeavour particularly to avoid a theological blind alley, because theology was a mere tool, used to sell Spiritual Mapping to the public.

Selling Spiritual Mapping with Anthropology

As was the case with theology, Spiritual Mapping did not produce new principles in anthropology. It set out to integrate anthropology into Neo-Evangelical fashion. Here Spiritual Mapping followed the tradition of its Neo-Evangelical context. Its aim was to use anthropology in order to enhance its missionary efforts. It had a particular interest in the concept of worldview in order to provide a framework for phenomena like 'signs and wonders' and 'power encounters'. It also was interested

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[52] Bos 2002.

in research principles in order to determine the historical and cultural roots of 'strongholds'. The question needs to be asked how Spiritual Mapping relates to academic anthropology.

In relation to the first theological weakness, the first anthropological weak point was that it simply did not relate to much of what academic anthropology had to offer. Most adherents and critics limited themselves to the framework of anthropological functionalism. This is to be understood in the light of the background of the Church Growth Movement in the 1950s and 1960s, when the anthropologists Eugene A. Nida, William A. Smalley and others brought anthropology to the attention of Evangelicals, as noted in chapter two. This missionary anthropology had started with functionalism. In some Neo-Evangelical circles it had remained by and large the same. Many adherents and critics either did not know about the difference between functionalism and symbolism, or they did not realize its importance. The functionalist basis was not discussed. Anthropology was often referred to as if it was unequivocal in its theoretical orientation, and anthropology was presented as just 'anthropology'. The integration of social sciences was, as in theology, selective and static.

Notable exceptions among the critics were Paul G. Hiebert, R. Daniel Shaw and Tite Tiénou of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. They contrasted the different approaches of functionalism and symbolism and pointed out Kraft's narrow and pragmatic interpretation of Functionalism. Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou explained the differences between an 'animistic' and Christian worldview and its consequences for the concept of spiritual warfare. [53] Chapter six elaborated on their contribution. This study considers this argument to be convincing. They offered credible alternatives to the movement's use of anthropology.

In line with the first weakness, the second anthropological weak point needs to be mentioned. The integrative mechanism of theology and social sciences did not work. Not only did the Neo-Evangelical inclination to reductionist use of anthropology manifest itself, but one branch of science was either subordinated to the other or randomly collected elements were arbitrarily put together in a loose conglomeration.

For example, it pertained to an integration of a highly selective use of (old) anthropological concepts. Both the movement and its critics used the term 'animism' extensively. They used this older term, which originated with Edward B. Tylor in 1871, without referring to relevant modern terminology.[54] The term was used extensively in Kraft's missionary anthropology and the Church Growth Movement. There was no explanation why this term was still used and not other terms. One could ask whether the movement was aware that the term animism was no longer used outside their circles. Connected to this flaw is the lack of discussion on how Tylor had used religion and magic as different but related categories. Spiritual Mapping did not show awareness of discussions on the use of the term. Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou were the exception again: they used the term animism incidentally but usually preferred to use the term Folk Religion.[55]

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[53] Hiebert 1994, 225.
[54] Tylor 1871.
[55] Hiebert 1999.

Spiritual Mapping did not credibly interact with nor contribute to anthropology. The Neo-Evangelical agenda of integration of theology and social sciences suffered from this. It gave the impression that a movement with a missionary agenda had been shopping for a selection of ready-to-use items. It was neither interested in anthropology nor in its development.

A third anthropological weakness is the plainly mistaken use of anthropological research methods and data. The critics, especially Geib, have convincingly elaborated on this, as shown in chapter six. Proper research methods were not used or hardly credible in their way of practical application. Also, their way of directly copying anthropological data without proper interpretation did not meet common anthropological standards.

A fourth anthropological weak point is the movement's failure to identify the worldview behind Spiritual Mapping and Spiritual Warfare in general. The application of the integration of theology and anthropology by Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou. was more convincing. For example, Hiebert used myth symbolically. His aim in the discussion was to reveal the tension between basic values of what he regarded to be biblical myth in contrasted to the Indo-European myth. Following Geertz, Hiebert emphasized the motivating and mobilizing aspect of mythical thought. What Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou write about the contrast between Indo-European myth with its battle between good and evil, over against biblical cosmology is convincing. To them, spiritual warfare theology is 'animistic' rather than biblical, where the confrontation is a moral invitation to repent and not a power struggle.

Having considered how the movement related to academic anthropology, it appears that the movement's use of anthropology is problematic. It is not an overstatement to say that Spiritual Mapping is an anthropological blind alley in Evangelicalism. Its use of anthropology is not careful; it was highly selective and often simply not at all correct.

It is clear that the movement did use anthropology, but anthropology as such did not have a leading role in its ideas and activity. Anthropology was used to give the product of Spiritual Mapping an air of credibility. Its use of anthropology was speculative and did not add to anthropological knowledge. It was narrowed down to a few specific areas of the miraculous and research principles. Just as with theology, it was perhaps possible to sell Spiritual Mapping to the uninformed public but not to professional anthropologists.

The critics' complaint was not that Spiritual Mapping integrated theology and anthropology, but that it focussed in a narrow and radicalized functionalistic fashion on wonders and the demonic. This aspect made the career of Spiritual Mapping turbulent. The Neo-Evangelical integrative model was not contested, but its specific way of working it out was.

Anthropology was subordinated to the overarching Christian version of Manifest Destiny in order to give it an air of scientific reliability.

Spiritual Mapping's use of both theology and anthropology is thus to be considered a blind alley in Neo-Evangelicalism. Spiritual Mapping stemmed from something else. The driving force of Spiritual Mapping was found in the overarching concepts

of Americanism, the American Dream, Manifest Destiny and popular American spirituality.

Spiritual Mapping indicated the vitality of this Americanism in its Christian version. It is as inspiring as it is an illusion. Its Manifest Destiny is a mechanism that drives missionary action restlessly from frontier to frontier, enveloped in the drama of the competitive religious market.

Spiritual Mapping was a blind alley in itself. All together, Spiritual Mapping is to be considered a shortcut to the realization of Manifest Destiny. In the US Christian alleys of all kinds keep on popping up as hypes, incessantly trying to achieve the divine destiny of the US. They continually appear promising on the horizon, functioning as shortcuts in order to achieve the vision of Americanism in a quick fix. However, as is so often the case, shortcuts turn out to be blind alleys.

APPENDIX 1: SELECTED BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

The selected names concern adherents of Spiritual Mapping or symphatizers playing a role in the development of the movement. The year of birth is indicated if this information is available.

Annacondia, Carlos A. (1944 –   )
Argentine businessman and evangelist, became Pentecostal in 1979. In 1982 he established *Mensaje de Salvación,* an organization for mass-evangelism, with an emphasis on healing and exorcism.

Arnold, Clinton E.
Born in the US, obtained a Ph.D. in New Testament Studies in Aberdeen, Scotland. Professor of New Testament Language and Literature at Talbot School of Theology of Biola (Bible Institute of Los Angeles) University. In 1991 Arnold was invited by Wagner and Kraft to serve as a biblical-theological consultant for the Spiritual Warfare Network. He participated as consultant in the development of The Philosophy of Prayer for World Evangelization, as adopted by th United Prayer Track of AD2000 in 1994. He later became a critic of Spiritual Mapping.

Cabrera, Omar H. (1944 – 2006)
Argentine, pastor and evangelist. Obtained his theological education in the US from Holmes Theological Seminary, Franklin Springs College and Emmanuel College. Cabrera worked with evangelist Morris Cerullo and afterwards established the church *Fundación Visión del Futuro* in Argentina in 1972. His wife Marfa Cabrera was Latin American Coordinator of Women's Aglow. His ministry was characterized by an emphasis on the prosperity gospel and healing.

Dawson, John (1952 –   )
Born in New Zealand, trained by YWAM in 1971 at the Lausanne training school in Switzerland. He partook in major evangelistic campaigns of YWAM at the Olympics in Munich (1972) and in Los Angeles (1984). In 1975-1995 he worked in Los Angeles as an urban missionary. In 1990 he founded the International Reconciliation Coalition. Since the mid-1990s he has focussed on: Women's Aglow International fellowship, March For Jesus International, Mission America 2000, AD2000. He became International President of YWAM in 2004.

Deiros, Pablo A. (1945 –   )
Argentine pastor, church historian, born to Baptist missionary parents. Deiros obtained his theological education from Universidad Nacional del Sur, Bahía Blanca, Seminario Internacional Teológico Bautista, and a Ph.D. from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Forth Worth, Texas. Deiros worked as pastor in Buenos Aires, taught church history at the Seminario Bautista Internacional, was guest lecturer at Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary and Princeton Theological Seminary and was Professor of Church History, School of World Missions, Fuller Theological Seminary, In 2006 he was appined dean of the Seminario Bautista Internacional in Buenos Aires.

Haggard, Ted A. (1956 –   )
Born in the US. Haggard was educated at the Charismatic Oral Roberts University and became co-pastor of Bethany World Prayer Center in Baton Rouge. He founded and pastured the New Life Church in Colorado Springs in 1985. He served as board member of National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), Global Harvest Ministries and Every Home for Christ. He was president of the NAE 2003 – 2006.

Jacobs, Cindy (1951 –   )
Born in the US as the daughter of a Southern Baptist pastor. In 1985 Jacobs founded Generals of Intercession. She became International Director of Women's Aglow International Fellowship, was the convener of the SWN in the USA, was involved in the United Prayer Track and March For Jesus USA.

Kraft, Charles H. (1932 –   )
Born in the US. Kraft studied anthropology at Wheaton College and theology at Ashland Theological Seminary, and obtained a PhD. in 1963 in anthropological linguistics from Hartford Seminary Foundation, in Hartford, Connecticut. After three years of missionary service in Nigeria (1957-1960), with the 'Brethren Church', Kraft became Professor of African languages at Michigan State University and Professor of African Languages at University of California in Los Angeles. Since 1969 he served as Sun Hee Kwak Professor of Anthropology and Intercultural Communication at Fuller's School of World Missions.

Lorenzo, Eduardo
Born in Argentina. In 1974 Lorenzo became pastor of Adrogué First Baptist Church in Buenos Aires. He became an early pioneer of Spiritual Mapping in Argentina at the local church level, the Argentine director of Silvoso's Harvest Evangelism and president of Fundación Nuevo Nacimento in Buenos Aires.

Lorenzo, Víctor
Argentine, son of Eduardo Lorenzo. Víctor was ordained pastor in Vision of the Future church under Omar Cabrera and became Silvoso's co-worker with Harvest Evangelism in Argentina. Lorenzo developed, organized and executed the first Spiritual Mapping outreach programs in Argentina. In the 1990s Lorenzo was the Southern Cone Area Secretary for the SWN.

Mendez-Ferrell, Ana (1954 –   )
Born in Mexico, lives in Jacksonville, Florida. Mendez converted to Christianity in 1985 after a career in magic and Haitian voodoo. Mendez is a member of the International Coalition of Apostles (ICA) and for 13 years was the representative in Mexico of the evangelist Morris Cerullo. She became the Mexican coordinator of the SWN and became involved in several activities of Global Harvest Ministries.

Murphy, Edward F. (1929 –   )
Born in the US. Murphy received his theological education at the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA), School of World Missions of Fuller Theological Seminary and earned a Ph.D. in Church Growth in 1977. He became vice-president of Overseas Crusades and its Director of International Ministry Team. He worked as

Professor of Bible and Missions at San José Bible College and Talbot Theological
Seminary

Otis Jr., George (1953 –   )
Born in the US, worked 1985 – 1990 as senior associate with the Lausanne
Committee for World Evangelization (specialization: Restricted-Access World) with
research projects. In 1990 Otis founded and became president of the Sentinel Group,
an independent Christian research and information agency. From 1990 – 2000 Otis
was co-coordinator of the United Prayer Track of the AD2000, and its Spiritual
Mapping Division. Otis was advisor to Women's Aglow International.

Rumph, Jane L. (1957 –   )
Born in the US. Freelance writer and editor. Chronicler of 'Plan Resistencia',
several prayer journeys, consultations, the Spiritual Warfare Network (SWN) and
the US Strategic Prayer Network (USSPN).

Silvoso, E. Edgardo
Born in Argentina, lives in San José, California. Silvoso received his theological
education at Multnomah School of the Bible (BA), Portland and in 1972 at Fuller
Theological Seminary, School of World Mission (MA) in 1975. Silvoso worked as a
member of Overseas Crusades and the 'Luis Palau Evangelistic Team'. From 1977 –
1978 he experimented with Plan Rosari. In 1980 Silvoso founded Harvest
Evangelism, Inc (Evangelismo Cosecha). From 1989-1991 Silvoso initiated and
developed Plan Resistencia under his supervision.

Wagner, Doris M. (1932 –   ).
Born in the US. Received her theological education from the Bible Institute of Los
Angeles (BA) and a non-academic Doctor of Practical Ministry degree from the
Wagner Leadership Institute. Doris and her husband Peter spent 16 years in
missionary service (1955 – 1971) in Bolivia. After 1971 she worked in managerial
and secretarial positions during her husband's tenure as Professor of Church Growth
in the World School of Mission, which involved being Mission Project Director for
the Charles E. Fuller Institute for Evangelism and Church Growth, and Research
Librarian for the World School of Mission. In 1992 she founded Global Harvest
Ministries with her husband and served as its Executive Vice President. Between
1992 and 2000 she was Executive Director of the AD2000 United Prayer Track of
AD2000.

Wagner, C. Peter (1930 –   )
Born in the US. Wagner received his theological education at Fuller Theological
Seminary, Princeton Theological Seminary, Fuller's School of World Missions and
obtained a Ph.D. from the University of Southern California in social ethics in 1977.
Wagner holds ordination credentials from the Conservative Congregational
Christian Conference. From 1955 – 1971 Wagner served as missionary in Bolivia
with the South American Indian Mission and with the Bolivian India Mission. In
1971 Wagner was appointed Professor of Church Growth at Fuller Theological
Seminary. Wagner was a member of the Lausanne Committee in 1974. He founded
the North American Society for Church Growth (renamed: American Society for

Church Growth) in 1984. He was appointed Professor of Church Growth at Fuller. In 1992 he co-founded Global Harvest Ministries and in 1996 Wagner founded the World Prayer Center with Ted Haggard. Wagner retired from Fuller in 1999 and became chancellor of the Wagner Leadership Institute in Colorado Springs.

Wimber, John (1934 – 1998)
Born in the US. Wimber received his theological education at Azusa Pacific University. He was ordained in 1970 by the California Yearly Meeting of Friends. From 1975 – 1977 he was Church Growth Assistant in the Fuller Evangelistic Association, with Wagner, in order to pioneer the Charles E. Fuller Institute of Evangelism and Church Growth. In 1977 he founded Anaheim Vineyard Christian Fellowship.

APPENDIX 2: MAPS OF THE 10/40 WINDOW AND THE 40/70 WINDOW

The 10/40 Window
Source: http://www.ad2000.org/images/10.40reli.jpg (2001)
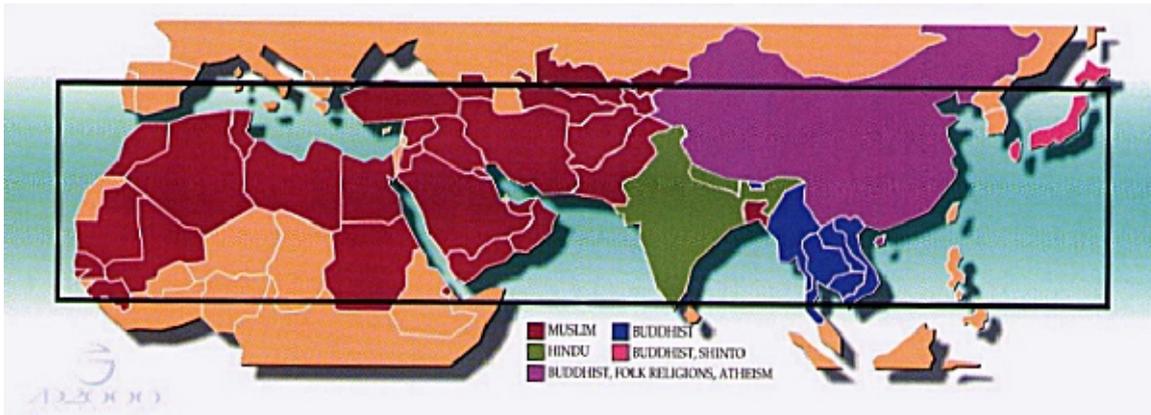
The 40/70 Window
Source: C. Peter Wagner, editor. *The Queens's Domain: Advancing God's Kingdom
in the 40/70 Window*. Colorado Springs: Wagner Publications, 2000 (page 9)
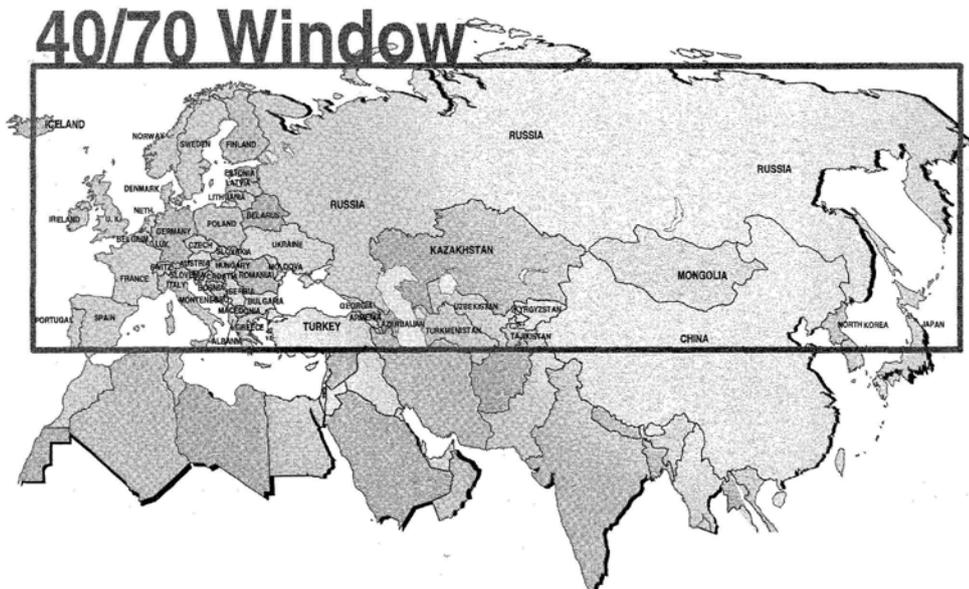
APPENDIX 3: LAUSANNE COMMITTEE FOR WORLD EVANGELIZATION, INTERCESSION WORKING GROUP, 1993, STATEMENT ON SPIRITUAL WARFARE:[1]

A Working Group Report

The Intercession Working Group (IWG) of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization met at Fairmile Court in London July 10-14, 1993. We discussed for one full day the subject of spiritual warfare. It had been noted at our IWG Prayer Leaders' Retreat at The Cove in North Carolina, USA, the previous November, that spiritual warfare was a subject of some concern in the evangelical world. The IWG asked its members to write papers reflecting on this emphasis in each of their regions and these papers formed the basis of our discussion.

We affirmed again statement 12 on "Spiritual Conflict" in The Lausanne Covenant:

"We believe that we are engaged in constant spiritual warfare with the principalities and powers of evil who are seeking to overthrow the church and frustrate its task of evangelization".

"We know our need to equip ourselves with God's armor and to fight this battle with the spiritual weapons of truth and prayer. For we detect the activity of our enemy, not only in false ideologies outside the church, but also inside it in false gospels which twist Scripture and put man in the place of God".

"We need both watchfulness and discernment to safeguard the biblical gospel. We acknowledge that we ourselves are not immune to worldliness of thought and actions, that is, to surrender to secularism...".

We agreed that evangelization is to bring people from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God (Acts 26:17). This involves an inescapable element of spiritual warfare.

We asked ourselves why there had been almost an explosion of interest in this subject in the last 10 years. We noted that the Western church and the missionary movement from the West had seen the remarkable expansion of the church in other areas of the world without special emphasis being given to the subject of spiritual warfare.

Our members from Africa and Asia reminded us that in their context, the powers of darkness are very real and spiritual warfare is where they live all the time. Their families are still only one or two generations removed from a spiritist, animist or occult heritage.

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[1] Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization 1993.

This led to a discussion of the effects of one generation on another. We noted that in the context of idolatry, the Bible speaks of the sins of the fathers being visited upon their descendants to the third and fourth generation.

Likewise, the blessing of God's love is shown to successive generations of those who love him and keep his laws. We wondered if the time we have had the gospel in the West has made us less conscious of the powers of darkness in recent centuries.

We noted, also that the influence of the enlightenment in our education, which traces everything to natural causes, has further dulled our consciousness of the powers of darkness.

In recent times, however, several things have changed:

Change in Initiatives: The initiative in evangelization is passing to churches in the developing world, and as people from the same background evangelize their own people, dealing with the powers of darkness has become a natural way of thinking and working. This is especially true of the rapidly growing Pentecostal churches. This has begun to influence all missiological thinking.

Increased Interest in Eastern Religions: The spiritual bankruptcy of the West has opened up great interest in Eastern religions and drug cultures and brought a resurgence of the occult in the West.

Influx of Non-Christian Worldview: The massive migrations of peoples from the Third World to the West has brought a torrent of non-Christian worldviews and practices into our midst. Increasing mobility has also exposed developing countries to new fringe groups, cults and freemasonry.

Sensationalization of the Occult: The secular media has sensationalized and spread interest in these occult ideas and practices. This was marked by the screening of the film 'The Exorcist.' In the Christian world the books by Frank Perretti and the spate of 'How to...' books on power evangelism and spiritual warfare have reflected a similar trend.

Lausanne's Involvement in the Process: We in Lausanne have been part of the process, especially in the track on spiritual warfare at Lausanne II in Manila and in the continuing life of that track under the aegis of the AD2000 and Beyond movement.

We recognize that this emphasis will be with us for the foreseeable future. Our concerns are:

> * To help our Lausanne constituency to stay firmly within the balanced biblical teaching on prayer.
> * To provide clarity, reassurance and encouragement to those whom the emphasis is causing confusion and anxiety.

    * To harness what is biblical, Christ-exalting and culturally relevant in the new emphasis to the work of evangelization so that it yield lasting fruit.

We noted the following dangers and their antidotes:

Reverting to Pagan Worldviews: There is a danger that we revert to think and operate on pagan worldviews or on an undiscerning application of Old Testament analogies that were, in fact, superseded in Jesus Christ. The antidote to this is the rigorous study of the whole of Scripture, always interpreting the Old Testament in the light of the New.

A Preoccupation with the Demonic: This can lead to avoiding personal responsibility for our actions. This is countered by equal emphasis on 'the world' and "the flesh" and the strong ethical teachings of the Bible.

A Preoccupation with the Powers of Darkness: This can exalt Satan and diminish Jesus in the focus of his people. This is cured by encouraging a Christ-centered and not an experience-centered spirituality or methodology.

The Tendency to Shift the Emphasis to 'Power' and Away From 'Truth': This tendency forgets that error, ignorance and deception can only be countered by biblical truth clearly and consistently taught. This is equally, if not more important, than tackling bondage and possession by 'power encounters.'

It is also the truth that sets us free, so the Word and the Spirit need to be kept in balance.

Emphasis on Technique and Methodology: We observed the tendency to emphasize technique and methodology in the practice of spiritual warfare and fear that when this is dominant it can become a substitute for the pursuit of holiness and even of evangelism itself. To combat this there is no substitute for a continuous, strong, balanced and Spirit-guided teaching ministry in each church.

Growing Disillusionment: We had reports of growing disillusionment with the results of spiritual warfare in unrealized expectations, unmet predictions and the sense of being marginalized if the language and practice of spiritual warfare is not adopted and just general discomfort with too much triumphalist talk. The antidote to all of this is a return to the whole teaching of Jesus on prayer, especially what he says about praying in secret that avoids ostentation.

Encountering the Powers of Darkness by the Peoples Themselves: While recognizing that someone initially has to go to a people to introduce the gospel, we felt it was necessary always for the encounter with the powers of darkness to be undertaken by Christian people within the culture and in a way that is sensitive in applying biblical truth to their context.

Caution Regarding Territorial Spirits Concept: We are cautious about the way in which the concept of territorial spirits is being used and look to our biblical scholars to shed more light on this recent development.

Warfare Language Can Lead to Adversarial Attitudes: We heard with concern of situations where warfare language was pushing Christians into adversarial attitudes with people and where people of other faiths were interpreting this as the language of violence and political involvement.

We saw that the language of peace, penitence and reconciliation must be as prominent in our speech and practice as any talk of warfare.

We are concerned that the subject and practice of spiritual warfare is proving divisive to evangelical Christians and pray that these thoughts of ours will help to combat this tendency. It is our deep prayer that the force for evangelization should not be fragmented and that our love should be strong enough to overcome these incipient divisions among us.

In his cross and resurrection, Jesus triumphed over all the powers of darkness; believers share in that triumph. We would like to see evidence of this in our unity in prayer.

APPENDIX 4: LAUSANNE COMMITTEE FOR WORLD EVANGELIZATION,
CONSULTATION STATEMENT 'DELIVER US FROM EVIL', NAIROBI 2000[2]

Introduction

Spiritual conflict is an emerging, yet uneasy, frontier in taking the whole gospel to
the whole world. Enthusiasm and concern rest side by side. Trying to come to grips
with the many complex issues, thirty practitioners, missiologists, pastors and
theologians gathered in Nairobi, Kenya from 16 to 22 August, 2000. Together we
discussed issues of spiritual conflict in a consultation, "Deliver Us From Evil,"
convened by the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization and the Association
of Evangelicals in Africa. The consultation objective was to seek a biblical and
comprehensive understanding of 1) who the enemy is; 2) how he is working; and 3)
how we can fight him in order to be most effective in the evangelization of all
peoples.

Our group included practitioners of deliverance and prayer ministries from Latin
America, Africa, Asia, Europe, Australia, and the United States; pastors and
evangelical leaders from Africa and North America; an executive of a relief and
development agency; an African psychologist working in North America;
theologians from Asia, Europe and North America; missionaries working in Africa
and Latin America; mission executives from Europe and North America; and
missiological educators from North America and Europe. Among us were
Presbyterians, Pentecostals, Methodists, Anglicans, Lutherans, Baptists, and
members of the Evangelical Church of West Africa, Church of South India,
Berachah Prophetic Church, Evangelical Covenant Church, Brethren Church,
Christian and Missionary Alliance, and Bible Church (United States).

We noted with interest that most of the consultation participants from Western
societies had come to recognize the realities of the unseen or spiritual realm as a
result of their cross-cultural experience. Those from the Two Thirds World
frequently reported their experiences with Western missionaries, who were unaware
of these spiritual realities, and were thus unable to minister to the spiritual realities
that Two Thirds World people experience on a day-to-day basis.

As we have met in Nairobi, we have learned from the insights of sisters and brothers
from East Africa and the East African revival. We particularly affirm how our East
African sisters and brothers lift up Jesus and him crucified in the face of spiritual
conflict. We realize afresh that the only way to break the power of Satan in everyday
life, in society and in culture is by walking in the light so that Satan may not bind us
in the darkness. As we pray the prayer "Deliver us from evil" we pray to be
delivered from personal sin, natural evils, evil spirits and powers, and evil in society.

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[2] Engelsviken and Moreau 2001, 82-96.

Origins

Our point of departure includes the Lausanne Covenant, the Manila Manifesto, and the 1993 LCWE Statement on Spiritual Warfare, all of which state the reality of our engagement in spiritual conflict:

> We believe that we are engaged in constant spiritual warfare with the principalities and powers of evil, who are seeking to overthrow the Church and frustrate its task of world evangelization. (Lausanne Covenant, 1974).

> We affirm that spiritual warfare demands spiritual weapons, and that we must both preach the word in the power of the Spirit, and pray constantly that we may enter into Christ's victory over the principalities and powers of evil. (Manila Manifesto, 1989).

> We agreed that evangelization is to bring people from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God (Acts 26:17). This involves an inescapable element of spiritual warfare. (Lausanne Statement on Spiritual Warfare, 1993).

The Consultation and participants recognize the relevance of spiritual conflict to world evangelization. We are not trying to side with any particular view but to expand evangelical thinking in an emerging area that has controversy. This statement indicates areas of common agreement, areas of unresolved tensions, warnings, and points to areas needing further study and exploration. Our intention is to encourage churches of all traditions to use this statement to stimulate forthright discussion, serious reflection, and practical ministry on spiritual conflict to the glory of God.

Common Ground

Theological Affirmations

We affirm the biblical witness that humans were created in the image of God to live in communion with him, in fellowship with other humans, and as stewards of God's creation. The relationship between God and humankind was broken through the mysterious entry of evil into God's creation. Since the Fall evil has influenced all aspects of the created world and human existence. It is God's plan to redeem and restore his fallen creation. God's redemptive purpose is being revealed and realized in the history of salvation, and fully in the Gospel of the incarnation, death, resurrection, ascension, and return of his son, Jesus Christ. We are called to participate in God's mission of fighting evil and the evil one in order to restore what was destroyed as a result of the Fall. We live in a world with tension between the Kingdom that has already come in Christ and the continuing realities of evil. God's mission will be completed when Christ returns, the Kingdom of God comes in power, and evil is destroyed and eliminated forever.

1) Calling people to faith in Christ, inviting them to be delivered from the domain of darkness into the Kingdom of God, is the missionary mandate for all Christians. We

affirm a holistic understanding of evangelization that finds its source in our relationship with Christ and his call to us to become intimate with him in the fellowship of believers. The Holy Spirit empowers us for world evangelization through the interrelated ministries of word (proclamation), deed (social service and action), and sign (miracles, power encounters) all of which take place in the context of spiritual conflict.

2) Satan is a real, personal spiritual and created being. Satan tempted Jesus in the wilderness, sought to destroy him, and yet in light of the resurrection morning found himself defeated. Satan continues to oppose actively God's mission and the work of God's Church.[3]

3) The powers and principalities are ontologically real beings. They cannot be reduced to mere social or psychological structures.[4]

4) Satan works by taking what God has created for human well-being, and perverts it toward his purposes, which are to destroy and devalue life by enslaving individuals, families, local communities and whole societies. Satan contextualizes his efforts differently in various societies and cultures.

5) Satan uses deception in an attempt to redirect human allegiances to anyone or anything other than God. In addition to the personal level, Satan does this with regard to all institutionalized forms of religious or ideological allegiance, including the Church.

6) Satan and "the rulers, authorities, the powers of this dark world, the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms" are at work through:[5]

> a) Deceiving and distorting
> b) Tempting to sin
> c) Afflicting the body, emotions, mind, and will
> d) Taking control of a person
> e) Disordering of nature
> f) Distorting the roles of social, economic, and political structures
> g) Scapegoating as a means of legitimizing violence
> h) Promoting self-interest, injustice, oppression, and abuse
> i) The realm of the occult
> j) False religions
> k) All forms of opposition to God's work of salvation and the mission of the church.

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[3] Job 1-2; Zech. 3:1f; 1 Chron. 21:1; Matt. 4:1-11; Matt. 12:23; Luke 8:12; Luke 22:3; John 13:2; 12:31; 16:11; Col 2:15-22.
[4] Mark 3:22; 1 Cor. 2:6-8; 15:24-26; Col. 2:15; Eph. 1:21; 3:10; 6:10-18.
[5] 2 Cor. 2:11; 1 Thess 3:5; 1 Tim. 2:14; Rev. 12:10; Matt. 8:16; Matt. 9:32; Mark 5:1-20; Mark 9:17; Luke 8:30; Job 2:7; Matt. 9:32-33; 12:22-23; 15:22-28; Job 1:16-19.

7) A primary purpose of the life and ministry of Jesus was to expose, confront, and defeat Satan and destroy his works.

> a) Christ has decisively defeated Satan at the cross and through the resurrection.
> b) Jesus confronted Satan through prayer, righteousness, obedience, and setting the captives free.
> c) In the way he ministered to people, he mounted an enormous challenge to the institutions and structures of the world.
> d) Christians share in Christ's victory and are given the authority of Christ to stand against the attacks of Satan in the victory we have in Christ.[6]

The model for spiritual authority is Jesus and his obedience and submission to God on the Cross.

8) While we acknowledge that God is sovereignly in control of his creation, the biblical evidence indicates a variety of causes of illness and calamity: God, Satan, human choices or trauma and a disordered universe are all cited. We understand that we may not know with certainty the exact cause of any particular illness or calamity.

9) The elements of a worldview that is Christian within our respective cultural contexts must include:

> a) God is the creator and sustainer of all that exists, both seen and unseen. This creation includes humans and spiritual beings as moral creatures.
> b) People were made in the image of God, in which the aspects of the human person are inseparably connected. Body, soul, emotions and mind cannot be separated.
> c) God remains sovereign over all his creation in history, and nothing happens outside God's ultimate control. Thus, the world cannot be conceived of as a closed universe governed merely by naturalistic scientific laws. Neither can it be considered a dualistic system in which Satan is understood to be equal to God.
> d) Because we reject a dualistic world view, the blessings of God and the ministrations of the angelic host, the consequences of sin, and the assaults of Satan and demons cannot be isolated solely to a spiritual realm.
> e) Any teaching on spiritual conflict that leads us to fear the Devil to such an extent that we lose our confidence in Christ's victory over him and in God's sovereign power to protect us must be rejected.
> f) All matters concerning spiritual conflict must be viewed first and foremost in terms of our relationship with and faith in God, and not simply in terms of techniques that we must master.

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[6] John 12:31; 16:11, 33; Col 2:15; Heb 2:14; 1 John 3:8; Rev 5:5; Eph. 6:10-18; Jas. 4:7; Luke 9:1; Matt. 28:18; cf. Matt. 12:28f; Eph 6:11,13.

g) The return of Christ and the ultimate consummation of his victory over Satan gives us confidence today in dealing with spiritual struggles and a lens through which we are to interpret the events in the world today.

10) The person and work of the Holy Spirit are central in spiritual conflict:[7]

a) The empowering of the Holy Spirit, the exercise of spiritual gifts, and prayer are prerequisites for engaging in spiritual conflict.
b) The exercise of spiritual gifts must be accompanied by the fruit of the spirit.
c) The work of the Spirit and the Word must be held together.

Spiritual Conflict in Practice

1) We listened to reports on the history of the church's dealing with Satan and the demonic and noted:

a) There are striking similarities between what happened from the history of the ancient church to what is happening in demonic encounters and deliverance today.
b) Deliverance from Satanic and demonic powers and influence in the ancient church was used as proof of the resurrection and the truth of the claims of Christ by the church fathers.
c) Preparation for baptism included the renunciation of the Devil, the demonic and prior religious allegiances from the life of the convert as well as repentance. This practice continues in some churches to this day.
d) The unwillingness/inability of the contemporary western church to believe in the reality of the spiritual beliefs and engage in spiritual conflict arose out of a defective Enlightenment-influenced world view, is not representative of the total history of the church in relation to spiritual conflict nor has it been characteristic of Christianity in the Two Thirds World in contemporary history.
e) Every Christian has access to the authority of Christ and demons recognize Christ's power when exercised by Christians.
f) The history of evangelism is replete with examples in which the response to the Gospel was accompanied by power encounters, but power encounters in and of themselves are never a guarantee of a positive response.
g) Church history also points to a link between idolatry and the demonic.

2) Working for positive strongholds for God through a "gentle invasion" that overcomes evil with good and wins people by love is as important as breaking down Satanic strongholds. We thus affirm the importance and primacy of the local church and its life of faith.

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[7] Gal. 5:22-23; 1 Cor. 13:4-7; Eph. 6:17.

3) Worship is spiritual conflict. It is not aggressive, spectacular spiritual conflict; not a strategy nor a means to an end; but involves mind, body, and spirit responding with all that we are to all that God is.

4) Spiritual conflict is risky and often costly. While there are victories, there is often a backlash from the Evil One in various forms of attack such as illness and persecution. Nonetheless we do not shrink from spiritual conflict since to avoid it is costly to the Kingdom of God.

5) The ministry of spiritual conflict is grounded in the transformative power of relationships, not techniques or methods.

6) The point of departure for spiritual conflict is our relationship with Jesus and listening to the Holy Spirit.

7) We affirm the complexity of the human person. We need to distinguish the psychological from the spiritual when it comes to ministry and counseling. Deliverance ministries and psychological counselors often fail to recognize this distinction. Failure to do so can do harm.

8) Holiness is central to the Christian response to evil:

> a) In the exercise of spiritual authority those who do not give adequate attention to character and holiness truncate the whole biblical picture of spiritual growth and sanctification.
> b) To practice spiritual conflict without adequate attention to personal holiness is to invite disaster.
> c) The pursuit of holiness applies not only to the individual, but to the family, the local church, and the larger community of faith.
> d) While holiness includes personal piety, it applies to social relationships as well.

9) Engaging the Evil One is not the work for heroic individuals. Those engaged in this ministry must seek the support of a group of intercessors.

10) Following up on individuals who have experienced freedom through spiritual conflict must be an inseparable part of the ministry. The local church must be encouraged to incorporate people into the Christian community and to disciple them. Not to arrange for this is sin.

11) We were saddened by stories of people, emboldened by self-assured certainty and money, who come from outside and overwhelm local Christians and carrying out hit-and-run ministries of spiritual conflict 1) that presume superior knowledge of the local reality; 2) that treat local Christians as inferior or unaware, 3) that claim credit for things that local Christians have been praying and working toward for years, and 4) that leave uneven results and sometimes pain, alienation, and even persecution of the local church, while claiming great victory.

12) Spiritual conflict involves more than one enemy; it must engage the
     flesh, the Devil and the world:

> a) We view with alarm social evils such as injustice, poverty, ethnocentrism,
> racism, genocide, violence, environmental abuse, wars, as well as the violence,
> pornography, and occult in the media.
> b) These social evils are encouraged or supported by human institutions in
> which the principalities and powers work against God and his intention for
> humankind.
> c) The task of the Church in combating the principalities and powers in the
> socio-political context is to unmask their idolatrous pretensions, to identify
> their dehumanizing values and actions, and to work for the release of their
> victims. This work involves spiritual, political, and social actions.

13) We fail to find biblical warrant for constructing elaborate hierarchies of the
spirit world.

Warnings

1) We urge caution and sensitivity in the use of language when it comes to spiritual
conflict. While biblical, the term "spiritual warfare" is offensive to non-Christians
and carries connotations that seem contradictory coming from those who serve a
Lord who died on a cross. Additionally, there is a large range of meanings attached
to various spiritual conflict terms such as healing, deliverance, power encounters,
possession, demonization, powers, and so on. Additionally new terms are constantly
being coined (e.g., Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare, deep-level healing, etc.).

2) We call for watchfulness to avoid any syncretism with non-Christian religious
beliefs and practices, such as traditional religions or new religious movements. We
also affirm that new believers are reasonable when they expect the Gospel to meet
their needs for spiritual power.

3) We call for discernment concerning magical uses of Christian terms and caution
practitioners to avoid making spiritual conflict into Christian magic. Any suggestion
that a particular technique or method in spiritual conflict ministry ensures success is
a magical, sub-Christian understanding of God's workings

4) We encourage extreme care and the discernment of the community to ensure that
the exercise of spiritual authority not become spiritual abuse. Any expression of
spiritual power or authority must be done in compassion and love.

5) We cry out for a mantle of humility and gracefulness on the part of cross-cultural
workers, who having recently discovered the reality of the spirit realm, go to other
parts of the world where people have known and lived with the local realities of the
spirit realm world and the struggle with the demonic for centuries.

6) Because spiritual conflict is expressed in different ways in different societies, we strongly caution against taking ideas, methods, or strategies developed in one society and using them uncritically in another.

7) Because we must resist the temptation to adopt the devil's tactics as ours, we warn practitioners to take care that their methods in spiritual conflict are based on the work of Christ on the cross:

> a) Submitting to God through his substitutionary death on the cross, Christ deprived Satan of his claim to power;
> b) Christ's willingness to sacrifice himself in contrast to fighting back is a model for spiritual conflict;
> c) When we separate the cross from spiritual conflict, we create a climate of triumphalism.

8) We call for actions that ensure that our approaches and explanations of spiritual conflict do not tie new converts to the very fears from which Christ died to free them. Being free in Christ means being free from fear of the demonic.

9) We warn against an overemphasis on spirits that blames demons for the actions of people. Demons can only work through people-and people can actively choose to cooperate. Spirits are not the only source of resistance to the Gospel.

10) We warn against confusing correlations or coincidence with causation in reporting apparent victories as well as the uncritical use of undocumented accounts to establish the validity of cosmic warfare.

11) We warn against using eschatology as a excuse not to fight against all forms of evil in the present.

Areas of Tension

1) In the early church, demonic encounters were most often seen where the church encountered non-Christians. The history of evangelization frequently links power encounters with the evangelization of non-Christian people. The biblical text reveals that while it is possible that a believer may be afflicted physically by a demonic spirit,[8] there is no direct evidence that demons need to be cast out of believers. On the other hand, we also heard the testimony of brothers and sisters in every continent to the contrary. This raises the question of how we are to understand the effect of the demonic in the lives of Christians. We were unable to resolve this tension in our consultation, but believe the following are helpful to note:

> a) We are aware that in many cases new Christians today have not gone through processes of renunciation of pre-Christian allegiances, processes that have been normative in the pre-Enlightenment Church. Some Christians may

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[8] Luke 4:38-39; 13:10-13; 2 Cor. 12:7-9.

have lost their faith; there are others who call themselves Christians but are only Christians in a nominal sense. Some claim that these might be reasons that Christians might appear to be susceptible to the demonic.

b) We affirm that being in Christ means the Christian belongs to Christ and that our nature is transformed, just as with sin and our need to deal with sin in our body, mind, emotions and will, we wonder if the demonic, while no longer able to claim ownership of Christians, may not continue to afflict them in body, mind, emotions, and will unless dealt with.

2) While it is possible that Satan manifests himself more strongly in certain places than in others, and that some spirits seem to be tied to certain locations, we agreed there seems to be little biblical warrant for a number of the teachings and practices associated with some forms of spiritual conflict which focus on territorial spirits. We experienced tension over whether there is biblical warrant for warfare prayer against territorial spirits as a valid tool for evangelization. We agreed, however, on the invalidity of the claim that warfare prayer against territorial spirits is the only key to effective evangelization.

3) Tension exists concerning the extent to which we can learn and verify things from the spiritual realm from experiences not immediately verifiable from Scripture in contrast to limiting our understanding of the spiritual realm from Scripture alone. Some have maintained that experience is crucial to understanding spiritual conflict; this is a point to be explored in ongoing dialogue.

4) We are not agreed as to whether or how the truths about spiritual realities and spiritual conflict methodologies can be verified empirically. Some engage in active experimentation in spiritual conflict ministry as a means of developing generalities concerning spiritual conflict, while others are not convinced of the validity of this way of learning.

Frontiers That Need Ongoing Exploration

1) While affirming the Lausanne position on the Bible, there is an urgent need for a hermeneutic that:

a) Allows culture and experience to play a role in the formulation of our understanding and theology of spiritual conflict. The basis and test of such a theology is Scripture as faithfully interpreted by the Spirit-guided hermeneutical community of the global church.
b) Allows an examination of issues which arise in Christian experience not directly addressed in Scripture.
c) Accepts the fact that the Holy Spirit has surprised the Church by acting in ways not explicitly taught in Scriptures (Acts 10 and 15) and may be doing so again.

2) There is an urgent need to incorporate the study of spiritual conflict into theological curricula in schools and training centers around the world.

3) There is an urgent need to develop criteria and methods that allow us to evaluate ministry experience in a verifiable way.

4) The emerging understanding of the complexity of the human person needs significant exploration and examination. Specifically we call for:

> a) A sustained dialogue between those engaged in deliverance ministries and those in the medical and psychological professions.
> b) Urgent sharing worldwide with deliverance practitioners of the current state of knowledge of Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID), formerly called Multiple Personality Disorder.
> c) A diagnostic approach that allows practitioners to discern the difference between DID personalities and spiritual entities.
> d) A dialogue between theologians and the medical and psychological professions that develops a holistic understanding of the human person, inseparably relating body, mind, emotions, and spirit as they function individually and relationally.

5) We call for a more interdisciplinary approach to the description of spiritual conflict drawing on the insights of relevant disciplines.

6) We call the churches to develop an understanding of sanctification that addresses all of the human person: our spiritual, emotional, mental, and physical selves. Such a holistic understanding of sanctification will include the development of spiritual disciplines, inner healing, and deliverance. All need to become tools supporting the sanctification of Christians through the Word by the Holy Spirit.[9]

7) There is a need to explore the role in spiritual conflict of the practices of baptism, holy communion, confession of sin and absolution, foot-washing, and anointing with oil.

8) We would like to see a serious examination of the deception and seductive power of advertising in terms of its role in fostering envy, consumerism, and false gods.

We praise God, that, while we represented various theological, cultural and church traditions and positions on spiritual conflict, we have been blessed and inspired by learning from each other. This encourages us to believe that it is possible to develop an understanding of spiritual conflict and its practice within the Christian community so that in time it becomes part of the everyday life of the Church. We invite the Church to join us in continuing study and incorporation of appropriate ministries of spiritual conflict into the life of the Church. We particularly call the churches in the West to listen more carefully to the churches in the Two Thirds World and join them in a serious rediscovery of the reality of evil.

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[9] John 15:3; 17:17.

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SAMENVATTING

Spiritual Mapping is een internationale Evangelikale en Neo-Pentecostale beweging, ontstaan in de Verenigde Staten van Amerika, die is gespecialiseerd in religieuze technieken om strijd te leveren tegen bovennatuurlijke territoriale kwaadaardige wezens. De aanwezigheid, aard en het territorium van deze wezens ('spirits') worden op een kaart ('map') aangebacht, vanwaar 'Spiritual Mapping'. De betreffende technieken worden gezien als van goddelijke origine, Zij hebben primair een missionaire functie, bedoeld om het Christendom numeriek uit te breiden. Spiritual Mapping is zowel een beweging als een concept. De beweging ontwikkelde zich tegen het einde van de jaren '80 en kende haar hoogtepunt in de jaren '90. Op haar hoogtepunt was zij internationaal verspreid en wist voor korte tijd miljoenen te mobiliseren. Na haar neergang als beweging bleef Spiritual Mapping gepraktiseerd als techniek in diverse andere bewegingen.

Dit proefschrift beargumenteert dat Spiritual Mapping als concept en beweging een Christelijke exponent is van Amerikanisme en het socio-politieke concept Manifest Destiny. Zij is tevens een voortzetting van een langere traditie van populaire Amerikaanse Evangelikale spiritualiteit.
        Spiritual Mapping werkt met theologische en antropologische concepten en methoden. Econcluderd wordt, dat zij niet kwam tot een geloofwaardig hanteren van de beide disciplines. Theologie en antropologie werden gebruikt om de beweging en haar concept acceptabel te maken voor en verkoopbaar aan de religieuze Evangelikale markt, waarbinnen de beweging zichzelf aanbood aan de consument. Aanvankelijk gebeurde dit met opmerkelijk succes. Onder andere vanwege een falende marketing strategie verloor de beweging later terrein.
        Spiritual Mapping was en bleef een beweging en concept behorend bij de Verenigde Staten van Amerika, alle aanspraken op een Argentijnse origine en internationale verspreiding ten spijt. De vele aanspraken van de beweging op een Argentijnse oorsprong en de ontwikkeling van een blijvende Argentijnse beweging, bleken onjuist. Aanspraken op blijvende internationale verspreiding bleken eveneens ongegrond.

Het eerste hoofdstuk behandelt de terminologie, structuur en methode van de studie. Het beoogt een historische beschrijving van Spiritual Mapping als concept en als Neo-Pentecostale beweging van 1989 tot 2005, waarbij het zich beweegt op het snijvlak van theologie en antropologie. De methode is historisch-descriptief.
        Het tweede hoofdstuk behandelt de wortels van de beweging. Zij worden gevonden in de Amerikaanse Church Growth Movement van 1960-1980, haar missionaire antropologie en de opkomst van Charismatische vernieuwings bewegingen, in het bijzonder de Neo-Pentecostale bewegingen, en diverse aspecten van de meer algemene kenmerken van Amerikaanse spiritualiteit.
        Hoofdstuk drie schetst de ontwikkeling van de beweging met haar flexibele netwerk organisaties, waarin personen, hun charisma en hun onderlinge relaties een centrale rol vervullen. Hoofdpersonen waren Charles H. Kraft, George Otis Jr. and C. Peter Wagner. De praktische missionaire veldmethoden en apecten van de internationale reikwijdte en groei van de beweging worden beschreven.

Hoofdstuk vier beschrijft het proces van desintegratie en assimilatie met andere bewegingen, zoals die tegen het einde van de 20e eeuw en het begin van de 21^e eeuw plaats vond. Spiritual Mapping blijft gepraktiseerd in bewegingen als de New Apostolic Reformation en kringen die Dominion Theologie aangangen.

Het vijfde hoofdstuk inventariseert het zelfbeeld van Spiritual Mapping, met al haar aanspraken en intenties. Het wordt beschreven in theologische en antropologische categorieën. Er rijst een beeld op van een beweging met millenianistische en apocalyptisch dualistische trekken.

In hoofdstuk zes komen de critici aan het woord. De ontwikkeling van Spiritual Mapping blijkt turbulent en omstreden, met name binnen eigen Evangelikale kring. De critici trekken zowel de geloofwaardigheid van de theologische als de antropologische verantwoording in twijfel. Theologisch sluiten zij zich aan bij de vooronderstellingen van een orthodox Christelijke opvatting van demonologie, maar zij distantiëren zich van de manier waarop Spiritual Mapping deze uitwerkt. Antropologisch wordt Spirtual Mapping bekritiseerd op haar beperking tot het funtionalisme uit de jaren '70 van de twintigste eeuw. Ook de hantering van de anthopologische onderzoekmethoden wordt als inadequaat gezien.

In hoofdstuk zeven wordt geconcludeerd dat Spiritual Mapping een doodlopende steeg ('blind alley') is onder de Amerikaanse Evangelikalen. Als zodanig is Spiritual Mapping een indicatie van recente vitaliteit van een christelijke versie van Amerikanisme, het concept Manifest Destiny en het voortdurend pogen dez beide praktisch te realiseren. Spiritual Mapping probeerde ze te realiseren in het raamwerk van concurrentie op de Amerikaanse Evangelikale markt. Die pogingen waren aanvankelijk succesvol. Theologische en antropologische aanspraken gaven haar een schijn van wetenschappelijkheid. Het gebrek aan een geloofwaardige theologische en antropologische verantwoording werd echter aangetoond. Uiteindelijk vond Spiritual Mapping haar einde in de harde realiteit van de concurrentie op Amerikaanse religieuze markt.

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

CURRICULUM VITAE

René Holvast was born 8th May 1959 in Baarn, The Netherlands. He studied theology at the Evangelische Theologische Faculteit in Leuven and spent a year as youth pastor in Belgium. With his wife, Cecilia, he spent fourteen years in Mali, West-Africa, serving in different capacities as church planting, mission administration, theological education and national church assistance. In the years 1981–1986 he served as director and teacher of missiology at the Evangelische Theologische Hogeschool, as later incorporated in the Ede Christian University (Christelijke Hogeschool Ede). Beginning in 2008 he will assist in the missological development of the curriculum of the Faculté de Théologie de Boma in the Democratic Republic of Congo.