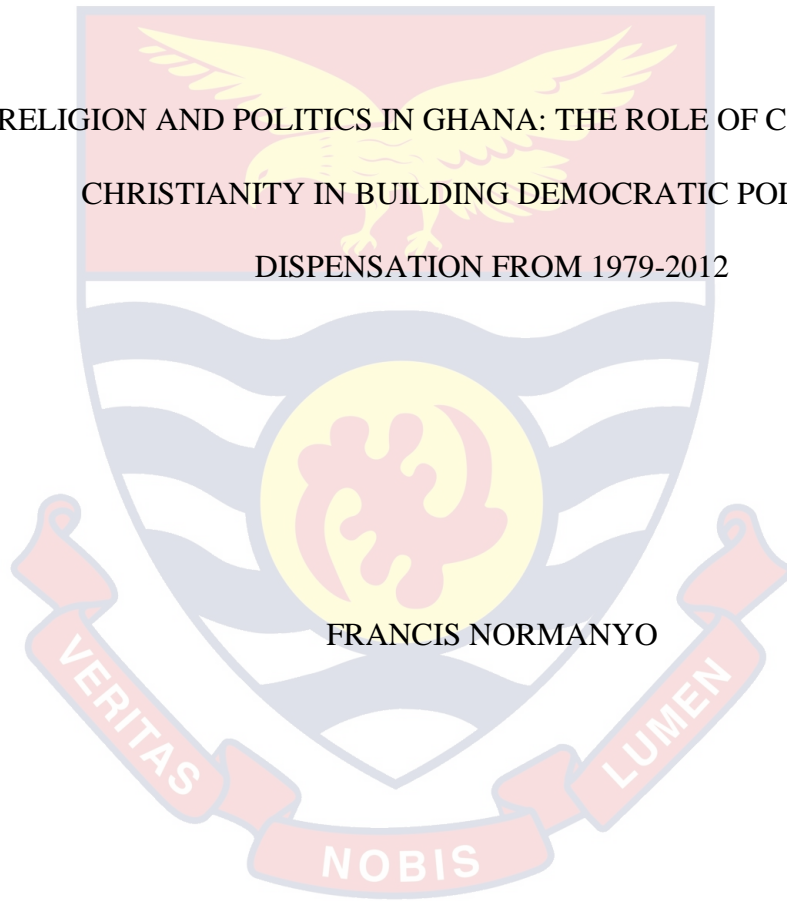


UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN GHANA: THE ROLE OF CHARISMATIC  
CHRISTIANITY IN BUILDING DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL  
DISPENSATION FROM 1979-2012

FRANCIS NORMANYO



APRIL 2019

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN GHANA: THE ROLE OF CHARISMATIC  
CHRISTIANITY IN BUILDING DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL  
DISPENSATION FROM 1979-2012



THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL  
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REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
DEGREE IN RELIGIONS AND HUMANVALUES.

APRIL 2019

## DECLARATION

### Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere

Candidate's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Francis Normanyo

### Supervisors' Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape-Coast.

Principal Supervisor's signature .....

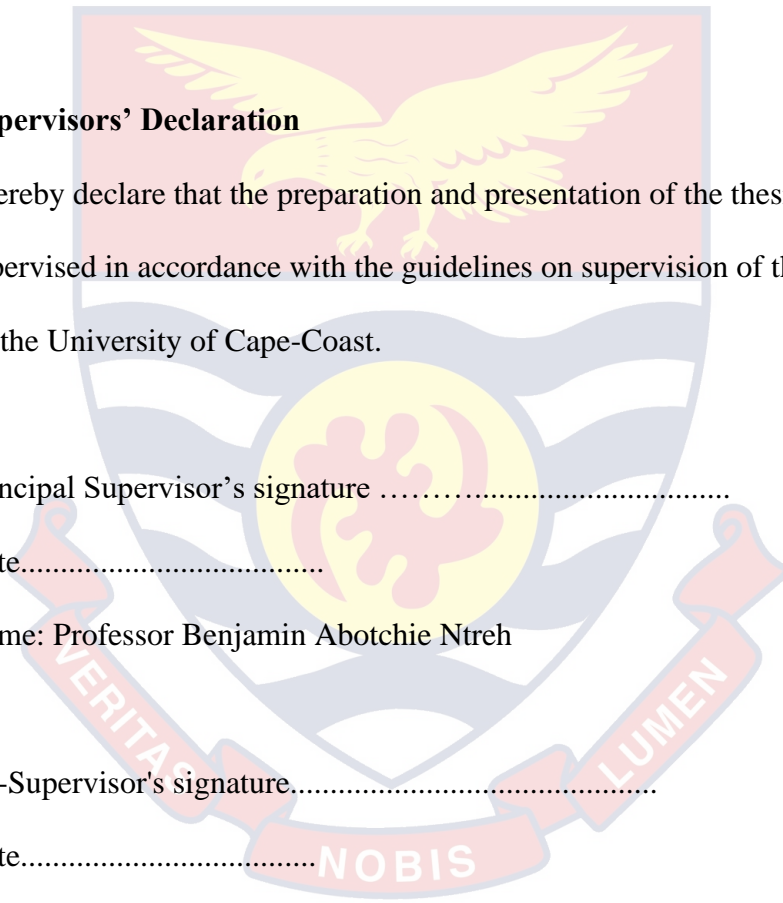
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Co-Supervisor's signature.....

Date.....

Name: Dr. Confidence Wolanyo Bansah



## ABSTRACT

The thesis sought to examine the role of Charismatic Christianity in building democratic political dispensation. This work acknowledged the role of other ecclesial bodies such as the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference. I set the tone of the thesis by indicating that adequate research works have not been done on the role of Charismatic Christianity and their engagement in politics especially in promoting democratic culture in Ghana. The basic objective here is to identify the roles played by Charismatic Christianity in the promotion of democratic culture in Ghana from the era of their emergence, that is late 1979 to 2012. A qualitative method of data collection and analysis are used. Since the thesis seeks to understand the behaviour of Charismatic Christianity within political context, I adopted secularisation and world system theories in explaining the nature of relationship between sacred and the secular. It was discovered that, Charismatic Christianity has contributed much in the fight for the restoration and promotion of democratic political culture. The leadership was operating as individuals but not through any ecclesial body. They preached against human rights abuses and with boldness called for the restoration of democracy. It is also found out that after democracy was restored, these churches were involved in political education, provision of social facilities and economic opportunities which lead to the promotion of democratic culture. The work is limited to the year 2012. I recommend that further studies should be done to cover the years beyond 2012.

## KEY WORDS

Religion

Politics

Charismatic

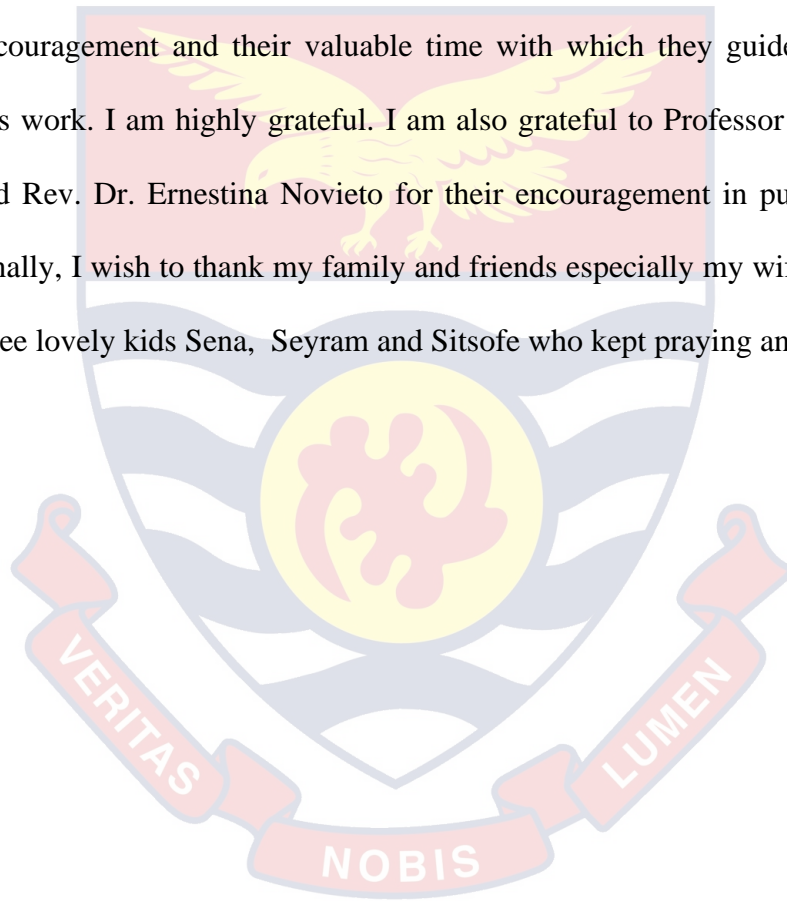
Democratic

Dispensation



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the Almighty God, for His grace that has enabled me come to this far. My second appreciation goes to my two supervisors Rev. Professor Benjamin Abotchie Ntneh and Rev. Dr. Confidence Wolanyo Bansah all from the Department of Religion and Human Value, University of Cape Coast, for their professional advice, guidance, words of encouragement and their valuable time with which they guided me throughout this work. I am highly grateful. I am also grateful to Professor Elizabeth Amoah and Rev. Dr. Ernestina Novieto for their encouragement in pursuing this study. Finally, I wish to thank my family and friends especially my wife Patricia and my three lovely kids Sena, Seyram and Sitsofe who kept praying and urging me on.



## DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents Mr. Kojo Etiame Normanyo and Madam Victoria Amuzu (late).



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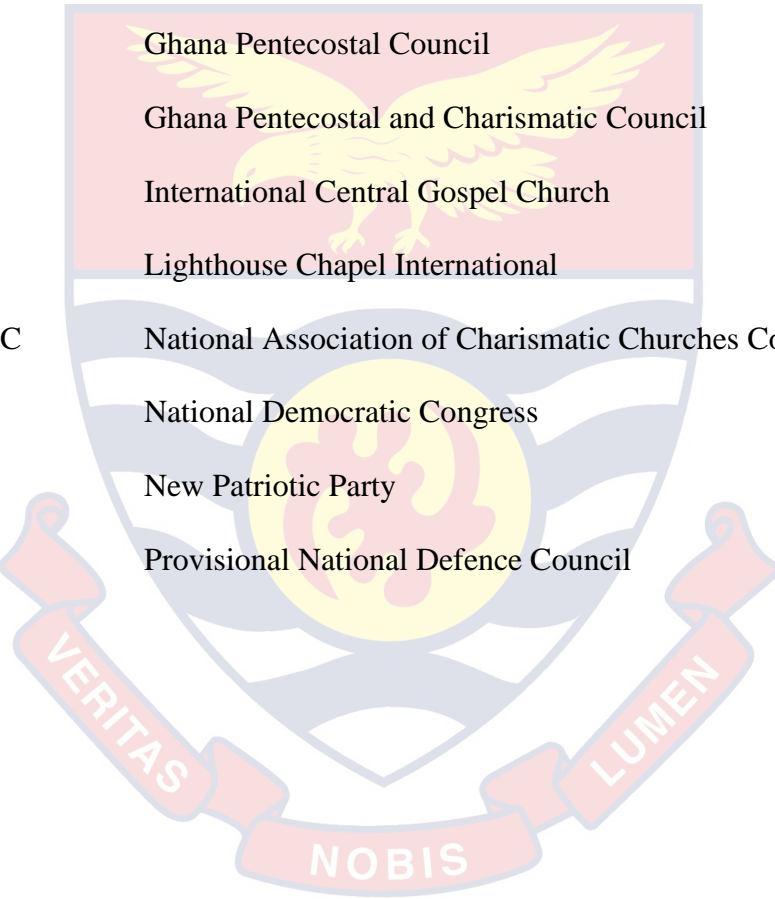
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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
CAFM	Christian Action Faith Ministries
CBS	Catholic Bishops' Secretariat
CCG	Christian Council of Ghana
GCBC	Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference
GPC	Ghana Pentecostal Council
GPCC	Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council
ICGC	International Central Gospel Church
LCI	Lighthouse Chapel International
NACCC	National Association of Charismatic Churches Council
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background

The relationship between politics and religion has been beset by a dilemma: either religion or politics are considered to be identical such as in a theocratic system, or one is pitted against the other as if religion and politics are incompatible and antagonistic forces, as sacred against secular or God versus Caesar (Panikkar, 1983). This dilemma presents a situation which can best be described with a world system theory and a secularised system. The world system presents a situation where both religion and politics corporates or become inseparable while the secularised system preaches a separation between religion and politics.

After Ghana's return to democratic rule in 1992, diverse political parties have continued to patronize the Charismatic churches to enhance their electoral fortunes. Charismatic churches and democratic politics have therefore been inextricably linked in the development of Ghana's fourth republic democratic system of governance as found in a world system discourse. Charismatic movements with their variegated phases and forms today form the fastest growing form of religious groups within Christianity in the contemporary world (Anderson, 2004). The growth of this new Christian movement in Ghana with popular leadership and large followers gives the movement the potential to influence the political system. The followers often take their faith into the

political arena and as such political decisions are interpreted from the believers' perspective (Yong, 2014). Many Charismatic churches have been involved in politics from the time of their evolution especially in the 1980s under the military rule through to the current democratic dispensation.

Also under the 4th republican system of democratic dispensation, political parties such as the National Democratic Congress and the New Patriotic Party have depended on some of these Charismatic churches for their electoral fortunes. The National Democratic Congress in 2012 used a sermon preached by Pastor Mensa Otabil, the founder of the International Central Gospel Church on free education for their campaign. In an interview with the founder of Jesus Generation Ministry Rev. Dr. Anyani Boadum, the researcher realized that not only have the Charismatics been involved in shaping the current democratic political system but some acted in their individual capacities in the struggle for the restoration of democracy prior to 1992.

Asamoah-Gyadu (2010) gave more credence to two ecclesial bodies that are the Christian Council of Ghana and the Catholic Bishops' Conference in the Christian involvement in Ghanaian politics. He stated that these bodies have been instrumental in the fight for democracy. This to him is due to their high intellectual resources and rich historical ecclesial traditions, unlike the Charismatic churches. Dovlo (2006) also added that the Charismatics normal attitude to politics is apolitical. These views portray the Charismatics as indifferent to politics. The research shows that the Charismatic churches have not



been apolitical but have played an active role in political issues since they emerged from the late 1970s.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Many scholarly works on the relationship between church and state politics, especially where the church made moves to influence state policies or decisions and the state relying on religious symbols in its activities in Ghana have been centred on the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference. Pobee (1988) for instance mentioned the role of individual Christians bringing their Christian dispositions to bear on politics during Nkrumah's era. Such persons are either of the Methodist or Presbyterian denominations which are members of the CCG. Oquaye (2004), Aboagye-Mensah (1994), Addai-Mensah & Opoku (2009), Dovlo (2006) and Gyampo (2015) concentrated their works on the activities of the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference's relationship with state policies. These works left out significant roles Charismatics played in relation to political matters. Added to this, Asamoah-Gyadu (2010) stated that the Charismatics lack historical, ecclesiastical and intellectual traditions and this makes them deficient in influencing the political system. In addition, virtually all the works on Charismatics in Ghana are mainly concerned with the histories, spiritualities and growth of the movement. Such works include Asamoah-Gyadu (2005, 2010, 2013, 2015), Larbi (2001), Omenyo & Atiemo (2006). The problem is that critical

examination of the political roles of the Charismatic churches in Ghana not been accorded the desired degree of scholarly attention. This problem was also observed by Professor Nimi Wariboko (2013) and he recommended that African scholars should also produce works on the involvement of Charismatics in national politics and the impact they have had on politics, political parties and public policies. This research, therefore, is set to critically investigate the roles of Charismatic Christianity to democratic politics in Ghana.

### **Objectives**

The main objective is to study the role of Charismatics in politics. The specific objectives are to;

- i. Trace the history of Christianity in Ghana focusing on her relationship with the political system.
- ii. Examine the political engagement of the Charismatic churches in the restoration and consolidation of democratic culture in Ghana.
- iii. Identify the theological underpinnings of democratic politics of Charismatic Christianity.

### **Research Questions**

The main questions to be investigated by the research are as follow:

- i. How did Christianity emerge in Ghana and how did the church relate with the political systems?
- ii. What is the role of the Charismatic movement in the restoration and consolidation of democracy in Ghana?
- iii. What theological ideas underpin the quest for democratic politics by the Charismatics?

### **Scope of the Study**

The study covers the period from the evolution of the Charismatic churches in the late 1970s to 2012. The research mainly focuses on the Charismatic churches used by Gifford (2004) in his case study. These Charismatic Churches are Christian Action Faith Ministries, Perez Chapel International, International Central Gospel Church and Lighthouse Chapel international. These churches are observed to be actively involved in the political and economic concerns in Ghana. The late 1970s and 2012 are chosen because the former was the period when the Charismatic churches started emerging. The latter year is also chosen because that was the last democratic electioneering year when this research started. However, events in 2012 spilled over into 2013 hence some events beyond 2012 are referred to.

## Significance of the Study

This study has a three-fold significance. Firstly, it adds to the existing knowledge of the history of the Charismatic movement in Ghana. It add to the literature of the relationship between the church and politics in Ghana. Secondly, the study will be of significant benefit to researchers and students who would like to research into the involvement of Christianity in politics since the content unearth the relationship between these two entities. Thirdly the findings of this study will be available to policymakers, particularly in Ghana and African in general where Christianity, especially Charismatic Christianity appears to be making in-roads into national politics. This research identifies various forms of relationships between the church and state and the consequences of the relationships. Policy-makers can take a cue from the nature of the relationship in policy making that concern the involvement of the church.

## Research Methodology

Research methodology refers to the specific procedures and techniques used to identify, select, process, and analyze data about a topic in research (Kumekpor, 2002). The methodology allows the reader to critically evaluate a study's overall validity and reliability. It answers two main questions: How was the data collected or generated? How was it analyzed? In this study, the components of the research methodology that is employed are the research design, sample and sampling technique, population, instruments and data analysis. These

are used to identify the Charismatic leaderships' view on their engagement with the political system.

### **Research Design**

The design of research refers to the overall plan used in obtaining answers to the project's research questions (Polit & Hungler, 1993). I used descriptive research design. Descriptive research aims to accurately and systematically describe a population, situation or phenomenon. It can answer *what, where, when* and *how* questions. A descriptive research design can use a wide variety of research methods to investigate one or more variables (Creswell, 1998). Here I employed historical method of qualitative research design. The historical method of qualitative research describes past events in order to understand present patterns and anticipate future choices. Qualitative research is defined as a research method that focuses on obtaining data through open-ended and conversational communication. Creswell (1998) added that the qualitative research design is fundamentally interpretive. In other words, data collected in the qualitative design are interpreted either in terms of developing a description of an individual or event within a setting. It also means that the researcher filters the data through a personal lens that is situated in a specific socio-political and historical moment. For these reasons, I chose this design to obtain in-depth knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study. The data collected are interpreted to describe some individual Charismatic leaders

and the roles they played in the fight against the military government and for the restoration of a democratic political system. In this regard, this design gives me a deeper understanding of the behavior of charismatic Christians and their engagement in politics from the periods 1979 to 2012.

### **Sample of the Population**

In research, population refers to the target group of individuals, institutions or objects that form the main focus in a scientific study. It is also viewed as the universal set that has all the necessary information for the research (Edward & Fowler, 2002). The sample is chosen from the population (Burns & Grove, 2003). In this study, the main focus of people is Charismatic Christians. Because this population is very large, I sample a few to represent the whole. That portion of the population that is studied is called a sample of the population. In this regard, Charismatic church leaders in four selected churches were sampled. These four churches are Christian Action Faith Ministries (CAFM), International Central Gospel Church (ICGC), Perez Chapel International (formerly called World Miracle Church International) and Lighthouse Chapel International (LCI). These churches are described as the 'superstars' by Gifford (2004) mainly because they are either the earliest or significant Charismatic churches in Ghana. Besides, I included the leadership of Jesus Generation Ministries because of the significant role the founder played in the quest for the restoration of democratic culture. I

sampled 17 pastors in these churches to interview. They form the sample size in this study.

### **Sampling Technique**

The sampling technique refers to the process of selecting a group of subjects for a study (Kumekpor, 2002). In this study, the purposive sampling technique was used in selecting the interviewees. The purposive sampling technique is a method in which the researcher deliberately selects his or her interviewees on the basis that they are the people in a position to provide the relevant information based on the questions from the researcher (Benard, 2002; Lewis & Shepherd, 2006). I, therefore, chose those Charismatic leaders that Gifford (2004) referred to as *superstars* whose activities are closely linked with the political system from the military regime of 1979 to 2012 of the fourth republican era. Four pastors from each of these churches were interviewed, making sixteen (16) interviewees. In the selection of these pastors, I prioritized those pastors who are either the founders or who have been with the selected Charismatic churches from the beginning of their formation or those that were with the churches before the democratic era. Also, I interviewed the leader and founder of Jesus Generation Ministries because of his significant contribution to the political system especially during the military regime of the PNDC.

## Research Instrument

In scientific research, instruments refer to devices or tools designed by the researcher to aid in the collection of information for analysis (Burns & Grove, 2003). In this study, I used interview as one of the tools in collecting data. It involves a process where a researcher solicits information from respondents through verbal interaction. In the usage of interview, the researcher would have previously prepared a schedule list of questions pertinent to the study before meeting respondents for their opinions on a subject matter (Crewell, 2003). Here I had guiding questions based on the research questions to pose the interviewees. In most cases, I met the interviewees face to face. However, in some cases, the interviews were done on telephone. Apart from writing the responses from the interviewees, I recorded (using digital voice recording tool) and in most cases, the interviewees did not allow me to record. Also sometimes I was made to fill a form of consent that the information will not identify them to any political party or associate them with any party. Notwithstanding, the instrument used allowed me to ask spontaneous questions and also seek clarifications of information that are not clear to me from the respondents.

## Data collection procedure

In the process of data collection, I first of all took letters from the Department of Religion and Human Value of the University of Cape Coast to the churches or the resource persons. Often, I leave a copy of the letter with either the



secretaries of the churches or the research participants. Most of the time, they schedule a day with me for the interview. On many occasions, the days have to be rescheduled due to the interviewees' unavailability. In the attempt to meet some of the founders of the Charismatic ministries, I was referred to their personal assistants or at times to a senior Pastor or Bishop to speak on behalf of the founder of the church. However, I was able to collect the data needed for analysis.

### **Data analysis**

In research data analysis is a process used by researchers for reducing data to a story and interpreting it to derive insights. Data analysis involves breaking up or disassembling data into pieces, units or elements. The researcher then sorts and fits the broken pieces into patterns, classes, sequences or themes to make meaning of the data (Jorgensen, 1989). In corroboration, Edward & Flowers (2002) added that data analysis refers to the process which entails an effort to formally identify themes and to construct hypothesis as are suggested by the data or an attempt to demonstrate support for the objectives of the research. Analyzing data is one of the most important elements in any scientific research. It is the section in which the research reveals the original ideas or the fruits of the entire research. Also, it is here that the researcher brings out the contribution in the area of the study. I used the thematic system of data analysis in processing the primary data. In this regard, after the collection of data, I transcribed those that were recorded (digital voice

recording system) and put them together with the field notes. After this, I apply the coding system. Coding in qualitative research is the process where data are put into component units and given names or coded (Bryman, 2008). In other words, coding involves labeling or identification or tagging a variable or concept found in the text (Scheide, 2008). The coding helps in identifying themes that are in line with the objectives of the research. Thus, I grouped the various codes into themes to make meaning out of them. The themes were formed from the objectives and the research questions for a better interpretation. However other themes that emerged were also interpreted so far as they bring significance to the objective of the research. Thus, I identified four major themes after the coding of the data mainly from the secondary sources. They are;

- i. History of the church in Ghana
- ii. Charismatic Christianity and democratic politics in Ghana
- iii. Charismatics, socio-economic development and democracy
- iv. Theological underpinnings of democratic politics

Under the fourth theme, there are other sub-themes that emerged. These sub-themes are mainly from primary data. They are;

- i. Traditional democratic politics and religion
- ii. Theological discourse on 'God versus Ceasar'
- iii. Justification of church in politics
- iv. The common task of the church and state

- v. Factors of motivation
- vi. Charismatic response to anti-politics
- vii. Theological bases for democratic ethos
- viii. Prophetic role
- ix. The political effect of the growth of the Charismatic movement

The interpretations of the primary and secondary data form the bedrock of the thesis.

### **Literature Review**

The review of related literature on the topic is classified under the themes: Christian Denominations in Ghana, Politics, Democracy, Christianity In Politics, Politics on Christianity, Separation Between The Church And State, Forms of relationship between State and Church and Church As Civil Societies For Political Freedom.

### **Christian Denominations in Ghana**

There have been many strands of Christianity in Ghana. Several scholars have written about these denominations. Groves (1948) for instance identifies Roman Catholicism as the first strand that came to the Gold Coast through the

missionary works of the Portuguese. This similar view is held by other scholars such as Agbeti (1986), Ekem (2009) and Sanneh (1994:21-22). These scholars identified other Protestants denominations that followed later. Among the Protestants that form the second group include the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Anglican Church), the Basel Missionaries (Presbyterian Church), the Bremen Missionaries (E.P. Church) and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (Methodist Church) and many others. Debrunner (1962) added that these missionary groups established the Protestants Christianity, forming the second phase after the Portuguese Catholics. The third strand of Christianity mainly emerged from the established strands (both first and second strands).

Larbie (2001), Omenyo (2006), Fashole (1978) and Baeta (1962) identify this group as a Pentecostal tradition. This group is more indigenous. They were founded by Africans. Baeta gave a detailed history of such churches such as the Church of the Twelve Apostles, Musama Disco Kristo Church, the Apostle Revelation Society and many others. In their growth, there was another strand of Pentecostals that emerged with a foreign orientation. Larbi identifies such churches as Apostolic Church of the Gold Coast, the Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost and Assemblies of God. Omenyo refers to this latter strand of Pentecostals classical Pentecostal Churches. The fourth strand of Christianity in Ghana is the Charismatic strand. Authors such as Gifford (1998, 2004), Larbi, Asamoah-Gyadu and Omenyo have detailed their historical emergence, characteristics and their spread. Asamoah-Gyadu for example, referred to this strand as neo-Pentecostal churches because they share similar features with the

third strand of churches. It is this latter strand of Christianity that I am concerned with in this research. These authors gave a systematic account of the histories of the Charismatic strand but do not concern themselves with their political roles. This is my main concern.

### **Politics**

Politics is a term with varied usages and nuances. For Hague and Harrop (2004), politics is the activity by which a group reaches binding collective decisions through attempting to reconcile differences among their members. This definition implies that politics is a collective activity involving people who accept a common membership or at least acknowledge a shared fate. In line with this, people reach a collective decision about sharing resources, relating to other groups and about planning for the future. For example, a family discussing where to take their child to during vacation, a panel discusses whether to pass a student after thesis defense or not, the United States of America deciding whether to go to war against Iran or not are all examples of a group deciding to take a collective decision. The need for the collective decision arises because the decision affects all. With the examples of collective decision making, it shows that human is always involved in politics at different levels of life. This makes politics part of humans. The Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BC) summarised this idea in the statement *man is by nature a political animal*. By this, he meant not just that politics is unavoidable but also it is the essential human activity, the feature which

most sharply separates humans from other species. And for Aristotle, people can only express their nature as reasoning, virtuous beings through participating in a political community. Hence to be truly human is to be a politician. This description of politics places the human being at the centre of politicking. Humans are not at the centre as passive participants but actively in decision-making processes.

In line with this, David Easton (1971) sees politics as the authoritative allocation of values. This definition places more premium on the art of politics by raising the concept of allocation or distribution of values by an authoritative body. For Harold Lasswell (1950) and Slann (1998) the art of decision-making as to who gets what, when and how is the very description of politics). All the above descriptions of politics place the human decision-making processes in every sphere of life. In the family, homes, churches, schools and in all human gathering there is politics taking place. However, in this research work, I am not looking at politicking at all spheres of human activities such as in the homes or families but at the national or state level. Thus my references to politics are such human activities involving decision-making processes from the national or state level. These activities are more of macro politics as against micro-politics.

## **Democracy**

Held (1995) described democracy as a form of politics in which citizens are engaged in self-government and self-regulation. Held holds the view that

democracy is a single topic ever documented by many social scientists. He mentioned that democracy seems to have scored a historic victory over alternative forms of government. For this reason, almost all forms of government claim to be democratic because this political culture bestows an aura of legitimacy on the government. Hallowell (1954) stated that it is easier to describe the institution of democracy than it is to define it in a succinct phrase or formula. He, therefore, went on to describe it as 'government by persuasion and deliberation' (1954:49) where the government can exercise no power to which the people have not given their consent. The consent of the people is not for once and for all time but the consent is conceived as a continuous process. This description raises a fundamental element in this political culture which is the consent of the people or the people's rule. This forms the key feature or foundation of democracy as also corroborated by Slann (1998). These scholars do not, therefore, hold a divergent view on the concept of democracy. They both consider this system of government as the best form of government mainly because it is a people's government that comes with gains and responsibilities. For Hallowell (1954) it is because political power now resides in fact as well as in theory in the hands of the great mass of people, democracy is both the greatest opportunity the individual has ever had for determining his own political destiny and also the greatest responsibility. The gains of this form of government go with responsibilities that the individual is expected to hold unto.

There are types of democracies. Held (1995) and Axtmann (2001), Slann (1998) and Hague & Harrop (2004) identify two major types of democracies. The

first is what is referred to as Direct or Participatory democracy. This is a political cultural system in which the citizens are directly involved in decision-making processes. It is the original type of democracy that was practiced in ancient Athens especially. The second type is the Liberal or Representative democracy. This type also refers to a system in which decision-making processes are exercised by an elected or appointed body on behalf of the citizens. The ideal understanding here is that the elected body represents the interests and aspirations of the electorates. However, Held identifies a third type which he calls the One Party Model. This type is based on a one-party system. Hague and Harrop (2004) added another type which they called New Democracy which is a type where an authoritarian legacy continues to influence political action and debate. For this research, my concentration is more on the liberal type of democracy which was adopted in Ghana, especially since the 1969 constitution. However, due to military interventions in the art of Ghanaian politics, this constitution has been re-drafted again and the current constitution that defines the kind of democratic culture practiced in the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution. By this constitution, Ghana practices a type of democracy which is more of a liberal type than any other type. It is under this type of democracy that the Charismatic churches either helped to birth it or contributed to its sustenance and growth.

For democracy to grow, certain basic conditions are expected to be in place. Slann (1998) and Hague and Harrop (2004) identified some of these conditions such as a broad and fairly accessible middle-class members (that enjoy a decent standard of living, have the ability to work realistically toward and



access to the means for self-improvement and have at least a modicum of hope that their children will have better lives than they have had), high level of literacy, access to health facilities and others. In other words, for democracy to be sustained or to grow, both social and economic conditions play key roles. These conditions for democracy to grow to serve as cues to identify the role of the Charismatic ministries in helping to lay the foundation for the growth and sustenance of democratic culture. In Chapter three of the thesis, the roles the Charismatic churches played towards this goal are discussed.

### **Christianity in Politics**

The work of Pobee (1998) has the discussion centered on the activities of Christians in politics from 1949 to 1966. Most of the ideas he raised centered on the regime of Kwame Nkrumah. The work identified key Christians who found themselves in politics and brought and used their Christian values to influence the political system. This attitude reinforces the fact that the two systems –politics and the church- can hardly be divorced from each other. This is the interest of my research in identifying the role of some key Charismatic figures and how they attempt to influence politics especially from the late 1970s. The Charismatic figures' contributions to politics are significant just like the role of some Protestants such as Rev. Samuel Richard Atto-Ahuma of the Wesleyan Mission, Mr. Blankson and many others which were discussed in Pobee's work. Pobee again explained how Nkrumah himself used his theological background to fan his

political carrier. Christian emblems and theology were used in politics from 1949 till the overthrow of Nkrumah. It is in a similar vein that Dovlo (2006) goes further to identify Christian symbolism in the politics of 1992 and 1996 under the fourth republican government. He, unlike Pobee (1998) made mention of the role of some other Pentecostal churches and para-churches in the politics of the two eras. Such churches or para-churches include Assemblies of God and Women Aglow. In the same work, the author identified Christian symbols that were used for political interests. The works of these two scholars will serve as a source of information for my background and also will show a vacant period which this research seeks to fill. These works will also serve as a road map for the researcher to ascertain how the Charismatic Christianity seeks to influence the political system as did by the Protestants under Nkrumah and also under the fourth republic of 1992 and 1996 elections. Pobee's work is limited to the era of Nkrumah while Dovlo's work is limited to 1992 and 1996 democratic dispensation. The eras between the two works were the period of the emergence of the Charismatics. The research will, therefore, fill this gap by discussing the role of some Neo-Pentecostals in the political eras.

Addai-Mensah and Opoku (2009) gave a general overview of Christianity in politics throughout the political history of Ghana but they concentrated their discussion more on the second republican era of 1969 under Kofi Abrefa Busia to the restoration of the democratic era in 1992 under Jerry John Rawlings. They stated that after the overthrow of the first republican constitution in 1966 and Ghana was preparing for the second republican government, the Ghana Catholic

hierarchy issued a memorandum to all Christians on their civic responsibility. The authors stated that the document mentioned that Christians are free to join any political party of their choice, but it will be contradictory to join a political party whose agenda is at variance with his or her Christian ideals. The document again stated that every Christian should use his/her freedom of choice in a responsible way that is what proves that he/she is both a citizen and a Christian at the same time. Again under Acheampong's regime (National Liberation Council and later Supreme Military Council) of 1972-1978, the Catholic Bishops Conference issued another memorandum to protest against the introduction of the Union Government Policy the government intended introducing at the time. Also, they stated that the Christian Council of Ghana together with the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference came together and went to the then head of state and chairman of the Supreme Military Council to discuss the issue of the Union Government. Similarly, Gyampoh (2015) identifies the role of these two ecclesial bodies in an attempt to influence the government of Acheampong and Rawlings' regimes of AFRC and PNDC. He goes further to discuss the roles of these two ecclesial bodies even in 1992 and the 1996 democratic eras just like Dovlo (2006).

Under the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council of 1979 which overthrew the Supreme Military Council II, Addai-Mensah & Opoku (2009) mentioned the role of the Christian Council of Ghana and the National Catholic Secretariat in the era. According to the authors, the two Christian institutions issued a memo. The memo was in support of the principles the AFRC set in restoring the abysmal

public morality. The memo states 'we believe that the sunken morale of the citizen can be raised when those who would have been found to have abused their office for personal gain at the expense of the toiling masses are given exemplary punishment that will serve as a deterrent to those who will enter public service in the future'. The article again mentioned that when Ghana was heading towards the third republic, the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference issued a pastoral letter encouraging Ghanaians to vote for a candidate because of the person's good character but not because the person hails from a particular tribe or region. The memo states that a person may be able to change Ghana and make it a better place to live not because of which part of Ghana the person comes from, but because he is good and God-fearing person and has the welfare of Ghana at heart.

The article again mentioned another memorandum which was issued by the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference to the Provisional National Defence Council advocating for structures to be put in place to nurture the country towards constitutional rule. A year later the country was preparing towards a constitutional rule. This research work mainly discusses the role played by the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Christian Council of Ghana in political matters, especially under military regimes. The work added that in 1991 the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference issued a statement noting that at the outset of their contribution, the church wishes to make it clear that, in her view, the future of this country depends on the fashioning of structures and the development of principles and ideas which will nurture constitutional rule. Gyampo (2015) continued with the role of these two ecclesial bodies to the 1996 electioneering year. Though

during these regimes, Charismatics have not formed any ecumenical association to issue similar letters or memoranda yet there were individual Charismatic Christians who used other means to advocate for freedom for the people in Ghana. The work, however, did not look at the role played by some Charismatic Christians during the military regimes and the democratic era. This is what my research seeks to do. The work also limited its discussions on the structure put in place in the pre-elections of 1992. However, in my research work, I will go beyond till the 2012 elections and the focus will be more on the Charismatic ministries but few references might be made to other ecclesiastical institutions and the methods they used.

In another work, Yirenkyi (2000) did empirical research in soliciting Ghanaians' views on the participation of the clergy in active politics. Of the three hundred and fifty-five (355) responses 41.6 percent approved of the clergy's active involvement in politics while 43.3 percent said no. The view that the clergy should participate in active politics is quite significant. This research was done in 1994. The author stated that since the 1980s, the church has taken a more activist role in national politics than any other time in Ghanaian history. This view was also held by (Aboagye-Mensah, 1994). Aboagye-Mensah, however, noted that the involvement of the church in political activities was done collectively under the umbrella of the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference with its related body the National Catholic Secretariat. Yirenkyi stated that the research that was carried out pointed out that the laity that supported the idea that the clergy should be actively involved in the political

process was since the clergy is made up of people who are not easily intimidated by any government. From the research, the author noted that the laity believes that the clergy is insulated from the risks individual lay persons may face from dictatorial regimes.

According to Yirenkyi (2000), the clergy held the view that the laity perception of their involvement or non-involvement in the political process can sometimes be conflicting. A segment of the congregation and the larger society, including various governments, expect the clergy to get involved in politics. However, for some of these people, this involvement does not include criticism of the political party or social policies they support. That, means when the clergy criticizes the government, they are quickly reminded that their duty was to preach the gospel. Thus, on one hand, the clergy is criticized for getting involved and on the other hand, if they do not get involved they are told that their apolitical position shows a lack of concern for nation-building. Yirenkyi concludes that these conflicting expectations, particularly in the political sphere, confuse and intimidate some of the clergy. Yirenkyi again mentioned some of the memoranda and pastoral letters of the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference commenting on socio-political issues such as justice, insecurity coupled with the frustration of citizens, socio-economic deterioration, education, and attacks on churches. Most of these letters were sent in the 1980s during Rawlings' military regime. These ideas raised by Dovlo, Addai-Mensah & Opoku and Yirenkyi are corroborated in a relatively recent work by Gyampo (2015) emphasising the role of the church in active politics especially the

activities of the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference during the regimes of Nkrumah through to the 1996 electioneering era.

These research works reveal the views of Ghanaians about the involvement of the clergy in politics. The works, though concerned more with the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Christian Council of Ghana, they serve as a backdrop in analyzing the view of people about the involvement of the Charismatics in the political process or in active politics especially during the military regimes and democratic dispensations.

### **Politics on Christianity**

The relationship between the sacred and the profane or religion and politics at times take a form of combat where the two systems are sometimes seen combating each other. Thus politics on religion implies attempts by the state using its apparatus to attempt to suppress or manipulate a religious group due to the activities of the religious group which the state found to be against or a threat to the government. This form of relationship was common under Kwame Nkrumah and the military regimes of I.K. Acheampong and J.J. Rawlings.

In his work, Pobee (1998) recounted the clash between the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) and some Christians over what the latter considered as the use of biblical language and Christian theologies for the whims of the CPP. The

actions from the Christian quarters were perceived by the then government as a threat hence the political apparatus was used to suppress or persecute the church. Some of such acts from the politics to suppress the church identified by Pobee were the formation of party branches in the Church, the expulsion of the Anglican Bishop of Accra Rt. Rev. Reginald Roeselare and Most Rev. C.J. Patterson from Ghana.

Assimeng (2010) similarly discusses the relations between the two systems (Christianity and Politics) under military regimes of Acheampong from 1972 to 1978 and Rawlings from 1979 to 1992. In his work, he mentioned that the military regimes deserve special attention for examination in terms of politics on religion. To Assimeng, the military regimes encountered bitter hostilities from religious bodies, especially from the Christian quarters. Under Acheampong's regime, the religious bodies became hostile especially when the government was faced with corruption, incompetence and popular *kalabule* practice. Here it dawned on the religious bodies that the government had no solution to the national economic and social crisis at the time. Assimeng (2010) mentioned the main Christian mouthpieces at the time which were the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference. These institutions took a stand against the continued reign of the military regime especially when the regime came out with the Union Government proposal. He further mentioned that the reaction of Acheampong's government was not with hostility as it's generally expected under many military regimes but rather the government attempted to court the Christian affection and loyalty of some Christian leaders. The author



mentioned that Acheampong became a patron to some Spiritual churches, Prophets and Prophetesses. He mentioned Prince J. Blankson, head of Bethany Church, Brother Yeboa Koree of the F'Eden Revival Church and Prophet Kwabena Ekwana of the Church of Perfect Worship to God who became loyal to Acheampong and his government. There were other prophetesses such as Prophetess Mary Mensah, a spiritual head and Rt Rev. Bishop A.A. Mills, assistant head of the Harris Healing Church of Ghana. Also, Assimeng added how festivals and conventions of the spiritual churches were attended and addressed by leaders of this military regime. In referencing Oquaye (1980) Assimeng wrote that monies were donated to spiritual churches under dubious and questionable circumstances with no apparent reasons. This was Acheampong's strategy in relating to the church. Though a military regime, where the security services were at his disposal and could use them to intimidate or otherwise control the church, attempting to come to a compromise and manipulation were rather adopted.

Oquaye (2004) described the reaction of the PNDC regime in the face of criticisms from the church. During the regime of the AFRC from 1979 and later metamorphous into PNDC, the government came under criticism on many issues. Among them are issues about violence, conflicts and arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and torture. Here again, the nine-member Catholic Bishops' Conference at the time issued a statement calling the government to consider as a matter of urgency, the possibility of handing over power to a democratically elected government. Assimeng (2010) posited that apart from the GCBC and the CCG, there were other leading Christians who have been very vocal in their

assessment of the regimes. However, only the two Christian institutionalized bodies were capable of collectively expressing condemnation of the regimes (CCG and GCBC). Besides, other Pentecostals supported the regime. One of such stated by Assimeng is the Leader of Glory of God Church in Kumasi Rev. Ben Banful.

According to Assimeng, Rev. Ben Banful referred to those who have fled the country since December 31st, 1981, as people with unclean hands and with a trouble conscience. Accordingly, he encouraged Christians to give their support to the regime, go into agriculture and pray for God to be merciful to the country. In the foregoing discussion, it could be observed that Assimeng also presented a complex form of relationship between state (military regimes) and churches. The two Christian religious bodies have held a consistent position in not supporting any form of government that is associated with violence, oppression or not open to the liberties of the people. It is also realized that other churches interpreted situations during military regimes positively in support of the system. And at times these pro-military group and the Pentecostals that are not part of the Christian Council of Ghana or members of Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference. The view is not to create the impression that the Pentecostals supported the military regimes. There have been many other Pentecostals that were anti-military regimes.

Also, the work of Omenyo and Atiemo (2006) mentioned the activities of one of the early Pentecostal Prophet Francis Akwasi Amoako. His appearance on the religious scene coincided with the longest military regime of the Armed

Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and the Provincial National Defense Council (PNDC) led by Ft. Lt. J.J. Rawlings. The work mentioned the boldness and verbal attack of this Pentecostal on the military regime for what these scholars described as 'anti-Christian tendencies' (Omenyo and Atiemo, 2006, p.60). This led to the government using its apparatus to persecute the prophet and his death is said to be due to his attitude and utterances against the military government. The work of these scholars is important to my research as they give an understanding of the relations between the some individual Pentecostals and the state, especially the latter using its apparatuses to repress the former and the former's quest to speak against what they considered as violations of human rights.

The review of the works above serves as a guide in the research. They give a broad view of the area of the study which is in line with my research. My research will, therefore, fill the gaps where these works ended or left off.

### **Separation Between the Church and State**

The doctrine of *laicite* concerns with three elements : liberty of conscience, separation between the church and state and equality of all before the law. On the argument on the separation between the church and the state, there have been many views from different angles of academic studies. In 'Separation of Church and State: A case Study of Accra City's Use of Public Buildings and Schools for Religious Services in Ghana', Norman (2013) asserted that separation

between church and state does not negate freedom of religion. It does not disparage the tenets of one's faith as a set of mystical irrationality, but a substantive right worthy of pursuit without pressure or coercion from anyone or the state. The author identified some basic tenets of the doctrine of separation between the church and the state. According to him, the doctrine maintains that;

- i. A state or federal government cannot set up a church or a religious body.
- ii. Laws cannot be passed to aid one religion at the expense of another
- iii. There cannot be a national or state preference of one religion over the others.
- iv. No one can be restricted from going to a church of his or her preference
- v. No one can be made to attend a church or a religious service
- vi. No one can be punished for his religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance.
- vii. No tax, no matter how infinitesimal the amount, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion.

According to Norman (2013), these were derived from the United States Constitution and Common law enunciated in the US Supreme Court in 1947. Coming to the case of Ghana, Norman (2013) states that, the 1992 Republican constitution appears to be silent on the issue of the separation between the church and the state. However, in his analysis of the constitutional provision, he concluded that there is a provision implicit in the laws of Ghana. He stated that the 1992 Republican Constitution provided for unfettered freedom of religion and freedom of association and this provision has an implicit idea of a separation

between religion or church from state power. Norman's research was not only concerned with the separation between the church and the state but also on the legalities involved in the usage of public places for religious activities -mainly Christian. His research helps to understand the constitutional provision on the form of a relationship between the church and the state and its implications. The work, however, did not look at the constitutional description of Ghana as a secular state and what that implies. This will be explored in my research and the status of the church in the face of secular state per the role of Charismatic Christianity in political affairs.

In another research work, Kasomo & Napoo (2013) discussed the issue of the separation between the state and the church. In the submission, they held the view that one of the greatest issues in Africa today in which there is so much confusion is the issue of the relationship that exists or should exist between the state and the church or between religion and politics, especially where many countries in African have declared to be secular. The authors further argued that if they are really secular then they pose a problem to religious traditions in such countries. The main objective of their research was to examine the relationship between religion and politics or the relationship between the church and the state. According to the research, individual religions or churches have different histories in their response to social or public issues. Some have been more sensitive to issues of justice, especially the historical churches such as the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches. Other churches have concerned themselves more with evangelization enterprises. They stated that church leadership is always

speaking to the church as well as sensitizing the church about the implications of their beliefs and practices towards certain social issues including politics. As such for the church to be totally separated from state issues or politics is to say that the church does not exist or if it exists then the beliefs and practices are only mirages. Their view points to the fact that it is impossible for the church not to concern itself with political or state issues. The authors made several references to texts from both the Old Testament and the New Testament to buttress the point that the church has a responsibility to concern itself with state issues. As such the church cannot separate itself neither can the state live without the church.

Kasomo & Napoo (2013) stated again that in the last two decades religion has come to the socio-economic and political front of many African countries. Religious organisations have been used by many political leaders in the resolutions of conflicts and the maintenance of peace. People turn to churches for direction and solutions including political leadership. As such the churches in Africa became the centre of socio-political life. That is a separation between the two realms is impossible. They cited several examples from African countries where the church played this central role (both social and political); for example, they mentioned the peace agreement in Liberia which was initiated by the church, the church also conducted national conferences in Benin, Congo Brazzaville, Gabon, Togo, Mali and DR Congo. In these conferences, all political, social and economic forces of the countries involved were brought together to analyze the political situations of the particular countries, draft a provisional constitution and institute an interim government to lead the country's transitions. They again stated

that in countries like Benin, Togo, Congo and DRC, religious leaders were asked to be speakers of parliament. In Togo, for example, a bishop acted as the speaker of parliament for two years and in Congo, a bishop acted in the same capacity for almost four years. In South Africa, former president Nelson Mandela appointed Archbishop Desmond Tutu to lead the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This shows the indispensable role of the church in state affairs. For these authors, the chapter on the discussion on the separation of the church from the state should be closed since it is impossible if both the church and the state are to play their roles accordingly. The article, though discusses the role of the church in state matters, yet it did not state the extent to which the church should get involved in real political areas such as in contesting for elections or getting involved in partisan politics. Again the discussion was based on the church as a whole. Now that the Charismatic movement is on the ascendency in Ghana and elsewhere, my research will look at the various political roles that they have played since their emergence both as individuals and as an institution.

Adetoyese (2012) stated that political involvement is a vital tool for the development of every society today. He held the view that every community needs honest personalities that will represent them in political circles. Practically speaking, what he meant was that there must be *moral* or Christian citizens who willingly offer themselves as candidates for public or political office. The author also held the view that the notion of whether or not politics and religion should be kept apart is a debatable issue. He added that until the 20th century religion was to an extent ignored as an important political factor but in recent times it is

increasingly becoming a substantive factor in world politics. He cited current terrorism in the world as one of the factors that make nations not to ignore religion in public or social matters.

The main view of the article is that politics and religion should be kept separate. His view is more of a liberal perspective based on John Locke and Thomas Jefferson's ideas. The liberal approach claims that there should be a separation between the state and the church because without this conflict will ensue between these entities. He cited the view of another Enlightenment thinker Niccolo Machiavelli who also held the view that, not only the two realms are inseparable but that the religion of the people forms the foundation of the state and society. He held a belief that religion should be part of politics as it provides unity, harmony and social stability. Again the author referred to Hobbes' view that religion was vital for politics because it forms the basis of obedience and peaceful co-existence. The author made theological references from both the Old Testament and New Testament which either implicitly or explicitly encouraged Christian participation in politics. He, however, raised ideas also from the biblical point of view to debunk the notion that Christians should be involved in politics. To him, the main purpose of government is to enforce the law in punishing the wrongdoers according to Romans 13:4 since most people cannot be ruled by love. This is inevitable in an imperfect world. To the author, God ordains government mainly to maintain law and order. Again he stated that to be actively involved in politics is to claim dual citizenship both heavenly and earthly. Christian citizenship comes from above according to Phil 3:20, Eph 2:19. Besides, he stated



that politics has evoked a lot of calamities in this world. The paper theologically attempts to explain the reason why the church should be separated from the state and why Christians should not be involved in active politics. The work, however, did not do a detailed theological analysis of Romans 13 to understand the whole context of the text. This is one of the objectives of this research. Secondly, this research will not concern itself with church or Christians in general but Charismatic Christians.

### **Forms of relationship between State and Church**

Many forms of relationships could be identified between the two systems - a religious system and a political system. The relationships differ depending on the political and religious culture of the people involved. Aboagye-Mensah & Kudadjie (2004) identified three forms of this phenomenon. The first is the situation where there is the domination of the church. In this kind of relationship, the state will strictly be governed by Christian principles or laws and virtually all policies will be based on Christian principles. This form of relationship is rare in this modern world as almost all societies are religiously pluralistic. Perhaps only very few countries can claim to use religious ideas as a basis for political decisions. Any of such relationships practiced in any country will ignite a religious violence or other religious minority groups might take to clandestine activities. Ghana, for example, has many religious traditions such as Christianity, Islam, African Indigenous Religion and many other minor religious traditions.

Freedom of religion is a fundamental human right acceptable in virtually all democracies. It would, therefore, be challenging to expect such a form of church-state relation without incurring any conflict situation. The second form is where the state submerges the church under its authority. In the research work, the authors described this type as a situation where the church becomes a department of the state machinery. This type may give the church the power and protection from the state or get the need help. Also, the church becomes an instrument for the state use just like any department or agency of the state. Here the church becomes useful only in carrying out its purpose as defined by the state. In such a relationship, the state wields all the power of the church and defines the limitations as well through the laws.

The major disadvantage in this form of relationship is that the church will lose its role as a watchdog and conscience of the state. The scholars again stated that in this form of relationship, in a case that the government becomes unpopular, the state falls with the church. In the current situation in Ghana, this form of relationship, where the church becomes just like a department is rare or virtually impossible. This is because the church in Ghana is not united under one umbrella but is fractioned into several denominations. Secondly, the religious pluralistic nature of the Ghanaian society can rarely give way for all religious traditions to come together to form one department under a state.

The third form of relationship is what they called *the Two Realms view*. They stated that this is the best form of relationship between church and state. Here, both entities are recognized as distinct areas or realms of operation. One is

primarily concerned with the salvation of the soul and the spiritual welfare of man, while the other is primarily concerned with the material wellbeing of the individual, that is civil affairs. They added that this form of state-church relationship support the view that faith is a private matter that need not concern public institutions like the government. Kacer (2014) held a similar view but added that though the two institutions are separated, they both collaborate in several situations in making society a better place for all. However, this form of relationship does not mean that one, especially the state will not attempt to dominate the church. This third form of church-state relationship is what many democracies attempt to practice but at the same time, the two realms always overlap. These three forms of relationship help the researcher to define the form of relationship Ghana is practicing in the context of the constitutional provisions.

In the work of Ellis &TerHaar (1998), they stated that religion and politics in Africa have been linked from history. They added that in all known pre-colonial African political systems, states and public religious performance played important roles. In other words, the connection between religion and politics or the concept of state is traced down into the history of Africans. The particular form which this takes varies from place to place according to the particular history, culture and circumstances. They stated that in all of Africa, political elites make use of religious communities for the purposes of mobilizing voters, creating clienteles or organizing constituencies. They cited South African leaders such as former South African Presidents P.W. Botha, F.W. De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, just to mention few. These are few references

from these scholars to show cases in which religion has served as a vehicle for political mobilization. Again they stated that there is nothing peculiar to Africa about politicians seeking to make political capital out of displays of religious allegiance and respect. Politicians in almost every part of the world sometimes visit places of worship, especially during election campaigns, for the purpose of winning votes. This does not mean that they are necessarily believers themselves. These situations underscore the fact of relationships between the two systems.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The study of religion and politics or other social institutions have often been critically analysed with two main theories: secularization or modernization and world system theories.

Etymologically the word *secular* comes from the Latin word *Saeculum*. It connotes a variety of ideas. It could mean a generation of people, a span of a century or the *spirit* of an age. However, during the Middle Ages, the word became popularly used to connote a very long period. After the Reformation era, the term secularization came to mean, technically and in the legal sense, the process of transferring land and other properties from the church to the state or civil control. This implies that the church does not hold onto these properties again and by extension, it implies the separation of the church from aspects of society. It is based on this understanding that the theory of secularisation emerged. From the 20th century it came to be a philosophy which either actively

opposed to religion or is indifferent to the latter. This meaning of the word was what appeared in the works of early sociologists such as Max Weber. Weber used the term descriptively as a separation of the religious from the state (Kretzschmar, 1998). It is from this meaning that I used the term in the research.

It is with this similar meaning that Wilson (1985) explains the secularisation theory as the process where religion relinquishes or it is deprived of its hold on the central structures of power specifically political power. The theory also specifies a complementary process whereby the state takes over and develops organization and functions, especially in education and social welfare which were previously the aegis of the church. Wilson further explains that the growth of state function becomes comprehensive to an extent that it leads to the growth of professional bodies whose interests come to lie in the extension of state action and with the propagation of ideologies that define the role of religion as irrelevant to the daily running of society.

At the outset, secularization needs to be differentiated from secularism. This is necessary because as the process of secularization advanced, it became increasingly identified with the rejection of religion common to secularism (Chadwick, 1975). Secularism is often regarded as actively non-religious, and even intolerant to any form of a religious viewpoint, while secularization implies a process of religious change, whose result may involve the absence of religion, but which is not hostile to the idea of religion in itself (Glasner, 1971). Thus secularization does not necessarily lead to antipathy to religion which is the

essence of secularism. Notwithstanding the various views of the theory, the following basic ideas are derived from the theory:

- i. The decline of religion
- ii. Conformity to 'this' world
- iii. The disengagement of society from religion
- iv. The transposition of religious beliefs and institutions
- v. The de-sacrelisation of the world
- vi. The movement from a 'sacred' to a 'secular' society.

A cognate theory of secularization is modernization theory. Both theories hold on to the same premise, that is the dichotomization of religion from all other social systems and to an extent religion becomes irrelevant. Modernization theory is drawn from the work of the French Sociologist Emile Durkheim *The elementary forms of religious life*. In his work, he drew a distinction between beliefs and rites relative to sacred things and held that these elements serve as instruments that unite religious followers into a moral community called the church. Besides, the beliefs and rites, he also view the cultural and organisational elements within this moral community to show that the religious community or the church is a complex and collective phenomenon that is not made up of only belief systems. He posited that in the elementary forms of religion, the components overlap but as the group grows with time in a more complex or

modern society, the cultural and organisational components will be separated from the religious or things considered to be sacred. In other words, religion will be separated from other aspects of society, making religion more of a private affair which he terms as "religious individualism" (Durkheim, 1947).

Modernization theory posits that as society progresses, institutions also become more complex in organisation with unique functions. In such a situation, instead of traditional leaders playing both religious and political functions, these functions become separated with different structures or institutions playing these roles. Thus politics and other institutions are separated from the religious. In this regard, religion becomes less diffused in society but limited to the private individual or family or the church. Thus the religious detaches itself from politics and other aspects of life. Religion and politics or other systems become exclusive, a form of secularization (Chadwick, 1975).

These two theories, posit that the separation between politics and religion is realized through a process. However the question as to whether the process which will lead to the idea of secularized or modernized society is an inevitable part of human social development or it is contingent on specific circumstances. If the realization of a secularized or modernized society is bound to happen as society progresses, then the two theories are betrayed, seeing the nature of the relationship between religion and politics historically in Ghana especially. In contrast to this theory of secularization or modernization is the world-system theory.

The world-system theory has evolved as a major contending theory against secularization or modernization theories. As its name implies, the theory places more emphasis on larger systems such as the social, economic and political systems. One of the proponents of this theory is Immanuel Wallerstein. According to him, all the systems are linked and complement each other. This by no means exempts the role of the religious system. According to the proponents of this theory, it is traced to the offshoots of Marxism (Wallerstein, 1974). The principal concern of Marxism in relation to the theory is social class and class conflict and as such, Marxists de-emphasize the importance of institutions or see them as representing class interests. For Karl Marx, religion is the opiate of the masses. In line with that Althusser (1972) corroborated this idea by stating that religion is an ideological apparatus of the state used to instill obedience, thus an instrument to promote social order. These views portray religion merely as an apparatus used to serve the interest of the upper class. This implies that religious and socio-economic systems are not separated. Religion is seen as promoting social and economic order. The religious system here is not contesting the social order nether is the social order. Religion here is considered as part of the system (social and political) and not separated as the secularization and modernization theorists postulated. According to Mainwaring (1986), religion is a strong force in determining the political orientation and even powerful than the class system of the Marxists. As such religion is neither separated from the entire social system nor is it an instrument to a major system such as Marxism but rather a major system that influences others. In analyzing religious aspect of global change, the



world system is viewed not to be limited to economic forces and structures. Instead religion is an integral part of this system (Furseth & Repstad, 2006). As such religion, political, economic systems are interrelated in a social system and not separated.

In the research, the secularization, modernization and the world system theories are considered in the analysis of the data. The role of the religious system, specifically the role of Charismatic Christianity in politics in Ghana as seen especially in the third chapter makes me agree more with Cox (1984) stating that rather than an age of rampant secularization and religious decline, it appears (as in the Ghanaian political scene) to be more of an era of religious revival and the return of the sacral in influencing the political system.

## **Organisation of Research**

### **Chapter one: General Background to the Study**

Under the introductory chapter, I set the tone for the study by presenting a brief background to the study, statement of the problem, the objectives, the research questions, scope of the study, significance of the research, the research methodology and the literature review and the theoretical framework. These compose the first chapter of the thesis.

## **Chapter two: history of Christianity in Ghana**

Under this chapter, I discuss the historical origin of Christianity in Ghana from the pre-Portuguese era to the era of Charismatic Christianity. In the discussion, except for the Charismatic movement, I discussed the forms of relationship between religion, specifically Christianity and politics or the state.

## **Chapter three: Charismatics and Democratic Politics in Ghana**

Here I set the tone by discussing some Charismatic church leaders fighting for political freedom under military government. Also, I discuss the role the Charismatic movement played in the consolidation of democracy in Ghana.

## **Chapter four: Charismatics, Socio-economic Development and Democracy**

In this chapter, I discuss components of social and economic development that are provided by Charismatic Christianity and how this contributes to the promotion of democracy in Ghana.

## **Chapter five: Theological reflections**

In this chapter, I explain the theological ideas that underpinned the quest for democratic politics by Charismatics in Ghana.

## **Chapter six: Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion**

I conclude the study by highlighting its key findings and recommendations are made based on the findings.

## CHAPTER TWO

### HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN GHANA

#### Introduction

The chapter critically discusses the history of Christianity in Ghana from the time of Catholic missionaries of the 15th century to the emergence of Charismatic Christianity in Ghana. The period of missionary Christianity forms the first part of this chapter. Here, the analysis focuses on the activities of the early Christian missionaries in the Gold Coast and the challenges they faced. It also emphasises the relationships between the church and the political authorities at the time; focusing on the forms of relationship between the European political authorities and the traditional political system with the church. The second part of the chapter focuses on the emergence of Charismatic Christianity.

#### Pre-Christian mission

Africa has never been without religion and the Westerners were not the first to introduce the concept of the Supreme Being to the indigenes. For Pobee (1987), the Ghanaian is *homo religiosus* because he or she has a religious ontology and epistemology. This implies that the African is born into a religious-cultural environment and naturally becomes religious. The African indigenous religion pervades every aspect of life and as such, the African cannot consider

himself or herself as a person without a religion before the encounter with the Western world.

The traditional African religion is replete with several beliefs composing its worldview. The beliefs and practices in this religion slightly vary from one ethnic group to the other. Though the stress here on the traditional African religion is on the Ghanaian context yet, the beliefs and practices are not different from what pertains in other African communities. I, therefore, discuss the features of the Ghanaian traditional religion as a case for what pertains in other communities in Africa.

The African traditional religion comprises several beliefs that are undergirded by their corresponding rituals. The belief system includes the belief in the existence of a Supreme God that is referred with several attributes and by particular ethnic groups in Ghana. The attributes are mainly descriptions based on the functions that are believed the Supreme God plays. The Supreme God transcends in power over all other existing spirits, and is believed to be the creator God and all things are subject to him. Next to the Supreme God are the deities and the ancestors (Mbiti, 1975). These are followed by the belief in several other spirits. These spirits are revered and they could be either for a community or for a particular lineage only. Both have particular associated rituals. The associated rituals are so strong that to date Ghanaians who have accepted the new religions (Christianity or Islam) struggle either to continue with those rituals as a demand from the traditions or give them up to wholly embrace the culture of the new faiths. This struggle led to the African defining Christianity from the African's

cultural context- where certain aspects of the religious traditions are incorporated into the Christian faith. The encounter between the African traditional religious practices and the beliefs and practices in the new faith such as in Christianity has led to many scholarly works on the relationships between the African values or traditions and the Christian gospel; the pioneer of such scholars in Ghana is Kwame Bediako. This challenge was encountered from the early Christian missions in Ghana. African traditional beliefs and practices made life meaningful to the African before the coming of the Christian missionaries. As such the African cannot easily renege this for the new faith. This struggle was a factor that impeded the easy conversion of the Africans ever since the era of the Catholic missionaries.

### **Portuguese Missionaries**

The Portuguese were the first to send missionaries to the Gold Coast. They were Catholics. At their arrival to the West African coast, they sought to find traces of Christianity to help facilitate their interests. Scholars such as Grove and Sanneh doubted that there has been any serious Christian mission in West Africa before the Portuguese Catholics arrived. According to Debrunner (1962), perhaps the only traces of Christianity in West Africa before the coming of the Portuguese missionaries that could be used for the argument were the Arabian Christian immigrants who travelled to the ancient empire of Songhai in modern day West Africa. Debrunner again added that in some Arab writings, it is noted that some

Berber tribes that came to ancient Ghana were Christians. This implies that the earliest encounter of West Africa with Christianity was this era. Grove (1948) also corroborated this in referencing that ancient Ghanaian traditional religion had traces of Christian traditions. He again added that North Africa Christianity was mainly restricted to the Roman and Phoenician towns. It scarcely spread among the Berbers and when the Muslims conquered North Africa, Christianity gradually disappeared and some of the Berbers who happened to be Christians migrated to the ancient empires in West Africa. These are some arguments used to prove that there was a form of Christianity in West Africa before the 15th century Portuguese era. Scholars such as Sanneh (1994) has disputed this view as lacking credible facts to support the argument. If these arguments are to be given any credit, I will say that then this period was the first time West Africans encountered Christianity. However, the Christians (Berbers) that came were here not as missionaries but purposely to trade. One can therefore not take this period as the first encounter of West Africans with Christianity in terms of mission work. This is because there was no attempt by these Christian traders to convert the West Africans as in the era of the Portuguese of the 15th century. It is, therefore, appropriate to trace the early introduction of Christianity to the West African or specifically the Ghanaians during the Portuguese era of the 15th century.

There are scholarly works on the history of the church in West Africa. One of such is Sanneh (1994) who posits that the first encounter of the Ghanaians (then Gold Coast) with the European missionaries was on 19th January 1482 when Diego d' Azambuja came to Elmina (known locally as Edina) with some

crew on board. Groves (1948) stated that the crew was mainly made up of artisans and soldiers. They were led by Don Diego and celebrated the mass which marked the first planting of Christianity on the soil of Ghana (Agbeti 1986).

The local political authorities which were mainly the chieftaincy played roles in the establishment of the church during this era. The chieftaincy institution and the missionaries were for a time either friends or foes. This implies that there was a form of a relationship established between the church and the traditional political system at the time. The political system was then the traditional political institution represented by the chief, Nana Kwamina Ansa. – whose name was corrupted by the Portuguese as Nana Caramansa (Agbeti, 1986). The relationship between church and state (that is the traditional community) in the Gold Coast, therefore, began at this early stage. I would however not deny the fact that the relationship has not been smooth throughout. The earliest quarrel between the church and the political system (traditional political community) was the acquisition of the land to build the castle. The castle was partly meant to secure the future church but the construction of it nearly destroyed part of the traditional religious system of the indigenes at Elmina. The preparation of the land for the construction of the foundation of the castle demanded that rocks would be broken and these rocks were sacred to the indigenes. This led to friction between the missionaries and the indigenes (Sanneh, 1994). A truce was arrived at between the chief and the Portuguese leading to the construction of the castle and the church within it. The castle is very significant to the Portuguese apart from the religious interest. It played both political and economic interests as well.

The Portuguese were in doubt that the church they came to represent could survive only if it was given shelter within a fortified castle presided over by themselves, a church that marched in step with the profit-seeking machine of Portuguese commerce. One of their oft-repeated ambitions was to extend by their action the influence and authority of the king of Portugal, a message they drummed into the ears of Caramansa and other African rulers who could not have failed to perceive in all these several far-reaching political implications. This shows that the coming of the Europeans to West Africa was both for religious, economic and political reasons; a system where both the religious, political and economic come together for a common good. In emphasizing the economic interests of Portugal and other European countries in Africa, Rodney (1972) added that the fortes and the castles built by the Europeans in West Africa were mainly to secure their economic interest first before any other especially in the Gold Coast. I am emphasizing this because of the theoretical frame within which this work is carried out. Here I see many systems such as political, social and economic interests all at play as far back as the 15th century in the Gold Coast. A reflection of this is symbolized in the building of the castle, serving both political, religious and economic interests.

In continuing with the relationship between the church and the political system at the time, the Catholic missionaries made attempts to convert some of the chiefs. Conversion of the traditional leadership to Christianity implies less difficulty in the conversion of the people. This is because the chief is believed to be the representative of the people and accepting the new faith makes it easier for



their subjects to be converted. The chief of Edina, though from the beginning released the land for the construction of the castle yet, he refused to accept the gospel because it is required of him to preside over all rituals as customs demand (Sanneh, 1994). And the acceptance of the gospel implies he is compromising his position as chief. This was one of the earliest challenges the missionaries experienced, especially where the conversion of the Africans in communities where the traditional culture proves resilient. However, the missionaries were able to make some in-roads but not without difficulties. In the work of Isichei (1995), she mentioned that as the number of converts increased, the traditional political leadership became increasingly alarmed about the existence of a rival centre of authority, especially when enthusiasts deliberately flouted the traditional customs. It is observed that the challenges that the missionaries faced at the early stages were more with the traditional religio-political structure. Here the traditional institution becomes a hurdle to the growth of Christianity.

There were many other challenges that the missionaries were faced with apart from the resilience of the traditional culture. As the traditional political authority was struggling with the church over loyalty and centre of authority here in the Gold Coast, the political authority at the home of the church (Portugal) was dissatisfied with the progress of the church so far (Debrunner, 1967). Sanneh (1983) stated that the Portuguese king put pressure on the Christian missionaries and demanded better results in terms of having many converting to the Christian faith. This was because the missionaries were attracted to the gold trading by their compatriots. Due to the slack in work from the clergy in the castle, the Portuguese

king, John II, requested assistance from the Augustinian Hermits who came to the Gold Coast in 1572. They helped in the building of churches leading to the conversion of the king of Efutu together with six of his sons and four nephews (Debrunner, 1962). I observe here that, the early church in the Gold Coast could not have separated herself from the political authorities; neither from the African traditional political authorities nor from the political authority of their home country, a form of relationship in which the secular and the sacred are partnering for a common goal.

Unfortunately, these Augustinian missionaries were clubbed to death by the indigenes. The village chapels were burnt down and articles of the Holy Office were desecrated. Such articles included the priestly vestments, altar cloths, images of saints, the missal and the elements of the Eucharist (Debrunner, 1962). This situation was mainly due to the threat that the expansion of Christianity posed to the people especially with the new faith entering the traditional courts of the chiefs (Debrunner, 1967). It is observed that if the chief accepts the missionaries and professes the Christian faith, he is likely to abandon some of the traditional religious practices since the traditional religion defines his political office as sacred. Accepting the Christian faith and abandoning those rituals that the Christian faith considered as evil (such as human sacrifices) also implies that the chief is submitting to the religious and political authority of Portugal. It is this conflicting situation and other factors that made the indigenes and especially some traditional priests to rise against the missionaries.

Apart from the relationship between the traditional religio-political systems with the Portuguese missionaries, the Portuguese political system originally played a major role in the Christian missions in the Gold Coast as mentioned earlier. My interest here is to emphasize the relationships of politics and religion: both in the traditional system in the Gold Coast and the Western system. Portugal as a country was mainly catholic. The church had a strong influence on the political system. The Portuguese king who initiated the discovery of West Africa was Prince Henry the Navigator. Debrunner (1967) noted that the reason for this political figure to initiate the discovery of West Africa was not only for the exercise of political power but also religious. Prince Henry, a political figure, is described as one who loves God and it is believed that it was revealed to him by God that he should undertake such an enterprise to discover new lands in West Africa. The Portuguese thus understood this discovery of West Africa as a divine duty. Henry considered West Africa as a land where God wanted him to promote the preaching of the message of Christ and the subsequent conversion of the Africans to Christianity (Debrunner, 1967). Thus, a political leader, doubling up in playing the role of a religious leader as well. Thus far the relationship of politics can go. Therefore, to call for a separation between the two systems is neither here nor there.

The Portuguese Catholic missionary work came to an end when they lost the castle to the Dutch in 1637 (Ekem, 2009). Though there was sparingly mission works by Capuchin missionaries from France and Spain in the Gold Coast, yet their work could not yield any significant return (Debrunner, 1967). Largely, the

Portuguese Catholic era is considered by most church historians as the first era of mission work in the Gold Coast. This initial missionary effort was largely unsuccessful primarily because of their association with the slave trade and the low moral standards at the forts and castles (Bansah, 2017). Here, it is observed that in both ways, none of the systems (political and religious) was separated from the other in their operations, creating a form in which both systems need to work together for any significant growth. This best describes Wallerstein's theory of world system which explains that all systems in the society work together as against modernization and secularization that preach a separation of church and state.

Meanwhile, the wind of the Reformation continued in the Western church and many of the churches that were formed (also known as Protestant churches) also formed mission groups. These mission groups embarked on mission work in other countries. In the Gold Coast, the presence of these mission groups forms the second phase of Christian mission work. Their era is popularly described as the era of the Protestants.

### **Protestant Missionaries**

The Portuguese castle in Elmina was captured by the Dutch in 1637 and this led to the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries in the Gold Coast (Dutch Reform Church). Alongside the Dutch occupation of the Elmina castle was the introduction of the Dutch Reformed Church (Ekem, 2009). The missionaries here

were mainly interested in the spiritual welfare of the Dutch traders and soldiers but not the Africans. They were more of chaplains than missionaries in the castles and forts (Debrunner, 1962). The conversion of the indigenes was not vigorous like the Portuguese. These chaplains operated with the authority from the Dutch political office back in the Netherlands (Debrunner, 1962). Again I observe the affinity between church and political power here. By this, it is clear to view the church, not as an entity operating without a relationship with the political authorities. The Dutch Reformed Church made inroads in the conversion approach through their concentration on the education of the indigenes. Education was considered to be a catalyst in the processes of the Christianisation of blacks. This was done through the establishment of a school in Elmina in 1641. However, due to financial challenges, the school collapsed but the chaplains did not relinquish the idea of educating the indigenes. Some indigenes were allowed to study in Europe. Notable among such few indigenes were Johannes Elisha Capitein and Anton William Amo (Ekem, 2009). Capitein for example, after graduation, he was ordained as the first African to have received Protestant ordination. Though education was considered as a catalyst for the progress of mission work among the Africans, the training that Capitein received did not fulfill this expectation. Ekem (2009:67) records that:

Despite his success in translating 'The Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed into local Mfantse language, Capitein remained the unfortunate product of a system whose very nature hindered constructive missionary work among the

local people. He had no choice, but to operate in an environment where officials at Edina castle were thriving on the dehumanizing and exploitative trade.

Though largely he could be described as a failure in terms of conversion of his colleague Africans, yet he left a footprint in the vernacularisation of the Lord's Prayer and other literary works. Also, as an African, he had no authority to stop the dehumanization practice of the slave trade. This is because the very political authority in the castle that was involved in the slave trade was the same that made him what he was. Another major factor that led to the demise of his ministry was his marriage. He had desired to marry an African woman but the authorities of the Dutch Reform Church in whose name he had been ordained did not grant him this wish, rather he was persuaded to marry a European woman. These estranged him from his people and later died at age thirty (Groves, 1948).

The latter's colleague Anton William Amo also returned to his hometown Axim after obtaining a doctorate degree from the University of Wittenberg in Germany. He was more of an academician than a missionary. It is recorded that he lectured in other universities such as Halle and Jena Universities. He lost his root and could not trace his family background. This was a result of his fifty years of stay in Europe (Debrunner, 1967).

Besides the Dutch, the Danes also came to the Gold Coast in the middle of the seventeenth century. They occupied the Christianborg castle in Accra and other forts. Their missionaries were mainly chaplains catering for the spiritual

needs of the Danish traders, soldiers, and administrators. For the Danes also, the conversion of the blacks was not a priority. They were more of chaplains to their compatriots. One of their chaplains was a bit mindful of the conversion of the blacks. He was Rev. Wilhem J. Muller (Debrunner, 1967). His efforts to reach out to the blacks with the word of God did not yield any significant results. However, like the Dutch, the Danes also placed value on education hence, educated some mulatto boys in the Christianborg Castle. Two of such mullato boys were P.F. Svane and Christian Protten. These two accompanied Elias Svane to Denmark for further education. When they returned, they made efforts to do mission work among their people, but their efforts were less significant. For Svane, he was unable to communicate some theological ideas to the blacks in their native language (Ekem, 2009). There was no record of the Danish political authority at home attempting to resolve the linguistic problem that will facilitate mission work in the Gold Coast. It was through the personal efforts of Svane's colleague Protten who produced Mfantse grammar in 1764 and managed to translate some parts of the Bible into Mfantse that later helped in the mission work among the indigenes. He was again able to translate some parts of the Bible into Ga language. These contributions at least made him leave a mark on mission work in the Gold Coast (Ekem, 2009).

In the mid of the 18th century, English also came to the Gold Coast. The primary objective of the English presence in the Gold Coast was for economic purposes. The presence of raw materials in West Africa attracted them. They were in search of raw materials to feed their industries during the industrial revolution

of the 18th century. Their presence in the Gold Coast led to the coming of the English missionaries.

### *The English Missionaries*

The first English missionary (from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) that was sent to the Gold Coast was Rev. Thomas Thompson in 1751. He came to the Gold Coast as a chaplain for the English traders and a missionary to the Africans. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) initially worked among the West Indies and colonies of America (preaching to the African slaves). According to Grove (1948), Rev. Thomas Thompson was one of the missionaries who worked among African slaves in the West Indies. He later requested to be sent to what is known today as Guinea to take the gospel there but he was eventually sent to the Gold Coast where there has been missionary work first by the Portuguese Catholics then followed by the Dutch and then by the Danes. The major challenges that impeded the work of the earlier missionaries also confronted the English SPG, especially the resilience of the traditional religion (Debrunner, 1967). I observe that these missionaries considered their culture -either Christianity or the western way of life- to be superior hence expected the Africans to easily yield to theirs and abdicate their original culture in which they were born into. Every nation's culture is a core value that gives meaning to life to the people. For one to easily give up such core value for another because the other is considered superior will take a long time. For these



earlier missionaries, they expected this change to happen overnight. This attitude resulted in conflict between the host and the guest cultures leading to the loss of lives and the unsuccessful mission. It was later missionaries after the SPG that strategized in the consideration of the host culture in its evangelisation enterprises.

The role of Thomas Thompson and SPG was remarkable in the evangelisation of the indigenes of the Gold Coast. He prioritised the training of the blacks in mission work so that they will take up evangelisation among their people. He was not the first to initiate this but his role was relatively successful because he prioritized it as compared to the Dutch and the Danes. In pursuing this goal, he sent some young men to England to be educated. One of such young Africans was Philip Quarque. He came back to take over the mission work after Thompson. Philip Quarque became a missionary, a catechist and a headmaster of the Castle school (Ekem, 2009, Agbeti, 1986). However, he was also limited. Ekem stated that he could not do any major missionary activity among his people on the Gold Coast. This was mainly due to his inability to communicate the local dialect with his Fanti people. Despite this challenge, he is said to have laid a strong educational foundation in the Gold Coast. Besides this, he administered the castle school till he died in 1816. Some of the products of the castle school he headed played key roles in the mission work of both the Basel and Wesleyan missionary societies (Ekem, 2009). In course of the mission work of the SPG, there came another Protestant missionary society known as the Basel missionary society.

*Basel Missionaries*

The Basel Missionary Society came to the Gold Coast in 1828. This group was formed in 1815 in South Germany. Their main aim was to train missionaries and send them overseas with other European Christian organizations. Besides this aim, the group is also noted for the promotion of socio-economic projects such as plantation farms, the establishment of schools and the study of local languages in the Gold Coast. The first Basel missionaries that came were Revds. Henke, Holzwarth, Salbach and Schmid who lodged at the Christianborg Castle in Accra. They attempted to preach the gospel to the indigenous people around the Christianborg Castle. They also started a school and thought of using it as a catalyst for the conversion of the indigenous people to Christianity. There was no evidence of conversion from their first eighteen students. The students were more interested in literacy than the gospel message. Unfortunately, all these missionaries died within three years (Ekem, 2009).

The following year the Basel Mission sent another set of missionaries with which was Andreas Riis. Shortly after arrival, two died leaving Riis alone. He was saved from death by a herbalist and was consequently sent to Akropong-Akwapim where he took up permanent residence. Here he took up missionary work more effectively. He was reported to have said that effective missionary work in the attempt to convert the Africans to Christianity can only be possible if the missionary lives among the indigenous people he wants to convert. Also, the missionary must study the language of the people (Ekem,2009). This is a key strategy in identifying oneself with the host culture as a way of reaching out to

people in a more acceptable way. This way the missionary can easily communicate in the language of the people and through this, the people will easily accept the gospel, not as a strange religion but sharing an affinity with their culture. Another key strategy adopted by the Basel Mission was the importation of twenty-four ex-slaves from Jamaica to the Gold Coast in 1843 to assist in the mission work. According to Ekem (2009), though this was strategic in identifying with the indigenes, yet the impact was not felt significantly.

Still, in the quest of making inroads in their mission work, the Basel Mission adopted another strategy by concentrating on the youth. The Basel missionaries concentrated on the youth because they realised that the adults were not yielding to the gospel. This they did through the setting up of a school for both boys and girls. Here both English and Twi were used in the instructions. The objective of the school was that the products will eventually become teachers and evangelists to their people. In the implementation of this strategy, the youths were taken away from their traditional cultural environment and settled close to the missionaries to avoid 'contamination' by their 'fetish'. Thus, these new converts were not only taught the gospel but also the European way of life (Debrunner, 1967). This is a clear attempt of a gradual process of 'westernising' the African with the view of making them 'Christians'. Thus, to the Basel missionaries, apart from conversion and training of the indigenes, making the African abdicate his culture and behave like the westerner will make the African a better person than before. This is more of a cultural imposition to let the African not only give up his culture but also see his culture as comparatively insignificant. The problem here is

that Christianity preached to the African was a Christianity robed in western culture. This perspective of the earlier missionaries' relations with the African culture made many African scholars such as Kalu, Sanneh, Bediako, Pobi and others to point out the flaws in the early missions and raise issues on the important roles the traditional culture can play in the conversion of the people of a 'strange' culture in the success stories of missions in Africa.

There were however stories of successes made by the Basel missionaries in the strategies they used especially with the vernacularisation of the bible and the adoption of some cultural practices of the indigenous people. However, the strategies did not resolve the tension between Christianity and the traditional religion. There were visible tensions between the two cultures in some communities. Ekem (2009:83) indicated that:

On the one hand, the fact cannot be denied that the population is, in general, favorably disposed to the Gospel and that some are inclined to join the Christian religion so that the yield from that which has been tearfully sown in Kyebi promises to be quietly reasonable. On the other hand, however, the hatred of the fetish priests and their followers is becoming more and more evident; they seem to have realized that it is high time they assemble all their powers to get rid of Christianity. They employ all methods... in order to keep the people away from the Christian religion, and it is rather

unfortunate that the chiefs are either afraid of the fetish priests or powerless before them.

This indicates that right from the beginning the traditional culture of the African has resisted the Euro-Christian culture despite its promises and attractions. This struggle has not ended even in our present world. However, the tension has been mitigated in some areas by the adoption of some traditional cultural practices into Christianity for their utility purposes. Many other practices especially those that pertain to human sacrifices have been condemned by Christianity. On this note, it suffices to state that it is not in all the areas where traditional priests were unreceptive to Christianity as preached by the Basel missionaries. Some of the priests in some of the communities were ready to dialogue with the missionaries. What mainly accounted for the hostilities included the undermining of traditional institutions and the separation of converts from their traditional communities by the missionaries.

It was reported that, a catechist of one of the local churches in Akyem land offered an example of this conflict. According to him, the conflict ensued after an outbreak of an epidemic in which many died. In the report, the traditional priests of the area were described by the people (especially the converts) as liars who are out to exploit the indigenes since they could not heal people infected by the epidemic. Apparently, a catechist had challenged the traditional priests and told the people of the town to abdicate the 'fetish' and accept Christianity. Because the traditional priests could not heal the people, they interpreted it to mean that the Christian God made them impotent and prove them powerless. As such the people

saw the situation as a victory for Christianity in general and the Catechist in particular over the traditional priests. This incidence brought about many to turn back from the 'fetish' to Christianity. Two elderly women, one widow of a late traditional priest became members of the church after they accepted baptism. Later four other people also had a baptism and had the opportunity to be sent to school. This set some traditional priests against the Basel missionaries and other members of the community went on rampage pulling down some of the local churches -the local churches were temporary structures (Ekem, 2009).

The situation where many of the members of a community become members of the church and those interested in the school being given the opportunity, though positive from a Christian perspective but close observation shows that it brought about a form of a stratified society. Those who became Christian and had the opportunity to go to school were perceived as the 'best' and accepted people as against those holding on to the 'fetish'. As such Christianity came to destabilize the African traditional communal system, creating 'Christian camps' as against 'fetish camps'. The situation led to the creation of Christian communities that could hardly accommodate the traditional religious values even though many of these values share some affinity with Christianity. Notwithstanding, the African traditional values can hardly be replaced entirely with Christianity. This is because the traditions have dictated the life and thought of the African and the African sees the meaning of life through the lenses of the traditional values. This makes the quality and profundity of Christian conversion left much to be desire. This is because in situations where the new converts have

no meaning to life situations, slipping back to the 'fetish' is quite easy. Also, the African could not let go off the traditional values easily hence inculcated some of those traditional values into his new found faith –Christianity- redefining Christianity from the African perspective. Here, the African converts combined the traditional values and the western cultural values in his or her Christian faith. In some situations, the African Christian has to battle with an identity crisis. Reconciling the dual identities of being an African Christian confronted both the lay and the ordained. Finding the solution to this was left at the threshold of the African Christian. Thus the mission is bedeviled with cultural challenges.

However, we should not conclude that the Basel missionaries were always resisted by the indigenous religious and political system. There were cases where the religio-political institution helped in the promotion of the gospel. Also, the British political authority represented in the Gold Coast by the governor helped the church. Thus, the political institutions became 'friends' of the church. A typical example was the role played by Captain Governor George Maclean in the spread of the gospel. He developed a close relationship with Andreas Riis of Basel Mission –secular and sacred. To make the relationship real, he is reported to have repeatedly urged Andreas Riis to move out of the Christianborg castle in Accra and the territories of the Danes to the English territory in Cape Coast to preach the gospel. I will not conclude by these acts of politics to the mission as easy support to the growth of the church in the Gold Coast. There were instances where the secular system disfavoured the growth of the church. A typical example was from the Danish governor of the Christianborg castle in Accra by name

Governor Moerck. Governor Moerck had the policy to extend Danish influence to other areas inland. This policy was to counteract the growth in the popularity of Governor George Maclean of Cape Coast. This policy led to a violent clash between the Danish and the indigenes of Krobo and Akwapim lands where Governor George Maclean was already popular. Governor Moerck hoped Andreas Riis would promote the Danish political interest in both Krobo and Akwapim lands after the clash since Andreas Riis himself was a Danish. However, in conformity with the policy of the Basel Mission, Riis refused to get involved in any political interest and he remained neutral, attending to the sick and wounded in the civil strife. Moerck considered this act of Riis as treason against Denmark and this led to a long palaver between Riis and Moerck. In the end, Governor Moerck frustrated Riis in his missionary work in Accra especially (Debrunner, 1967).

Despite all the challenges, the Basel Mission left an indelible mark on the conversion of the African. It laid a strong foundation of vernacular education for its converts and this helped the growth of mission work. Unfortunately, the Basel Mission was expelled from the Gold Coast when the First World War broke out in 1914 and it was replaced by the United Free Church of Scotland. This latter group, recognising the danger and the tension between the two camps of Christians and African tradition, attempted to reduce the tension. This they did by emphasising literacy for all people either Christian or non-Christian as against the Basel Mission that emphasis literacy only for the converts. This reduced the



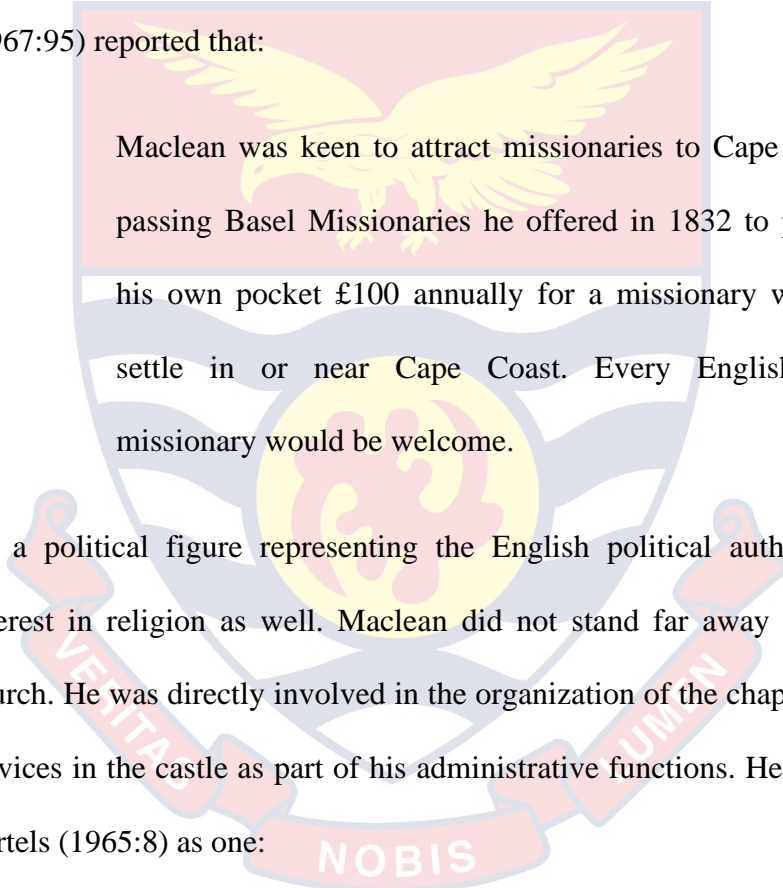
tension as the people did not see the literacy programme as a Christian enterprise but for all (Ekem, 2009).

As mentioned above, the Basel Mission left the Gold Coast during the First World War, but by 1926 the mission group returned to the Gold Coast but this time as the Presbyterian Church. Since then the church has remained one of the major churches in Ghana. Alongside the Basel missionaries was another major mission group known as the Wesleyans.

#### *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*

The year 1835 marked the official presence of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (hereafter will be known as WMMS) in the Gold Coast through a young missionary known as Joseph Rhodes Dunwell. His arrival to the Gold Coast could be traced to the initiative of young Africans in the Gold Coast who were desirous to know more about the gospel (Bartels, 1962). Many of these young Africans were products of the Cape Coast castle school once headed by Philip Quarque. Their interest in Bible studies or knowledge of the word led to the formation of the Bible Band which was later named the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (hereafter will be known as SPCK). This group had been established in such places as Cape Coast, Dixcove, Anomabu and Dominasi. One of the leaders of this group known as William de Graft played a key role in Gold Coast Methodism in assisting Joseph Dunwell (Ekem, 2009). Debrunner (1967) also mentioned that William de Graft ordered Bibles from

England through a Wesleyan ship captain known as Potter. Captain Potter offered to grant a free ride to any missionary the Wesleyans will give him to the young and yearning Africans back in the Gold Coast. It was the then governor of the Gold Coast who asked him to make that offer to the WMMS in England. It is interesting for how Governor George Maclean showed interest in the spread of the gospel in the Gold Coast despite his position as a political figure. Debrunner (1967:95) reported that:

The watermark is the official crest of the University of Cape Coast. It features a shield with a yellow eagle with wings spread at the top. Below the eagle is a yellow circle containing a red and white emblem. The shield is flanked by two red banners with white text: 'VERITAS' on the left and 'NUMIN' on the right. At the bottom of the shield is a red banner with the word 'NOBIS' in white.

Maclean was keen to attract missionaries to Cape Coast. To passing Basel Missionaries he offered in 1832 to pay out of his own pocket £100 annually for a missionary who would settle in or near Cape Coast. Every English-speaking missionary would be welcome.

As a political figure representing the English political authority, he showed interest in religion as well. Maclean did not stand far away and patronize the church. He was directly involved in the organization of the chaplaincy and church services in the castle as part of his administrative functions. He was described by Bartels (1965:8) as one:

With great vigour and tact, he took over the administration, revived the school and himself conducted services in the castle, which were attended by the children from the school, the troops and officials even some of the town people.

A political figure acting as a chaplain in preaching the gospel in a modern perspective could be described as an act that contravenes many modern democratic constitutions in which the state is described as secular. My interest here is not to evaluate what the political figure did as to whether it was right or wrong. My interest lies in the level of the relationship between the church and the state. Here is a typical example where a governor (who also doubled as the President of the Council of Merchants on the Gold Coast) in the person of Maclean, representing the supreme political head of England preaching or conducting church services. Governor George Maclean is also known to have made it as part of his policies to bring missionaries to the Gold Coast (Debrunner, 1967). I do not, however, rule out the possibility that this relationship has a political interest or expediency.

The arrival of Dunwell and his demeanor influenced the moral lives of the people especially the Europeans in the Cape Coast castle. His role as a missionary was towards both the indigenes and the westerners operating in the Gold Coast. He condemned activities of the Europeans especially in the slave trade (though slavery was made illegal since 1807 in England yet others were still in the trade) and in other merchandise. Due to that during the gathering of all Europeans for dinner where they drink to the health of the king, the newly arrived Europeans amidst singing and dancing, he separated himself from their midst and rather preoccupied himself with conversion mission, a sign of disapproval of the activities of the Europeans in the Gold Coast. His task as commissioned by the

WMMS was relatively easier mainly due to the role played by Governor George Maclean (Debrunner, 1967).

Between 1835 and 1839 the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society sent four missionaries and three of them came with their wives to the Gold Coast (Bartels, 1965). Death marred the success of their mission work except for Thomas Birch Freeman whose mission work could be marked as relatively successful. He arrived in the Gold Coast in 1838. He was well educated, son of an African freeman and an English woman. When he heard of how Governor Maclean played an active role in mission work in the Gold Coast, he drew closer to him and the two became close friends. Thus with Freeman representing the church and Maclean the English political authority, sacred and secular were rubbing shoulders together again. The two collaborated in helping each other either in political administration or in mission work (Debrunner, 1967). Freeman bought a large house which he used as a mission house. He was a big-hearted missionary. To him, this mansion, he owed it to Jesus Christ and he will live in it as an ambassador for Christ in great style. Despite the death of his wife, he encouraged himself and continued his mission work unabated. He later found solace in the Africans whom he ministered to. He made a plan for an African ministry where the Africans can be trained and minister among their people. He began to train his interpreter William de Graft and John Martin for the African ministry. Because of his love for the Africans, he did not only attract the warm reception of Governor Maclean but also the traditional political authorities. Many of the Fanti chiefs affectionately referred to him as the 'white fetish priest'.

Freeman later discovered that church building is a significant means in missions. He supervised the construction of churches at Cape Coast, Anomabu and Dominasi. His early mission work in the Gold Coast was crowned by his visit to Kumasi from January to March 1839 (Debrunner, 1967).

Before Freeman arrived in Kumasi, the people of Asante (Kumasi) have had contact with Christianity. This was evidenced in the discovery of a Dutch Bible by T.E. Bowdich when he went to Kumasi as early as 1817. Bowdich was an English diplomatic envoy sent to Asante to help resolve an impasse to curtail the threat of Ashanti to the coast (Debrunner, 1967). Also, in emphasizing the good rapport that existed between religion and politics in the early stage of Christianity, I observed that in certain context the two political authorities that is, British political representative in the person of Governor Maclean and the traditional political authority represented by the chiefs played respective roles towards the growth of Christianity, especially in Asante. A system that could be more described with the world system theory than modernization. In supporting the above assertion, Debrunner (1967) indicated that there was a time when the British Colonial governor George Maclean sent a Methodist in the person of James Hayford, who was part of de Graft bible group, as a British representative to Kumasi to negotiate a treaty with the Asantehene. Whiles in Kumasi, Hayford conducted church services in his house. The Asantehene got interested and he discussed issues about religion with Hayford. On the day of Christmas, Hayford was asked to conduct the church service in the presence of Asantehene and other members of the royal family. Here again, there is the show of religion and politics

in a form of relationship. Thus, Methodism got to Asante land even before Freeman. However, it is not to conclude that there were cordial relations between WMMS and the traditional political system throughout.

Just like the other missionaries in the Gold Coast, the WMMS was confronted by the traditional religio-political institution in some context. As already opined, the African traditional religion is tied up with the traditional political system and as such any dealing with the traditional political system cannot be without the religious and vice versa. The WMMS also treated the traditional African culture with contempt. Conversion to Christianity meant that the African Christian is adopting the mentality of the Wesleyan. If the African Christian flouts this, he exposes himself to the risk of being excommunicated from the church and the Christian communities. The Wesleyan converts also found themselves in the same problems the converts of the Basel in terms of an identity crisis. Sometimes I am tempted to ask 'Can the African be a Methodist Christian and at the same time fulfill his traditional political and social responsibilities to his community or kinsmen? It appears to me that the kind of Christianity brought to the African was meant to 'steal away' the African from his people and responsibility, leaving him to struggle between his past and present. To Bartels (1965:26) this situation;

seemed as if they could not accept the Christian faith and remain 'good' citizens. There were aged-long customs which they could no longer follow, yet desisting from them often resulted in a life of isolation.

It is this challenge of the African Christian, torn between two religious worlds -traditional religion and Christianity- that birthed the first form of Pentecostal churches. These churches blended the two faiths of Christianity and African traditions. This strand of Christianity is discussed below. However, apart from the Portuguese Catholic missionary group, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Basel Mission Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society which are the earliest missionary groups in the Gold Coast, many other mission groups came to the Gold Coast. They include the Society of African Mission –Catholic mission group that came in 1880. There was another group known as the ‘White Fathers’ (a Roman Catholic missionary group) that established a station at Navrongo in northern Ghana in 1906. There was also the Seventh Day Adventists that came in 1898, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (Cape Coast and Keta in 1898, the Baptist also in 1898, the Salvation Army in 1911 (Debrunner, 1967). However, I used the Portuguese Catholics, the Anglican, the Basel and the Wesleyan Methodist only for the sake of illustration since they form the earliest mission groups that came to the Gold Coast.

From the early part of the twentieth century, many of these churches began having African leadership. This implies that gradually the western mission churches were being manned by Africans, a form of autonomy was being introduced. The Presbyterian Church of Gold Coast (now Ghana) became autonomous in 1926. The Methodist church on the other hand, though elected the first African President of Conference in 1949. At the time the Conference comprised of the Ghana and Nigerian districts. Yet, it was not until 1961 that it

became an autonomous Methodist Church Ghana. The Anglican Church elected the first African bishop in 1968. The Roman Catholic Church had its first auxiliary Bishop in 1958/59 (Omenyo, 2006). These churches continued with their evangelistic activities which resulted in the expansion of Christianity in Ghana. However, a serious deficit that can be found with these churches is their unaccommodating attitudes towards the African worldview. African Traditional Religion continued to be looked down upon by these churches officially. Individuals that are seen patronizing the traditions of the Africans are sanctioned severely. But generally speaking, among the church members, there was a strong belief in the existence of malevolent spiritual forces that affect their very existence and these churches just considered them as superstitions (Omenyo). Bediako (1995:69) summarised the problem with these mainline churches as:

If the Christian faith as it was transmitted, fails to take serious account of the traditional beliefs... and their impact on human life, then it also failed to meet the Akan in his personal religious need. Looked at from this perspective, missionary activity never amounted to a genuine encounter and the Christian communities that have resulted have not known how to relate to their traditional culture in terms other than those of denunciation or of separateness. Dialogue has been distinctively absent. The missionary enterprise of the nineteenth century did not see in African Traditional Religion and culture a partner for dialogue as to



how it viewed Buddhism and Philosophical Hinduism in Asia... The mission churches were... marked generally by their separateness from their cultures, rather than by their involvement in them.

As stated above, these missionary groups had an encounter with the traditional system creating among the African a sense of identity crisis. In search of a resolution to this crisis, the African Christian formed a form of Christianity that accommodates both Christian and traditional religious elements. These churches formed the first phase of the Pentecostal movement in Ghana.

### **Era of Pentecostals**

The first group of Pentecostal churches that emerged is variously known as African Indigenous/Independent Churches, Separatist, Ethiopian, Zionist, Spiritual Churches, Prophetic Movements, Praying Churches, Pentecostal Churches. In Ghana, they emerged from the early twentieth century. They were preceded by African prophets whose ministry influenced the emergence of these churches. These prophets in Ghana were William Wade Harris, John Swatson and Sampson Kwame Oppong (Omenyo, 2006).

The first of these Pentecostal churches to emerge in Ghana was the Twelve Apostles Church founded after the mission work of William Wade Harris in the Western Region of Ghana in 1914. It was founded by a woman known as

Grace Tani, a converted traditional priestess (Isichei, 1995, Omenyo, 2006). Many others were founded by former members of the mainline churches who broke away to form their own. In Ghana, the popular ones include the Church of the Twelve Apostles, Musama Disco Christo Church, the Saviour Church, The Apostle's Revelation Society, African Faith Tabernacle Congregation, The Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim Society, the Church of the Lord. Christian Baeta has done a detailed work on these churches in his book *Prophetism in Ghana* (1962). Of these churches, there were not many records of the leadership's associations with the political system. This was mainly due to the political tension at the time. They emerged at the period of proto-nationalistic fervor in West Africa. Colonial authorities were not much concerned with this strand of Christianity unless it poses threats to the colonial administration. The only record I came across in which one of the leadership had a problem with the colonial political system was William Wade Harris in the French colony of Cote D'Ivoire, though not in Ghana. The colonial officials here were alarmed not because of the message he preached but his popularity and the large crowd of followers. Here, he was deported and banned from entering the country (Isichei, 1995). These churches did not have problems with traditional political institutions mainly because they were more accommodating with the traditional culture. They were characterised more with the traditional cultural milieu.

In Ghana, the Musama Disco Christo Church became popular and had many branches. Isichei (1995) stated that by 1958 this church had one hundred and fifty branches with a membership of eighteen thousand. Baeta (1962)

corroborated this stating that Musama Disco Christo Church is the largest and the best organized African Independent church in Ghana as compared to other indigenous churches in Ghana (this was then). Isichei added that the Musama Disco Christo Church rose gradually in the social scale to the extent that by the year 1975 it attracted people from all walks of life patronizing the church.

Some features of these churches that made them more attractive to the African and helped to mitigate the identity crisis include their adoption of the African worldview. They give a spiritual interpretation of virtually all things which happen to them especially misfortunes just like in the African traditional belief system. This perspective was officially considered by the mission founded churches as superstitions. But the African Christian holds unto this as real. Also, these churches gave space for women to play key roles such as prophetesses, unlike the mission-based churches (Ayegbonyin & Ishola, 1977). These and other factors helped in the emergence and growth of this strand of Christianity in Ghana. However, in the view of Asamoah-Gyadu (2005), this strand of churches is declining. To me, this is mainly due to the emergence of the Charismatic movement that appeared to attract many Christians from other denominations.

The second wave of Pentecostal churches that emerged later were those that are related to western Pentecostal denominations. Some of these churches have their origin in indigenous initiatives (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). A major difference between the latter and the former is their origin. The former are African initiatives and have African liturgical forms while the latter are more western. These two strands are all Pentecostal churches mainly because of their emphasis

on the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the expression of other spiritual gifts. As a way of classification, Omenyo (2006) referred to the latter as classical Pentecostal churches. These churches include the Assemblies of God, the Apostolic Church, Christ Apostolic Church and the Church of Pentecost.

The Assemblies of God was the first to emerge from the United States of America to the Gold Coast in 1931. Their first missionaries Revs. Lloyd and Margaret Shirer arrived in the northern part of the Gold Coast (Yendi). This part of the north was then a British protectorate. As such there were not much British political activities there as compared to the coastal areas. The colony was only represented there by a British Commissioner. These missionaries entered the Gold Coast through the north, unlike most other mission groups that came to the Gold Coast through the Atlantic Ocean. When the call came that there was a need to do mission work in the Gold Coast, the Assemblies of God's missionaries who were already in West Africa thought it wise to let these missionaries in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) move to the Gold Coast through the North (Larbie, 2001). Omenyo (2006) added that their settlement in Yendi was based on the invitation of the king of Dagbon, a traditional political figure. These missionaries were very accommodative to the traditional institutions. They approached cultural issues with caution and respect. The people developed a close relationship with this missionaries and Debrunner (1967) reported that they went to the extent of making Rev. Lloyd a chief. The Assemblies of God later opened branches in the South such as in Kumasi in 1944 and the following year a branch was opened in Takoradi. They built clinics, produced literature and wrote a tentative Dagomba

New Testament (Larbie, 2001). While this Pentecostal was in the north, other classical Pentecostal churches were operating in the south.

The popular of these Pentecostal churches operating in the south was the current named The Church of Pentecost. The origin of this church can be traced down to the role of the missionary James Mckeown. James Mckeown was the first missionary sent by the Apostolic church in Bradford to the Gold Coast. The coming of the missionary was necessitated by one Peter Anim Newman. Peter Anim was then the founder of Faith Tabernacle Church which was founded in 1917 in Asamankese. Peter Anim got in touch with the Apostolic Church in Bradford and through this relationship, James Mckeown was sent to Peter Anim and his Faith Tabernacle community in 1937. Thus, the Apostolic Church came to the Gold Coast. In 1939 Anim and Mckeown parted company because of disagreement over divine healing and the use of preventive and curative medicine (Larbi, 2001). Anim thus named his new congregation as Christ Apostolic Church. Mckeown continued to serve the UK Apostolic church for 15years before seceding in 1953 to form Gold Coast Apostolic Church. The problem that led to the secession appears to be Mckeown's disagreement with certain aspect of the polity of the UK Apostolic church but this does not look like the main cause of the secession. The main reason appears to have been the controversies that emerged after a visit of the North American evangelical group called the Latter Rain led by Dr. Thomas Wyatt. This was the immediate reason that led to the break away with the Apostolic Church. The UK Apostolic church never liked Dr. Wyatt because he has criticised the Apostolic Church on many occasions. For

Mckeown to invite him was interpreted to mean he was in league with him hence the Apostolic church stood against Mckeown. He thus left the Apostolic Church of Gold Coast (Ghana) and named his group Gold Coast Apostolic Church.

The impasse between the Apostolic Church of Gold Coast and the Gold Coast Apostolic Church brought in the political leadership of the country (Larbi). Why would the government of the country be concerned with issues relating to the church? I observed from the onset that the state does not separate itself from the church. Those periods where there were not much political and church relationship was mainly due to the concern of the colonial government more on the indigenous nationalism fervour of the people than the church. Less did the colonial government know that it could use the church to control the rebellion of the nationalists. There have been many times in human history where the church was used to control people either in the negative or positive sense. In fact, the role of the church in Ghana in fuelling nationalism cannot be overemphasised.

In 1960, Ghana became a republic. The idea of selfhood and the African identity became the battle cry of some political leaders such as Leopold Senghor from Senegal and Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana. Nkrumah's political movement was a grass root movement. It may have been perhaps felt that a stable united church under one charismatic African leader would, therefore, help to foster the aspirations of the government, hence the involvement of the political leadership in the affairs of the church. The other probable reason for the political involvement could be just that the government wanted peace and harmony to prevail among her citizens (Larbi, 2001).

The Ghana Apostolic Church used the opportunity of the new relationship between the church and the state to appeal for Nkrumah to intervene. On 21st July 1962, Nkrumah gave a ruling which resolved the issue between these churches. Nkrumah ruled that the two churches should remain separated and that all properties acquired before 1953 should go to the Apostolic Church of Ghana (when independence was granted to the Gold Coast, it adopted the name Ghana). Nkrumah also ruled that Mckeown's church should adopt a new name. From August 1962 Ghana Apostolic church became known as The Church of Pentecost. Thus the Christ Apostolic Church, Apostolic Church of Ghana and the Church of Pentecost have a common historical source. Thus, these churches together with the Assemblies of God form the major classical Pentecostal churches in Ghana (Omenyo, 2006). From 1960, there was another wave of non-denominational Pentecostals fellowships that emerged. Their activities partly gave birth to another strand of Pentecostals popularly referred to as Charismatic ministries. This strand is the main concern of my research hence more detail is given to it for the rest of the discussion.

### **The Charismatic churches in Ghana**

From the 1960s there was a general desire for something than what the churches were providing. This desire was seen in other denominations that emerged popularly referred to as Pentecostal para-church non-denominational fellowships. They include the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelical

Association (HOVCEA), Ghana Evangelical Society (GES) and Scripture Union (SU) with different forms of worship. These groups partly laid the foundation for the emergence of the fourth strand of Christianity on the Ghanaian religious scene. They were variously known as neo-Pentecostal and Charismatic churches (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005).

These Charismatic ministries or churches formally started emerging in the late 1970s. Some of such churches include Christian Action Faith Ministries, International Central Gospel Church, Lighthouse Chapel, Word Miracle Church International now Perez Chapel, Lighthouse Chapel International and many others. The factors that led to their emergence are discussed below.

#### *External influence*

Two main external factors fuelled the emergence and the growth of charismatic churches in Ghana. They are the roles of Archbishop Benson Idahosa of Nigeria and some American evangelists.

The role of the late Archbishop Benson Idahosa, the founder and leader of the Church of God Mission in Benin City, Nigeria had a significant effect on the development of the Charismatic movement in Ghana. His major crusade held in Ghana, specifically in Accra in 1977 was a milestone in the development of the movement.. This crusade heightened the spiritual revival tempo in the already existing evangelical fellowships especially in Accra and Tema. After the crusade,



Idahosa started the Redemption Hour TV programme. Through this programme, some Ghanaians were awarded scholarships to enroll in his Church of God International Bible School. Some of the people who benefitted from this scholarship scheme included Nicholas Duncan-Williams, Seth Abbey, Emmanuel Mettle, Ransford Yeboah, Charles Agyinasare, Addae Mensah, Godwin Normanyo, etc. They were trained and came back to spread the Charismatic fire. The following year in 1978, Idahosa established the Redemption Hour Faith Ministry at Laterbiokoshie in Accra. This church is the pioneer Charismatic ministry in Ghana. Though Idahosa was a Nigerian, yet his influence in the emergence of the Charismatic movement in Ghana cannot be ignored in any discussion of the origin and growth of the movement in Ghana (Larbi, 2001). The Ghanaians who attended his bible school later became known leaders of the Charismatic movement in Ghana. In the view of Kalu (2008), Idahosa reshaped the revivals in Africa in many ways such as introducing the prosperity gospel, televangelism, mega-church with mega projects and theological education among Charismatics in Africa.

Secondly, in the late 1970s and early 1980s books and audiovisual materials of American evangelists such as Kenneth Hagin and Oral Roberts became available on the Ghanaian market. These materials were common in both Ghana and Nigeria and accessibility was easy. Books of Kenneth Hagin such as *The Name of Jesus, Words, Redeemed from Poverty and Spiritual Death and How to Write Your Own Ticket With God* were popular on the Ghanaian market. These materials mostly came to Ghana through Nigeria. The popular television

programme of Oral Robert dubbed *Abundant Life* became very popular with the tag *something good is going to happen to you* and the tag of Kenneth Hagin *You can have what you say* became not only attractive but also gave people within challenging socio-economic conditions at the time a hope of a better future should they put their trust in Jesus. Their sermons on tapes and books were attractive to the educated elite. These resources of the western Charismatic evangelists contributed to the evolution of the Charismatic movement (Larbi, 2001).

#### *Internal influences*

There were conditions within the country that influenced or contributed to the birthing of the Charismatic movement. One such internal factor is the emergence of evangelical renewal groups in the 1960s and 1970s. According to Omenyo (2006), the Charismatic churches that emerged were a direct result of these evangelical renewal groups that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. These fellowships bred new evangelicals who became leaders of the Charismatic churches. These groups included the Ghana Evangelical Society (GES) founded by Enoch Agbozo in 1973 in Accra. The main activity of the Ghana Evangelical Society was all night services organized every Friday at various venues. Since it is not a church, their programmes were organized at different centres but mainly in schools or open-air centres. The programme of the Society attracted many young people. At their all night prayer programmes, there were expressions of the gifts of the Holy Spirit such as speaking in tongues and faith healing. Many of the

leaders who pioneered Charismatic churches in Ghana had different forms of influence from the Ghana Evangelical society led by Agbozo (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005, Sallah, 2016).

There was also the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelical Association (HOVCEA) founded by Evangelist Isaac Ababio in 1967. Evangelist Ababio had a great influence on the members of the group. His popular programme held every week dubbed 'Hour of Visitation' was considered as one of the impressive evangelical messages on radio until the government of Ghana banned all sponsored religious programmes on air (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). Another of such influential para-church fellowships is the Youth Ambassadors for Christ Association (YAFCA) founded by a former Scripture Union Travelling secretary John Owusu Afriyie, who was based in Kumasi (Larbi, 2001). They are para-church evangelical non-denominational prayer groups or fellowships that included gospel music teams and individuals whose evangelical activities were aimed at winning souls for Christ as was done by the already existing churches (Asamoah-Gyadu). Their activities were more appealing to the educated youths. Some of these youth became leaders and founders of Charismatic churches.

These groups have been very evangelical, moving throughout regions, schools (particular secondary and tertiary schools) in the propagation of the gospel. Their liturgies are very different from the traditional churches that dominated the Christian scene at the time. These traditional churches were the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, Methodist and the Presbyterian churches. As such many of the youth or the students of such churches were attracted to the

Charismatic nature of their evangelistic style. However, their aim was not to woo their converts or followers to their fellowships, but rather to let them experience the evangelical spirit and to carry it into their various churches (Larbi, 2001).

Another internal factor was the two major Christian non-denominational fellowships operating in the second cycle and tertiary schools. These were the Scripture Union popularly known in the secondary schools as SU and the University Christian Fellowships (UCF). The Scripture Union was the oldest, operating in Ghana for more than a century. However, it was not very charismatic until the late 1960s (Larbi, 2001). The Scripture Union was set up in Ghana under the patronage of the UK-based branch. Their policy of responsible church membership made many conservative evangelicals remained in their churches and contributed to their growth (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). The second is the University Christian Fellowships which started with a Charismatic fervor. These fellowships from the 1960s emphasized on Charismatic spirituality such as praying in tongues and faith as found in 1Cor. 12-14. This engrained in the young students a sense of charismatic spirituality, hence some of them became raw materials for the evolution and growth of the charismatic movement in Ghana. There were others that later on founded their ministries as a result of the charismatic fervor in the schools fuelled by the Scripture Union and the University Christian Fellowships.

Apart from the Scripture Union and the University Christian Fellowship, there was also the Town Fellowships. These were Christian fellowships held in towns especially in the city of Accra. They became popular in the 1970s to the early 1980s (Larbi, 2001). They were non-denominational groups holding their

fellowships mainly in classrooms and homes. These groups were composed of literates, precisely either students or those who have come out of schools and due to the influence of the Scripture Union or the University Christian fellowships they could not integrate back into the traditional churches (Mainline churches). The town fellowships, therefore, served as a hold up for them until the arrival of the charismatic movement (Larbi, 2001).

The Town Fellowships developed three elements within three different phases of liturgies that made them very charismatic and attractive. In the first phase, there was the development of a strong emphasis on evangelism (Larbi, 2001). Hocken (1988) stated that the belief in the role of the Holy Spirit in the Christian's life includes the strong urge for evangelism. This period of strong evangelism spanned from the early 1970s to 1978. This period of evangelism emphasized on personal and collective rescuing the perishing. The whole concept of winning others especially students who were perceived as not Christians was over emphasized. Sometimes they are asked to set targets for themselves or are told to set the target as to win a particular number of students for a particular term or within a particular academic year (Dovlo, 1992). The second phase was the era of Prayer. This was from the period 1978 to 1983. This phase emphasized prevailing prayer as in "the prayer of the righteous prevails much" in James 5.16. Within this period of prayer, there were lots of socio-economic difficulties. There was an economic crisis such as lack of basic foodstuffs, corruption, and famine which was compounded with the repatriation of Ghanaians from Nigeria. Also, this period witnessed the three coup d'états (the coups of F.W.K. Akuffo in 1978,

Rawlings in 1979 and Rawlings again in 1981) with many socio-economic consequences.

In the era, many prayer vigils were held. For many young people, all-night prayer meetings were sources of strength and hope in coping with the prevailing conditions (Adubofuor, 1994). The third phase was the period of indoctrination. In this period, there was an emphasis on the concept of 'local church'. Fellowships were held at various places such as at canteens of prisons and other places mainly to teach particular doctrines. Some of the topics taught at such fellowships included *Just a stop-gap measure, Rediscovering Who You Are, The Christian Position in Christ and The Authority of the Believer*. Though the main purpose of the third phase appeared to be teaching programmes, its doctrines have become central in Charismatic teachings today (Larbi, 2001). Also, the fellowships gave birth to local churches. However, the challenges that these local churches faced were that there were tensions among the members especially those that became churches. This was because the fellowships were non-denominational and virtually all the members belong to other churches. Originally these fellowships intended to inject the members with fire so that they will, in turn, carry this 'new fire' to their churches. Another problem they encountered was the acceptance of the leadership of the new churches formed. The thought of such local churches being led by colleagues or comrades who have been known at the ordinary level and now to assume leadership was not without oppositions (Larbi, 2001).

Another internal factor that cannot be ignored in the contribution towards the growth of the Charismatic movement in Ghana is the general African world-

view on spirituality. The belief in the existence of spirit forces either benevolent or malevolent is very central in the life and thought of the African. Hardly will an indigenous African deny this belief. However the belief in malevolent spirits, especially witchcraft has been a source of fear and insecurity to many. The Charismatic movement's practice and emphasis on deliverance made the believer feel secure in the movement. The charismatic, which takes seriously this worldview of the African, presented a form of deliverance from this sense of fear and insecurity and their regular practice and emphasis on deliverance presented an antidote to this especially the teaching on *the power to set free* inherent in the name of Jesus Christ. The teaching is that the charismatic who believes in the name of Jesus is empowered to be set free and be victorious over such malevolent spirits through the working of the Holy Spirit in him. Historically, before the coming of Christianity in West Africa or Ghana, Ghanaians will resort to the use of amulets for protection against such malevolent spirits. Even now it is common for the conservative mainline church members to seek spiritual antidotes from the classical Pentecostal churches (Omenyo, 2006) or prophets of the Charismatic ministries. In other words, the spiritual outlook of the Charismatic churches is consistent with the religious worldview of the Ghanaian. Thus, the people found in the Charismatic 'a companion with their tradition' which does not turn them into less Christian nor make them traditionalist'. As such, these people became the raw material for the growth and spread of the charismatic movement (Atiemo, 1993).

The desire for satisfaction derived from worship is another factor that led to the emergence and growth of the Charismatic movement in Ghana. Before the emergence of the Charismatic churches, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches dominated the religious scene with a stereo-typed liturgical form. The Charismatic movement came with a form of liturgical order which is more direct, personal and involving. The members are personally and appropriately involved in the worship life unlike in the official liturgical order in the mainline churches (Atiemo, 1993). According to Asamoah-Gyadu (2010: 13) 'their liturgy is more exuberant, affective, emotionally-laden, expressive and dynamic'. This was a factor that led many members of protestant churches to leave and join the charismatic churches and this led to the growth of such churches. Here they found satisfaction from the worship life of such churches. The rise of the Charismatic movement in Ghana, therefore, was 'a rebellion against the limitations that the leadership of the traditional evangelical churches sought to impose on the charismatic outbreaks, that grassroots participant felt God was restoring to their generation' (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005)

It is thus important to identify some of the charismatic churches that emerged and grew rapidly in Ghana. They include Nicholas Duncan-Williams' Christian Action Faith Ministry, Mensah Otobil's International Central Gospel Church, Charles Agyinasare's now Perez Chapel and Dag Heward-Mills' Lighthouse Chapel International. These churches according to Gifford (2004) are the super stars. I discuss how these churches emerged. I singled out these



churches because they form the representative of the selected Charismatic churches in my discussion on Charismatics and political engagement.

### *Christian Action Faith Ministries*

This Charismatic ministry was founded by Nicholas Duncan-Williams in 1979. He was the son of a politician-diplomat. He was raised by his single mother who was a nurse both in the Upper West and Upper East regions of Ghana. In his view, he led a wild youthful life and had attempted to stowaway twice on a ship bound to Europe. He was later hospitalized as a result of sickness and after recovering, he got converted into the Church of Pentecost in 1976. He later travelled to Nigeria to attend the Bible College on the scholarship of Benson Idahosa and successfully graduated in 1978. Upon his return to Ghana, he founded the Christian Action Faith Ministry (Gifford, 1994). In 1992, he began holding services in the main branch of the church on the Spintex Road in Accra (Gifford, 2004).

The nature of his ministry led to a quick increase in membership. He started by ministering in schools, hospitals and homes. His style of preaching has a violent undertone with a kind of confrontational prayer. This made him face problems with the military regime of the PNDC as he was always praying against the 'forces' behind the perpetrators of the inhuman treatment meted out to the citizens at the time. This attracted many, for they have found something 'new' in his ministry. Gifford stated that by 1994 he had a congregation of more than five

thousand. Duncan-Williams and the church within a short space of time became popular due to the engagement with the political system though not necessarily a patron of the political system. For example, he featured in the 1994 thanksgiving ceremony of the government of the National Democratic Congress among high powered politicians, chiefs, Supreme Court judges with an estimated crowd of 21000 people. This association with the government gave him and the church high image and the President, J.J. Rawlings was even associated with the patrons of his church. Membership of the church involves more than just attending the Sunday divine service. All members are expected to attend the Wednesday Teaching Service. The church has several ministries or departments of which individuals are expected to at least belong to. They include the Welfare department, Children's department, Outreach Ministry, Counseling, Music and professional Departments (Gifford, 2004).

The church's theology is based on faith gospel of success, health and wealth just like many other Charismatic churches. The founder's theology is summarised in his book *You Are Destined to Succeed*. He referred to Genesis 1:29-30 and submitted that 'the word of God is a tree of life that will produce riches, honour, promotion and joy' in the life of the believer and that failure, sickness, fear, inferiority and defeat are not part of the plans of God for His children. In this work, he made references to some of the western charismatic leaders known to also tow a similar line of prosperity theology. Such people, he referred to include Robert Schuller, Oral Roberts, Casey Treat, John Avancini, Kenneth Hagin, T.L. Osborn, Paul Yonggi Cho and Idahosa (Gifford, 1994). This

theological view implies that the Christian is bound to succeed, yet there could be other political factors that could impede this success. In one of his sermons (Duncan-Williams, 2016) he categorically stated that there are demons that are acting behind the political scene of which the human politicians are not aware of. As such, his sermons or prayers against the military regimes could be against those demons behind the scene but not necessarily the humans. This could be the influence of engaging in political programmes. In 1998, when he travelled to the United States, he was criticised of using the church as a means to travel abroad and better his life. There was also the rumour of his unstable marriage. This later happened to be true when on one Sunday in March 2001 it was announced that his wife has divorced him. He travelled afterward for a long time and this affected the natural growth of the church (Gifford, 2004).

Another Charismatic figure that is equal in status with Duncan-Williams is Mensa Otabil and his International Central Gospel Church.

*International Central Gospel Church*

The International Central Gospel Church was founded by David Anamua Otabil Mensa in February 1984. His parents were Lloyd Moses Otabil Ekumfi Dansi and Dina Amissah. His father worked as a personnel officer and later as a procurement officer for the Tema Boatyard Corporation. His father was a source of great encouragement for him and his siblings especially in terms of education. He ensured that at least he puts all his siblings in school (Larbi, 2001). The father

fell ill and this affected the educational dream of Mensa Otabil and his siblings. Notwithstanding, Otabil struggled through school and was able to complete his Ordinary Level school. His struggle through school is a factor in shaping his fervor and interest in social services especially the provision of education to society and its associate scholarship scheme mainly for those who cannot afford the cost of education. Otabil sees education as a necessary step in the freedom or liberation of man from different forms of oppression. It was on one of his views on education that drew him into the political debate. The detail of this is discussed in chapter three.

In his fervor to learn more about Christ, he joined a Town fellowship at Kanda and later rose to become one of the leaders of this fellowship. In one of the camp meetings in 1983 at Kanda, Otabil announced to the members of the Town Fellowship of his intention to start a church. This did not go without disagreements. So in February 1984, the church took off with Edwin Donkor as Otabil's assistant. Other early executive members that helped to steer the growth of the Church were Eric Oduro Kwapong, Christopher Yaw Annor, William Obeng Darko, Gracious Awoye, Morris Appiah and Abeka Johnson. The Church (ICGC) started its maiden meeting in one of the clusters of schools at Kanda and eventually moved to Baiden Powell Hall in 1986. It was here that it developed until 1996 when it finally moved to its present headquarters at Abossey Okai in Accra (Eshun, 2013).

The church has a strong emphasis on evangelism through teaching especially by Otabil himself. This mode is seen as the main tool that made the

church to experience congregational growth from seven hundred (700) to one thousand five hundred (1500) just in a week of the year 1987. By 1994 the church drew about two thousand two hundred (2200) people for the first service and an almost similar number for its second service (Larbi, 2001).

By 2004, the congregation increased to seven thousand (7,000) for the two services. His TV and radio programmes 'Living Word' made him more popular. Also, the church runs on various ministries or departments that help the church grow. Some of the ministries include children, youth ministries, publishing and recording ministry, Missions and Church Planting Ministry and many others (Larbi, 2001). Another very prominent Charismatic church under consideration is the now Perez Chapel.

*Perez Chapel International*

This is another of Gifford's 'super star' Charismatic churches of almost equal in growth as the Christian Action Faith Ministry and the International Central Gospel Church. This church was founded by Charles Agyinasare. Charles is a Fante and stayed with his father who was a military officer stationed in the Northern Region at the time. Though he was born into a Roman Catholic family, yet he got converted into the Church of Pentecost. After school, he taught for two years in the region. Later he had the opportunity to teach in Morris Cerullo's School of Ministry. It was here that he experienced the call into the healing ministry. In 1986 he graduated from Idahosa's seminary in Nigeria and from there

started his full-time ministry. This he began by organizing crusades and seminars both in schools and at various parks in the Northern Region. Together with a group of six people, he organized one of the biggest crusades in Tamale in March 1987. This marked the beginning of the Word Miracle Church International which later metamorphosed into World Miracle Church International and now Perez Chapel. His interest and fervor in crusades made other mainline churches to invite him to speak at their crusades in the region. His main ministry is centered on healing and this is captured in his book *Miracles, Healings, Signs and Wonders*. In this work, Agyinasare recounted experiences in his ministry such as raising the dead, replacing missing limbs, teeth and sight to the blind (Gifford, 1994). In 1994 the ethnic conflict in the North made him move the church to Accra. As of the year 2004, he attracts over 4000 members for the four services on Sundays (Gifford, 2004).

*Lighthouse Chapel International*

This church was founded by Dag Heward-Mills. He was born in May 1963 to a Swiss mother and a Ghanaian father who was a lawyer. He got converted while at Achimota Secondary School. Here he joined a music ministry called Calvary Road Incorporated and was active in the Scripture Union in the school. He read books of some charismatic leaders such as Kenneth Hagin, Fred Price and E.W. Kenyon. The ministry of these people influenced his later

ministry. He later graduated from Medical School in 1989 as a trained medical doctor and decided to become a minister of the gospel (Mawuko, 2016).

Before he graduated from the medical school at Korle-Bu, he began a fellowship which later became a branch of Calvary Road Incorporated now Harvest Chapel International. His interest in music led him to join Christian Action Faith Ministry where he played the keyboard for the church for many years especially during vacation. Back in school E.A.T Sackey and Eddy Addy who are co-founders of the Lighthouse Chapel joined his fellowship. This fellowship grew larger and in 1982, the political and economic situation triggered unrest on university campuses and this led to the shutting down of universities in Ghana. Since the fellowship was on campus and it was student-based, the fellowship was also affected and there was no meeting of the fellowship members. However, the fellowship resumed again in 1983 when the universities were re-opened. This time the fellowship was referred to as the Korle-Bu Christian Centre (KCC).

In 1986 the KCC initiated a dawn broadcast ministry at the Nursing Training College at Korle-Bu and a number of the nursing students responded and joined the KCC. In 1987, Heward-Mills informed the executive members of the KCC that he wants to transform the KCC to a church and he has the intention to pastor this new church. This plan did not go without conflict. Notwithstanding all the odds, almost two years later the Church was born with the name Lighthouse Chapel International in December 1989. Since then he has trained over 1,870

pastors who are in charge of the branches of the church worldwide (Mawuko, 2016).

The church established its first and international branch at Geneva in 1992, followed by another in Kumasi in 1993 and London the same year. It intensified its evangelism strategy which led to more branches. In April 1993, it acquired a new building at Korle-Gonno in Accra. This became the first cathedral of the church until 2005. The church later moved its cathedral to North Kaneshie which currently serves as its headquarters known as Qodesh. Currently Lighthouse Chapel International has embarked on many infrastructural developments to contain the growing membership of the church and also to reach out to more people. As of the close of 2012, the church has about 1,550 branches in 66 countries. The church has a structural format for its growth globally. This is done to afford effective, maximum care and attention as the membership increases. The headquarters of the church holds three services every Sunday with a capacity of more than 3000 seats. The church runs on several ministries such as Compassion Ministry, Health Ministry, School Ministry and many others (Mawuko,2016; Gifford, 2004).

### **Charismatic movement and other denominations**

As already established, before the Charismatics came to the scene there were many other strands of Christianity in the country. They were mainly the Roman Catholic, Protestants, African Indigenous Churches and classical



Pentecostal churches. These denominations related to the charismatic movement differently.

Ecumenical bodies such as the National Association of Evangelicals of Ghana virtually embraced the Charismatic beliefs and practices. This was mainly because the line of difference between these two strands is very thin hence the adoption of elements in Charismatism was without difficulties. This thin line of difference between these strands of Christianity makes them not to be strictly demarcated. Mobility of members in several activities makes any clear separation that could be found among them non-existence, especially in Africa. The former General Secretary of the National Association of Evangelicals of Ghana, the late Kwaku Hutchful, for example, was also in favour of the Charismatic fervor and their leadership. He was the Master of Ceremony (MC) when one of the key players of the Charismatic movement Nicholas Duncan-Williams was launching his book *You Are Destined for Success*. He was part of those who assisted in developing the curriculum of Dominion Theological Seminary of Christian Action Faith Ministry. Nevertheless, he was not uncritical of some of the excesses of the Charismatic Movement. Also, Mr. David Hammond who was formerly the General Secretary of the Bible Society of Ghana was a member of the board of governors of Central Christian College which developed into Central University College of ICGC (Larbi, 2001).

*Charismatics and Mainline churches*

Not all denominations embraced the charismatic movement. In the growth of the movement, their expressions of the gifts of the Holy Spirit were opposed by some of the traditional or mainline churches. According to Atiemo (1993), the following were some of the reasons for the opposition:

Firstly, the low level of the theological educational background of people who started the movement was one of the elements that were used to castigate the movement. The movement was described derogatorily as 'abon-nsem' meaning hand clapping. This was derived from their rhythmic clapping of hands that accompanied singing and dancing in an exuberant Charismatic style unlike in the mainline churches. Secondly, the mainline opposed the movement because of their generalization of revelations. Attempts to integrate the Charismatic fervor into the mainline churches were resisted especially when some insisted on some private revelations and made dogmas out of them (Atiemo, 1993).

Also, the Charismatics view the mainline churches differently. They likewise do not welcome every aspect of the church especially the perceived view of the Mainline churches on wealth. For Duncan-Williams (Gifford,1994:244)

The traditional and orthodox churches we grew up in held many views that were diametrically opposed to God's word... they preached a doctrine which says in essence – poverty promotes humility. But you all know this is not true... the missionaries erred tragically by not teaching the

Africans God's word and laws regarding sowing and reaping.' This is perhaps understandable; they were given all their resources by churches and Christians overseas, so they felt they could not preach 'the full counsel of God regarding prosperity through giving, sowing and reaping.

Also, Africans considered every white man affluent, and 'this atmosphere produced guilt in the minds of those who have tried to preach the full gospel... thank God, He has called us to declare his full counsel to our generation. I preach and teach prosperity like any other doctrine of the Bible.

This view of Duncan-Williams about the mainline churches was very acute. He perceived the western missionaries to have erred in the interpretation of the Bible and this was transferred to the current mission established churches, preaching a sermon not wholistic. This view was due to the charismatics' emphasis on prosperity which the mainline churches do not necessarily emphasise. Perhaps for him, the church that emphasises prosperity is the church that preaches the wholistic gospel.

This position of Duncan-Williams was similarly held by Mensa Otabil in his early ministry. For Larbi (2001), the period 1986 to 1989 could be described as a period of dire controversy in the International Central Gospel Church. It was also a period of radicalism for the church with Otabil himself as a leader. This was because he sought to change things he perceived to be wrong. Like Duncan-

Williams who denounced the mission established churches for preaching misleading sermons in favour of poverty, Otabil denounced the Mainline churches for complacency and compromise. He referred to these churches as 'Babylon' and some of the ministers as 'vipers'. These derogatory terms are not far from describing them or equating them with evil churches and with evil ministers. He questioned the legitimacy of the 'unbelieving ministers' pastoring the flocks of God while ridiculing those other ministers who are members of secret cults. Apart from the ministers, he turned to the members of these churches, casting doubt on their Christianity and called them to leave these churches since the ministers are not of God and these churches are nothing but places of darkness (Larbi, 2001). His condemnation of the Mainline churches and their ministers was very sour though he was one time raised in one of these churches by his mother. It is not clear why he took that dire view of the Mainline churches. The best explanation could or will be close to his religious bigotry. This religious chauvinism was also directed to other Pentecostal churches and fellowships such as the Church of Pentecost, Assemblies of God and Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International. The other churches especially those he attacked also reacted in accusing such Charismatic churches as running businesses and amassing wealth from the innocent and the poor to enrich their coffers all in the name of God.

In Larbi's interview with him in 1993, Otabil appears to admit that he was harsh in his criticism of the established churches. For Larbi, Otabil humbly and soberly admitted that he was too judgmental in some of the things he said which included his view about other churches as stated above. He retrospectively stated

that he thought there was going to emerge a new movement that was going to replace the old church which to him has become apostate. He now believed that God does not abandon the old systems but works with both old and new. Thus the established churches which he once considered to be wrong and condemned, he now recognized their relevance in the current system together with the Charismatic churches. In another instance, Otabil who once preached that Christians should leave the established churches and join the new churches now does not see the need again. He admitted that he now appreciates the things he once opposed and was now willing to cooperate with all churches. Again his view about Full Gospel Business Men Fellowship International has changed. According to Larbi (2001), some of the members of the International Central Gospel Church are even members of the FGBMFI. Otabil's previous attitude towards other churches was intentional and a ploy to woo other members of the established churches into his. And now that he has been successful in this plan he can now recant his previous views.

This change of attitude of Otabil occurred between 1990 and 1992 after the church has fully been established. One could easily describe Otabil's previous attitude and the current change as very political and as such, notwithstanding the social popularity that he enjoys even from some sections of Muslim communities, there remain others who still see him as a politician who knows how to play his cards well and as such should not be fully trusted.

*Charismatics and African Independent churches*

The effect of the explosion of Charismatic churches on African Independent churches is more of a negative trend. The emergence of the Charismatic movement realized a downward decimation of such churches. From the census conducted by the Ghana Evangelism Committee, the AICs were negatively affected in terms of membership of the church. Though such churches were already in retreat at the time of the emergence of the classical Pentecostal churches, the emergence of the Charismatic churches sped up the loss of members of these churches. Statistically, between 1986 and 1991 church attendance of members of Apostles' Revelation Society decreased by 17%. Within the same period of 1986 to 1991 the Church of the Lord family of churches also decreased by 21%. Similarly, Musama Disco Christo Church also had a membership decrease of 17% within the period of the survey. The church of Cherubim and Seraphim experienced the highest decrease recording a rate of 24%. The African Faith Tabernacle and the Church of the Twelve Apostles recorded a decrease of 23% and 22% respectively (Gifford, 2001). This is due to the observed weaknesses in the African Indigenous churches which were the strength of the Charismatic movement.

The AICs largely remained localized, that is, they largely used the local language and some traditional elements in its liturgy. As such, the educated and the exuberant youths found no room for themselves in such churches. This was one key strength of the Charismatic movement. The Charismatic movement is characterized by the membership of the educated (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2010). Also,

the African culture that the African Independent Churches championed from the 1950s and 1960s is no longer unique to such churches, because other churches, especially the mission established churches also found other ways of incorporating the African culture into their liturgy. The head of Musama Disco Kristo Church (MDCC) as at 1995 at Good News Training Institute said that 90% of the cultural elements such as using the vernacular in the liturgy, adoption of some African drumming and dancing and many African cultural elements in the church have now been adopted by the Methodist church, though the thought was championed by his father. It also appeared that many of the pastors of such churches appeared to be patterning their life and ministry as either Duncan Williams or Mensa Otabil (Gifford).

The emergence and growth of the Charismatic movement in Ghana did not only affect the churches but also influenced the churches especially the mainline churches. Many of the charismatic elements have either consciously or naturally found themselves into the fabric of the mainline churches.

#### *Charismatism in Mainline churches*

One of the classical works on Charismatism in the mainline churches in Ghana is the work of Omenyo (2006). The growth of the Charismatic ministry in Ghana has had a significant influence on the mainline churches in Ghana. The mainline churches have been stung into adapting charismatic elements if they are to retain a significant number of their congregation. This is because the

Charismatic churches have grown significantly not because they have converted non-believers into the faith only, but have also attracted significant number from the mainline churches (Gifford, 2001). The Charismatic elements adapted in the mainline churches are works of renewal movements in these churches. These movements are either recognized by the national church such as the Bible Study and Prayer Group of the Presbyterian Church and the Catholic Charismatic Renewal Movement of the Catholic Church. Apart from these, there are groups which may not be recognized by the national church, yet are limited to particular congregations. A typical example is the Evangelicals and Spirituals of Peyer Memorial Presbyterian Church in Kumasi.

The group could also be prayer groups within the church which regularly organize prayer and healing programme within the church. Often their meeting days are different from regular church meeting days. Also, there are individuals, either ordained ministers, evangelists or lay in particular congregations that demonstrate the Charismatic fervor in their ministries. This last group often makes their churches to be tagged as Charismatic, though they are mainline churches (Omenyo, 2006). These renewal movements championed the adaptation of the Charismatic elements. In the subsequent paragraphs, I will briefly look at these renewal groups and their Charismatic elements incorporated in such mainline churches such as the Anglican Church, Roman Catholic Church, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and the Methodist Church Ghana.



*The Anglican Church*

The emergence and adoption of Charismatism in the Anglican Church of Ghana appeared to differ from that in the Roman Catholic Church in Ghana. The Anglican Church in Ghana was not insulated from the widespread wind of the Charismatic renewal groups that emerged in Ghana from the 1960s. The introduction is more of the role of the youths in the church, who were rather exposed to the movements. These youths were involved in the activities of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements of the late 1960s. Some were attracted and left to join these churches, but others remained and later advocated for the adoption of a system of worship which is more Charismatic and different from the traditional worship style of the Church. The Anglican Church thus experienced a gradual yet remarkable adoption and adaption of elements of the Charismatism since the 1980s. This has not been attributed to any recognized group or organization in the church. The experience of the Charismatic elements was first recognized in the Anglican diocese in Accra. Today, the Charismatic elements can be found in various branches of the church throughout the country (Omenyo, 2006).

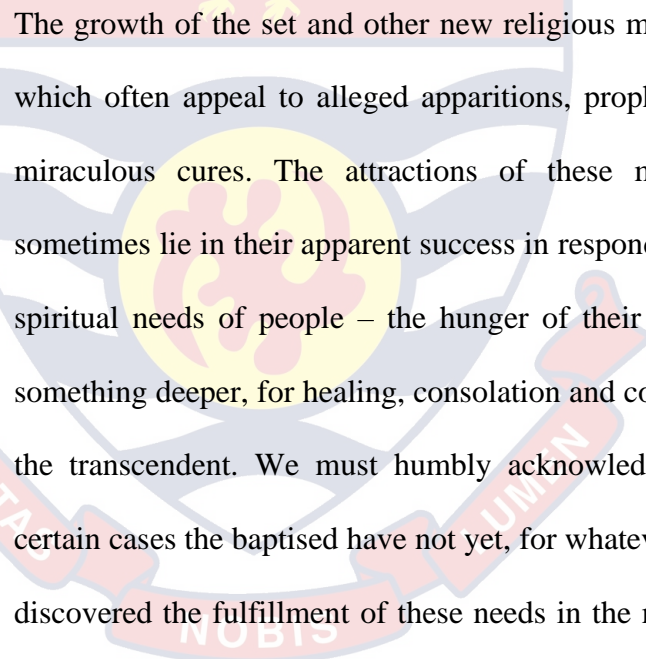
Even though Charismatism in the Anglican Church in Ghana could not be attributed to a specific group in the church, the early stages of its development could be linked with the role of certain individuals in the church, though to a large extent their activities were aborted right from their early stages. These individuals were Rev. Fr. Kwaku Dua Agyemang, who had a strong background with the Scripture Union and Rev. Fr. Festus Yeboah Asuamah, who also had a

Charismatic training from Deeper Life Bible Ministry. These persons attempted to introduce the Charismatic fervor in the Anglican Church, but were met with difficulties which made the attempt to be aborted. Their ministry in the church included an emphasis on Bible Studies and extempore prayer, removal of statues from the church thus denying members of the Church from kneeling and praying to them. They also discouraged the use of holy water and infant baptism. Also, they were against the kissing of the cross on Good Fridays, burning of incense and candles on the basis that such traditions have no biblical basis (Omenyo, 2006).

Currently, the Anglican Church in Ghana has elements of Charismatic renewal, especially in Kumasi and Accra Dioceses. The adoption of 'New Life For All' which emphasizes Bible Studies, prayer (speaking in tongues) and the use of other gifts as in Charismatic churches and evangelism were more of Charismatic church features. There was also the exercise of healing and deliverance leading to the establishment of the Christian Deliverance Centre (CDC). In Accra Diocese, the Charismatic experience started through the adoption of the New Life For All and the creation of the Prayer Warrior Ministry which adapted virtually all elements in typical Charismatic prayer such as praying in tongues, prophecies, laying on of hands for healing. (Omenyo, 2006). However, it is significant to mention that not all Anglican churches have accepted the Charismatic.

*The Roman Catholic Church*

The renewal group that championed the adaptation of the Charismatic element in the Roman Catholic Church in Ghana is the Catholic Charismatic Renewal Movement whose origin is traced to the renewal in the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. In Ghana, the renewal within the Roman Catholic Church started in Kumasi. The Roman Catholic Church adopted this due to the general hunger of people for higher spiritual needs. Pope John Paul II raised this concern when he addressed Bishops in Ghana in 1993. According to the Pope:

The logo of the University of Cape Coast is a watermark in the background. It features a shield with a yellow eagle with spread wings at the top. Below the eagle is a yellow circle containing a red cross. The shield is flanked by two red banners. The left banner contains the word 'VERITAS' and the right banner contains 'LUMEN'. Below the shield is a red banner with the Latin phrase 'NOBIS'.

The growth of the set and other new religious movements, which often appeal to alleged apparitions, prophecies and miraculous cures. The attractions of these movements sometimes lie in their apparent success in responding to the spiritual needs of people – the hunger of their hearts for something deeper, for healing, consolation and contact with the transcendent. We must humbly acknowledge that in certain cases the baptised have not yet, for whatever reason, discovered the fulfillment of these needs in the mystery of the Incarnate Word entrusted to the Church (Omenyo, 2006:103).

In effect, the Pope gave recognition to the existence of the renewal movement for utilitarian purposes. The CCR, therefore, responded in fulfilling the needs of the hungry souls of Ghanaians. From Kumasi, the group spread to

virtually all other established Roman Catholic Churches in Ghana. The elements which make them Charismatic include their prayer (tongues speaking), deliverance sessions, laying of hands on the sick and declaring healing to the person and prophecy. These are based on 1Corinthians 12 ff. which largely defines the Charismatics. Today it is not odd to see these charismatic elements fully adapted in the Roman Catholic Church in Ghana.



*The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*

The adoption of the Charismatic element in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana was mainly through the Bible Study and Prayer Group (BSPG). The BSPG of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana is the main Charismatic renewal group of the church with national recognition. This group is an amalgamation of several prayers and Bible study groups that sprung up since 1938. In 1965 all the Bible Study and Prayer Groups were invited in a conference where a unanimous decision was taken to form one body of a Bible Study and Prayer Group under the Presbyterian Church to be known as Presbyterian Church of Ghana Bible Study and Prayer Group. Their aims were:

- i. To read and study the Bible seriously and with an open mind to help in our Christian development and our social life.
- ii. To learn more about prayers and some of the best methods of praying and to strive to pray unceasingly and effectively.

- iii. To strive to acquire divine grace which would enable us to receive and keep the Holy Spirit who in turn would guard and guide us to follow the steps of our savior and Master Jesus Christ.
- iv. To use prayer as an effective means of enduring and relieving pains, suffering, distress and want.
- v. To inspire, awaken and instill the spiritual life of the whole congregation.

These aims are more Charismatic. As such, they championed the adaptation of the charismatic elements within the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (Omenyo, 2006).

*The Methodist Church Ghana*

The situation with the Methodist Church Ghana is different from the other mainline churches. The church argued that the Methodist Church had a Charismatic orientation, hence there was no need for the adoption or adaptation of elements of Charismatic. Despite this position of the church, the Charismatic state of the church has much to be desired. Members of the church experienced the need for a deeper spiritual experience such as the experiences of other mainline churches. Many independent prayer fellowships were formed in some of the circuits, particularly in Accra and Kumasi districts (now dioceses). A report presented to the church in 1998, it states:

It had been observed that for many years, especially during the 1980s, the "Christian Community" in many circuits and societies was either stagnant or declining. It was also noted that large numbers of Methodists, especially the youth and women, were leaving the church, while others maintain a dual membership, they retained their membership in the Church but associated with other churches {notably, the new Charismatic churches, ministries and fellowships} to satisfy their spiritual hunger. The exodus and lukewarm attitudes were due to several factors including the poor prayer life; lack of adequate relevant biblical teaching and exposition; insufficient teaching on the manifestation on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and what some regarded as dull worship (Omenyo:2006:155).

This experience is not different from those of the Roman Catholic and the Presbyterian churches. However, the Methodist Church here considered it not as the need to introduce a new form of spiritual revivalism in the church as the church was already born in the revival spiritual disposition. The prayer fellowships that emerged to play this role came together to form the Methodist Prayer Fellowship with the aim of inculcating in the members personal holiness in both private and public lives. This will be achieved through the emphasis on the new birth, closer walk with the Lord in scripture study, prayer and fasting with righteous living with God and man, willingness to obey God and believe God for prosperity and success. Also, the fellowship has the objective of encouraging

members to exercise spiritual gifts. These are more charismatic elements (Omenyo, 2006).

As the Methodist Prayer Fellowship was expanding even to other circuits, it became obvious that the Methodist Church Ghana cannot deny its acceptability by the church as a whole. Thus in 1993, an ad hoc committee was set up to study the activities of the prayer fellowship and make a recommendation to Conference. The Committee acknowledged the spiritual stagnation in the Church and the role of the Fellowship is also limited to few circuits and societies. It recommended a mass renewal movement to be known as the Methodist Prayer and Renewal Movement (METHPREM). This will aim at a comprehensive renewal in the Church instead of the Prayer Fellowship which is more limited (Omenyo, 2006). Here I think the non-sanctioning of the Prayer Fellowship but the adoption of another –METHPREM- was for utilitarian purposes, as a way of preventing the Prayer Fellowship from assuming too much power and the possibility of breaking away.

The Methodist Prayer and Renewal Movement was later renamed Methodist Prayer and Renewal Programme under the Division of Evangelism, Mission and Renewal of the Board of Ministries of the Methodist Church Ghana (Omenyo, 2006). Though it is expected that this programme would be pursued by all branches of the church, it is only effective at the church branches where the ministers show keen interest. Thus the MPRP took the Charismatic form in the Methodist Church Ghana today.

## Charismatic Ecclesial Bodies

In the growth of the Charismatic ministries in Ghana, there emerged the desire to form ecclesial bodies. The then most formidable ecclesial bodies before the Charismatic ministries were the Christian Council of Ghana, the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Ghana Pentecostal Council. Some of the Charismatic churches became members of the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC) which was formed in 1969 as Ghana Evangelical Fellowship. In 1981, it adopted the name Ghana Pentecostal Council and by April 2011, it was officially gazetted under the name Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council.

The second church association that other Charismatic churches became members is the National Association of Charismatic and Christian Churches (NACCC) formed in December 1999. Of the four Charismatic churches use in this research, two of them (Christian Action Faith Ministries and Lighthouse Chapel International) belong to the NACCC while Perez Chapel International belongs to the GPCC. The forth, International Central Gospel Church does not belong to any of these associations.

## Conclusion

The Charismatic movement in Ghana has not only brought a new strand of Christianity to Ghana but has also changed the phase of Ghanaian Christianity through its impact on other existing churches. The pressure it exerted on the



existing churches gave many of the churches no choice than to adopt some of its elements. Repudiation of the 'Charismatic' gives a propensity for schism as established in some mainline churches. Currently, the movement is still growing as its message of prosperity and its attraction to the media give it the impetus in growth. As it becomes significant in the lives of Ghanaians, it naturally extends its influence in virtually all areas of life including politics. The next chapter therefore critically analyses the political role this movement played in the political scene in Ghana.



## CHAPTER THREE

### CHARISMATICS AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICS IN GHANA

#### Introduction

This chapter critically explores the political role of the Charismatic movement right from their inception through to the fourth republic (1979-20120, taken into cognisance the period under consideration. The chapter is divided into two main parts: the first part critically discusses the direct political involvement of the Charismatics, which are related to the development of democracy. The second part explores the socio-economic role of the charismatic church towards the promotion and growth of democracy in Ghana.

#### Charismatics fight for freedom under military rule (1979-1992)

Pioneering Charismatic churches evolved within military regimes from the late 1970s through the 1980s. Between September 1979 and December 1981 (under democratic system of President Hilla Limann), there was no recorded event between the Charismatic churches and the political system. In fact as at that time, the only known Charismatic churches were the Redemption Hour Ministry of Bishop Benson Idahosa from Nigeria and Christian Action Faith Ministry of Nicholas Duncan-Williams of Ghana. The era was their formative stages hence they were more concerned about church growth than publicly commenting on political issues.

Quests for several civil societies to foresee the restoration of democratic governance took to many paths within this period. The Christian Council of Ghana (hereafter referred to as CCG) and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference (hereafter referred to as GCBC) were pioneering ecclesiastical bodies that appeared to represent the Christian voice in the quest. This they did through memoranda and pastoral letters. In the Charismatic front, the fight for freedom from oppression and criticisms of the excesses of the military regime were mainly during the regimes of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council and the Provisional National Defense Council (from 1989 but especially from 1981 through to the early 1990s).

The Charismatic churches, since they were not members of any of the above ecumenical councils, carried out the fight for freedom on an individual basis. This was partly due to the unavailability of a formidable ecclesiastical body through which they could attempt to influence the political culture at the time. Oquaye (2004) mentioned events that triggered the concern of the public and some individuals including those from the quarters of the Charismatic tradition of the church. Such events include gross abuse of human rights, extra judicial killings, especially the killing of the three high court judges Justice Fred Poku Sarkodie, Justice Cecilia Koranteng-Addow and Justice Kwadwo Adjei Agyepong, together with a retired Army Officer Major Sam K. Acquah and also the killing of three former heads of state namely Generals Ankrah, I.K. Acheampong and F.W.K. Akuffo. Also, there was harassment of certain individuals and public flogging of ordinary market women for alleged diverse

economic crimes. The individual Charismatic leaders used their pulpits and their sense of boldness to openly criticize these harms perpetrated on the people. 'Boldness' was considered as a gift of the Holy Spirit in proclaiming the Goodnews. The Charismatic leaders used their resources as weapons in criticizing the military regimes, calling for the respect of human rights. One of such charismatic leaders was a Kumasi based evangelist Francis Akwasi Amoako (founder and leader of Resurrection Power and Living Bread Ministries). His preaching of the Gospel was described as plain but bold. He boldly attacked the Provisional National Defence Council government verbally for what he described as anti-Christian tendencies, which earned him the nickname 'John the Baptist of Ghana' (Omenyo & Atiemo, 2006).

The military regime at the time did not spare the church. Many 'men of God' faced persecutions, harassment and even death for criticizing or condemning excesses of the military regime (Oquaye, 2004). Francis Amoako played a major role in the fight against the military regime of AFRC/PNDC. He spoke against the terrors perpetrated against civilians in the 1980s and blamed it squarely on J.J. Rawlings (who was the Head of State at the time) and the members of the Provisional National Defence Council. He is known to have lashed at the military government of the AFRC for the execution of three former heads of state in 1979 as mentioned earlier, arguing that such action would attract "the wrath of God" (Dugubrame, 2011).

At a crusade in Takoradi in the Western Region of Ghana, he preached on how the country has been ruled by 'murderers'. This was one of many occasions

where he used the pulpit to speak against the inhuman treatment by the military government against the citizens, abuse of human rights and the call for the restoration of democracy. After the crusade when he was returning to Kumasi he had an accident with a military armored car and died (Dugubrame, 2011). It was popularly alleged that the death was master-minded by the military government of the Provisional National Defence Council. One of his contemporaries who also used the pulpit to speak against the violation of human rights during the military regimes of AFRC/PNDC was Siloam Morgan. He also towed a similar line as Amoako (Dugubrame, 2011).

Also, there was an occasion where Prophet Samuel Asare, the Founder of The Lord Is My Shepherd Church in Kumasi was killed by the military due to his sour criticism of the military government of the PNDC regime, especially over the death of the three high court judges and how the military was terrorizing civilians in the country. On one occasion as he was preaching from the pulpit in church, the PNDC cadres entered the church and ordered the congregation to lie on the floor and commanded the prophet to kneel. Upon kneeling the military leader placed his foot on the head of the prophet and shot him dead (Oquaye, 2004).

Popular Charismatic programmes in the electronic media were scraped off or disallowed even when their promoters such as Duncan-Williams and Mensa Otabil were prepared to pay in full the time allotted to them. An example of a Christian programme that was removed from the electronic media was the "Hour of Visitation" (Oquaye, 2004). This radio programme was hosted by the executive

director of HOVCEA Rev. Isaac Ababio. Though his messages were more on salvation and not on political issues at the time, his programme was scrapped off.

The persecutions of the Charismatic figures made many of them apolitical. The terror was so severe that only those established ecclesiastical bodies could face the regime directly. The roles played by these individual Charismatics contributed to the voices that called for political freedom and restoration of democracy from the regime. In the latter part of the military regime of the PNDC, some of the Charismatic leaders took to another way of criticizing the military government in a bid to influence the action of the government for freedom. This method was more of artistic writing. Here they used militaristic language to reminisce the political revolution. Militaristic idioms were employed in describing the social condition at the time (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2010). One of such Charismatic leaders with such artistic typology of writing is Eastwood Anaba, who started his ministry during the revolutionary era. His book *God's End Time Militia* published in 1993 is a typical example, though there has been a transition to the democratic era at the time the book came to the market. He compared the new wave of Christianity to a military revolution. Charismatic leaders' writings about political concerns are either conscious or otherwise move to broadcast political messages in the conventional way (Ellis & terr Harr, 1998).

The severity of the persecution made the Charismatics not to make a significant influence in politics as the CCG and the GCBC. However, their roles cannot be ruled out completely as insignificant. Many Charismatic church leaders kept a low profile in public and did not speak much on national or political issues,

mostly because of a rather negative view of politics which was generally seen as corrupt and unwholesome or fear of being tagged as anti government. (Dovlo, 2006). Apart from the human rights abuses and the killings of the judges and the former heads of state which attracted sour criticism from the public, the next major event which also attracted the Charismatics to call for respect for human rights was the PNDCL 221 known as the Religious Registration Law.

### **Religious Registration Law**

As already indicated, the terror associated with the military regime made many Charismatic church leaders keep a low profile in public space. However, one single event that drew some Charismatic church leaders into the public space was the introduction of the Religious Registration Law (PNDC LAW 221). The then government of the Provisional National Defence Council, in its attempt to crack down on the churches and other religious organisations, asked all religious groups to register with the Ministry of Interior. This implies that the existence of any religious groups will be determined by the state machinery. This decision of the PNDC government at the time could be described as that of an attempt to establish a form of Church-state relationship in which the state to a degree determines the religious practices of the people. The law was promulgated on 14th June 1989. Section three of the Law states that:

Every religious body in Ghana shall be registered under this law and no religious body in existence in Ghana shall

after three months from the commencement of the law operate as such unless it is registered under this law (PNDCL. 221:3).

By this, the religious bodies can only operate after they have been registered and obtained license without which the full rigours of the laws will be applied with the appropriate legal sanctions. It is of interest to know that this was the period that the Charismatic churches were growing at a fast pace. By the time the law was promulgated, the major Charismatic churches that were in operation included Duncan-Williams Christian Action Faith Ministry formed in 1979, Robert Ampiah-Kwofie's Global Revival Ministry in 1984, Mensa Otabil's International Central Gospel Church in 1984 and Charles Agyinasare's now Perez Chapel in 1987 and many other bourgeoning young charismatic churches. Because they were then young in existence, they have then not constituted any formidable ecclesial body to be able to operate as a civil society or a watchdog over government policies. As such they could not come out with one voice to speak against the law.

The registration fee was fifty thousand Cedis (old currency) equivalent to \$150 at the time. Upon registration, the religious bodies were to submit documents such as their constitution and account report for scrutiny by the Ministry of Interior. The PNDC formed a committee known as the Religious Affairs Committee under the National Commission for Culture responsible for the enforcement of this law (African Watch, 1990). Though a religious body is not originally established for money making as in the case of a business entity or an



enterprise, accounting to the state or the government makes the purpose for the establishment of such bodies more or less money-making institutions. This situation makes the purpose or the spirit of the law puzzling. Many Charismatic churches especially those that were growing sturdily at the time were thought with suspicions of amassing wealth or riches from the members. This was because they were suspected to be making huge monies out of the members and from the sale of their literary works. This basis makes the Charismatic churches potential victims of the law.

To avoid any ambiguity as to what a religious body is, the law clearly defined a religious body as any association of persons or body or organization which professes adherence to or a belief in any system of faith or worship, or which is established in pursuance of a religious objective (PNDCL 221 Section (20). This places virtually all the established churches at the time including the Charismatic churches within the definition. The Committee that was charged with the enforcement of the law was also granted wide discretionary powers to decide whether to grant a license to a religious body or not. Their decisions were also final. One cannot appeal to a court after a refusal or anything about the decision of the Committees. The authoritarian powers given to the Committee made virtually all the religious bodies suspicious of the Law. The suspicion was seen as an attempt of Rawlings and his government, the Provisional National Defence Council to stop or bring under control the proliferation of the churches, especially the Charismatic churches that were growing at a fast pace at the time. According to Flt. Lieut. Jerry John Rawlings, the main purpose of the law is to "just preserve

the purity of religious teachings". One will immediately think of no other denomination than the Charismatics. This was because even the mainline churches (Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, etc.) were suspicious of the Charismatic churches and their teachings. Also, the nature of the leaders' attitudes in terms of their boldness in ready-to-confront and their leadership styles made the government and other mainline churches suspicious of them. They were seen as certain individuals who are out to perpetuate their agenda. The then Secretary of the Ministry of Interior Nii Okaija Adamafo also attempted to justify the law. He mentioned that the law is necessary because "too many bogus churches" had emerged in Ghana. According to him, such churches were "one man operations" and do not recognize the laws of the country. Apart from that, their attitudes posed social nuisance using the pretext of the religion to perpetuate their own private agenda. He added that it was therefore inexcusable for a responsible government to stand by and stare on with the view that religious practice is a private affair and no government should interfere. He again urged all religious bodies to explain the necessity of the law to their members (Africa Watch, 1990).

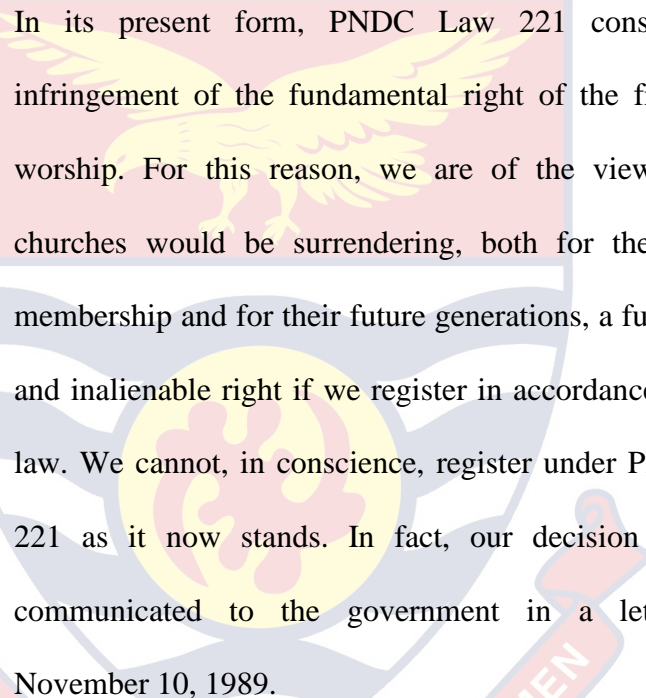
The attitudes of some of the Charismatic leaders to a larger extent fit the description of the Secretary of the Ministry of Interior. This is because these churches were founded by individuals and such individuals are in control of virtually everything of the church. The founder or leader is often seen as the 'owner' of the church. As such he does not account to anybody. In Ghana, the term used to describe such churches is "one man churches". This is because the

founder-leader virtually controls everything unlike the mainline churches that operate through structures and no individual can call himself or herself the founder. Also, such churches being described as that who do not recognize the law best refer to the Charismatics because their leaders are often bold and eloquent and ready to confront any situation they considered as 'unbiblical' or any policy of the government that seems to restrict their activities. Unlike the Mainline churches that express their grievances on any governmental policy through the two main ecclesial bodies in forms of pastoral letters, the Charismatic churches expressed their grievances individually mainly through their sermons and any other avenue. This made them be seen as individuals perpetrating their agenda.

The law though was meant for all religious bodies in Ghana including Islam, Africa Traditional Religion and other minor religious sects such as Eastern religious traditions yet, Christianity was more in the frontline in the fight against it. The church questioned the relevance of the law. One of the arguments against the law from the churches was, there existed already law guarding order in public worship and that the enforcement of such already existing law suffices and it can check religious malpractices or false practices. The church already perceived that the Provisional National Defence Council's government intends to create a mechanism of political control and surveillance over the churches. Individual Charismatic leaders who opposed the law did it in their capacity and were persecuted. However, the then main mouthpiece of the other churches were the two ecclesial bodies which are the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana

Catholic Bishops Conference and sometimes the Ghana Pentecostal Council. These bodies opposed the law (Africa Watch, 1990).

The first public opposition to the PNDC Law 221 was by the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference in a joint letter written to all the churches which are under these bodies. The letter states:

The watermark is the official crest of the University of Cape Coast. It features a shield with a yellow eagle with wings spread, perched on a globe. Below the shield is a red banner with the Latin motto 'VERITAS NOBIS LUMEN'.

In its present form, PNDC Law 221 constitutes an infringement of the fundamental right of the freedom of worship. For this reason, we are of the view that our churches would be surrendering, both for their present membership and for their future generations, a fundamental and inalienable right if we register in accordance with this law. We cannot, in conscience, register under PNDC Law 221 as it now stands. In fact, our decision has been communicated to the government in a letter dated November 10, 1989.

This pastoral letter goes on to state explicitly that in registering with a condition of being allowed or not allowed to worship is a violation of Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Again the pastoral letter added the reference to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in Article 8, which states that no one should be restricted from the profession and free practice of his religion (African Charter, 1986). The church again pointed out that the

PNDC LAW 221 contradicts Article 42 of PNDC LAW which states that there should be respect for the Fundamental Human Rights and the dignity of persons and these are to be cultivated among all sections of society and this should be established as part of the basis of social justice (PNDC LAW 42). Finally, the joint letter from the churches added that the discretionary powers given to the Religious Affairs Committee where the Committee, a secular institution defines the private and worship life of a religious group are unacceptable. In effect, the churches called for the repeal of the law. Though this opposition was openly from the two ecclesial bodies, their position was supported by the Charismatics at the time. The whole idea is an attempt to create a system in which the state recognizes the existence of the church and the church's existence is defined by the state. In this system, the state can control the church or subject the church to the status of an instrument of the state. The system can also create an avenue where the state ends up defining what constitutes a religious group and define their worship life. Thus, the secular controlling the sacred.

Till this time the Charismatic churches have not constituted any known formidable ecclesial body similar to the Christian Council of Ghana or the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference, through which they could channel their concerns. During the fight against the law, Rev. Anyani Boadum attempted to form an ecclesial body that will speak on behalf of the then burgeoning Charismatic churches at the time to be known as Indigenous Pentecostal and Charismatic Council to resolve the impasse (New West African International, 1989). Though the attempt was laudable, it was still born. Notwithstanding, certain Charismatic

church leaders in their private capacity spoke against the law either publicly or privately.

The government of the Provisional National Defence Council responded to the views expressed by the section of the churches with little consideration. It rejected the plea to repeal the law. To the government, the position of those churches that opposed the law was due to their stubbornness or a misinterpretation of the law. A government official, Mr. W.W. Zakari who was the then Northern Regional Secretary warned that the churches that are not in favour of the law should desist from such behaviour since they would not be allowed to "infringe upon the interest of the state". In his speech at a Rally of the Scripture Union in Tamale, he added that the government would ensure that the churches would "subordinate themselves to the government". Another official of the government, the then Eastern Regional Secretary Mr. Ohene Kena accused the churches that opposed the law as adopting an "unfair attitude in a bid to stop the government from taking action that many of the people support". The statement that many of the people supported the idea of the state in controlling the church was due to the response from other quarters of the church. In the first place, the Ghana Pentecostal Association and the Organisation of Independent Churches which claimed to have over one thousand two hundred (1200) churches in Ghana was said to have written to the government to affirm their support to the law for the registration exercise (Africa Watch, 1990). This is a clear indication of the varied view of the church on a public issue. It is partly due to the varied interpretation that each of the denominations gave to the law. Some of the Charismatic leaders,

the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference considered the law as an infringement on the freedom and rights of the people and called for it to be repealed. As such these churches did not purchase the form.

Again within few months of the beginning of the exercise, more than nineteen thousand application forms were bought by various churches and most of them were filled and the other necessary documents attached and submitted to the district assemblies (Africa Watch, 1990). The support of the Pentecostal Association and the Organisation of Independent Churches gave a positive impression to the government. The position of the then Pentecostal Association and the Organisation of Independent Churches might not have considered the law as an infringement on the fundamental Human Rights of Ghanaians. It could be that they were in favour but have turned a blind eye to such issues bordering on political abuses for political interest. Perhaps they did not foresee the danger inherent in such law and to show solidarity and loyalty to the state, they submitted to the demand of the law. However, the positive response could also be considered based on fear, thus military threats which might be meted out to them for being defined as recalcitrant or disloyal to the ideals of the revolution.

As a way of the government making room for more churches to register, the deadline for the sale of the forms was extended many times. The first deadline was 19th October then later on to 14th November 1989 (Africa watch, 1990). This was mainly because the expected response for the acquisition of the application forms was not realized.

Charismatics found their way to express their dislike for the law. One such event where a charismatic church leader contested against the law in public was during the public debate of the law in 1989, represented by Anyani Boadum, founder and leader of Jesus Generation Chapel. Anyani Boadum toured the country organizing seminars encouraging the churches not to panic or fold up. He carried the message that the law is an infringement of the right to religious freedom. In a public debate with Osofo Komfo Damuah who was a pro-PNDC and the representative of the Religious Affairs Department, Anyani-Boadum declared that the law appeared to be targeting the young burgeoning Charismatic churches at the time which were meeting in homes, classrooms and under trees. As a way of fighting for the religious freedom, which he perceived the law attempting to cramp it down, he formed the Indigenous Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (IPCC) to resolve the impasse between the younger churches and the state. This group, however, did not survive when church leaders realised that calm has prevailed and the law was not enforced (Boadum, 2017).

The rule of law in its deepest sense means that there is a social consensus within a society, that its laws are just and that they pre-exist and should constrain the behavior of whoever happens to be the ruler and the ruled at a given time. The ruler is not sovereign, the law is and as such the ruler gains legitimacy only insofar as he derives his just powers from the law (Fukuyama, 2012). In the context, the law was rather pointing to constrain the proliferation of religious groups especially the Charismatic Christianity. As such there was no consensus between the two –PNDC government and a section of the religious groups



including the Charismatics. This makes the rule of the law virtually impossible as the law is rather considered as a weapon by the ruler to control the behavior of a section of the ruled. The consensus that the Charismatic church leader Anyani Boadum sought to build was rather to repeal the law. The law, therefore, was considered as inimical to church traditions.

Before the contemporary secular political system, the most obvious source of just laws outside the political order was religion. But religiously based laws constrain rulers and the ruled only if religious authority was constituted independently of political authority. If religious authority was poorly organized, if the state controls their properties and determined who to establish a church and who not to, then such law was more likely to bolster political authority than to limit it. So to understand the development of rule of law, one must look not just the source and nature of religious rules themselves but the specific ways religious authority is organized and institutionalized (Fukuyama, 2012). In the context, the law (PNDCL 221) was rather to empower the political authority of the PNDC to exercise supreme control of the development and growth of the church in Ghana as it controls its operation and its purse. The church could not easily influence the government over the law at the time because of the different stance taken by the main frontlines of the religious groups in Ghana. Due to this weakness, the political system prevailed in passing the bill into law. It is interesting to note that some of the mushrooming churches did obliged and registered because they saw it as an opportunity for them to receive official recognition by the state. Though the law was not repealed or amended as has been the general expectation of the

church including the Charismatics, no religious body was punished for non-compliance. This is an indication of how religion has been influencing the legal system in Ghana (Awuah-Nyamekye, 2005), especially in the bid to protect the freedom of the people and the Charismatics have played a major role in this enterprise

In 1992, the PNDCL 221 was repealed when Ghana was paving the way for democracy. It was no mean role of the Charismatics fighting for the freedom of the people leading to the restoration of democracy in 1993 (this was when the 1992 fourth republican constitution came into force). This constitution provided a more liberal and democratic form of freedom. The constitution provided freedom of religion, and the government (National Democratic Congress) generally respected this right. Religious institutions that wished to have formal government recognition were required to register with the Registrar General's Department. The registration requirement for religious bodies is the same for any non-governmental organization. As at the time, the organization pays 35,000 Cedis (approximately US\$ 4) for the actual form and 610,000 Cedis (approximately US\$72.70) for the registration. Applicants are required to renew their registration annually for 150,000 Cedis (approximately US\$17.40). The content of the registration form includes Name of organization, Date of Formation, Name of Trustees, Membership of an executive council, Address, Declaration on Income and property and Requirement for an Annual General Meeting. The registration process served as a means of exemption from taxation. This is a formality only, and there were no reports at the time that the government denied registration to

any religious group. Most traditional religions, except Afrikania Mission, did not register. Formally recognized religions are exempted from paying taxes on ecclesiastical, charitable and educational activities that do not generate income from trade or business; however, religious organizations are required to pay taxes on business activities that generate income (International Religious Freedom Report, 2003). This provision was a result of the experience with the PNDCL 221 which was jointly repudiated by the Charismatic Movement with others.

### **Charismatics in Democratic Politics**

Historically, Ghanaian Christianity has adopted a variety of political position in response to changing contexts, ranging from apolitical to the more politically engaged. The emergence of Charismatic churches on the Ghanaian Christian landscape was generally characterized by political acquiescence because of the response of military regimes towards them. Notwithstanding, there were few that engaged with the politics at the time leading to the restoration of democracy. Most of the Charismatic churches that showed less concern in issues of politics were due to their general location on the margins of society. They were more pre-occupied with evangelism and focused more on personal rather than structural effects of sin and their radical holiness ethic which generated a perception of politics as a dirty business tainted by associating it with 'occult' forces and corruption. Due to these perceptions cum the violence meted out to the few that spoke against some political phenomena at the time, many of the

Charismatic churches took to the approach which is referred to as enchanted politics that is spiritualizing politics (Gifford, 2004).

*Charismatics and 'enchanted' democratic politics*

There is an incontrovertible connection between religion and politics. While the actual role that religion plays in politics has remained debatable, the nexus between the two concepts have been established for long (Falana, 2010). Religion is used to define public life by the adherents. As such the religious persuasions of the African make him interpret his social life from the perspective of his faith. This makes him give meaning to life as an African. The African tends to believe in the existence of invisible forces that share the world with visible ones (Ellis & Terr Harr, 1998). Since politics has to do with power and decision making, the African considers these invisible forces to also play key roles in body politics in Africa. In other words, the Africa spiritualises politics.

The Charismatics in Ghana, especially, due to the socio-economic conditions spiritualized the political situation, thus enchanted politics by ascribing spiritual (evil) causes to dire socio-economic situations. Demons are considered responsible for the difficult political situations which have been translated into the injustices and the poverty in Ghana. Ampiah-Kwofi in *Breaking Generational curses* offers an example of such perspective that national curses have a nature of affecting the entire population with evil. He mentioned that such evil may occur in terms of civil wars and great poverty in the country. According to him, these

courses could originate from the ancestors and culture which were steeped in idolatry and heathenism. He considered these as the causes of the evils that have plagued the country both politically and economically and for the country to be free, these curses must be broken. Though the work is for devotional purposes and not explicitly political, yet the content informs the reader to associate the political and economic situations especially from 1981 to spiritual causes. This perspective falls short of scientific knowledge and spiritualizing socio-economic situations is common in Charismatic Christianity in Ghana. Just as some westerners had problems with the African culture and view the indigenous culture from negative perspectives, this idea of a curse, possibly caused by the African cultural practices, is a reminiscence of the western ideologies.

By these thoughts (spiritualizing socio-economic situations), the national plight of the country (Ghana) is considered within some charismatic circles to be caused by apostasy, particularly failure to worship God properly (Christian conception) by the leader or the political leaders of the nation. This approach is given regular expression in Ghana's Evangelical newspaper *The Watchman* edited by Divine Kumah, a Charismatic believer. It is given classical expression in his book, *Is Ghana Under a Curse?* In this book, Kumah argued that Ghana was made a Christian country by the western countries and unfortunately the political leaders have deviated from this fact that Ghana is a Christian country. Deviating from this knowledge that Ghana is a Christian country is similar to the nation of Israel ignoring their God, thus apostasy. The military regimes of AFRC and PNDC were considered as eras when the nation became apostate. There were

then rumours that J.J. Rawlings, who was the military leader of these two regimes, patronized juju men for direction during his reign. This resulted in economic failure and the bloodsheds during the early part of the regime. This by extension implies that the political difficulties Ghana experienced especially under the AFRC/PNDC were due to the political leaders not being Christian enough (Gifford, 2001). As the rational and scientific mind attempts to explain the difficult situations rationally, the church, especially the Charismatics, explained it from a faith perspective.

Nicholas Duncan-Williams likewise, in a message preached on 21st October 2000 entitled "Territorial Spirits" attributed poverty in Ghana to have been caused by these territorial spirits (these are spirits believed to live on earth, causing mischief to man) he made references to the economic hardship that befell Ghana from 1981-1983. In a similar perspective, Dag Heward-Mills in his book, "Lay People" stated that Africa is dominated by territorial spirits causing poverty and war. He added that this was why Africa, although blessed with human and natural resources yet it is plagued with backwardness and underdevelopment. (Gifford, 2001).

During Impact 2000 at Christian Action Faith International, Marcus Hester one of the guest preachers stated that the church is here to break the spirit of poverty in Ghana. He stated that God spoke to him that in five to seven years to come there will be great prosperity in Ghana, but that will be after the spirits causing the ills are dealt with. Interestingly this will not be through political or economic reforms but Christians giving more to the church (Gifford, 2001). The

prosperity gospel in the Charismatic circles, where the individual is made to donate either in cash or kind as means of prospering is beset with many controversies. This is because it is considered as a means of manipulating the congregation and amassing wealth by the leaders. Marcus Hester's offer for the solution for the prosperity of Ghana is similar to these practices in charismatic circles.

These messages of the Charismatic leaders engendered in their adherents a perception that evil forces are in operation in the public life, hence when there is political chaos or economic challenges people were to see the causes from a metaphysical perspective, thus dealing with it does not require humans alone but from the divine source. This view underscores the religious perspective of politics whether military regimes or democratic culture. As a result, the charismatic developed particular attitudes to politics under the democratic system. They organise prayer sessions for the country, especially where there is what may be considered as a national crisis. A typical example was the prayer session organised by Nicholas Duncan-Williams for the stability of the Ghana Cedis (Bokpe, 2014).

#### *Charismatics and Political engagement (1992-2000)*

The end of the military rule of the Provisional National Defence Council ushered in a democratic political culture with its cardinal features of rule of law, provision of human rights and freedoms. This took full effect in January 1993

though the constitution was promulgated in 1992. The democratic environment provided by the 1992 Republican Constitution made many civil societies to engage in politics. The Charismatic movement engaged in the political system either directly or indirectly. From the year of the democratic restoration in 1992, the Charismatic leader who appeared to be in the centre of politicking was the founder and leader of Christian Action Faith Ministry, Nicholas Duncan-Williams. Unlike others who may view politics as a dirty enterprise, he associated himself with politics which served as an encouragement to other Charismatics to engage in politicking. This is evident in later years where many Charismatic leaders were found in active political activities especially in electioneering years as discussed below.

The engagement of the Charismatics in politics is couched in a theological view that God is involved in the affairs of men such as in politics. It is expressed that:

The Bible reveals that God Himself is the greatest politician... He gives positions to whom He wills (Dan.4:25). If His people are ready, God will prefer to give (power) to them. if they are not, He will give it give to somebody (else) because there must be a leader anyway. Normally when God is dealing with rebellious people, He gives them a leader who will execute His judgment upon them. But when He is dealing with a repentant people He



gives them a considerate leader who becomes His instrument of peace and mercy (Gifford, 2001:85).

This view is contrary to some other view where politics is perceived as a dirty game and the Christian who seeks and is enjoined to live without this dirt must not engage in it.

Immediately after the 1992 elections with the declaration of Rawlings and the National Democratic Party as the winner, Rawlings called the churches to hold a thanksgiving ceremony for the elections and the victory. The mainline churches represented by the Christian Council of Ghana refused to oblige. This was because they considered it as an attempt by the president elect to manipulate them to sanction the outcome of the elections due to the many irregularities associated with it. The Charismatics and some Pentecostal churches went ahead and willingly conducted such service on 31st December 1993. The prayer was led by Nicholas Duncan Williams and he prayed for and over Jerry John Rawlings and the government as a whole. In effect, this was considered as a legitimatization from the Christian quarters (Gifford, 1994).

On 30th January 1994, representatives from virtually all denominations of Christianity in Ghana comprising of Catholics, Protestants, Pentecostals, Charismatics and Independent churches held a thanksgiving service to mark the first anniversary for the inauguration of the fourth republic. It was carefully organised for it not to appear as a thanksgiving programme for J.J. Rawlings. Otherwise, the Protestant churches and other affiliates that ignored the earlier call

for a thanksgiving service for Rawlings could be described as 'prodigal son coming home to Rawlings'. Though the programme was to evade the association of the NDC and Rawlings to a thanksgiving for a year of democracy in Ghana, yet Rawlings and his wife attended together with other government officials. The top prelates of the programme were the then Anglican Bishop of Accra Rt. Rev. F.W.B. Thompson and his counterpart, the Accra Catholic Archbishop Rt Rev. Dominic K. Andoh. In their session of the programme they avoided acknowledging the presence of the President and his wife. Both the sermon preached by the Anglican prelate and the prayer said by the Catholic Archbishop were all void of the name of the president (J.J.Rawlings). In the sermon, the Anglican Bishop acknowledged a degree of success in the new democratic dispensation but attributed the success to the citizens abiding by the constitution. He stated that '*as long as we respect and obey it to the letter, we are bound to succeed*'. Likewise, the Catholic Archbishop in his prayers mentioned the elements as rule of law, justice, service, an increase of industry and peace as successes of the new political culture and none of them acknowledged the president succeed' (Quainoo & Amaney, 1994, Neequaye, 1994).

Throughout the periods the pain caused by the military regime of AFRC and PNDC associated with Rawlings coupled with irregularities in the 1992 elections were still looming in the mind of many including these prelates. These might have informed their reason for not acknowledging Rawlings. Nicholas Duncan-Williams broke the silence when he was called at the same programme to pray. This was the same Charismatic church leader who led the 1993 thanksgiving

programme for Rawlings. He took a different tone in his prayers. He acknowledged Rawlings and as part of the charismatic style of speaking with boldness referred to the shedding of blood which might be associated with the AFRC/ PNDC excesses and prayed for the leadership of the administration. (Gifford, 2001). He was again featured prominently in the 1995 thanksgiving ceremony held in Koforidua. These roles of a Charismatic leader in appearing to associate with the political system is very significant because it led to many other Charismatic church leaders venturing into political debates in later years. This implies that the role of Nicholas Duncan-Williams in associating with the political system encouraged many other Charismatics to participate in political debates hence promoting more participation in politics as discussed below. In a democracy, the more people participate in decision making the more it boosts the democratic culture. As a pioneer in Charismatic church leadership, this role set the pace for many other Charismatic leaders to participate and engage in national politics. Many charismatic leaders did not feature prominently within this period, making Nicholas Duncan-Williams appeared as the pacesetter.

However, after the thanksgiving programme there were virtually no active political discourses involving the Charismatics till the electioneering year of 2000. Here the Charismatic leadership in political engagement intensified than before and this was partly due to the growing democracy especially with the freedom of speech enshrined in the constitution.

*Charismatics and Political engagement (2000- 2012)*

As observed, the engagement of the Charismatic churches in politics continued unabated. The democratic ethos of the 1992 Republican Constitution was to an extent observed during the presidency of J.J. Rawlings. When the Charismatic realized that the atmosphere was conducive (as compared to the period of J.J. Rawlings before 1992), they increasingly became more conspicuous in the political arena, to the extent that at times they were drafted into some of the political debates. It is very common in Ghana to hear Charismatic leadership commenting on a political issue on the radio or they become guests to some radio or TV stations on the discussion of political issues. At times their comments become an issue for political debates.

*Charismatics and democratic debate*

One of the most important problems facing many democracies in third world countries is how to turn citizens into more active participants in the whole process of political decision making. Public debates emerged as a significant instrument in facilitating this phenomenon. Public debate is essentially a series of forums where peoples' opinions, interests and expectations are expressed on an issue that especially concerns the whole society. Active participation that takes place through such forums forms a strong ground for an understanding of efficient citizenship and a functioning democracy in any country. Such forums are primarily those that bear the traces of how people desire to be governed in the

context of preferences and expectations that have been voiced out. Organising public debates on issues that concern society will also help the creation of an open and accountable government. The risk of power abuse will be reduced to a minimum in an administration that is constantly supervised and held accountable through public debate. However, to fulfill all these functions, the existence of a society that consists of people who are tolerant and respect differences is required. The public debate, therefore, promotes accountable government and makes the citizens real actors of the system and as such, public debate is considered as a key in the development and sustenance of democracy (Riley, Griffin & Morey, 2010).

A public debate conducted in a free environment is an effective method in learning what the peoples' general demands and expectations are. This process of learning will have a formative effect in policy making in terms of democracies that are sensitive to people and also allow for an open and accountable government. Here it must be noted that it is not possible to measure conclusively the effects of ideas and suggestions expressed through a public debate on political decision-makers. Decisions that are insensitive to opinions and demand voice in a public debate conducted intensively and persistently are bound to remain weak within society in terms of effectiveness and durability. Dahl (2000) added that public debate is very essential in the promotion and sustenance of daily democracy. In his view, public debate though does not necessarily guarantee that all individuals will live per the policy that have been made, yet it raises the opportunity for the citizens to control their destiny to the highest level because the process of public debate allows individuals to express their expectations and view

before political decisions take effect. In this way, it can be argued that the process of public debate serves as a source of the establishment of a 'daily life democracy'. The process of public debate again emerges as one of the mechanisms that ensure the continuity of a relationship between the people's expectations and policy making or between the ruled and the rulers. As long as free debate can be held, this relationship will follow a smooth course because the government in power takes decisions in accordance with the suggestions and views offered to them through public debate. People use the opportunity to eliminate public problems and determine basic policies. With this situation, the individual ceases to be a passive citizen, but a real actor in the system. An institution that promotes public debate also promotes the growth of democracy. As such charismatic movement in this study has encouraged and created an avenue for a public debate hence they could be described as promoters of democracy. During the 2012 electioneering period, a Charismatic capital associated with the manifestoes of the two main parties namely the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) became an issue of debate which drew in the Charismatics to engage in the political debate.

Since the current democratic political culture was adopted political parties have been riding on the wheels of religious traditions to sell their votes to their "clients". Appeal to the supernatural through oath taken or swearing, juju, sacred songs, participation in religious ceremonies and the use of religious languages by the politicians is common (Dovlo, 2006). These religious traditions provided a leeway for the politicians to canvass for votes through their manifestoes. Perhaps

the single most controversial phenomenon where the political parties have scramble over a Charismatic resource in the 2012 elections to canvass for votes was the sermon preached by the founder of International Central Gospel Church, Mensa Otabil on 'Wholesome Living'. An item in the sermon on 'free education' became the foundation for debate among the political parties.

The two main political parties; the National Democratic Congress and the New Patriotic Party both had in their manifestoes a free Senior High School system. However, the idea was popular with the opposition (NPP) and was seen as the key action plan to drive the people to vote for the party. The party stated clearly in its 2012 manifesto that:

We are fully committed to making secondary education free for every Ghanaian child. By free SHS we mean free tuition, admission, textbook, library, science centre, computer, examination, utilities, boarding and meals. Although the cost of free secondary school education will be high, at an additional 1% of Ghana's total income, the alternative of a largely uneducated and unskilled workforce is a situation Ghana cannot afford. So NPP will prioritise and fund this expenditure using budgetary resources (including resources from oil exports) in the interest of the long-term growth of Ghana's economy (NPP 2012 Manifesto, p. 23).

Though this was purely a secular idea in the manifesto of a political party, it became the centre of a debate on party manifestoes especially when it was associated with the sermon of Mensa Otabil. Within the context of the Charismatic movement, there is a close association between the sacred and the profane as against secularism which does not only draw a dichotomy between the sacred and the profane but look forward to the demise of the sacred in society as a whole. Charismatic theologies are weaved within the social fabrics to define the secular in the light of the sacred, hence making the secular sacred. In other words, one will find it difficult to draw a clear line between what is 'religious' and what is 'irreligious'. As such, the educational concern could be viewed within religious circles. In the sermon, Otabil stated categorically that 'education can never be free' (Otabil, 2011). This stand is in direct contrast to the action plan of the main opposition party of making Senior High School free. This is a retrospective idea, yet it was a central discussion in the parties' manifestoes: a Charismatic sermon fitting squarely into the realms of party manifestoes.

The sermon of Otabil was received by the two major political parties with different aggregates in relation with their manifestoes. The NDC used the sermon, notwithstanding its context against the NPP on the issue of free education. The leadership campaigned that free education was not possible as preached by the NPP. Rather, it should be 'progressively free' as contained in the NDC manifesto. The sermon of Otabil stated categorically that education cannot be free and this contrasts with the free education as preached by the NPP. As such the NDC used the sermon against the NPP. Otabil is also perceived by NDC as a sympathizer of



NPP hence his view is seen to contradict the provision of the manifesto on free education. Thus, the sermon provided a vehicle for the NDC to quell the move of the NPP. This was a thistle in the flesh of the NPP in the sale of its free Senior High School ideas. It is interesting to note that for the first time in the current democratic dispensation the two main political parties in Ghana are scrambling over a Charismatic resource both as a vehicle and as a rebut in their manifestoes. At the same time, the two main parties leveled sour criticisms against the author of the statement in a different context. In the debate, Otabil was not spared but also bore his part of the brunt of the criticism. One of such criticism described him and his ministry as:

A pseudo-inspirational preacher now demonstrating his spiritual dishonesty and intellectual destitution to the very world that has touted and allowed him as an encouraging and uplifting preacher by now becoming a regrettably and pessimistically impossibility and cannot-be-done preacher.

Is he now suffering from spiritual presbiopism and myopism of can't be done? A tin-god and posing like the Olympic god Zeus with a hegemonic powers and his clannish cliques. Also segregated his pastors into village suffering, poverty stricken, anemic-looking group versus metropolis flamboyant posh cars riding pastors who are his sycophants, poodle, ponds, stooges, dimwits and boneheads that Otabil himself surreptitiously used to fight those who

never share his views. As such he is seen as egocentric, selfish, braggadocios with bad attitude that anything that does not go his way he stands against it as in case of his school with skyrocketing fees, that is why he adamantly sees free education as not feasible (Wallis, 2012:1)

The above description of the "man of God" is perhaps the most unpleasant words ever used in the description of a Charismatic preacher in the democratic political history of Ghana. Often Charismatic leaders with such high profile as Otabil are attributed with great reverence. Reference to 'touch not my anointed and do my prophets no harm' is subscribed to in protecting people of such caliber from public ridicule; but this is no strange in the arena of politics. Otabil himself responded just eleven days after with a press statement in describing his misrepresentations as evil, unethical, malicious and Machiavellian (Agawu, 2012).

The scramble over the import of the statement made by the Charismatic preacher was key leverage that was considered to define the outcome of the 2012 elections. This gave the Charismatic pastor a significant platform in the centre of politicking in Ghana. Otabil's message did not only provide a platform for the two main political parties to debate on their manifestoes on free education, but it also drew into the mainstream of politics some Charismatic church leaders that were sometime ago silence on politicking. The message became the main centre of the debate, hence the message promoted democratic debate.

*Charismatics and Political Engagement/Participation*

The issue of political engagement has been a substantive area of interest in democratic culture. As democratic culture and values have blossomed especially in western societies, it has increasingly become axiomatic that broad participation in decision-making processes becomes a pre-requisite for any proper democratic system of government. The broader the participation the more democratic the system becomes (Dahl, 1998).

There is no universally accepted definition of what political participation or engagement is yet it has generally been thought of as a set of rights and duties that involve formally organized civic and political features such as voting or joining a particular political group (Riley et al. 2010). Diemer (2012) defined political participation as an engagement with traditional mechanisms in the political system, such as voting in elections and joining a political organisation. It is also seen as the degree to which an individual is exercising his right to involve in political activities such as to protest against a social policy, to speak freely, to influence or to get more energetically involved in political matters. These are direct and conspicuous political involvement and arguably, being able to voice out an individual's or a group's demands in the public sphere is one of the indications of a sustainable democratic system and this is a desirable form of political participation. Political participation affords the citizens in a democracy the opportunity to communicate information to government about their concerns and preferences and to put pressure on them to respond (Verba, 1995).

It should, however, be noted that political participation is not static; it is dynamic and an evolving social phenomenon. At various times people are more likely to be more or less politically active (Lamprianou n.d.) and citizens' participation in politics is one of the key points representative democracies at the supranational level. Eremenko (n.d.) states that political participation is the actual soul of democratic governance.

Since the current democratic dispensation, the Christian mouthpiece on political issues in Ghana has mainly been the Christian Council of Ghana, Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference and the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council. These bodies are sometimes not vocal in taking stands in the public square on a political debate. As such any issue that borders on politics is seen to be very delicate hence the churches become passive and leave it to the members to decide. The case with the Charismatic churches is different. These latter churches have made inroads in making their voices heard by bringing to bear on the arts of politics their theological orientations associated with the *Charismata pneumatika*, (Gifts of the Spirits).

Though the church, in general, is considered as a neutral institution comprising of people from different political backgrounds, the Charismatic churches appear more as institutions where the leaders' ideas are generally towed by the members due to their charisma. Their ideas or teachings are not just to be considered as epiphenomenal. Their teachings and ideas have great power to influence the adherents in decision making and giving meaning to their very social lives. As such, attention needs to be given to the ideas of such church

leaders' messages in influencing the Christian citizen. In most cases, for the Charismatics, religious ideas are not just "things in the world, but perspectives of the world", which include ways of seeing, construing, inferring and remembering. Religiously oriented frames can be activated, not least by specific forms of sermon content that shape how people identify themselves, perceive others, experience the world, interpret their lives and determine their appropriate action in the world (McClendon. G.2008).

The political engagement of the Charismatics in Ghana are not to be considered only as individuals but also as collective because their views are representative of the followers' views. If the leader tells the members to pay attention to the political situation, most of the followers will obey and his views about politics are considered as sacred, hence they also tow similar views most of the time mainly because of his charisma. This view shows that the 'Gifts' of the Charismatic church leaders should not be ignored when it comes to the Christian citizen engaging in politics or not and his decision in politics could also be influenced by the religious view of the Charismatic church leader. As such the charismatic church leader is more of a politician wielding power to influence a people. However, sometimes they deny being politicians especially in the heat of political issues. For example, in the stir over the statement of Otabil on education, he remained silent for a long time until when his personality was attacked before he came to publicly respond to the issues. He stated that for years he has deliberately and consistently avoided making categorical political statements on any hot button political issue that has dominated political debate. Again he

confessed that he has kept a deliberate silence until his personality is dragged into the dirt of politics. He stated:

I am a pastor. I am not a politician. I am not standing for any political office. I am not a member of any political party. However, it seems a pattern is emerging where I become a political issue during election years. Even when I am 'sitting my somewhere' quietly, my name and voice get drafted into the political fray. In 2008, I became an issue when my name was said to be on a supposed death list. It attracted a lot of political heat. But as has been my practice, I kept silent. This year, 2012, I have been drafted again. My voice and sermons have been sampled, sliced and manipulated to appear to take a political position on a very heated political issue. I have also been made to appear as taking a stand against one political group or the other.

When the first sound bite emerged misrepresenting me, the church issued a press statement clarifying our position but I personally kept silent. Notwithstanding the statement, the perpetrators of this treachery issued a second sound bite that had again been pieced together to misrepresent me. Again, I kept silent. Last Friday, 9th November, 2012, a third sound bite was issued. That was the tipping point. That is when I realised that I was dealing with a marauding

and bullying force that was bent on impugning my name and integrity without shame. My normal response to such attacks would be to keep quiet and trust my integrity to speak for me in the end. My church members know that I don't respond to personal attacks. But for the mischief and persistence, I would have remained quiet over this matter

(Otabil, 2012).

This press statement set the tone and many Charismatic church leaders openly made political statements especially bordering on events before and after the elections. This was a step in breaking the silence of political passivism. Their comments and prophecies before and after the elections made them to be associated with particular political parties. The Independent Newspaper categorized the main Charismatic church leaders among the two major political parties in Ghana;

- i. Archbishop Nicholas Duncan-Williams Presiding Archbishop/General Overseer of Action Chapel International – NDC.
- ii. Dr. Mensah Otabil Founder/General-Overseer, International Central Gospel Church – NPP.
- iii. Rev. Christie Doe-Tetteh, General Overseer, Solid Rock Chapel International – NDC.

iv. Bishop Charles Agyinasare – Presiding Bishop Perez Chapel International - NDC.

v. Rev. Ebenezer Adarkwa Yiadom Founder/Leader of the Ebenezer Miracle Worship Centre – NPP.

vi. Rev. Isaac Owusu Bempah Founder/Leader of Glorious Word Ministry International –NPP.

vii. Bishop Dag Heward-Mills- Presiding Bishop/Founder of the Lighthouse Chapel International – NPP.

viii. Bishop Daniel Obinim-Founder/Overseer, International God's Way Church – NPP.

ix. Prophet T.B. Joshua Founder/Overseer, Synagogue Church of All Nation – NDC.

x. Sam Korankye Ankrah- Founder and General Overseer, Royal House Chapel International (Ahenfie) – NDC

The newspaper did not specify as to the bases for the classification of these Charismatic leaders with particular political parties. However, anyone following the political system in Ghana will easily give valid reasons for the paper associating the charismatic leaders to particular political parties.

Engagement of religion and politics, two different fields, do not only pose puzzling effects since the former operates more in private life (faith based) as



against the latter which operates more in public life. Christianity operates more in private life because the beliefs are not universal and yet the individual holds unto a belief as right from his experiences of the religion. As such the individual's subjective belief is more private to him since others may not necessarily subscribe to the same belief. However, in the context of the church involving in politics, such private beliefs such as prophecy and deliverance were used on public personality and institutions. A Charismatic Prophet Emmanuel Kankam Kwaku Attah Kakrah, Leader of the Christ Jesus of Nazareth for all Freedom Fighters Fellowship, stated that Nana Akufo-Addo (who was then the flagbearer for the NPP, the main opposition party) must be cleansed spiritually. He said this because in his view Nana Akuffo Addo (the flagbearer of NPP) has wealth which he needs not possess personally. To the Prophet, the wealth of Nana Akuffo Addo is meant to be given to the less privileged in his community. Prophet Kankam, in a statement, signed and dated 25th April 2013, copied among others the National House of Chiefs, The General Secretaries of the Political Parties, Ex-UN Secretary-General Mr. Kofi Annan, the Council of State, and the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council. He cautioned of dire consequences on Ghana if God's warning to the country of which the supposed cleansing of the Danquah-Busia tradition was part is ignored (The Enquirer, 2013).

Beyond the ecclesiastical matters, the founder of the Christ Jesus of Nazareth for All Freedom Fighters Fellowship was emphatic that the AFRC, PNDC and now the NDC are mandated to lead Ghana to the Promised Land and rule the nation to ensure peace and tranquillity on God's ticket. He said all

sycophants and praise singers who are trying through dubious means to sabotage the progress and development of the NDC government have to be condemned since they are considered as enemies in the sight of God (The Enquirer, 2013).

The surge of the Charismatics into political affairs is to be handled tactfully. The movement is a social capital that influences masses hence cannot be ignored in the current political dispensation. Their beliefs and practices such as predictions and prophetic languages could also not fit into political matters always since they are more or less limited by scientific proof.

### **Prophetic in Democracy**

What does "prophetic" mean in this context? In the biblical and Christian theological traditions, prophecy involves either the fore-telling of a future otherwise unknown to human beings or the forth-telling of a divine message for a specific place, time and situation (Robeck, 1988). This implies that prophecy has two dimensions: a future and a present dimension. In fore-telling the message is meant for a situation in the future while in forth-telling the message for the present or current situation. Charismatics believe that both are achieved under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

The use of religious language such as prophecy in politics became very common in Ghana during the current democratic dispensation. Any individual could rise and claim the divine call to contest elections or prophesy on political

issues. From the 2012 elections, there were more predictions and prophecies mainly on the results of the elections and the outcome of the court verdict when the New Patriotic Party contested the results of the elections in court.

Many of the Charismatic leaders dared to comment on the outcome of the 2012 elections using prophetic language. One such Charismatic leader, who is popularly known in Ghana with his association with the late president John Evans Atta-Mills, was Prophet TB Joshua (he is a Nigerian and the founder of the Synagogue Church with branches in Ghana). He held the view that the outcome of the elections will be decided on a second-run basis. According to him that is what has been revealed to him by God. He described the vision revealed to him as two babies inside a womb with each having different messages (The Chronicle, 2013). When the results did not appear as understood by his 'prophecy', resulting in the court case, Stephen Osei Mensah, popularly known as Nana Kwaku Bonsam, a traditional priest, dared the Prophet Joshua to predict the outcome of the election petition. As typical with the sacred as against the secular, religious messages are often interpreted for and from a different context. If a prophetic language such as prophecy appeared not to be fulfilled, the adherents re-interpret it from a different perspective for it to be seen not as negative but always in the positive light. The 'prophecy' of T.B. Joshua could easily be interpreted as being fulfilled and the second-run was the contest at the court which from the ordinary man's perspective, the court contest is never a second-run election (The Chronicle, 2013).

Perhaps the contest of the 2012 elections at the court in 2013 also fuelled the outflow of 'prophecies' and predictions from the Charismatic quarters. The tension caused by the length of days taken by the court to handle the ruling on the election led many to be uncertain of the consequences after the ruling. Amid the tension, it was reported that Rev. Owusu Bempah, a charismatic leader, who is often described by some NDC sympathizers as a pro NPP, predicted the death of the then President Mahama and warned of bloodshed in the country should the judges fail to make the right declaration. This according to him was revealed to him by God (Ghanaweb, 2013). This prediction, especially of bloodshed, is just one of the warmongering speeches by some of the leaders of the main two political parties. For the prediction of the death of the then President, perhaps it was as a result of his known sympathy for the NPP.

In these predictions and prophecies, Otabil emerged with the 'doom' speech. On one of his Sunday sermons, he declared 'I have a sense of heaviness in my spirit concerning the destiny of this country that there is something heavy ready to fall upon this country...' (Otabil, 2013). Though the speech of Otabil was not clear as to what he meant by 'something heavy' that will befall this country, the immediate comprehension was that it was an unpleasant situation if not violence or war. This 'sense of heaviness' was common as the situation of a political party contesting the results of a presidential election spanning for nine (9) months has never happened before under the new democratic dispensation. Secondly, there was tension in the country leading to the organisation of prayer vigils to pray against violence by many churches and religious bodies, prominent

among them was Women Aglow. One can easily tell that the vigil prayers will include prayers against violence and war after the court verdict.

Not long, his counterpart T.B. Joshua came out with another prophetic language that war will not befall Ghana after the Supreme Court pronounces its final verdict on the election petition. Also neutralizing the tension of war and violence, the founder of Paradise Way Chapel, Rev. Sunshine Anaba predicted that there would be a run-off after the judicial verdict between the two main parties. Like Otabil, Anaba stated that 'I feel in my spirit that Nana Akufo-Addo would win the run-off but the authenticity of that victory would be challenged by the NDC'. The idea of 'sensing in my spirit' by these leaders- Anaba and Otabil-raises many eyebrows. Does the 'sensing in my spirit' also mean what the individual feels because of environmental conditions? Or it is nothing less of individual imagination? The statements of these charismatic leaders sounded prophetic but one could also explain why they 'sense' or 'fill' the way they did without resorting to religion.

In the case of Anaba, in his bid to clarify his speech as to whether it is from God or his prediction, he ended up contradicting himself that what he was saying was spiritual, something he perceived in his spirit but not that it was from God. This implies that it was his prediction perhaps as a result of his observation. However, he concluded that whatever he perceives in his spirit in most cases is what the Spirit of God inspires and since the Spirit of God is in him then it is the same Spirit that speaks into his ears. His back and forth position was his attempt to play it safe in case what he predicted fails. Prophecies, predictions and

inspirations are an issue of private sacred beliefs and practices which when subjected to reasoning fall short of logic. As such predictions or prophecies and counter predictions and prophecies become a puzzling phenomenon to grapple with in public life unlike in private ecclesiastical domain (Ghana Review International, 2013).

The Charismatics and their prophetic language were also addressed to particular individuals and institutions even after the final judicial verdict. The phenomenon presents the Charismatics as carving a niche within the main stream politics. This could be real if their fervour is recognized by the political in politics. Despite the prophetic language in the public realm, the politicians have not publicly shown their sanction for it.

These religious statements from the ecclesiastical realms were considered as sacred and received with sanctity. However, placing them within the secular realm could make them lose their status of sacredness. A merger of the sacred and the profane produces a new order caused by the influence of the other. However, the role of charismatic prophetic languages as a vehicle stands a chance of greater effects on the profane especially with the rate of Ghanaians yielding to the Charismatic ideals.

## Charismatics and Democratic Political education

In every society, there is always a desire for good governance. The concept of good governance is however based on the individual's view depending on the level of knowledge about what good governance is. The individual must, therefore, be educated on good governance or political issues to be able to fully understand the system of good governance and make an informed choice in participation. This process in informing the individual on political issues is what is known as political education. Education on political issues can be seen as the process of creating awareness or sensitizing the citizens of society about politics or governance (Adamu, Evuti and Fadeyi & James, 2016). In other words, political education refers to the process of establishing and developing attitudes and beliefs of the people of the political system especially those within which they find themselves (Ball, 1984).

Political education is always a necessary tool in democratic development and sustenance. There are many institutions in Ghana that play this role. The Charismatic movement in Ghana, for instance, has become a key actor in political education in Ghana especially under the current democratic dispensation. This is seen especially during election years. Since 1992, Duncan-Williams has been noted for organising prayer vigils at his prayer Cathedral for peaceful elections. In such vigils people are encouraged to fully participate in the elections as it is their right to participate in choosing who to govern them. He also encourages people to vote neither through intimidations nor by coercion but to contribute to free and fair elections. Besides, he encourages all to accept the outcome of the elections.

Popular scripture often used is Acts 1:16-26 in the election of Mathias to replace Judas Iscariot. Duncan-Williams is not the only Charismatic leader playing this role. Many others educate their members on political issues. These are discussed below.

As part of its political education, ICGC in 1992 organized what was known as "The Political Awareness Week" in which the representatives of the various Political Parties were given a forum to present their manifestoes to the ICGC audience and the public. It was mainly to educate the church and the public on the manifestoes of the political parties. The following year there was a similar programme organized by the church on the theme "The Ghanaian Dream: Our Hopes and Aspirations" (Larbi, 2001). These were mainly for political education purposes by a Charismatic church. This is unprecedented in the political history of Ghana.

The year 2000 electioneering period realized myriad of political education from the Charismatics than any other period. The researcher is not ignoring other forms of democratic political education that might have taken place by the Charismatics in a particular period. However, the electioneering period of the year 2000 realized an open political education from key Charismatic leaders than before. Perhaps Nicholas Duncan-Williams could be described as the voice that broke the culture of silence for the Charismatics' involvement in political matters. Many of the Charismatic leaders made use of their capitals in educating the congregation especially on political participation and decision-making processes. The founder and leader of now Perez Chapel Charles Agyinasare preached on the



relation between rulers and economic situation. In the message, he stated that God uses people in positions of authority as instruments of mercy or chastisement. He stated that when Christians pray God will give them the kind of leader or government they need. He added that if God leads such a leader the nation will prosper but if it's the devil leading such a leader the nation will suffer dire consequences. From the sermon, it is clear that he was profoundly influenced by the civil wars in West Africa and also by the 1994 ethnic war in the Northern region which forced him to move the church to Accra in the south (Gifford, 2001).

Sam Korankye Ankrah, the founder and leader of Royalhouse Chapel International preached series of sermons on 'Election 2000- Ghana in search of a Leader'. This sermon was based on the Old Testament story of Israel looking for a king to lead them (1Samuel 8:4-7 and 19). He also mentioned that if the leader is accursed then Ghanaians will also be cursed, but if the leader is chosen by God then Ghanaians are blessed. With this uncritical interpretation, he advised the hearers that "vote for a Godly man, according to the word of God so that this land will be saved" (Ankrah sermon on 4th /11/00). This was the transition period, thus the end of the two terms of the then president J.J. Rawlings. He did not only advocate for the hearers to get involved in the voting but he surprisingly commented on the constitutional provision that limited the president to two terms of office. He added that he will be one of the people who will support the argument for more than two terms of office for a president provided the president brings prosperity to Ghana. It should be noted that sermons from these

charismatic leaders are not mere views of individual. They are leaders and are highly esteemed by the masses. As such, even uncritical comments from them are likely to influence the masses that may be unwary. Notwithstanding the content of the sermons, either objective or not, the objective of educating the hearers is laudable, coming from a Charismatic leader (Gifford, 2001).

Salifu Amoako, the founder and Leader of Alive Chapel international, who hardly comments on political issues, preached a sermon in the year 2000 which centered on the year's elections. In his sermon on 3rd September, he stated that 'real leaders of the nation are the spiritual leaders. When these people are positioned well in the nation, the nation will prosper'. Again just before the run-off election, he preached and said the nation needs a president that fears God (Gifford, 2001). The whole concept of Ghanaians electing "a God-fearing person" was one of the key messages from the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference as far back as the early 1990s (Dovlo, 2006).

These views of the leaders of Charismatic churches are to be seen from the spectacles of religious faith. Each could be interpreted from varied perspectives. However, the import is that the messages serve as part of political education from the pulpit though may be inconsistent and uncritical. As religious phenomena have many interpretations even by the same religious group, so are the various views of this phenomenon on politics by these Charismatic leaders. Many of them could denounce a particular regime because of its supposed idolatry and may favour change while others may see it otherwise. For example, Nicholas Duncan-Williams actively supported the National Democratic Congress, stating that the

scriptures (especially the New Testament) give no one mandate to criticize the government and its officials even if they are going wrong (Chronicle, 2000).

Sometimes in political engagements, there are implied forms of political education. Sometimes, political education may not be direct but so far as it occurred in the public domain it could serve as political information to the public. Sometimes in the process, these charismatic leaders are tagged with the idea of being too political or associated with a particular party. Mensa Otabil, stated in an audio message, that the Christian must fight for fairness and justice, for this is engraved in Luke 4:18-19. He mentioned that when the church speaks against injustice or on a public issue people think the church has become too political. Otabil stated:

They wanted the church to solve the problems of the people without questioning the source of the problem. When we give food to the poor, we are called saints, when we ask why the poor have no food we are called politician. When we pray for peace during elections, we are called men of God, when we demand integrity from our leaders, we are called hypocrites. Politicians want our prayers but not our wisdom; they desire to limit our contribution at important gatherings to say the opening and closing prayers (Otabil, 2011).

In the context, Christians are to show concern to all public matters notwithstanding the chastisement. In his sermons, he educated that the Christian

faith is both private and public and the expression of the faith in public can never be done outside political concerns. In other words, Christians should participate in public issues ranging from elections, public policy analysis and all matters that concern the human being created in the image of God.

In another sermon titled "Your vote" based on Acts Chapter 1 and Proverbs chapter 1:10-15, he categorically stated that people should vote not for people whom the writer describes as sinners or those who skim to do evil against the innocent. Likewise, they should vote for ideas not personalities who may end up not doing anything perhaps like Mathias. (Otabil, 2012)

According to Olatunde and Ademola (1963), the main objective of political education or socialization includes instilling political aspirations through the realization of the need and priorities of society and inculcates basic discipline by restraining people from immediate wrong doing. As such Charismatics are making inroads in this respect especially through the pulpit and their capitals. One of their capitals is their messages of self-affirmation.

Political education engrain in people an understanding of the political culture, hence participate in public affairs. This helps people not only to participate in elections but also to be patriotic. In a democracy, the role of political education does not only help the people to participate in voting, but to be patriotic and this helps to sustain democracy for growth. When there is adequate political education it leads to political participation by the individuals. Though political education leads to more political participation and democratic growth,

yet this can be more entrenched in a society where the socio-economic development is at least moderate.

### **Conclusion**

Historically, the church in Ghana has played key roles in the promotion and consolidation of democracy. As noted, the Charismatic movement right from the time of their emergence got involved in the fight for freedom particularly under the military regime of the AFRC/PNDC. After the country returned to a democratic system, they engaged in the political system, provided a platform for debate and the provision of political education. These activities of the Charismatic movement though were carried out without the intention of consolidating democracy, yet they cannot be ignored in any critical studies of the role of the church and the development of democracy in Ghana.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CHARISMATICS, SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY

#### Introduction

Charismatic Christianity is known for its prosperity preaching. The elements of prosperity include monetary, good health, joy, peace and so on. Beside this, Charismatic Christianity provides social and economic opportunities to both members and non-members which help to improve the living conditions of the people. This chapter explores the provision of social facilities and economic opportunities by Charismatic Christianity in the sustenance and growth of democracy.

#### Concept of development

The concept of development is nebulous. It has been used in different contexts with different meanings. Okompah, Owusu & Ohene (2016) cited persons such as Cowen and Shelton who attempted to define the concept by looking at two historical contexts. For these scholars, the meaning can be derived from the 18th century industrial revolution in Europe and after the Second World War. The industrial revolution in Europe led to some social problems such as unemployment, surplus population, poverty and many others. These problems need to be solved by planned interventions. The implementations of the planned

interventions led to the concept of development. In other words, development is viewed here as a process of transforming society or relieving society from a bad situation. The second historical context for the definition of the concept emerged from the speech of President Truman of USA after the Second World War. In the speech, he stated:

We must embark on a bold new programme making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas (Okompah, 2016:285).

It was in this light that the concept of development was seen in terms of growth of the economy over a period. Other scholars view development from many other perspectives than historical. For scholars such as Sen (1999), development should encompass creating structures that will help people to solve their own challenges. These structures should provide fundamental human rights, human entitlement and capabilities. The definitions of the concept of development are viewed from different perspectives and contexts. It is, therefore, challenging to give a comprehensive definition. However, in my research, development is viewed from the context of the provision of social facilities and economic opportunities meant for the welfare of society as a whole. These provisions are those coming not from the state but from the Charismatic churches which I used in the population of this research.

## Democracy versus development

World system theory which to an extent negates secularization is where various systems influence each other in growth. Here the systems cannot exist and grow independently. As such the development or growth of democracy to an extent depends on the level of growth of socio-economic institutions. World system theory raises the argument as to whether socio-economic development leads to the development of democracy or democracy leads to socio-economic development. In both sides of the arguments, there is an acknowledgment of an existing relationship. This is also emphasized in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) of the importance of democracy and development. On item twenty (20) of the NEPAD Declaration, it stated that *we believe that poverty can only be effectively tackled through the promotion of democracy, good governance...* (NEPAD Report, P.8). The idea raised here implies that there is an affinity between economic growth and democracy. Cheema and Maguire (n.d.), they opined that the relationship between socio-economic development and democracy raises the argument as to whether democracy fosters socio-economic development. Secondly, whether socio-economic growth promotes democracy and thirdly whether there is a synergistic combination effect of both. However, the argument still stands as to which one comes first.



*Democracy before development*

One of the positions of the argument is that democracy promotes development but not otherwise. This position rests on some of the key features of democracy such as accountability and checks and balances, especially in the state institutions. These features play essential roles especially in limiting the excessive or abuse of power (Menocal, 2007). These features also imply other features such as periodic elections and transparency. With these features, it becomes difficult if not impossible for one to arrogate resources to oneself without apprehension. As such, democracy gives a conducive environment for equitable distribution of resources for development. It is a democracy that provides or promotes development. Sen (1999) added that it is these features of a functioning democracy that explains the reason why famine has never occurred in democratic systems. Menocal again added that in a comparative analysis of policy reform in Central Europe after the transition to democracy, it was found that executive arm of government that is held accountable by the people and other civil societies are more effective in terms of developmental policies.

These views are very plausible though there could be several other factors that led to the development. Again, the argument is not made invalid pointing to the fact that there are many democracies in the world with the above stated features yet, individuals freely amass public finances to themselves. Also, democracies do not naturally bring about development if the people are not committed to enact developmental policies and see to their implementation. In the

argument above, democracy is considered not as an outcome or consequence of development, but rather a necessary ingredient to bring development (Menocal).

*Development before democracy*

As a contribution to this argument, Lipset (1960) stated that economic development is necessary if not sufficient condition for the development and sustenance of democracy. He further opines that the conditions needed for the development and stability of the democratic order are that of economic development, education and industrialization. He added that the more economically and socially developed a country is the greater the level of democracy and its sustainability. This conclusion is based on his study comparing democratic countries in Europe and Latin America. He realized the variation between democratic countries and less or non democratic countries in terms of their levels of socio-economic development.

The argument implies that there is a close affinity between socio-economic development and emergence, growth and sustainable democracy. Cheema and Maguire (n.d.) mentioned such scholars as Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi holding the view that democracies are more likely to emerge and survive in countries with a high level of socio-economic growth. Again Robert Kaplan, who on the other hand holds the view that certain prerequisites are needed in society before democracy can take root. These prerequisites include a certain level of employment, economic stability and civil peace. In other words,

socio-economic development first will increase the chances that democracy will be sustainable (UNDP, 2014).

In both arguments, there is the acknowledgment that democracy and socio-economic development have an intrinsic relationship and one influences the other (especially in functional democracies). I am not interested in taking sides as to whether development should come first then democracy later or vice versa. The interest here is that there is a relationship between them. As such any institution promoting socio-economic development is invariably promoting democracy and the continuous socio-economic development is a promotion of sustainable democratic culture. The church in Ghana has been known to be involved in socio-economic growth. However, since the growth of the Charismatic churches, they have also been involved in forms of socio-economic development. These socio-economic developments to an extent help in the promotion and sustenance of democracy in Ghana. These socio-economic roles by the Charismatic churches are discussed below.

### **Job opportunity**

Apart from the prosperity messages that the Charismatic churches are tagged with, they have also played economic roles that cannot be ignored. Their emergence in Ghana has opened up a whole range of economic opportunities for Ghanaians especially. Most obviously, these Charismatic churches need a team of pastors to head the many branches of the church. As many as there are branches,

so is the need for individuals to pastor such churches. The Ghana Evangelism Committee, for example, noted that between 1986 and 1992 there were 3262 churches planted in Ghana, which invariably means a similar number of pastors will be needed or will be given employment to pastor such churches (Gifford, 2001:91). There is no statistical record of the number of Charismatic churches in Ghana within the period of this study; however, it is obvious that they are found virtually at every corner of the cities in Ghana. Their bourgeoning implies that there will be the creation of more job opportunities for better living standards particularly for the pastors they employed (Gifford, 2001). According to a respondent from Lighthouse Chapel International, apart from the ten thousands of pastors that they remunerate, there are over three thousand church workers that are paid monthly. Apart from these groups, many others are given allowances *at least those who are on our payroll are paid just like they are working in other non church institutions* (said by a respondent from Christian Action Faith Ministries).

A respondent from Perez Chapel International used himself as an example. According to him as soon as he graduated from university, he got a job at the church. He did not have to write applications to institutions searching for a job like her other colleagues. She continued with the view that she was okay with the salary since she has bought her car, rented a place for herself and is able to take care of her siblings. These descriptions show that her living condition has improved. Hence the Charismatic churches have helped to give jobs to people and this has resulted in the improvement in the lives of these people. None of these respondents connected the improvement in their lives to their involvement in

politics. However, most of them acknowledged the fact that if the state had remained under the military regime, the church might not have grown to the current level for them to have jobs at the church. They, however, gave credit to the democratic culture that created a conducive environment for the growth of the church through the feature of freedom of worship.

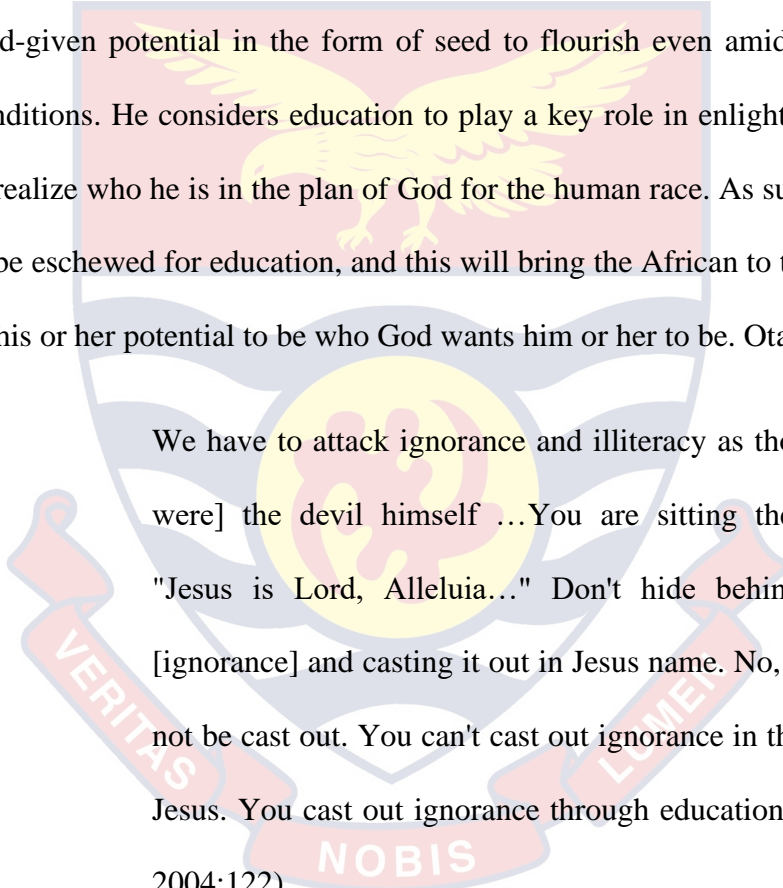
### **Provision of social infrastructure**

In this context, social infrastructure is about the building of schools and hospitals. Mensa Otabil has a peculiar interest in education. This interest led to the establishment of various forms of education in the International Central Gospel Church. The theology of Otabil on education evolved from his belief that man is not supposed to have dominion over his fellow man. If such a condition occurs, then the pattern God created is broken and this disrupts human interaction. When this happens, there is the emergence of injustice and the God of justice breaks in to set the oppressed free (Larbi, 2001). This idea is in line with liberation theology which emphasizes the freedom of all humans from all forms of injustices by the application of the gospel truth of Christ (Rowland, 1999). For Otabil, the mind of the Africans is hooked on the notion of white superiority. For this reason, the black or the African considered it almost impossible for the African to be truly free from the control of the whites. This according to Otabil stems from the experiences in the notorious Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and African colonial past (Eshun, 2013). The time of freedom is nowhere; however,

this freedom according to Otabil must be necessitated by the African liberating the mind from mental slavery. Though the African appears to be physically free, yet he is mentally under the bondage of western or white superiority. Otabil stated that through massive propaganda and the control of military and economic powers by the west, the thought of the notion of white superiority continues to control and dominate the mindset of the African (Larbi, 2001). In the view of Larbi, Otabil believed that the way out of this dilemma is to bring to light the status of the black race in the plans of God from a biblical perspective.

Otabil argued that the whole idea that the black race is cursed because of Ham in Genesis is mere western propaganda. Ham, the father of Cush was rather blessed and Cush the first son received the double blessing (Gen. 9:21). To Otabil, the children of the Cushite wife of Abraham were disinherited but they were later restored to their inheritance due to their faithfulness. One typical example he gave was on the story of Hobab. Hobab was a son of Jethro who was a priest before Aaron. Because of his faithfulness as a scout and guide to Israel, he won back their inheritance (Otabil 2004). He explained that the restoration of the household of the Cushites to their inheritance was reflected in the story of Joshua when in fulfilling the promise of Moses to the Medianites, settled the Cushites among the tribe of Judah which confirms the presence of a black race on the Promised Land among the tribe of Judah. In this argument, Otabil called for the black race (typically Africans) to change the misconception of being a cursed people and not to feel inferior to any race. And the best way out of this is through education.

Another line of his theology on education is found in his book *Four laws of productivity*. Commenting on the book, Larbi (2001) states that Otabil believes the whole plan of God for the human race is found in the first three chapters of Genesis. Otabil interpreted the phrases *be fruitful, replenish the earth, multiply, subdue the earth, have dominion* to imply the act of production and to him this applies to everything in the human environment. To him, every human race has a God-given potential in the form of seed to flourish even amid adversity or bad conditions. He considers education to play a key role in enlightening the African to realize who he is in the plan of God for the human race. As such, ignorance has to be eschewed for education, and this will bring the African to the full realization of his or her potential to be who God wants him or her to be. Otabil stated:

The logo of the University of Cape Coast is a watermark in the background. It features a shield with a yellow eagle with spread wings at the top. Below the eagle is a yellow circle containing a red silhouette of a person. The shield is flanked by two red banners with white text: 'VERITAS' on the left and 'LUMEN' on the right. At the bottom of the shield is a red banner with white text: 'NOBIS'.

We have to attack ignorance and illiteracy as though [they were] the devil himself ...You are sitting there saying "Jesus is Lord, Alleluia..." Don't hide behind binding [ignorance] and casting it out in Jesus name. No, Sir, it will not be cast out. You can't cast out ignorance in the name of Jesus. You cast out ignorance through education! (Gifford, 2004:122).

These views of Otabil presented out his theological concerns on education. As such the church, International Central Gospel Church undertook the setting up of educational institutions in the bid to give education through literacy. The physical structure exemplifying this is the establishment of the Central University College. The beginning of this educational project dates back as far as 1988 (before the

current democratic system) through the establishment of the church's ministerial training institute (this training institute started to run short term courses in ministerial practice). The form of training in the ministerial institute was essentially for ministerial practice with Otabil himself, Obeng Darko and Eric Kwarpong serving as the main teachers of the school (Eshun, 2013).

In late 1996, there was a need to upgrade the school to a higher status. The main purpose was for the church to contribute to the need for tertiary institutions at the time. This was the period that entering into the public universities was very competitive and the only private university at the time was the western supported Valley View University located at Oyibi in the Greater Accra Region. The universities at the time could not admit all qualified applicants. As such the Central University College was thought of as helping to augment the production of human resource to help in the development of the nation (Larbi, 2001). Thus, the university was run alongside the ministerial training institute. Later there was the plan to upgrade the ministerial training institute.

Notwithstanding the challenges, the Central University College was started in 1996 and as at 2003, the following programmes were being run by the university: Bachelor of Arts in Theology, Bachelor of Science in Business Administration, Bachelor of Arts in Secretarial and Higher Diploma in Education in Human Resource Management (Eshun, 2013). In the view of Larbi (2001), the Central University College has helped many people to acquire degrees. The establishment of the university has influenced other churches to also seek to establish their universities.



Apart from the university, the church has been engaging in the provision of basic schools at some of the premises of their established churches. The intention is that in the future there will be Senior High schools by the church as well. These schools are referred to as the Central Lyceum. The purpose of the Central Lyceum is to educate the young people and prepare them for the vocation God has called them into, and also to impact society and the world at large as an agent of change and development (Larbi, 2001).

Another educational institution set up by the Church is the Daniel Institute. This is mainly a ministerial college. It was started in 2009 to train young graduates only of the ages 18 to 25 years for ministerial work. These young people were selected because they are considered to be future leaders and because of their educational background, they will be more versatile and reshapable to suit the Church's objective of preparing the next generation of leaders. The admission here is restricted to church members only (Larbi, 2001).

International Central Gospel Church is just one of the many Charismatic churches that have educational infrastructures used as a tool for developing human capacity. The establishment of these educational institutions by this church is part of the church's aim of developing the human resource to be freed from ignorance. According to a respondent from this church (who has been with the church since 1991), the church together with the leadership envisages education as the way out for the African specifically the Ghanaian from all the challenges that have beset the African.

The respondent added that education provides the manpower of society for any form of leadership and development. To him (respondent), 'if all Ghanaians go through university education, our choice of leadership and the forms of leaders we have in this country will not be like this'. He further clarified this that many people in Ghana vote by popularity but not by ideas. As such people who have no passion for leadership but are popular end up winning elections. But if the majority of Ghanaians are enlightened especially through education, they will vote by ideas and not by popularity. This similar view was held by respondents from both Action Chapel International and Perez Chapel International (both are bishops and have been with the churches from 1987 and 1993 respectively). The respondent from Action Chapel International added that, though Charismatic churches came in late in the provision of educational facilities yet, 'the little we have provided is praiseworthy.' I share a similar view with these respondents on the contribution of education to leadership in Ghana and other part of the world. For this, more credits are to be given to other churches especially, the mission established churches for their contributions to the provision of educational facilities in Ghana.

Christian Action Faith Ministry in 2012 established a University known as Dominion University College as part of its educational contribution towards human resource development (apart from the seminary called Dominion Theological Seminary where people are trained for pastoral work). The university, like many others in Ghana, is opened to all people notwithstanding one's religious background, despite its Christian orientation. The Lighthouse Chapel International

has a Junior High School located at *Kasoa* in the Central Region. The church also has the *Anakazo* Bible Ministry and Training Centre that offers ministerial training to people. There is also the Perez Bible College established by Perez Chapel International that also plays similar functions as other bible colleges or seminaries. These seminaries all have a similar purpose in human development. There are many other seminaries built by Charismatic churches with a similar aim. These educational infrastructure is there mainly to develop human capacity not only for economic purposes but also to develop the individual's interest in the involvement in decision making that affects his environment just as opined by Cheema & Maguire (n.d.) that education reinforces people's participation in the decision making processes and this is a backdrop of democracy.

Another social infrastructure is the provision of health facilities. The Lighthouse Chapel International is known for its Mission Hospital located at North Kaneshie in Accra where healthcare services are provided to the public. Christian Action Faith Ministries has established a health centre within the premises of the church's headquarters in Accra. It provides health services to both members of the church and the community as a whole. This facility provides alternative medicines which are generally believed to be without side effect (Eshun, 2013).

## Scholarship fund

As a way to improve the lots of the people, these Charismatic churches have set up scholarship funds to help the underprivileged. ICGC for example has set up a scholarship scheme to aid the poor acquire a secondary or vocational education. This scheme was inaugurated in 1988 and became known as the Central Educational Trust.

According to Gifford (2004), throughout the 1990s about five hundred (500) people benefitted from the scholarship and many of them were Muslims and non-members of the church. The scheme is the brainchild of Pastor Mensa Otabil who, due to his past experiences, as a needy youth, whose educational attainment was hindered due to financial constraints (Eshun, 2013). He did not want others to experience similar challenges and this scholarship was meant as an antidote for the challenge. The scholarship is awarded annually to needy pre-university students to help them complete secondary school and it is meant to cater to all or part of the beneficiary's fees and other costs. This action contributes to the development of human resource for the nation. The scholarship is not only limited to the members of the congregation but all Ghanaians, notwithstanding the person's religious affiliation. Also by this act, burdens are offloaded from the shoulders of needy parents who may be struggling to cope with the country's socio-economic circumstances. However, in the year 2000, the church could not take care of all the applicants due to the increasing number of applicants for the scholarship and the limitation of funds. From this period, a committee was thus set up to select a few out of many applicants that the scheme can cater for (Eshun,

2013). This scholarship scheme is also set up in all the selected Charismatic churches used in this study. In the view of a respondent at action Chapel International, the scholarship was originally meant for any underprivileged person and due to that cannot continue his education (at any level even up to university) but due to lack of funds, the scheme became dormant and the eligibility was limited to members of the church. There is a similar situation at Perez Chapel International. Notwithstanding the challenges, these churches had records of people that the scheme has helped to complete various levels of education. Here, the Charismatic churches have helped better the human condition in terms of education by their available resources.

### **Other social functions**

Apart from the provision of educational facilities with scholarship schemes and health, the Charismatic churches provide other social facilities in the bid to help improve the status of the individual. As already argued, the provision of these facilities is part of the role of the church to develop the individual both physically and mentally. These forms of development are necessary for democracy to thrive in any society. The other form of services the Charismatic churches provide to help develop the status of the individuals is rehabilitation services. The most developed rehabilitation services by any of the churches are Action Rehabilitation Centre. Christian Action Faith Ministry in its bid to improve on the socio-economic status of people in general set up the Compassion

Rehabilitation Centre where people with mental problems, former drug addicts, and ex-convicts are helped to reintegrate into the society. In the reintegration process, they are either sent to school to pursue a programme of their choice or are given capital to start a business of choice. A respondent mentioned that one of the purposes of setting up the Centre was to help in transforming people who, due to certain circumstances, fell short of social expectation to become productive men and women within the society (Boasiako, 2017).

The provision of these social services to the nation may not necessarily be for profit-making, but these services are intrinsically part of the mission of the church. As such, these Charismatic churches offer these services as part of their missions. In many of the Charismatic churches, the provision of these services falls under their 'Compassion Ministries'. Again in the provision of these services, the Charismatic church has no consciousness of raising people to become politically conscious, neither do they provide these services to promote democracy but these services turn out to promote democracy. This is because a hungry or ignorant or sick person will not concern himself with national politics. According to the UN report (2014), democracy is more likely to survive in healthy societies than otherwise. A healthy society encompasses social and economic conditions that give the individual the ability to live and progress in the community. Also, Kaplan (1997) stated that a certain level of socio-economic development such as the existence of a basic level of education, job opportunities and healthcare systems are pre-requisites for the foundation of democracy. Since

Charismatic churches are involved in activities as presented above, then they are helping to promote democracy in Ghana.

## Conclusion

The provision of socio-economic resources is often considered to be provided by the state. In contemporary democracies, these provisions are largely supplied by individuals and institutions outside the state. The purpose of these provisions was to serve the public in various capacities. In other words, when these provisions are made available, they help in development. The Charismatic movement in Ghana has contributed in a meaningful way in the provision of social facilities and economic opportunities to people. Charismatic churches, though 'newcomers' have come to contribute towards this enterprise. These form the foundation of development and development also promotes democracy. Then we could say that Charismatic churches have contributed to the growth of democracy through the provision of social facilities and economic opportunities.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

#### Introduction

The Ghanaian Charismatic Christian experiences of religious life are to an extent a form of godianism: a system in which the faith of the community is expressed in the political, social, economic and every aspect of life. In other words, the beliefs of the people define the social and political systems (Afrikania, 2012). It is, therefore, no strange to observe the Charismatic Christian bringing his/her beliefs into politics. Prior to the encounter with Christianity, the Ghanaian already practiced a political system replete with traditional cultural elements. The chapter mainly looks at charismatic Christian theological reflections on pertinent issues related to Christianity and democratic ethos. It starts by analyzing the democratic and religious elements in the traditional political system before the emergence of the Charismatic strand of Christianity to be able to appreciate the basis for the Charismatic Christians' involvement with the current political system.

#### Democracy in the traditional political system

The current political system is more of a system adopted from the west. Prior to this system, the traditional political system was practised. The traditional political system has many traditional religious elements which, in effect spell out



the sacredness of the institution. It is common to find many ethnic groups in Ghana with a well developed political system with its accompanying religious expressions. However, in this discussion, the *Akan* traditional political system of Ghana is used as a point of reference. For the *Akan* traditional political system shares many commonalities with some other ethno-political systems in Ghana.

The *Akan* traditional political system in Ghana is religious. Right from the family level to the paramount, one identifies religious elements bounding the members of the political unit together. At the basic level of the traditional political unit among the *Akan* people is the family, normally headed by a male figure. This is common among virtually all ethnic groups in Ghana. This political unit becomes religious based on the recognition and belief of a spiritual tie that binds the family together (Aboagye-Mensah, 1994). Each member of the family is identified by three anthropological elements that composed the person: from the father, each member of the family inherits a spiritual element known as the *sunsum* or *ntoro* (Opoku, 1978, Appiah-Kubi, 1998). These elements are believed to bind the members of the family together into a political unit. Thus, making the basic political unit not merely a physical institution but spiritual.

Politics at the state level of the *Akan* political system is not without the religious. In reality, the religious at this level is more pronounced than at the basic level. The religious elements come in forms of swearing or taking of oath and the chieftaincy enstoolment proper. The relationship of the religious and the political systems here is of no doubt a fusion to the extent that the people themselves do not attempt to dichotomize one from the other. For there cannot be the political

system without the religious and divorcing the two will render the other not whole per the traditions of the people. For Aboagye-Mensah (1994), the *Akan* people like many other ethnic groups in Africa, do not draw any sharp distinction between the realms of politics and religion in the chieftaincy system. Although they acknowledge that religion has an influence on their political institutions and in a way provides a moral framework and the basis for the stability of the nation in general and the political institution in particular. According to Busia (1958), the religious role of the Ashanti chief is seen more when the chief publicly officiates religious rites.

One of the features of the *Akan* political system is that the chief is elected by the kingmakers. When a candidate is elected, all the members of the royal family meet in the house of the queen mother to settle any squabble that usually occurs during the processes of finding the candidate for the kingship. The members of the royal family are made to take a religious oath of allegiance to the newly elected chief. The taking of this oath is to ensure the support and solidarity of the member of the royal family to the new chief (Aboagye-Mensah, 1994).

Also, religious element in the *Akan* chieftaincy is in association with the oath taken by the newly elected chief during the processes of installation. Among other things, the chief solemnly swears thus: *...today you have elected me: if I do not govern you as well as my ancestors did; if I do not listen to the advice of my elders; if I make war upon them; if I run away from battle; then I have violated the oath* (Busia, 1958:78). This oath is religious as the ancestors are called upon to witness. Another area of strong religious association is the second day of the

installation. Here the ceremony begins early in the morning. This ceremony is held at the stool house, a form of a shrine, considered as very sacred. Here the *Okyeame* begins the ceremony by reverently informing the ancestors of the choice of the chief. The ceremony is composed of sacrifices to the gods and ancestors, pouring of libation amidst prayers and sacrifices (Aboagye-Mensah, 1994). The religious element here is of high value without which the chief will not be acknowledged by the people. In a way, without the religious, the political office of the chief is null and void.

Also after this ceremony, another religious ceremony follows in the public with other forms of sacrifices and prayers asking the gods and ancestors for protection. This completes the entire ceremony. As stated above, these religious elements are very common in the traditional political institutions of many other ethnic groups in Ghana.

The Africans generally do not separate the political from the religious. The religious complements the political. To talk of a separation between the two systems is to consider the political non-existing and the thought of secularization is a betrayal of the African tradition -there is no separation between the sacred and the profane. The prayers, libations, the stool and the stool room, the sacrifices make the institution religious. In the phenomenon of the traditional religion being part of the traditional political system are found features of democracy. These democratic features include elections of elders who are the heads of lineages, the election of the chief, representative roles of the eldest of the chief's council, recognition of the will of the people and power of the people to destool a chief

(Busia, 1958). As observed, democratic politics here is closely knit with the religious system. The latter acts as a catalyst of value placed on the political system. This makes it more like a modernisation system in which the political system and other systems form an entity operating together. The phenomenon of a close relationship between the religious and politics is therefore not new to the Ghanaian. It is embedded in our traditional system and this was also seen in the early days of political struggle in Ghana.

Africans who embraced western Christianity held onto the application of their beliefs and these beliefs influenced them in the quest for political struggle. The Ghanaian (then Gold Coast) Christians found a basis in the new faith to fight for political freedom. One such Christian religious leader known to have used his Christian beliefs in the fight for political freedom even before independence was the Methodist Minister Rev. Attoh-Ahuma. He is known to have openly supported the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS), a nationalist movement that sought to fight for the rights of the indigenes. He was versatile that he used any Christian resources to fight for political freedom. According to Pobee (1988:13), 'Attoh-Ahuma turned the *Gold Coast Times* founded in 1894 to further strictly religious aims into the outlet for major political grievances'. He rejected the idea that religion should be dichotomized from politics. To do this is to get rid of religion altogether because such people do not wish religion to interfere with the way they live. To Attoh-Ahuma, a society that treats religion as unrelated to the conduct of public life is soon swallowed up in corruption, violence and sin (Pobee). This view implies that the African, whether from a traditional

perspective or Christian still considered the sacred and the secular as complementary systems in society and one must not be divorced from the other. Though Attoh-Ahuma portrayed religion as a tool to deal with moral problems such as corruption and violence in politics yet, morality is not only necessarily measured by religious principles and individuals could deal with violence and corruption without resorting to religion. Modern states deal with issues of corruption and violence by using state institutions without resorting to the religious. Notwithstanding, the complementary of the two systems- religion and politics- featured prominently after political independence and even through the time of the emergence of the Charismatic movement especially under the fourth republic.

### **Theological discourse on 'God versus Caesar's**

There are many interpretations and views on the relationship between the church and the state which is often coined as 'God versus Caesar'. The common text that is often used in the argument on the relationship between the church and the state is Matthew 22:15-21. This single text has been used to defend Christians' engagement or non-engagement in public life such as in politics. There are views on a section of Christianity in Ghana that eschewed absolute involvement in politics either direct or indirect. This view is largely held by the Jehovah's Witnesses strand of Christianity worldwide. However, the view is also held by a few Christians who may not necessarily be associated with any particular

denomination but in their private beliefs. At the centre of this view is the idea of 'Give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's' as found in Matt.22:15-21. This expression is given multiple interpretations in line of politics on one side and religion on the other side and none crosses the others' path. I attempt to examine this particular text because of its popularity in usage in the context of the relationship between Christianity and politics. Matthew 22:15-21 is part of the controversy series initiated by those Pharisees who had openly shown their hatred for Jesus.

A respondent explained that the Pharisees came together with the Herodians to Jesus. The Herodians were a Jewish political sect who openly supported the family of the Herods to reign with a pro-Roman policy including taxation. The Pharisees were more popular with their resentments of the Roman rule and resisted Roman policies including the taxes but did not use violence, unlike the Zealots who use violent confrontations against Roman rule. The Pharisees and the Herodians came to Jesus with their ensnaring question thus 'Is it right to pay taxes to Caesar or not?' (Matt. 22:17). This subtle question intended to trap Jesus to commit himself in one way or the other. The question was calculated either to alienate the nationalists (if Jesus was to approve the payment of taxes to Rome) or to make him subject to arrest by the Romans (if he disapproves of the payment of taxes). In another way, the question could be posed as 'shall we submit to Rome or shall we fight for our independence?' In the text, the Pharisees sent their disciples who were younger men, with the hope that Jesus would not recognise them. This was because if they come to Jesus with the

question, he would make out that they are seeking to trap him since he had had many confrontations with them already. Luke described them as spies (Luke 11:54) who followed Jesus everywhere he went just to entrap him in any way to report back to the Sanhedrin.

Another respondent added that, in identifying the duplicity of his opponents, Jesus could not be forced into a reductionist answer. He decided to answer them on his terms and demanded a sample coin on which is the inscription *Tiberius Caesar Divi Augusti Filius Augustus Pontifex Maximus* meaning Tiberius Caesar, august son of Divine Augustus, the high priest. They handed Jesus a denarius and Jesus asks them a question as to whose portrait is on the coin. The popular reply was 'Caesar'. Jesus then said to them 'give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's'. This answer accorded to the teaching of the Jews which states that men ought to pay taxes to their superiors, since kings, even pagans owe their positions to God (Pv.8:15-16, Dan. 2:21, 37-38). The answer of Jesus is more profound than that and can be fully grasped in the light church-state relation in the first century Rome (Mudzeng & Goddard, 2010).

It was not only the Jews that link religion and state but paganism insisted even more strongly on the unity of religious obligation and the civil system. Early Christians later experienced dire wrath of the civil government of Rome for their refusal to participate in the ritual associated with the deification of the Roman emperors- which were judged as treason by the civil government of Rome. In this light, the messianic community that Jesus determined to build must not ignore the just claims of the state, because there are certain elements that one could describe

as 'Caesars'. However, the supremacy of God is absolute and the messianic community or the church's absolute loyalty goes to God first. There are certain demands on the church which 'Caesar' has no right to interfere because the state no matter how powerful is still subordinate to the authority of God. Thus, the text rather enjoins Christians to play their public role such as political and the same time remain loyal to God. (Mudzengi, 2010).

In addition to the above text, another respondent added references from the Bible to underscore non-participation in politics since 'the world is under the rule of Satan'. Texts such as John 12:31 and 1st John 5:19 point to this idea. Also when Israel settled on the Promised Land, they put a request to the prophet Samuel to give them a king who will rule them just like other nations. As part of the response to this request, the political leader was presented as one who will rule ungodly. For such a political leader will

... take your sons and make them serve with his chariots and horses, and they will run in front of his chariots. Some he will assign to be commanders of thousands and commanders of fifties, and others to plow his ground and reap his harvest, and still, others to make weapons of war and equipment for his chariots. He will take your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers. He will take the best of your fields and vineyards and olive groves and give them to his attendants. He will take a tenth of your grain and of your vintage and give it to his officials and attendants.



Your male and female servants and the best of your cattle and donkeys he will take for his own use. He will take a tenth of your flocks, and you yourselves will become his slaves. When that day comes, you will cry out for relief from the king you have chosen, but the Lord will not answer you in that day. (1st Sam. 8:11-18 NIV).

The general portrayal of the account (anti-monarchy) was a negation to a political system which the Israelites desired. Such a tyrannical leader who will corrupt the serene community is to be eschewed. As such Christians are to stay away from national politics outside God.

In the view of a respondent, there are many biblical references where the church cannot stay away from state affairs such as politics. Critics of the church engagement in state affairs restrict the church to be concerned with only spiritual things and exclude the church from the material aspect of life as in politics. In Christian theology, the spiritual is not separated from the material and every form of belief is translated into the material world. To this respondent, the church has been called to fulfill a mission to humanity and for the church to fulfill this mission; she has to get involved in human society as a whole. The church, therefore, owes society as a whole to serve the state as a civic responsibility as part of fulfilment of this mission. As such the church has not only the rights but the obligations to be involved meaningfully in political, social and economic affairs of the people in the state. This is justified by the biblical examples and historical experience of the church. This view is shared by Mudzengi (2014) that

the church has a significant role to play in politics and should not relegate it to the secular. Also, Aboagye-Mensah (1994) reiterated this same idea, pointing out roles such as the prophetic roles the church can play in the public sphere. I share these views of the respondents though caution the church as a whole needs to be guided in playing their role in politics.

For the church to separate herself from politics is to relegate part of her core function to the public or the secular sphere

### **Justification of church in politics**

In the justification of the charismatic Christian involvement in politics, virtually all the respondents cited several biblical stories and persons to explain the view of the involvement of the charismatic Christian in politics. One of the respondents, who happens to be a bishop of Christian Action Faith Ministries and have served under the Archbishop for over thirty years stated that there are many leaders from biblical stories who were involved in active politics, both at national and international levels. Such leaders include Moses, Joshua, and Samuel just to mention these few. These were not only religious leaders but also political leaders at both local and national levels. Later after Israel settled on the Promised Land, there was the institution of the monarchy. Here, priests and prophets worked hand in hand with the political heads of kings in the realization of a just society. For example, in 2 Kings 19, King Hezekiah sends his messengers and priests to seek direction from the prophet Isaiah who freely gave his advice assuring the king of

God's divine intervention and deliverance from the hands of the enemy. In the New Testament writings, several references require Christians to fulfill their civic responsibilities such as paying taxes, obeying political leadership and praying for the rulers. The biblical records or teachings are justifications for Charismatic Christians' involvement in state affairs. In corroboration with this view, another respondent of Perez Chapel International added that, for the Charismatics, the thought of considering the church involving or non-involving in state or political affairs is not a thought to be considered since the church is naturally enjoined to engage in the social lives of the people, and one of the areas of the social lives is politics. This corresponds with the view of Kudadjie & Aboagye-Mensah (2004) who acknowledged the justification of the Christian involvement in politics by citing the tradition of the church.

In their work (Kudadjie & Aboagye-Mensah 2004), they stated that the church has a history or a tradition of engagement with the political system. From the time of the church in the first century, the Roman Empire became suspicious of the church of subservient attitudes which was partly the cause of the persecutions through the second century. The perceived threats of the church made the state to persecute the church, including the insistence where the church was to consider the emperors as divine beings worthy of worship. The political system of the state engaged in conflictual forms with the church which made the church naturally concern itself with the state at the time. It was this situation that led to the writing of *1 Peter* and *Revelation*. Later the church was recognised and protected by the state under the leadership of Emperor Constantine in the fourth

century at the Council of Milan. The emperor assumed the supreme headship both of the church and the state and presided over church councils. This relationship between the church and the state enabled some church leaders to hold state offices. From the year 800 AD, the emperors were held to be God's representatives on earth for the maintenance of good governance and uphold the business of the church. Pope Boniface VIII (AD 1294-1303) brought the state under the church and he was the supreme authority of both the church and the state.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) known for the 16th century reformation in the church taught that the two institutions that are the church and the state should be separated because they have different roles. This was a major factor for the 16th century reformation. This he called the doctrine of the *Two Swords*: the kingdom of the church where the gospel is preached and the kingdom of the world where the law is proclaimed. In the view of Luther, although God shows interest in the affairs of men yet the two institutions should be separated and neither should interfere with the other as each of them has their proper roles (Kudadjie & Aboagye-Mensah, 2004). Luther held this view because of what he perceived in the relationship between the church and the state at his time- where the church became very close to the political system that sacred roles such as investiture became a political role and many of the clergies who took up political roles neglected their role to the church. Close to this view is the idea of Edmund Burke who posited that politics and the pulpit have little in common and this is evident in the countless persecution of the church especially when the church leaders

criticize political policies (Gorringer, 1998). These views were however not shared by their contemporary who posited otherwise. One of such contemporary was the French Jean Cauvin (John Calvin). John Calvin (1509-1564) held the view that the civil government was a divine institution. But in spiritual matters, the church must be independent of the state. However, the church and the state must cooperate for a common good while respecting each others' areas of operations. He brought the church and state together and set up what he regarded as a model state where the state protected the church and the church remained independent of the state only in spiritual matters. He considered the church as the institution that directs the soul of man while the state is that institution that directs the body of man (Kudadjie, 2004).

From the 16th century, it became a slogan in Europe especially in England that the religion or denomination of the ruler is the religion or the denomination of the state and by extension the religion or denomination of the people. The civil government decides whether the country should be Roman Catholic or Protestant. The ruler or emperor controlled the church.

In Ghana, the presence of the church was realized since the 15th Century Portuguese Catholic missionary work in the Gold Coast. However, the presence of the church was felt more with the presence of the Protestants from the 18th and 19th Centuries (Ekem, 2009). Here the colonial government acknowledged their presence even in the provision of securities for them.

The form of the relationship was continued when Ghana became independent from 1957. Notwithstanding the definition of Ghana as a secular state by all the constitutions that were drafted after independence, the laws still recognised the institution of the church because of the constitutional provisions of freedom of association. For the African or the Ghanaian, religion is connected to many aspects of their lives even in the public space it is vividly recognised. The constitution of the 4th Republic refers to Ghana as a secular state but not atheistic. It acknowledges and proclaims a belief in God. It also makes it clear that no particular religion is imposed on the country or a particular religion having state support against all others.

The constitution separates the church from state and politics. Notwithstanding, in practice, prayers are observed at important state functions and state institutions such as in the regular daily prayers and annual sessions of Parliament and the daily prayers in the Judiciary or at the seat of government-castle (Atiemo, 2013). Religion at this level becomes an incentive for active political function (Wald, 1987). This shows that despite the definition of Ghana as a secular state yet both the state and the individual exhibit religious elements in the public arena. It is based on this premise that I considered the role of religion particularly Charismatic Christianity in democratic development in Ghana. As already indicated, the situation in Ghana appeared to be a sharp separation of church from state activities or politics but not in practice. Many of the churches that were actively involved in politics were mainly members of the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference. The Charismatic

churches were then not formed until the late 1970s. it was in the 1980s that these latter churches began getting involved in state affairs or politics.

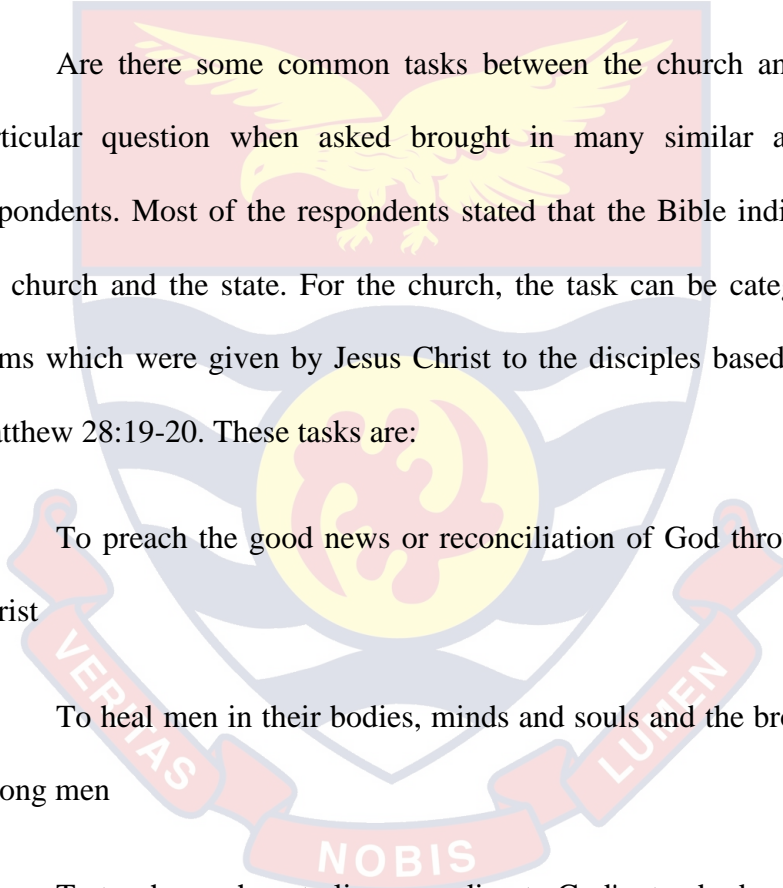
Currently, there are varieties of these patterns of church-state relationships. For example in the United States of America, there is a complete separation between the state and the church. In the United Kingdom, there is a formal and constitutional relationship between the state and the church. Here the Church of England is the official religion but in practical day-to-day activities, the two are separated. In Ghana, church and state are separated in theory but there have been working relationships between the two institutions.

From the above analysis, from the biblical and historical perspectives, I think there is enough justification for the church to be involved in the affairs of the state in the contemporary era. The nature of the two institutions makes it impossible for them to be divorced from each other especially considering the common task between them. From the view of another respondent from the International Central Gospel Church, both the biblical bases and historical bases are enough evidence for the two institutions to relate together. He added that even people who may not be associated with any religious group or have a historical knowledge of the relationships between church and state can attest to the fact that the trend of the current political system cannot rule out the church's contribution to political successes. However, one can define the relationship well, taking a cue from the view of John Calvin that, though the church and the state relate, yet each must respect the barrier of the other. To have a barrier means there are common grounds on which these institutions play common roles and other areas where

which are specific to the institutions. From the respondents, no area in politics should be left to the state alone since every move of the state affect the people and the church also serve these same people.

### **The common task of church and state**

Are there some common tasks between the church and the state? This particular question when asked brought in many similar answers from the respondents. Most of the respondents stated that the Bible indicates the tasks of the church and the state. For the church, the task can be categorized into three forms which were given by Jesus Christ to the disciples based on Luke 9:2 and Matthew 28:19-20. These tasks are:

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- The logo of the University of Cape Coast is a watermark in the background. It features a shield with a yellow eagle at the top, a central yellow circle with a red figure, and a red banner at the bottom with the Latin motto "VERITAS LIBERABIT VOS".
- i. To preach the good news or reconciliation of God through faith in Jesus Christ
  - ii. To heal men in their bodies, minds and souls and the broken relationships among men
  - iii. To teach men how to live according to God's standard.

For the state, the tasks are categorized into four based on Paul's letter to the Romans chapter 13:1-7. The tasks are:

- a. To order the public life of its citizens for the promotion of the common good.



- b. To ensure social justice, restrain and punish evil and defend the weak against the strong
- c. To make and enforce laws that will safeguard the rights of citizens
- d. To represent and guard citizens with other nations or authorities

With these categorizations of the tasks of both church and state, I realized that their tasks are interrelated and not exclusive. They are for the building up of better human in a better community. Both the church and the state in the performance of these duties, they need the support of each other: the church, on one hand, finds it easier to preach the gospel provided there is peace on the land or the community as a whole and by extension the whole country; and this is easily ensured by the state using its apparatus. Similarly, the state finds it easier to enforce the law and achieve justice in the society or the country as a whole if the minds of the citizens have been transformed for goodness through the salvation messages preached by the church. Thus it is in the interests of both the church and the state if they established a good working relationship among themselves. A good relationship is established typically in a proper democratic political system of governance (Kudadjie & Aboagye-Mensah, 2004). By this, one will not be surprised when many of the respondents see the roles of the church and the state as inseparable and at the same time overlap. As the Charismatics consider their involvement in politics justifiable, I attempted to find out physical factors (against biblical) that motivated them to get involved in active politics in the current democratic dispensation.

### Factors of motivation

According to a respondent from Lighthouse Chapel International, Charismatic Christianity is very holistic. To him, this strand of Christianity connects or attempts to define almost all aspects of life. In the public arena, it is very conspicuous. Anyone living in Ghana, just like in other West African countries, will realize that they are virtually found at every corner of the cities and their leaderships are often commenting on public issues. To another respondent from this same church, though the constitution of Ghana makes it clear that Ghana is a secular state, thus separating the state and religion yet in reality, these two systems often feature together especially at particular state functions and this is evident in the political history of Ghana. Religion as a whole has always played a significant role in politicking. It is either politicians using religious symbols to influence the citizenry in the creation of a particular political behavior or the religious leadership independently attempting to influence the political leadership. Thus the relationships between these systems create a form of civil religion (Dovlo, 2005). Charismatic Christianity coming to the religious scene also naturally towed similar lines as the other religious traditions or denominations that existed before. As such, the involvement of Charismatic Christians in politics is just a natural course. However other factors such as the traditional religious worldview of the African and socio-economic reasons cannot be ruled out.

The Ghanaian traditional worldview on salvation influenced the political involvement of Charismatic Christianity in politics. A respondent from Lighthouse Chapel International referred to the African tradition playing a role in

the motivation for the involvement of the Charismatic Christianity in politics. According to him, in the African traditional worldview, the individual or the community prospers when there is a harmonious relationship with the spirits. For the African traditionalist, salvation is not only spiritual but physical as well. A saved individual or community realizes not only freedom from the wrath of the spirits but also having the existential needs of the individual or the community met. This view is also corroborated by Quayesi-Amakye (2013) stating that the spiritual world in African tradition rules the physical world and as such anything, the African gets especially anything 'good' is believed to come from the spiritual realm especially where there is a good rapport with the spirits. Besides, the spiritual world thus gives meaning to the very existence of the African.

The respondent emphasised that this belief, the African cannot relegate since aspects of the prosperity gospel hold on to a similar idea. Due to this belief, the African politician for that matter the Ghanaian politician seeks to have harmonious relations with the supernatural to be able to meet his existential needs including the political (Omenyo & Wonderful, 2013). For this respondent, Charismatic Christianity with its feature of emphasizing spiritual gifts was resorted to as a means to get one's existential needs met. Also in line with the prosperity gospel which professes victory and success of the believer in every aspect of his life including politics attracted many to go after these forms of Charismatic churches. As such, some of the Charismatic leaders acted as spiritual repositories to the politicians that patronize their churches. This phenomenon realized the Charismatic movement's involvement in the political system.

Another respondent from Christian Action Faith Ministries added that, though the emergence and beliefs and practices of the Charismatic movement have no link with the African traditional belief system yet one could not rule out a traditional influence on the Ghanaian Charismatic Christian's view on the engagement in politics. From the above I realise efforts of Charismatic Christians attempt to disassociate themselves from things which have the tag of 'African tradition' but as already explained, the African Christian cannot eschew all his African tradition or replace it with the new faith. It is therefore not a surprise for the reference to the African traditional worldview being a factor in influencing the African Christian's involvement in politics. For many Charismatic Christians use the spiritual as a means to influence the physical, thus politics.

A second factor for the Charismatic involvement in the political system is socio-economic. A respondent from Lighthouse Chapel International mentioned that from the early 1980s in Ghana, the experience of poverty made people turn to Charismatic churches because of the gospel of prosperity messages they came with. As such many turn to these churches with the hope of bettering their lots. In the end, many of them became members of these 'mega' Charismatic churches led by 'Bishops'. As the leadership of these churches sees their members in political positions, they felt responsible to engage them in politicking. After all, they are members of their churches they preach to, *and we can also address them in the attempt to influence them when they are in government.*

Another from the same church added that many of the MPs and ministers are found in these churches and as the church members see them, sharing the

same pews with these high politicians gives the members leverage to engage them in politics either voting for them or criticizing them. We should not also rule out the fact that political education is on the increase and the general public is becoming politically conscious. The general public includes Charismatic Christians and as such general political education is also a factor in the engagement of the Charismatic Christians in politics.

### **Charismatic Christianity and Democratic Politics**

Religious emblems and languages have dominated the political history of Ghana to the extent that, hardly will there be a political rally or campaign even during election periods without the display of religious languages or emblems. From a glance, these religious languages or emblems seemed more of political expedience than religion. The phenomenon presents religion as part of body politics. As such Charismatic Christianity naturally found herself involved in the political arena in Ghana. Her involvement in democratic politics is based on the two schools of thought on the involvement of Christians in politics: the first school of thought is referred to as *Christendom* states that Christians should seek to influence society for Christ from the position of political power. In my view, this school of thought, therefore, considers political power only from the perspective of the politician using his office to influence the ruled with his Christian ideals. The view did not even consider the religious pluralistic nature of the settings.

To use political position to propagate Christian ideals implies that one does not consider or to the extreme tolerate other religious groups. Political power is more of serving society as a whole for general progress but not to serve only a section or particular religious or denominational interests. I realised that most of the Charismatic church leaders interviewed held this position. For them, Christians should participate in politics so that they can make Ghana a 'truly Christian' country through their influences. The second school of thought for the involvement of Christianity in politics is referred to as a *balanced position*. According to this thought, Christians should individually be involved in politics but the church as a body should abstain and not use the pulpit for political purposes. This implies that the involvement of the Christian in politics should be based on the individual but not the church (Cheddie, 2016). The individual Christians make up the church and to say that the participation in politics should be on individual Christian basis is the same as the church being involved in politics but this time not openly in the church or using the pulpit. In addition, if involvement in politics is not anti-Christian, then the pulpit can sometimes be used to educate people on social or political issues. I think this view attempts to limit politics at the individual level but not openly in the church because of fear of the involvement of partisan politics which can lead to division in the church.

At the time of the emergence of the Charismatic churches, there were two main views of the Christians involved in politics. Of the people interviewed, all held the view that the concept of Christian involvement or non involvement in national politics is fallacious since naturally, politics is integral part of biblical

teachings. Despite this view on Christians' natural involvement in politics, the discussion also examines the view from the other side which rejects the Christian involvement in politics. By involvement in politics, I mean both the direct and indirect levels of involvement. Direct involvement refers to such forms as running for political office, lobbying politicians for favours or other interests, active involvement in demonstrations for support or against political decisions. Indirect levels of political involvement include such activities as voting and commenting on political issues (Cheddie, 2016).

### **Charismatic response to anti-politics**

Throughout the interview, only one respondent raised the view that he does not get involved in politics, not even voting since everything in this world including political leadership are under the control of Satan, citing Luke 4:5-6 in which Satan claims the world and its authority are his and he gives to whomsoever he wishes.. Notwithstanding, he does not hold unto this view as a church doctrine but according to him, this view is personal, leaving the choice of either getting involved or not to the church members. Most of the respondents held the view that Christians who are anti-politics are not fulfilling their calling holistically. For Charismatic Christianity, to be involved in politics is not only to fulfil a spiritual role but to be involved in politics is also to promote good governance and democracy from the grassroots level. This is because, for a respondent, the Charismatic Christian begins his political activities first of all

through voting or the exercise of his freedoms and rights as these are divinely given to mankind to exercise.

A common view of Christians against Christians' involvement in politics is that there is no direct biblical mandate to be involved in politics (Kacer, 2002). This view is based on the assumption that politics is not biblical but a creation of human society. As such the Bible does not stipulate that Christian should be involved in politics at whatsoever level. Though the biblical injunctions are considered to be timeless and need to be interpreted for it to be applicable in all contexts, yet the view expected explicit injunction from the biblical text. Very limited respondents held unto this view, however, a further probe revealed that the respondent came from a religious movement that held unto the a-political stance as a doctrine. Notwithstanding his position, he does not hold unto it as a doctrine but as one yet to be convinced that the Christian should involve in politics. In the general position of Charismatic Christianity, not seeing any biblical mandate that enjoins Charismatic Christians to get involved in politics sounds very absurd to most respondents.

These respondents made references to the concept of *salt* and *light* from the gospel of Matthew (5:13-16). The text is interpreted to explain the responsibility of the Christian in society. Per the text, Christians are enjoined to illuminate society in general such as in politics and bring to bear on society specific Christian values. The implication here is that the Charismatic Christian has to illuminate the political system by several means such as taking all necessary steps to ensure good governance such as in a democracy. Where there is



already a democratic system, the Charismatic Christian ensures that the ethos of democratic culture is practiced or upheld. Through this, he is fulfilling his role as *salt* and *light* in the political system. To show no interest in political affairs is to fail to play one's role as a Christian in the light of the above text.

Another popular view held by a-political Christians is that if a Christian gets involved in politics, the person will be exposed to political situations where compromising Christian moral values will be expected (Goddard, 2010). This implies that as a Christian one is expected to uphold moral values which could be threatened if one gets involved especially in active politics. The view is expressed that politics makes people to tow a particular political line at the expense of the person's Christian beliefs and practices. To avoid the threats of the person's Christian beliefs and practices or not compromising the Christian should stay out of politics. The views expressed by the respondents concerning this position is that for the Christian to stay out of politics for the fear of compromising is to do more harm to society. It is better to participate in the system to help solve the 'problem of a threat to beliefs' than to stay out. The popular text used to explain this is 2 Timothy 2:24-25. It states that

And the Lord's servant must not be quarrelsome but must be kind to everyone, able to teach, not resentful. Opponents must be gently instructed, in the hope that God will grant them repentance leading them to a knowledge of the truth ... (NIV).

For Charismatic Christianity, one ought to get involved in politics at every level so that, instead of the fear of compromising one can rather influence with his Christian values. A similar text referred to was Colossians 2:8 which states that: *See to it that no one takes you captive through hollow and deceptive philosophy, which depends on human tradition and the basic principles of this world rather than on Christ.*

The text above also emphasises on the Christian living by the Christian principles and values without giving in to other principles or ideas that do not correspond to the Christian values. For the Charismatic Christians engagement with the political system is therefore not to be compromised with a reason or philosophies or human traditions that lead to compromising with the Christian faith.

Again, the a-political Christians consider Christianity as a holy enterprise that must not be tarnished with the arts of politics. To, therefore, get involved in politics is to destroy that which is holy with the unholy. Reference is made to the saying of Jesus that *do not give dogs what is sacred; do not throw your pearls to pigs. If you do, they may trample them under their feet, and turn and tear you to pieces.* (Matt.7:6, NIV). The text is again interpreted as a position against such practices as politics. Similarly, the Charismatic Christians consider this interpretation of the text as an excuse to do away with politics. To the Charismatic Christians, the text advises the Christian not to waste the truth of the gospel on those who will seek to tarnish it (swine) but does not refer to Christians not to get involved in politics as politics is perceived by them (a-politicians) as "evil". Such

a-political position also perceives politics to be corrupt, sleazy and beyond redeeming. As already discussed, Charismatics acknowledged the problems within the political system and the more reason they are called to play the role of *salt* and *light*. Generally speaking, Charismatic Christianity considers politics not as evil but even if it is, the Christian has a *calling* to rectify the anomaly. The anomaly can only be rectified if the Christian gets involved in the politics at all levels and reflect the *salt and light* into the political system. The active involvement of the Christian in all sectors of the body politics goes a long way to promote democracy or good governance.

In addition to the rebutting of a-political views, Charismatic Christianity advanced other reasons to underscore the importance of the pro-involvement of Christians into active politics at all levels concerning other texts from the Bible. One of the arguments for the involvement of Christians in the democratic political processes is based on the concept of the image of God (Gen.1:26-31). The nature of human in these verses is vital for many issues in Christian ethics, discipleship and politics (Goddard, 2010). This idea of the human being created in the image of God makes human possesses a divine nature, a quality that differentiates human beings from animals and any other creation. A central corollary in man possessing a divine nature from God is the calling to rule as found in verses 26 and 28. The writer of the account makes it clear that human beings rule both within and over creation was part of God's plan in creation. This implies that it is not only humans to have the right to rule but also as to how man is to exercise this

authority. Talking of having the right to rule or to have dominion over a people of ruling over an area is to practice active politics

### **Theological bases for democratic ethos**

Many passages from the Bible have been advanced by Charismatic Christianity as bases for some elements of democracy. These references were mainly based on the respondents' perspectives. I do not intend to do any biblical exegesis and hermeneutics with the references that are raised by the respondents but to analyse the references from their understanding.

### **Human Rights as a theological concern**

Human rights are key features in every form of democracy. It comprises of rights and freedoms exercised by the people within any political jurisdiction. The whole concept of human rights has to do with life, how life is to be lived in freedom. Kudadjie & Aboagye-Mensah, (2004) also added that human rights maintain that human life is to be highly valued and must not be manipulated for any reason. It again adds that human beings must not be denied of life, basic goods and services, land, property, foods, etc. that help the sustenance of life. These are often described as fundamental human rights which are to be enjoyed by every human being. A popular text cited by respondents against the denial of these rights is Micah 2:1-3. It speaks against those who plan evil and execute such

evil on the innocent because they are in power, those who use their power to deprive the poor of their lands, houses and inheritance. For such people will be punished by God.

All respondents held the view that human rights originate with God before various institutions coded them in their documents. God gave it when He created man in His image and likeness (Gen 1:27). This text was referenced to by all the respondents. The text gives humans a sense of dignity. This is because God established a relationship with a human, thus when God created man in His image and likeness. He made them of different sexes and asked them to reproduce (Gen 1:27-28). Since human was created in the image and likeness of God then human shares some features such as moral and rational and spiritual nature with God. As such human can respond to God's love and obey the laws of God, thinks and feel God (Deut. 6:4). To deny anyone of rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of thought, etc. is to deny human of this nature the human shares with God. In other words, it's a way of denying humans their true nature since these rights are derived from this nature humans share with God. Aboagye-Mensah (1994) added that for this reason human is therefore expected to freely exercise these rights in a democratic political system. In the view of a respondent, the creation of human in the image and likeness of God makes human nature, a being to be accorded high dignity and one way of acknowledging this God-given dignity to man is to grant all humans notwithstanding, to exercise these human rights granted in democratic constitutions. The view, though is interpreted from a theological perspective, yet might not necessarily be a reason for this democratic

feature to be coded in Ghana's democratic constitutions. It is included mainly because it is generally considered as a universal feature of every democracy since those who drafted the constitution might not necessarily sympathise with a particular religious value

### **Right of association**

The right to association is also derived from the creation story (Gen. 2:18), a view held by most respondents. Man is a social being and he finds his dignity not with himself but with his environment. In the text, God said *it is not good for the man to be alone. I will make a helper suitable for him.* After the Lord brought the woman to the man as his wife, they were commanded to be fruitful and replenish the earth. This allows man to associate with many humans. This opportunity was provided or created by God Himself in making man a social being. By extension, the right to associate is a gift from God and part of man's nature always seeking to associate. This makes the right of association which is fundamental to every democracy to originate from God. Another respondent corroborated this that the so called fundamental human rights such as the right of association are natural with all animate: humans, animals and plants. These were all in the original world God created (Garden of Eden). To him, God did not only create a woman for man but all other animals were made male and female. Besides, the plants were also created to live together in a common environment

(association) the respondent interpreted this text in recognizing the democratic right of association to originate from God.

### **Criticism as a theological value**

In every democracy, the practice of criticism is a value. It is also derived from the democratic culture of tolerance. This feature is very relevant in a democratic culture where there is a significant opposition acting as a watchdog over the actions and inactions of the party in power. In a situation like this, the party in government or the opposition needs to contain or tolerate the criticisms over its activities, especially sour criticisms. In the story of creation, God Himself was said to have criticised the human of a wrong done. Throughout the Old Testament, the prophets were seen criticizing the Jewish leaders. A popular example raised by respondents was the story between David Bathsheba and Nathan in 2 Samuel 11. Nathan sorely criticized David for his action against the house of one of his soldiers. David showed an attitude of tolerance by accepting his wrong and sought to rectify it. Likewise in the gospels, Jesus and John the Baptist were seen criticizing the Jewish leaders for wrongdoing. John, in particular, was imprisoned by Herod for unlawfully marrying Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip. This later led to his death. Criticism, therefore, could be traced in several passages from the Bible. A respondent mentioned that he was once persecuted for criticizing a particular military regime and he suffered for that. According to him, he criticized the government for the atrocities caused to

civilians in the 1980s and was arrested six times and many other times he had to escape. He, however, added that he was not criticizing as an active politician but as a 'man of God' just as any of the biblical figures that criticized the status quo for what were perceived as wrongs. But in all that, he was not perturbed as he saw his actions as part of fulfilling his calling as a pastor. In a democratic culture, criticisms are welcomed but not in military regimes. Though criticisms are naturally part of man because of human frailties and imperfection (Gen.3), others who perceived these will surely criticize. Criticisms are therefore naturally part of systems with human actors. However, the context for the criticism needs to be taking into consideration especially under an undemocratic regime.

### **Advocacy for political participation**

Political participation is not only a key feature of democracy but also a tool in measuring the growth of a democratic culture. The more the participation of people in politics the more the growth of democracy since democracy thrives on people's participation in decision-making processes. This feature cannot easily be traced to the creation story. The data showed that Charismatics popularly refer to a biblical text which is interpreted and associated with the democratic feature of political participation. The text is Romans 13:1-7 (NIV). The text states that:

Let everyone be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established.

The authorities that exist have been established by God.



Consequently, whoever rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgment on themselves. For rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong. Do you want to be free from fear of the one in authority? Then do what is right and you will be commended. For the one in authority is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for rulers do not bear the sword for no reason. They are God's servants, agents of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer. Therefore, it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment but also as a matter of conscience. This is also why you pay taxes, for the authorities are God's servants, who give their full time to governing. Give to everyone what you owe them: If you owe taxes, pay taxes; if revenue, then revenue; if respect, then respect; if honor, then honor.

Throughout Christian history, this text has served as a basic reference and has been used by governments to maintain a *status quo*. A typical example of the use of this text was by the apartheid government in South Africa. The government interpreted this same text to mean absolute loyalty and obedience from all the citizens to the government. The preamble of the then constitution states that it was God who gathered the forefathers to South Africa and gave them the land. They

are, therefore, defending the land and apartheid is submission to God. The preamble reads:

In humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destinies of nations and the history of peoples, who gathered our forebears together from many lands and gave them this their own; who has guided them from generation to generation; who has wondrously delivered them from the dangers that beset them (Kudadjie & Aboagye-Mensah, 1992:21).

By this declaration, the government called for all South Africans to submit to the government as the declaration is in line with the text. A submission to the authorities is a submission to the will of God and obedience to the text. In other parts of Africa, there have been similar circumstances where governments come to power through military coup d'état or through force and references are made to the scriptures or the use of religious language to justify an action. Often such governments refer to religious symbols or biblical texts such as Roman 13 to call for obedience from the governed.

From the respondents' interpretations the text is in line with democratic ethos. According to a respondent, the text in Roman 13 enjoins Christians not to separate themselves from the state especially in fulfilling their responsibility to the state or the government of the day. The respondent points out that obedience to authorities notwithstanding how they were formed implies that the citizens comply to their

decisions and by doing that one is participating in the rule of the particular government. Also, the text points out that the authorities are out to make the citizens live morally which corresponds to many other biblical injunctions. As such the church as a whole is to participate in the politics of the day, whether democratic politics or whatsoever to realise the will of God to the society.

The Charismatic Christian interpretation of the text appears that the Charismatic Christian has no choice whether to participate in politics or not. The text enjoins them to participate in politics at all levels; all to realise the will of God to society. This implies that the involvement of the Charismatic Christian in politics is not only limited to a particular political culture. In effect, they have a role to play in the administration of the country which in a democratic culture is referred to as political participation. From a respondent, the text, though enjoins the Christians participation in politics, the participation is in two folds: to play one's civic responsibilities and also to inject biblical moral standard into politics for good governance. However, whichever way or level the Charismatic Christian participates in politics, it contributes to the growth of the democratic culture.

### **Charismatic theology on elections**

An election is another significant feature in every democracy. Almost all the respondents made references to major biblical stories where forms of elections appeared and these biblical references form bases for the Charismatic Christian voting. The two basic biblical stories which were referenced by the respondents

are the selection of Saul as the first king of Israel and the election of Mathias to replace Judas Iscariot in the Old Testament and the New Testament respectively. In 1Samuel 10:17-24 the elders of Israel gathered at Mizpah and Saul was chosen by lot. The casting of a lot is a popular way of selection or election of people in the Bible. In the second reference Acts 2:14-26, Mathias and Joseph Barsabbas were put forth and Mathias was elected- also through casting lot- to replace Judas Iscariot. Though the two references did not give details as to how the elections were conducted yet, the interest of the respondents is more of the act of electing or the introduction of elective principle. The fact that these biblical persons were elected makes them legitimate, according to a respondent. In the view of a respondent, voting is a divine institution and also a means through which we can know the mind of God (Proverb16:33).

Elections are considered as the vehicles instituted in a democratic system of government to elect the people believed to be the best leaders of the people to wield authority over virtually every aspect of the peoples' lives (Kacer, 2002). By these references, the Charismatic Christians have bases in their participation and promotion of the democratic system of government through exercising their franchise. The involvement of the elections of political leaders is part of what it means by being 'salt' and 'light' in the world.

## Prophetic role

Beside the democratic features identified in the Bible and discussed above, Charismatic ministry also plays prophetic roles as part of its theological understanding in the promotion of democracy. Charismatic Christianity considers the prophetic role of the church as pivotal in any community or nation. The democratic environment created by the 1992 Republican Constitution realised the active role of the Charismatic leadership in issues of politics. Their role in the democratic era was a consciousness informed by the concept of *the Prophetic role of the church* based on Luke 4:18-19 and Romans 13:1-7. Though there were other references raised by the respondents yet, these two were common with the prophetic role of the church in the promotion of democracy.

The first passage used for *the prophetic role* of the church is a declaration made by Jesus at the beginning of his ministry after the temptation in the wilderness. He quoted from the prophet Isaiah saying:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord (Luke 4:18-19, RSV).

The Charismatics interpret this passage as the divine role of the church or the Christian to finish the role Christ began on earth. As such many Charismatics

view their involvement in politics as part of their religious role in advancing the kingdom of God on earth. This was why the charismatic does not differentiate church roles from the political role.

Because of this, a respondent saw the two roles as axiomatic but not separated. This situation encourages more participation of the Christians from the Charismatic church circles into politics and this augurs well for the promotion of democracy.

A prophet is one called by God to act as an intermediary between Him and His people. Some of the important roles of a prophet include communicating the will of God to the people either in the future or present. In the performance of this role, the prophet may give advice or admonition, or exhortation concerning some deeds of the people. Such words are inspired by the love of God because heeding to the advice, admonition or exhortation leads to the freedom or prosperity of the people but not heeding to these invites the anger of God on the people (Kudadjie & Aboagye-Mensah, 2004). In effect, the statement that *the Spirit of the Lord is upon me* is interpreted by Charismatic Christianity as they being filled or anointed by the Spirit of the Lord to fulfil this prophetic role. It is common how the Charismatic movement lays emphasis on the phenomenon of *anointing* and its associated beliefs in the gifts of the Holy Spirit as in 1 Corinthians 12-14 (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2010). As such they easily took possession of the statement and put themselves in place of Jesus to fulfil this role.

Also, the text in Luke 4 connotes elements of democracy such as freedom and justice. In one of the views of a respondent, the church has a divine duty to save the people from any form of oppression and injustice. The text states that *He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord*. The respondent stated that if the church ignores this crucial role to society as a whole, then the message of salvation becomes meaningless to the people in the society. This is because the message of salvation is not limited to spiritual but physical as well. Also, there is an undertone of human rights, thus the text implies the ensuring of human rights to the people especially under a democratic system of government. The recognition of human rights is a cardinal feature of every democracy as such for the church to advocate for the recognition of human rights under its prophetic role based on the text in Luke chapter 4 implies the advocate for an important feature of democracy. Human rights as a feature of democracy are not only featured in the text but it is generally compatible with Christianity (Atiemo, 2013)

As part of the fulfilment of this prophetic role, the Charismatic church leaders warn the politicians or the government on actions that they consider not right or not per biblical teaching. According to a respondent, his Senior Pastor has the personal telephone numbers of many African statesmen whom he calls personally to advise them. According to him, he was part of a team delegated together with some members of Christian Council of Ghana to speak to J. J. Rawlings concerning his relations with the then ex-Vice President K. N. Arkaah

in 1992 and that between J. J. Rawlings (then an ex-president) and the then President J. A. Kuffuor in 2004 over sour relationships. Besides these, the respondent mentioned that the use of the pulpit has also been very significant in playing this prophetic role. The exhortations delivered at pulpit are meant for all including top political office holders from all divides of the political system, especially those who are members of the church.

Again some Charismatic church leaders as seen in Chapter three, used the pulpit to educate the citizenry on their political rights especially during electioneering years. Some respondents mentioned that the last Sundays to an election are always dedicated to education on the political role of the electorates.

Another prophetic role of the church is to intermediate between the people and God. This intermediary role of the church is popular in Christendom. For the Charismatic movement, intercession prayers feature prominently amidst speaking in tongues and *prophetic declarations*. The Charismatic churches organise prayer vigils, especially during election years. From a respondent, the International Central Gospel Church always tasks itself through the prayer team (intercessors) to pray for the country, people in government and the entire citizenry for peaceful elections. Another respondent from the same church mentioned that, though they always intercede for the government yet the prayer for electioneering periods is considered very 'strategic'. Often during these periods they fast and pray throughout till the time of the swearing in of the elected president. However the 2012 elections the prayer took a different form with Action Chapel International. Due to the contest of the results of the election at the Supreme Court, this church



organized prayer vigils every night till the final court verdict. Within the vigils, the head pastor also encouraged the people not to be afraid of the rumours of wars should the court verdict favour a particular party. He encouraged the congregation to remain as good citizens and report to the state apparatus anyone attempting to or involving in any act that will destabilize the peace of the country. This is a civic responsibility in any democratic system. The admonition during the prayer was part of the political education to the citizenry in the course of the church playing its prophetic role.

In the fulfilment of this prophetic role of the Charismatic movement, some Charismatic church leaders were persecuted by the state. This was during the early stage of the emergence of the movement. It was established that under the military governments of the AFRC and the PNDC, there was a form of relationship between the political structure and the church. Until then, it was mainly the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference that were known to play this prophetic role of the church (Aboagye-Mensah, 1994). There was no formidable ecclesiastical body for the then Charismatic movement that acted in this respect. This is mainly because the period was their formative years and they were now finding their grounds. However, the form of relationship between the PNDC government and the known Charismatic churches at the time could best be described as austere. According to a respondent the government of the PNDC had no problem with the mainline churches but for us (in reference to Charismatic churches), it was as if we were 'enemies of progress' to the military government. The statement implies that the

military government was not in good terms with the Charismatic movement. And as the government of the day, with all the state apparatus, it used all the instruments to control the Charismatic movement. A major factor that created this austere relationship was the attitudes of some of the leaders and the nature of the movement.

One of the earliest known Charismatic churches that emerged during the AFRC/PNDC era was the Christian Action Faith Ministries popularly known as Action Chapel International led by Nicholas Duncan-Williams. Before 1992, he was one of the Charismatic leaders who had difficulties with the military government—mainly the government of the Provisional National Defense Council chaired by Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings. It was more of the military persecuting him mainly because of his criticisms of the government on the atrocities meted out to the citizens. He spoke against the military flogging market women especially at Makola market, stripping some of them naked. He also spoke against the popular killing of the three high court judges. Though he did this not as a political criticism but during his crusades and normal church services as part of the prophetic role of the church, yet the political tone to which the messages carry made the military come after him. According to a respondent, this particular pastor was not speaking against the government per se but against the atrocities which to the pastors are evil against humanity and sin against God. In a sermon, he stated that if the leadership of the country continues with the atrocities, Ghana will incur the wrath of God. This view is similar to what TerHaar & Ellis (1998) referred to as the enchanted approach to politics. These activities were associated

directly to the Military regime of the PNDC and J.J. Rawlings. It is associated with the Christian quote that *when the wicked rule the people groan under him*. Duncan-William was just one of the charismatic leaders that used the pulpit to criticize the political situation at the time. Other Charismatic church leaders such as Anyani-Boadum, Evangelist Morgan and Francis Amoako. These leaders were just preaching against what they considered as social injustices in the system from the biblical perspective but not for any political interest. However, their views were considered as harsh against the military government hence the persecution.

Anyani Boadum, another Charismatic church leader at the time- who spoke against the excesses of the military was for several times arrested by the military government of the PNDC. According to him, one occasion he was at a church programme and was hinted that some soldiers were coming to arrest him. One need not know the reason for the arrest since it was a military regime where people could be arrested even without a cause. The soldiers upon arrival at the church mistook another pastor as him and he sneaked out and escaped. By the time the soldiers realized they have arrested the wrong person and returned to the church premises, he was gone. According to him, he went into hiding for three months before surfacing to the public or the church to preach. When this happens, he has to shut the church and there were no church services. This affected the growth of the membership since when the church service resume, not all the members come back. He again mentioned that on several other occasions he had to escape and leave crusading ground anytime his informants signal him of the arrival of the military. However he acknowledged that he was arrested not less

than five times; sometimes in his house, church or just in town. The reasons for the arrest were mainly accusations of undermining the military government of the PNDC. Nicholas Duncan-Williams, on the other hand, had his own experience with the military. He was trailed by the Bureau of National Investigation (BNI) on several occasions because of similar reasons for which Anyani Boadum was persecuted. One of the remarkable events was when he was arrested, put behind bars together with some people he did not know. One by one the people were taken out and were never returned. They were suspected to have been killed. One day the soldiers came for him, sensing that they were going to kill him, he requested to be allowed to say his last prayer before being taken away. He was thereof allowed and with boldness recited Psalm 109. This is an imprecatory Psalm which calls for vengeance of God on the enemy. This was recited in a state of desperation, thinking they were going to kill him just like the others who were taken away without return.

Many people who were arrested and detained at the era were top political office holders and some ordinary Ghanaians who were critical about the military regime. For Duncan-Williams, his arrest was mainly his view on the atrocities such as the lack of freedom and perceived injustice in the system at the time. Often military regimes in Africa and elsewhere are characterized by oppression, injustices, and anyone known to oppose their regime is persecuted. The form of persecution meted out to Duncan-William was near-death which made him recite the Psalms in desperation. For a respondent, it was the prayer with the Psalms that

saved him eventually. This was because there were threats and vengeance implications from the text and these frightened the officers.

### **Political effects on growth of Charismatic movement**

The popular biblical reference ... *and I will build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it* (Matt. 16:18) is commonly referenced where the church is faced with a difficult situation from political systems especially when laws are enacted to cripple the church or to stop churches from operation.

Nine respondents referenced this text and interpreted it with the 1989 Religious Registration Law. To one of these respondents, *only an evil government will think of enacting a law that will seek to hinder the operations and growth of the church* (though the law might not be for this purpose). As such, the government of the PNDC is *the gates of hell*. According to another respondent from Perez Chapel International, during the military regimes, the persecutions by the military and the terror meted out to people made the government to be tagged as evil or Satan. This same view was held by another respondent who has been with action Chapel International since 1981. Hence Satan is seen to attempt to cripple the church (with the Religious Registration Law). However, the persecutions were not against the church or Christianity as a whole but some Christian leaders especially some Pentecostal and Charismatic church leaders who appear to be criticising the military government.

The direct action of the military government that stood against the growth of the Charismatic movement was the introduction of PNDC Law 221. The detail of this law has been discussed in chapter three of this work. The law was meant to control the growth of religious bodies specifically the then Charismatic churches. Many other religious bodies were affected by the law. Such religious bodies included the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Jehovah's Witness. These two religious bodies were affected due to some beliefs and practices which call for concern. Unlike the mission established churches that have constituted into two ecclesial bodies thus the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference, the then growing Charismatic churches have not constituted into any formidable ecclesial body. As such, they operated individually.

They often start their services mainly from classrooms. They were growing and could be found virtually at every corner especially in the cities of Accra and Kumasi. The leaders were very vocal in speaking against the 'evils' of the military and called for the mercies or wrath of God upon the perpetrators. Their boldness and their individual wealth consciousness raised many eyebrows even in the public space.

Though the law became 'still born', yet it attempted to control the growth of this strand of Christianity. According to a respondent who then had three (3) branches of his church all in classrooms at Osu Salem school, Adabraka D/A school and J.T cluster of schools, when the law was passed, he was forced to close down the branches and maintain only one. This was because he was ejected from

the classrooms by the headmasters of the school on the claim that the military officers were sent to them threatening them of losing their jobs or being beaten if they allow him to organise church service there. To the respondent, this attitude affected the growth of his church. Another respondent corroborated this view that he has to move his church from a classroom to his rented house. Also, he lost virtually all his members (93 people) except for his two associates and their families numbering not more than ten. When asked whether it was lawful to use public space such as the classrooms for religious activities, which could have been the reason for their ejection, both stated that that could not be the reason since there were mission established churches that were also fellowshipping in classrooms in the same schools but they were left to continue their church services.

In responding to the question on the effect of the military government on the growth of the charismatic ministry, a respondent held different views that what the military regime did rather invigorated the young charismatic churches hence help in their growth. To him the words of the scripture stand fast, thus the church of Jesus cannot be stopped by anyone that is *the gates of hell cannot prevail against it*. The nature of the relationship of the military government and the Charismatic movement before the restoration of democracy in Ghana has been that of enmity with the government on one side and the Charismatics on the other side. This presents a case in which the government attempting to control the church particularly the charismatic leadership through the use of force. The church resisted this move by the government due to what the church considered as

God's sovereignty over all humans. A respondent mentioned that the charismatic leadership considered themselves as Holy Spirit-led people and as such their sermons or comments are believed to be based on the direction of the Holy Spirit. And if they are persecuted by the politicians then God's work is being hindered and as such, they will resist any such activity from the government. They made references to the stories of the disciples who were persecuted and hindered from preaching the word of God but they flouted such directives coming from the political authorities as in Acts of the Apostles 4:16-20. Other references made were Acts 16:16 - 28, 21:26 - 36, 22). These latter references concern the persecutions that Paul suffered as a result of the gospel. The respondent made these references as a key foundation or which reason the church resisted and flouted directives which sought to prevent them from preaching the word or commenting on a political issue. The references were also a stronghold for these leaders to remain bold in the face of the persecution.

These challenges that these Charismatic leaders faced did not deter them from continuing their roles to the church and the state. As such, these roles were carried even into the democratic era in latter part of 1992. However, in reality, the democratic practice was more significant from 1993 onwards. Though the researcher did not come across any statistics of the number of Charismatic churches that emerged from the late 1970s till the democratic era in late 1992, yet many of the mega-charismatic churches today were started during the military regime. But as observed, those that emerged after the restoration of democratic culture were in myriad.



After 1993 –which was the actual democratic era- the Charismatic ministries grew more. As observed, they could be found at every corner especially in the major towns. They became more powerful and their influence on some mainline churches became more conspicuous (though some of the mainline churches experienced the influence earlier. They even became more popular and influential when they became media conscious, owning some media houses. For Walls (1996:93) they are highly entrepreneurial and are active in radio and television and cassette (CD) ministry as well.

### **Conclusion**

For Charismatic Christianity, democratic politics is biblical. This is referenced mainly with some of the key characteristics of democracy such as suffrage and elections, human rights, constructive criticism stated by the respondents. To the respondents who are all Charismatic Christians, Christianity cannot be divorced from state or politics. The Charismatic Christian is naturally part of the political system and he is enjoined by his theological persuasions to play an active role in the political system, acting as the salt and light in the world of politics. By this, he will be fulfilling God's expectation from him. If the Charismatic Christian does this, his actions help in the promotion of good governance and democracy.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

#### Introduction

This is the final chapter of the research. It mainly comprises of a summary of the chapters from the first to the fifth. It also identifies the major findings of the studies based on the objectives that are set from the beginning. A conclusion is then drawn to bring the thesis to a close and recommendations are made based on the findings.

#### Summary

The thesis set out to research into the role of the Charismatic churches in Ghana specifically their contributions to the building of a democratic political system. I chose the year 1979 to 2012 because, scholars have come to conclude that Charismatic churches emerged from this period and the latter year 2012, was also chosen because that was the last electioneering year when I started this study and from my observation, I have realised that Charismatic Christianity features prominently in politics during electioneering periods hence the electioneering year 2012. Many Charismatic Christians have played many political roles from the time of their emergence to date. These political roles have contributed to the building of a democratic political culture, yet these contributions have not been given adequate academic recognition in scholarly works. This gap forms the

backdrop of the problem which I set out to address. The main objective I set out to achieve is to trace the factors that led to the emergence of this strand of Christianity and the specific political roles they played which have contributed to the building of a democratic political culture in Ghana.

The research is significant especially in the field of academia. It contributes to the discourse in the area of church and society and specifically the contribution of the church in social development.

I employ a qualitative method. This is because I seek to understand the contributions of the church, specifically Charismatic Christianity in the building of a democratic political system. With this approach, I use a purposive sampling method in selecting the population and these became my respondents. The purposive was used since I seek to interview particular Charismatic church leaders out of the many. Those selected are those who have experienced both military and democratic type of political system in Ghana. It is based on this backdrop that I set out to delve into the significant contributions of Charismatic movement to political democratic development.

The literature on the topic is derived from secondary sources. The materials are categorized into sections relevant to the topic. The sections are: Christianity in politics, politics on Christianity, separation between church and state, forms of relationship between church and state, Charismatics as civil societies under the military regime in Ghana.

The first section of the literature that are reviewed discuss Christianity in politics. The works of Pobee, Dovlo, Addai-Mensah and Opoku and many others are reviewed. The works look at the Christian elements in politics from the period just before independence and after independence. Some of these works discuss Christian personalities and institutions that were involved in the political system. Individual Christians played key roles in the struggle for independence. The individuals mentioned here were from the mission established churches. Again the section looks at the role of the church in the ensuing political period after independence till the beginning of the fourth republic. The concentration here is mainly on the role of the established ecumenical Christian bodies such as the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference. In the review, there is the identification of the role of the ecclesiastical bodies in ensuring good governance and the call for the restoration of a democratic system of government, especially under the various military regimes.

The second section is on literature that looked at how the political system handled the church, thus politics on Christianity. Some of the works that are reviewed are from such scholars such as Assimeng, Pobee, Oquaye, Omenyo and Atiemo. These works are reviewed revealing the different forms of relationship between the church and the state. Here, the works showed that the relationship between the church and the state has not always been smooth. This occurs where the church attempts to influence the political system with her capitals. These works mentioned the attempts of political leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Kutu Acheampong and Jerry Rawlings. Nkrumah at a time considered the church as not

loyal to the state or him as a person. As a way to tame the church, branches of his party were formed in the church to track ministers or church members who are anti-Nkrumah. There was also the expulsion of some clergy from the country. In reviewing Assimeng's work, I also mentioned how Acheampong attempted to use the church for his interest. In the review, I mentioned that under the military government of Acheampong from 1972, the church became hostile to him and the government of the National Liberation Council and the Supreme Military Council. Here, General Acheampong incurred the displeasure of the church mainly due to the corruption allegations levelled against him and his government. Unlike Nkrumah, Acheampong rather attempted to manipulate the church and her doctrine of the Trinity to serve his own interests. He was not seen as one persecuting the church as in the time of Nkrumah. Again in Assimeng, Oquaye, Omenyo and Atiemo's works, I mentioned how the AFRC/PNDC related to the church. Here, I stated how the government of the AFRC/PNDC was reported to have persecuted some church leaders, especially the Pentecostal and Charismatic leadership. The reality of the relationship between the church and other religions and the state was seen in 1989 when the PNDC government passed the Religious Body Registration Bill. The responses from both the government and the religious groups especially the church are detailed in the review.

Another section of the literature that is reviewed looks at the concept of the separation between church and state. Here I review mainly the works of Norman, Adeteyose, Kasomo & Napoo. In their works, they attempted to define the concept of the separation between these institutions. Especially in Norman's

work, he stated that the doctrine of the separation between the church and state meant that laws cannot be passed to aid one religion at the expense of another, there cannot be a national or state preference of one religion over the others, no one can be restricted from going to a church of his or her preference, no one can be punished for his religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance and no tax, no matter how infinitesimal the amount can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. To understand this from the African milieu, I review the work of Kasomo & Napoo. I mention that the doctrine of separation of state and church has been an issue of discussion from many quarters especially in countries that have declared themselves as secular states. The authors whose works I review under this argued that if such African countries are really secular then they pose challenges to the various religious traditions in such countries. This is because all African countries come from a tradition in history where politics and religion have been dependent on each other in both pre and post colonial eras. They concluded that in post colonial Africa, the significant role of religion (the church), especially towards social issues, makes it impossible for the church not to concern herself with political issues. These authors made several references to biblical texts in support of an existing relationship between church and state.

Together with Adetoyese, they pointed out issues that arise in terms of the involvement and the non-involvement of Christians or the church in politics.

Adetoyese cited the views of John Locke and Niccolo Machiavelli on the issue of the separation of the state from the church.

Because the topic involves the Charismatics, works that attempt to define this strand of Christianity are also reviewed. Authors such as Asamoah-Gyadu, Anderson and Larbi wrote extensively on this strand of Christianity. These scholars used the term *Pentecostals* to refer to this strand. Asamoah-Gyadu used neo-Pentecostals for this same group of churches. However, this new term implied that there has been an earlier strand of Pentecostals. To avoid complexity in naming, I settled on the use of the term *Charismatic* in designating this strand of Christianity in my research. The use of the terms in designating this strand of Christianity is very challenging. This was because this strand continually changes in phases hence a nomenclature might not fit for the same strand in the near future as they are in motion of change. However, I settle on the term *Charismatic* for the particular churches used in this study.

In the research work, I also review works that looked at the Charismatics in democratic politics. Works cited were from such scholars as Dovlo and Mayrargue. They held the view that until the 1990s, the Charismatic churches have not formed any formidable ecclesial body to influence the politics at the time. In their works, they mentioned that the absence of a formidable ecclesial body made this strand of Christianity to keep a low profile in political matters. This position contrasts with the role of the existing ecclesial bodies of the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference that were very active in the attempt to influence the government in power. I also

review the works of Gifford and TerHarr who held a contrary view. They mentioned that the Charismatics were actively involved in politics but from a different approach. Their involvement is first through *enchanted politics* where they view politics as being under the spell of demonic spirits that needed to be broken and freed. The second approach is the *biblical approach*. Here, these churches defined the political situation at the time – under the military regimes of AFRC and PNDC- as due to apostasy. By this, they meant the leadership has abandoned God and gone after ‘juju’ hence the socio-economic challenges. This view is based on the experiences of the Israelites in the book of Judges where the Israelites sinned against God, and God gave them up into the hands of their enemies, they cried unto God and God deliver them through a judge. As soon as the judge dies, they sinned against God again and the cycle continued.

Unlike the two formidable ecclesial bodies at the time that attempt to influence the government mainly through letters and memoranda, the Charismatic churches used prayer vigil as a means to influence the government since their political approach at the time was mainly spiritual. These works and many others are reviewed in this chapter. I showed the relevance of these works to my study and how my research will contribute to the area of studies which these works did not cover.

Chapter two of the research was mainly on the history of Christianity in Ghana. In the chapter, I mention that there have been many works on the history of Christianity in Ghana but mine differs from what many have already done. Mine concentrated not only on the historical origins but also to identify the



political relations of the church and state or politics from the inception of Christianity in the Gold Coast. Here, I started from the era of the missionaries of the 15th century. I discussed the history of the relationship between the church and the state from the era of the Portuguese Catholic missions in the then Gold Coast. Their coming to the Gold Coast was necessitated by the king of Portugal, a political leader patronising a religious enterprise. Their activities in the coast were fully funded by the political head back home. Apart from the Portuguese political system, the African traditional political system also had a form of relationship with the church. While the political system in Portugal was promoting Catholic Christianity in the Gold Coast from the 15th century, the African traditional political system was mainly resisting the influence of Christianity at the initial stage. These missionaries mainly condescended on the traditions of the Africans and the implications made the traditional political authorities resisted them. The African traditional political system is a religious system as well. This is discussed in the chapter. To speak of the traditional political system is to also speak of a religious system.

Apart from the Portuguese Catholic era, the chapter also discusses the era of the Protestants. Those selected Protestant churches or mission groups are the Anglican Church that came through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Presbyterian Church that came through the Basel Mission and the Methodist church that came through the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The era of these Protestant groups saw more successes in mission works. The chapter identifies the strategies they used which made them more successful. Besides this, it also shows

the challenges that confronted them. These missionary groups were protected by the political system of their home countries. As such, they were mainly accommodated in the castles on arrival. They enjoyed the security of the castle which represented the political authorities of the Europeans. The most conspicuous church-state relationship in this era was the role played by Governor George Maclean of the Gold Coast. In the chapter, I showed how he helped the missionaries of the Basel and Wesleyan societies. Another typical example was Maclean's close relationship with the Wesleyan Birch Freeman who became so close that for some time,

Freeman left the mission work and worked as a civil servant under Maclean before he later went back to the mission work. Also, I mentioned the missionary role played by Maclean to the extent of preaching the gospel to a people in the absence of a missionary. The details of this are spelt out in the chapter. Just like the Portuguese Catholic missionaries, there were forms of relationship between the African traditional political institution and the Protestants. There were instances where the church clashed with the African traditional political system and other instances where the two cooperated. In all these instances, the Protestant missionaries enjoyed protection from the colonial administration which was largely political. Notwithstanding this fact, the Protestant missionaries did not always submit to the demands of the colonial political system.

The political influence of the missionaries was so significant that in some instances the colonial officials had to seek their counsel. The activities of the

Protestants partly led to the emergence of the first Pentecostal denomination in Ghana. These are churches popularly referred to as African Independent Churches. Other factors that led to their emergence are discussed in the chapter. The first of this group of churches was started in 1914. Their basic feature was that they had a touch of African traditional elements in their worship or liturgy. They were immediately followed by the second strand of Pentecostal churches such as Assemblies of God, Apostolic Church, Christ Apostolic Church and the Church of Pentecost. This second strand is referred to as the Classical Pentecostal churches. The history of their emergence is detailed in the second chapter. The chapter ends with a detailed history of the emergence of the Charismatic ministries. This latter strand's relationship with the political system forms the bedrock of the third chapter of the research.

The third chapter which fulfils my second objective is based on the form of the relationship between Charismatics and the political system. Here, I discussed the Charismatic ministries and their leadership and their involvement with the political system of the time. As already indicated, these churches emerged from the late 1970s throughout the 1980s. These periods were mainly under military regimes. In the chapter, two popular Charismatic leaders emerged to have had problems with the military government. They were Duncan-Williams of Christian Action Faith Ministries and Mensa Otabil of International Central Gospel Church. It was observed that as at this time the Charismatics have not joined or formed any ecclesial body through which their concerns are advocated, hence they operated individually. The medium of voicing out their concerns was

mainly through their sermons. They spoke against the excesses of the military junta of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council and the Provisional National Defence Council. These excesses came in the form of abuse of human rights. The Charismatics openly criticised the government on these abuses and excesses without fear. However, they were not spared. They were persecuted in several forms by the cadres of the ruling government. Notwithstanding, the Charismatics did not renege their quest to preach for the freedom that the gospel assured them of (freedom from oppression). Again one of the major decisions of the military government that brought the Charismatics in focus and all other religious bodies was the 1989 Religious Bodies Registration Law.

From many indications as spelt out in the chapter, the law was targeting the then new Charismatic churches that were burgeoning in the country. They were then mainly operating from classrooms and other public spaces. An attempt was made by a Charismatic leader Anyanim Boadum to form a prototype ecclesial body to influence the law and call for its abrogation. His effort though was erstwhile yet it informed the formation of similar ecclesial bodies later. Thus, the Charismatics were not indifferent in the fight for freedom leading to the restoration of democratic government. After democracy was restored from 1992, the Charismatics became more conspicuous in politics. As a religious institution, the Charismatic leadership spiritualise events in the political system. This they did in *enchanted* politics (attributing demons or evil spirits as causative agents in many evils that befell the country). As such many of the Charismatic churches took to prayer vigils in praying for the country. One of such Charismatic leaders

that became more conspicuous in the association with the political system was Nicholas Duncan-Williams of Christian Action Faith Ministries. The chapter details the active role he played in the wake of the democratic cultural system. Also, other religious capitals came to the centre of the democratic politicking. This was a message preached by Mensa Otabil which led to public debate on the issue of free education as found in the manifestos of the two main political parties in Ghana. There was also a conspicuous involvement of the Charismatics in politics such as commenting on political issues, organisation of political debate and actively involved in political education. These roles are part of the processes involved in democratic participation and consolidation. In other words, the Charismatic saw politics as naturally part of the faith they profess.

The fourth chapter discussed the socio-economic roles of Charismatic Christianity, a key factor that promotes and consolidates democracy. The Charismatic ministries have participated in various sectors of the economy in the provision of job opportunities, social infrastructure, scholarship funds and other activities such as the provision of rehabilitation centres to reintegrate ex-convicts, drug addicts as a way to improve their socio-economic conditions. These are detailed in the chapter.

The fifth chapter looked at the theological reflections on politics and democratic elements as believed by Charismatic Christianity. The chapter, first of all, examined the traditional political system and its relationship with the religious. I concur with the views of scholars such as Asare Opoku, Kofi Abrefa Busia, Aboagye-Mensah among others that the traditional political and the

religious systems are inseparable, betraying the modernisation and secularisation theories. Besides, I raised the argument of ‘God versus Caesar’ in relation to church and state argument from a biblical perspective. I used the text in Matthew 22 to argue that there should be a separation between the things of God and things of politics. Though the interpretation is arguable yet the text forms the foundation for which many favour the separation of the church from the state or the non-participation of Christians in political issues. In the argument, several other texts are referred to from the Bible to justify the participation of Christians in politics. The justification mainly came from the respondents who referenced some texts such as the story of King Ezekiel who sought the counsel of a prophet in 2Kings 19, David playing a political role despite his close relationship with God, the role of Prophet Samuel in the institution of the monarchy just to mention few. From the New Testament, references are also made to several texts but prominent among them is Romans 13 where the church is enjoined to play their respective roles to the state or show concern for the welfare of the state. These biblical texts and other social factors made the Charismatics to be involved in national politics. They were to involve in all forms or levels of politics especially in the politics of good governance. An example of a politics of good governance is the democratic system as practised in Ghana. In this system, the Christian is to act as the *Salt and Light*.

Another key component of this chapter is the theological basis of democratic ethos. Charismatic Christianity found these theological bases of democracy as commiserating with biblical teaching. These elements include

fundamental human rights, right of association, criticism, political participation and elective principles. These were mainly sourced from the Charismatic church leaders, referencing passages from the Bible to justify their take on democracy as found in Ghana.

### Major Findings

The major findings in this research as I analysed the relationship between religion and politics in Ghana and the role of Charismatic Christianity in building democratic political dispensation are as follows:

1. Theoretically, secularization and modernization theories cannot be featured in the Ghanaian political system, either the separation of the sacred from the secular nor the death of the sacred. The political and religious systems are both actors in our social system in development and growth. The form of relationship that these two systems present is more of a modern system theory which continues to grow stronger over the years. In other words, the emergence of the Charismatic churches has further emphasised the fact that religion and politics cannot be separated in Ghana or Africa.

2. It was found out historically that the engagement of the church and politics in the western countries was transported to Ghana through the coming of the western missionaries. The Portuguese missionaries of the 15th century and the Protestant missionaries from the 17th to the 19th centuries were influenced by the political

systems of their home countries in coming to the Gold Coast with the gospel. This form of relationship existed throughout the period of the emergence of the Charismatic movement in the 20th century.

3. The contemporary engagement of Charismatic Christianity in politics is influenced by three main factors. These factors are: the close relationship of religion and politics in the African traditions, the close relationship between the church and state in the history of the church especially in the Western countries and the interpretation and meanings of some biblical texts that appear to encourage Christians' engaging in active politics.

4. Charismatic Christianity has become very significant in the sense that their roles in the restoration of civil government are of no mean importance. The research realises that apart from the Christian Council of Ghana and Catholic Bishops' Conference that played key roles in the restoration of democracy in Ghana, there were many other Charismatic figures which, though acted in individual capacities yet their roles are significant in the restoration of democratic politics in the country.

5. Charismatic leadership has played significant roles in the consolidation and growth of democracy in Ghana. This is realised as they used the pulpit to educate the citizenry on the need to get involved in political decision making, organising political debate and acting as a watchdog over state policies.



6. It is found that the Charismatic churches have also contributed significantly to the economic growth of Ghana. They have provided economic opportunities and social infrastructure which are key in the foundation of any democracy.

7. Charismatic Christianity holds on to biblical bases in understanding the current democratic system. They used many biblical texts –without necessarily considering the hermeneutical or exegetical principles- in understanding their roles in the political system and in the promotion of good governance such as democratic governance.

### **Recommendations**

Considering the outcome of the research findings the following recommendations are made:

1. It is high time the church eschews the idea of describing a social institution being secular or outside the sacred domain. The jurisdiction of the church is comprehensive, bringing to bear her *salt* and *light* on every institution including politics.

2. There is the need to acknowledge the fact that religion and politics, though appear to be different institutions yet, are major actors in socio-economic development. As such, with the proliferation of the Charismatic churches especially, the state should task them to actively participate in the socio-economic

development of the country. By this, they will be helping in the consolidation and growth of our democracy.

3. To the Charismatic churches in Ghana, there is the need for them to come together to form one united ecclesial body, to act as a united front in the social system. By this, their impact in the society, especially in democratic development, will be much significant.

4. As noted in the findings, the role of Charismatic leadership in the restoration and growth of democracy in Ghana is no mean work. However, they were persecuted sorely under military regime due to the way they put across their criticisms. These leaders were eloquent and in criticising, their choices of words were often offensive. It is recommended that just as in our African traditions the concept of respect to the elderly is upheld even in a situation where the elder is wrong, the Charismatic leadership could still criticise the system without resorting to insults.

5. Policy makers can also formulate strategies that will serve as a guide to the operations and activities of the Charismatic churches since some have become conspicuously partisan in their relationship with the political system.

6. There is the need for the Charismatic leadership and the young Charismatic churches that are emerging to understand that the church is a key player in the provision of social services. One of the ways of rendering such services to society is through the provision of social facilities. They should also be conscious that the provision of these social facilities goes a long way to help good governance.

7. This study concerns the role of the Charismatic churches in Ghana in the democratization processes from the time of their emergence through 2012. I, therefore, recommend that this similar research should be undertaken from the period of 2012 to date. This is because it is observed that as the years go by the Charismatic church leadership continues to actively get involved in politics, using their capitals to influence the political system

### **Conclusion**

The growth of Charismatic Christianity has become conspicuous on the world stage that their influence is felt in almost every aspect of life such as in politics. Their roles in the quest for the restoration of good governance in the political history of Ghana were felt right from the time of their emergence on the religious scene. Individual Charismatic Christian leaders used their religious capitals to resist military regimes, calling for the end of human rights abuses. However, this quest was not without difficulties. After the restoration of democratic culture, Charismatic Christianity helped in the consolidation and growth of the democratic culture. This they did through the provision of socio-economic opportunities which are necessary for any democracy to thrive. Also, these churches actively used the pulpit to give political education to the citizenry in the question of promoting democratic governance. They did these based on their varied interpretations of the biblical text.

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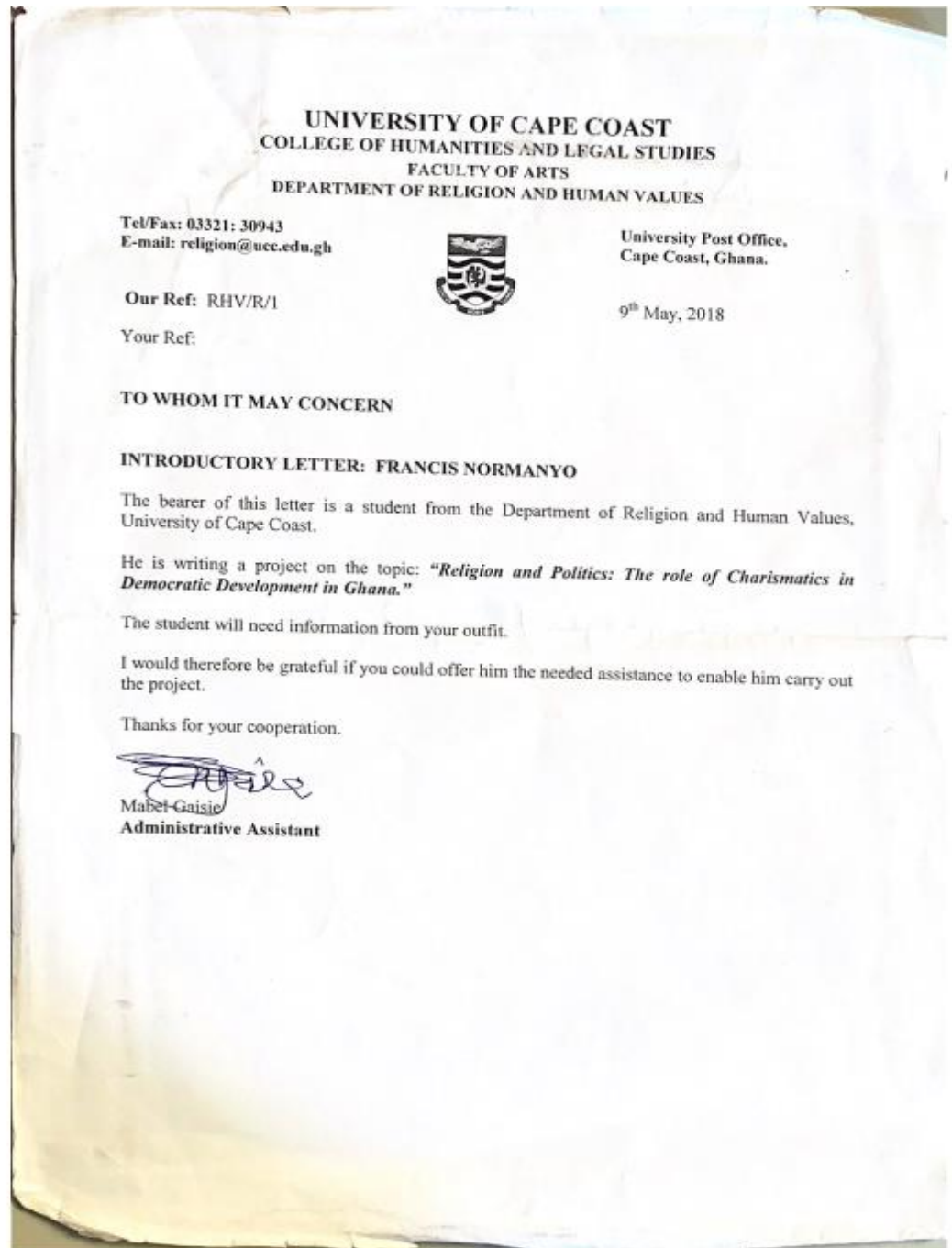
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pendix A



## Appendix B

### Interview guide

1. When and how did you start this church/ ministry?
2. When were you called into ministry?
3. How long have you been with this church?

4. What is your current rank? Archbishop, Bishop, Pastor, Reverend etc.

#### **A. Charismatics and Political engagement during military regime.**

1. Have you ever had an encounter with the military regimes of either AFRC/PNDC?
2. What is your view of military regimes?
3. What are you likes of the military regimes?
4. What are your dislikes of the military regimes?
5. What was your view about the Religious Bodies Registration law in 1989?
6. Did you register? Why?
7. How did the law affect your church or ministry?

#### **B. Restoration of democracy**

1. How do you perceive democracy?
2. Why do you think democracy was a popular choice of the people?
3. Did you ever advocate for it?
4. If yes, how did you do it?
5. If no, why did you not?
6. What were your reasons for calling for the restoration of democracy?



7. Were there or do you know of other charismatic leaders who were calling for the restoration of democracy?

8. Where there challenges that you faced for calling for the restoration of democracy?

9. How long did you take to call for the restoration of democracy?

10. Did you ever think of giving up in the face of the challenges? Give reasons

**C. Promotion of democracy**

1. After democracy was restored in 1992/1993, did you feel relieved? Why?

2. What are you doing now for the promotion of democracy/ growth of democracy?

3. How have you been involved in political education?

4. Do you think it is right to use the pulpit/ stage for political education? Give your reasons.

5. Have you ever thought of standing for a political position? Why?

6. Will you advise any member of your congregation to actively participate in politics? Why?

7. What are some of the social facilities or economic opportunities provided by your church?

8. In what ways is the provision of social facilities and economic opportunities helping in the promotion of democracy?

**D. Theological reflections on democracy**

1. What is your view on 'Christian participating in politics'?

2. Are there any biblical references against Christians participating in politics?

3. What of biblical references for Christians participating in politics.
4. As a Charismatic Christian, what do you think is the best form of government for Ghana?
5. Does the Bible provide bases for this form of government you described?
6. What are the features of this government from biblical perspective?



## Appendix C

### People Interviewed

Addai, M. (2018, February). Personal interview

Alfred, J. (2018, March). Personal interview.

Appiah, A. (2018, November). Personal interview.

Appiah-Kubi, J. (2019, January). Personal interview.

Asante, A. (2019, January). Personal interview.

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Mould, C. (November, 2018). Personal interview.

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Offei, T. (2019, February). Personal interview.

Sallah, B. (2018, November). Personal interview.

Tetevi, S. (2019, January). Personal interview.

Winson, J. (November, 2018). Personal interview.

## Appendix D

### Transcribed audio/video data

By Dr. Mensa Otabil (first preached on 2 December 2012) [Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8pxq9eh86L4](#). Accessed 3/10.20 17.

#### Sermon title : Your vote

In a just a little over three weeks, we will be voting and I just felt that I should help and bring a scriptural perspective on that process that we all call election and what the Christian should be doing and what each one of us what is the responsibility placed on each one of us. So I am going to start with two scriptural readings first from Proverbs and then we will read from the book of Acts.

Proverbs 1:10-15 – and it reads *“My son if sinners entice you do not consent, if they say come with us let us lie in wait to shed blood, let us lurk secretly for the innocent without cause, let us swallow them alive like sheol and hole like those who go down to the pit. We shall find all kinds of precious possessions and we shall fill our houses with spoils.”* Note verse 14: *“cast in your lot among us, let us all have one purse my son, do not walk in the way with them keep your foot from their path.”* Note that phrase in verse 14 ‘cast in your lot among us’ that verse is in reference to voting for something but in this case the picture is of armed robbers, thieves who are planning to steal and they are trying to recruit people to steal with them and so the Bible describes it and says when people are trying to recruit you in this and in this case it’s to do evil do not cast or do not join them or don’t cast your vote or your lot with them and so it is reference to voting.

Acts 1:21-26 – This is after Jesus had died and resurrected and gone to Heaven and one of his Apostles Judas was the one who betrayed Jesus so Judas ended up hanging himself and so they had to try and fill the space of Judas and in the first major meeting of the Church they tried to find a replacement for Judas and it was a voting procedure that they used to make that decision so let's read that account.

“Therefore, of these men who have accompanied us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us beginning from the Baptism of John to that day when he was taken up from us. One of these must become a witness with us of His resurrection and they propose two. (I want you to note that phrase **Proposed two**) Joseph called Barsabbas who was surnamed Justus and Matthias and they prayed and said you oh Lord who know the heart of all show which of these two you have chosen to take part in this ministry and Apostleship from which Judas by transgression fell that he might go to his own place and they cast their lots and the lot fell on Matthias and he was numbered with the eleven Apostles. This is how the Apostles of Jesus brought in the replacement, it's very interesting because none of them was chosen through that process, each one of them was called by Jesus in a very special way but when they were looking for a replacement they used a method that was very different from what Jesus had used and they voted and they voted for Matthias and Matthias literally won the election. The interesting though is that we never heard of Matthias again so it means that it's possible for somebody to win an election and do nothing like Matthias, he won but we didn't hear of him as a matter of fact the person who wasn't elected Paul later on who didn't come through a vote ended up doing far

more than this one. So in these two scriptures we see voting being used first, it is in trying to recruit people to do something and in this case it is evil but sometimes it can be for good things and here we also see a voting procedure being used to elect somebody and the person is elected and he is counted among the Apostles but as in aside we get to know that he didn't really do much.

Now for us Ghanaians and for nations which operate a democracy some kind of representative government, there is always a procedure of voting that brings in people into office and I think it's importance for us as Christians who understand what it is to have a vote and how to properly use your vote. So let me start with some definitions. What is a vote? When we say your vote is your power when we are going to vote, what is a vote? The English word vote comes from the Latin word "votum" votum is the latin word which means a promise or a vow. It is a very interesting concept because it is always important to understand where words have originated from and why they are used the way they are used so we can place it in a proper context today. In the roman times, ancient times when people went to their gods or their deity they had a sacrifice, an offering and they give the offering to the deity with a request that the deity would do something for them, now when they present that offering what they hold in their hand that is what was called the votum, that is the vote. Literally, they are saying I am giving that you may give to me, I am giving so you may give. That process of a person going to give so he may receive was called the votum which now we call the vote. Now it is very similar to what Christians do when we bring an offering we give so it shall be given unto us good measure press down shaken together so when I give an

offering to God I am casting a vote with God but it is not one way I am giving because I believe the person I give to has the capacity to give back to me, so in ancient times the vote was not a one way expression not just somebody giving but the person also expecting. A vote therefore is a covenant, a covenant relationship between a man or woman and whatever he treasures or worship and that is why usually you would hear in civic training people would say your vote is sacred almost like saying your vote is holy because where the word came from it came from a worship system and it has now become a political system but the whole idea of sacredness of you giving something that is precious to you in order to receive is retained in a vote. Anytime you go to an election to vote, you are making a covenant, it's a sacrifice. So let me give you two definitions and this is Otabil's definition of a vote you will not find in any dictionary but I create my dictionary as I go. I will give you two definitions of a vote;

1. It means giving support to an idea in expectation that the idea will benefit you. So the person who goes with the votum and gives is expecting that something beneficial will come to them and if you remember the passage we read in proverbs the people appealing to somebody to cast in the vote says if we do this together you will benefit so in the vote there is giving and receiving so that's my first definition of a vote. Giving support to an idea in expectation that the idea will benefit you it's a giving and receiving covenant.
2. Is giving power to someone or people to act on your behalf. When you vote you give the power of attorney to watch over the resources of the state on your behalf so therefore, you don't vote in a vacuum. Voting never occurs in a vacuum for

there to be a vote, there must be a proposal, a motion something put on the floor, you don't vote for nothing you vote for something or against something. When you have a meeting and there is going to be a vote you say somebody should move the motion somebody should make a proposal seconded by another person and the people vote because for there to be a vote there must always be a proposal, there must be something we are voting on. Now when you consider the proposal you can ask yourself is this what I want, if it is what you want you cast in your vote, if it is not what you want you don't vote for it or vote for somebody else whose proposals you agree. So in an election of any kind there is always going to be a proposal and remember what we read in Act of the Apostles they proposed two people, Barsabbas and Matthias and they said this is our proposals, vote and it fell on Matthias so for there to be a vote there must be a proposal, there must be an idea there must be something on the table, if there is nothing on the table you cannot vote and you express your will on what is on the table. For a Christian who must vote there is always a dilemma because the Christian lives in two worlds, the Christians world is not one, the Christians world is two, turn with me to John 17:15-18 as Jesus describes the world of the Christian, Jesus prays and says I do not pray that you should take them out of the world but that you should keep them from the evil one, they are not of the world just as I am not of the world sanctify them by your truth your word is truth as you sent me into the world I also have sent them into the world. Christians are citizens of heaven living on earth, we have dual citizenship and that's why the Bible says Jesus taught us to pray thy kingdom come and thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven as



Christians we are pilgrims on earth, this is not the only place we have we have a kingdom which is not of this world so in Jesus praying for his disciples He recognizes that they are in this world but that is not the only place they belong to they belong to another world the kingdom of God and the earthly kingdom now that always creates a confusion and a dilemma for every Christian, we are supposed to be in this world but we are not of this world. We are supposed to be citizens of heaven but we live on earth and the conflict is how do we make heaven work on earth and how do we make sure that earth looks like heaven that is the challenge of the Christian now because the Christian lives in two worlds when it comes to political issue sometimes we are really lost as to what is the will of God, what is the way to go, what does God want me to do. Now in God's world the Christian lives under a government called a theocracy, in the kingdom of God everybody lives under theocracy. In a theocracy, God's will rules, in a theocracy the will of God is what rules and normally in a practical sense in a theocracy the will of God rules through Priests like when you read the story of Israel you find Moses was the leader but it was a theocratic system because Moses receives instruction from God and says that says Lord and the people obey, Samuel operated a theocracy but later on Israel moved into a monarchy but a theocracy is when the will of God rules now as Christians in our relationship with God we live under a theocracy because we are seeking to do the will of God. The will of God is what rules for the Christian but at the same in our world we live in a democracy and in the democracy the will of the people rules and in the democracy all eligible citizens have equal say in how their nation is governed this always creates a

conflict for the Christian, how do we do the will of God and the will of the people at the same time because the will of God and the will of the people are not always one and the same and if you read more and more in the old testament you will find that more and more the will of the people is always in conflict with the will of God.

We have a saying that the voice of the people is the voice of God that's not true, with the Bible, if you read the Bible you will find that the voice of the people is not the voice of God that is why God will raise one man, Isaiah He says go and prophesy to the whole house of Israel the voice of the people only one man but his voice is a right voice and the people are wrong, majority is not always right, majority can be wrong so for Christians for democracy it's a majority rule, for theocracy it is God's rule so how does the Christian function in a theocracy and a democracy at the same time where he wants to do the will of God but he is subject to the rule of the people that is going to be the conflict of every Christian and we have to constantly pray and seek the will of God in this matter. Now that also helps us to understand how to interpret the Bible in current times because Christians build their lives on the Bible sometimes we lift the Bible directly from a different context and put it in our context. The people of the Bible in the old testament did not have democracy, in fact democracy was not function in Bible times, democracy started from the Greek civilization and the romans and then eventually has become quite popular in our time so in Bible days there was no democracy, in Bible days there was theocracy and monarchy so the way for example kings and leaders were elected in the Bible days is very different so

when we draw direct reference between Biblical Israel and Ghana for example we are going to have serious Biblical challenges because Israel was a covenanted nation, Israel did not elect kings, the kings were ordained by God, the kings were called by God, the kings were released by God. In Ghana kings are not ordained by God, well not kings, political leaders are not ordained by God, political leaders are elected so a Ghanaian elected president or American elected president or British elected prime minister is not equal to a person ordained by God because they have come into office in two different ways, 1. By the declaration of God when Samuel goes to anoint somebody a David, he doesn't need a vote, Samuel goes and says among your sons Jesse there is a boy here and he anoints him and he says that's a king who voted for him only Jesse only Samuel as a matter of fact if David stood for an election in his own house he would have lost his brothers will vote against, his father will vote against the whole tribe will vote against but God chose him that is a theocracy Samuel is the Priest he determines who is president but that's not how democracy work so when you confer the same authority of a God elected king to a people elected king there are two different things totally different and their source of power is very different so for a Christian to say for example God says touch not my anointed because somebody is president he is not the anointed a president is not the anointed of the Lord the anointed of the Lord is a person that God chooses the president is the elected of the people not the anointed of the Lord. He is subject to the people and he is not in office because God has called him and that's very important because in a democracy God does not elect leaders the people do. In a democracy God does

not elect leaders I hope you get this right because this is so important for us as Christians, does it mean God recognizes the leader, yes but he doesn't elect the person, the people elects and God recognizes because God has instituted human authority. For example God did not bring my wife to me the only person God directly brought his wife to him was Adam and there was only one choice, he really had no choice there was only one woman if don't like it go and find something else so he says well I've got to take it but God did not tell me "Mensa Otobil joy is your wife" no I saw her, I liked her, I loved her, I moved with her, I proposed to her and she said yes and I said God this is what I found.

Now when we bring that before God recognizes it although He didn't choose it but he recognizes it, He may not even approve of it but He recognizes it so the fact that God recognizes something does not mean He approves of it, Israel chose a king and God says I will give it to you but that's not what I want for you but I recognizes it that this is your king so in an election when we vote and somebody is elected it is the people who have made a choice not God, the people but God says the leader of the people is recognize because God is a God of order and so whatever the people elect God recognize, if they elect anything God will recognize. It does not mean God chose him, it does not mean God has anointed him, it does not mean the person is approved is simply means the people with intelligence and with their own sense of evaluation looked at the proposals and make a decision like what happens in the book of acts, many theologians believe that that vote was wrong, they believe that God had somebody in mind in the future but the people voted and they voted for Matthias and nobody heard from

him again and yet Paul came and if they had been a little patient Paul would've come along to be the Apostle that they were looking for. So all I am saying is in a democracy God does not elect leaders but people do but when the people present what they have elected and that person takes the oath of office and becomes president of the people God recognizes that office as the leader of the people but it doesn't mean He appointed the person, we do it we use our vote to determine who will lead us. So I am going to touch on three important things concerning voting.

The first one is the reason for voting why should we vote? Why should citizens in any country vote, why should you vote, why should I vote on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December, why did the Americans vote on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, why did the Chinese vote recently although they didn't allow everybody to vote they voted within an electoral college that is also a kind of voting, why did you vote for a new leader, why do people vote, what is the reason, the reason why you and I must vote is because of an interesting word and that word is sovereignty. Sovereignty is a very important word it is the authority of a state to govern you hear people say for example Ghana is a sovereign state that means we are who we are by ourselves. This is why people vote, this word and you say well why is voting about sovereignty, because sovereignty is where the power of the state rests. In a theocracy sovereignty belongs to God, in a theocracy God is the sovereign, He is the sovereign one, he is the all-powerful one, all power is concentrated in Him in a theocracy. In a Monarchy, sovereignty belongs to the King or the Queen or the Emperor so when you go to a monarchy like England they will say the Queen is

the sovereign of England although that power has been diffuse over time but in a real monarchy the King has all the power he says you go and you go, sit you sit, cut off his head your head will be cut off nobody debates with the King because the power is in him he is the sovereign. In theocracy God has the power He says thou shall not, you shall not if you do head cut. In a Monarchy the King says thou shall not if you do head cut 'now head cut you know is in extreme', but the power in a theocracy is in God, the power in a monarchy is in a King, the power in a democracy the sovereignty is in the people. So because the sovereignty is not in the president or any man it's in all of us, I have the sovereignty, you have the sovereignty, each one of us has got sovereignty, each one you have it so when we say for example your vote is your power we mean you have sovereignty so in Ghana to qualify to have sovereignty you must be eighteen (18) years and of a sound mind that's all, that's all we say you may not be educated, you can be a drunkard, you can be whatever you want to be but if you are eighteen years and of a sound mind you have sovereignty. The sovereignty is in the people it is dispersed so in Ghana if it's a population of let's say probably about 40million eighteen and above and of a sound mind, sovereignty is distributed among 40million people.

Now if somebody has to be president, each one of us must surrender our sovereignty and give it to that person and that is what the vote is about when I vote I am saying I am taking the power that is mine and I am putting it in your hands it's a very serious action, it's a very very serious action so in a democracy no citizen can govern a state unless the people surrender their sovereignty to him

or her, that is why there must be a vote because the people have the sovereignty and they have to say I want to give my sovereignty to support “Mr. A” or “Miss B”. sovereignty, it is a sacred responsibility, any citizen therefore who tries to govern the people without the people giving their sovereignty to him has committed treason, we call it in Ghana a “coupe d’état” and that’s why in all our constitution a ‘coupe d’état’ is illegal at every time permanently illegal because when you do that you have bypass the people and you have taken power upon yourself that doesn’t belong to you, because sovereignty is not in your hands, sovereignty is in the hands of the people until the people gave it to you, if you have it it’s illegal. So on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December, all of us here are going to surrender our sovereignty, you will I will just by a thumb on a face that’s it, you may say it doesn’t matter I just go to vote but you’ve surrendered sovereignty. You are now telling somebody this is my votum, I give it to you in expectation that you do this for me, I have given my will, my power, my authority, my sovereignty to you so the question you ask yourself is does this person deserve my sovereignty, it’s something everybody should prayerfully consider so the reason we vote is because sovereignty must be surrendered and in Ghana we do it every four years, the unfortunate thing is that because we think a president is like a Chief, a Chief is a monarch, a Chief is not a president, a chief is not elected, a Chief is there because of his bloodline so we think that a president has the power and actually when we vote most of us even think the vote belongs to the person we are voting for, it belongs to you, you have the sovereignty, you determine who must have it.

The second point I want to talk about is the responsibility of voting. Voting is very responsible, if you follow all that I have taught so far you will that this thing is not a joke. Supporting a political party is not like supporting a football team, when you support a football team you allow yourself to compete through your team so when they win you feel good, when they lose you feel bad and you tease each other, you make fun but the outcome doesn't affect anything about your life because I am not giving my sovereignty to them I am just entertaining myself I am getting a source of entertainment from them but my sovereignty is in me. *"I am a supporter of the great Accra hearts of Oak, until the bones are rotten, now you ask me how did I become a supporter of Accra hearts of Oak because my father was a supporter of Accra hearts of oak so I didn't make a choice because it's entertainment, it's not my destiny, it's not my life and Accra hearts of oak loses as they have been doing of late you feel like slapping the players but then what do you do, how can you put us where you've put us?"* That's it I will still eat my food, my money will still be the same but my life doesn't change because their fortune doesn't affect the quality of my life however, when it comes to politics it's not entertainment because it is my votum to somebody and that person can mess up my life it is possible to vote for somebody who would destroy your life. So when we going to vote it's not about entertainment, it's not about teasing people it's votum it's sacred, it's not a joke, it's not making fun, it's not winning a game and saying "phobia" phobia" it's not about wearing jerseys, it's not about symbols. So how do we exercise this responsibility?



1. You have to fully consider all the proposals on offer, go beyond party names, go beyond party adverts, go beyond party slogans, consider what each party has proposed, what have they put on the table, fully considered go beyond slogans and how do you know what a person has proposed in Ghana they have a manifesto. The way to find it is what the proposal is what the candidate speaks about constantly because out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks. So when a person constantly say something that is the proposal he has put on the table, now you have to fully consider that because you are about to exchange your votum, your sacred right and it's not entertainment, it's not fun, it's not betting, it's not supporting a race horse and see which race horse won, this is more serious take personal charge of your vote that's the second thing, your vote does not belong to a party, it does not belong to a candidate, it belongs to you, it's your votum, it's your sacred oath, you own it, it is your portion of the sovereignty of the state, don't exchange it for temporary benefit you cannot exchange your vote for t-shirts and little monies here and there and a piece of cloth and a goat and a chicken. Your sovereignty is far more expensive than chicken, do you know why people will pay chicken for your vote because they know you don't value it and they want to buy it cheap from you. It's your votum, it's your sacred responsibility and go beyond party colors. I can say without any shadow of doubt from 1992 since we started up to now I have voted for different parties and different candidate, it is an insult to your intelligence to put your vote on autopilot, it is an insult to say as for me I will always vote this, what is your proposal on the table, that is what you consider because it is your sacred trust. I

have voted for different candidates and parties because I value my vote. My wife will tell many times when we are going to vote whom are we voting for I say I don't know you make your decision I make my decision, it's my right you vote yours I vote mine I don't know whether we vote the same because it's her sovereignty, it's my sovereignty, it's your sovereignty and I have to own it, you have to take charge of it and you use your vote to express your will. When you vote you are making a declaration you are saying to God and to your state this is what I want in my life, it's not what my father wants, it's not what my tribe wants, it's what I want and it's not even about winning and losing it about what you believe in because you don't vote for a winning party you vote for your beliefs. So now we have talked about the responsibility let's talk about the result of voting. What is the result, what comes out when we vote? The first thing you have to understand is that the proposal you support may win or lose, if your idea wins you don't go and sit down you demand that the people who put that idea on the table fulfill the promise, you must demand for it and if they don't fulfill it punish them. Don't let anybody think they can take your vote for granted. Yes you win or you may lose but it is not about winning and losing.

2. The winning proposals will shape the destiny of states, you get what you vote for, the quality of life is determined by the result of your vote. So you can actually vote for a party which can punish you and they can punish you and create hardship for you but because you see it like supporting Olympics or Accra hearts of oak you still support although the policies are not favoring you, it's not about party colors. A nation becomes what it's citizens vote for, sometimes we pray we

say let's pray for the nation that God will bless the nation, no we have to pray that the citizens will make intelligent choices because if the citizens don't make intelligent choices God is not going to come and rule Ghana for us. When you vote you have surrendered your sovereignty for somebody by power of attorney to act on your behalf.

What to vote for and who to vote for. What should you vote for and whom should you vote for in 2012.

1. Vote for your dreams and aspirations. Look at your future projections, where you are going and see the proposal that best where you are going in life. What kind of future do you want, what kind of vision do you have for your life, think about your life, consider the proposals and ask yourself which of these ones will help me become the person I want to be or my children or my grandchildren become what I want them to be, which idea best fits my dreams and aspirations not which color I support or which slogan sounds nice but which idea best helps me become whom I want to be so vote for your dreams and aspirations and never allow any politician take you for granted. Don't let anybody abuse your intelligence and think they can sing you into a vote or dance you into a vote or t-shirt you into a vote, it's your dream, it's your aspiration.
2. Vote for your beliefs and your value, what do you value, what is important to you, what do you believe, what are things you wouldn't compromise in life, look at all of that do you value honesty, do you value truth, do you value integrity, do you think purity is important who and what ideas represent your values.

3. Vote for the best interest of your nation. Remember your vote doesn't just affect you but it will shape the destiny of your nation. Look at your nation where it is and where it wants to be, which of the proposals will help us get to a better place, which of them think of other citizens of Ghana do you think their life will be good for them if this particular idea succeeds, will it help the generality of the people, will it serve self-best interest or you are voting because when you party wins you will get something because somebody has promised you something that is selfishness and that is an insult to yourself, to your sacred votum and look at the nation, where are we and where do we want to go and make a wise choice. The advice I want to give you is prayerfully consider this not only at one time but every election time. Your vote should not be fixed, your vote is always in expression of a proposal that is in agreement with you. So you may support a party one year and not support them another year, you may support a candidate one year and not support him or her another year because the proposal they put on the table this time is not in your best interest, if every Ghanaian thinks like that our politicians will stop distributing t-shirts and making songs and giving money and playing games with our minds, they would know they have a people who respect their vote that is a sacred responsibility and anytime they go to that ballot box they are there to think of their hopes and aspirations and the aspirations of the nations and they want a better life for themselves.

**Sermon by Archbishop** Nicholas Duncan-Williams. Retrieved from <http://christiandaily.com/?p=1435>

And one time I had problem with Idahosa, Oral Robert came to Ghana after the crusade and when he went he put it in one of his magazines that Action was for Idahosa and I wrote to O. Robert and told him Action is not for Idahosa it's for me. So he sent the letter to Idahosa and Idahosa sent for me to come and I refuse to go. So he wrote me a letter and said that now that you have come of age and you don't have respect for fathers anymore, I take all my coverings, my hands off you, the Lord be with you. I took the letter, I tore it and I burnt it and I said ohh forget it. Pride!!! The Bible say thy heart was lifted up because of your beauty, your heart was lifted up because of your giftings, your money, your success, your mega building and the number of services you run and how much money you have in your bank account and the buildings you bought and the houses you have and the cars and the people coming to your church your heart was lifted up. You have forgotten the hand that was laid upon you to impact grace upon you. Your heart was lifted up because of your beauty. My heart was lifted up at that time there was no charismatic church in town, Dr Otabil hasn't come, Dag hasn't come, there was nobody I was the "*gbontiaa*" in town and God said errrrhhh you have arrive, ok, I will show you am God. I have learnt humility, me I have learnt humility erhh by many things and the Bible said he learnt obedience through the many things he suffered though he was a Son. And one month after that, national security picked me up, I was under investigation for two years and the guy who

picked me, you know what he said, he said we have been given instruction long time to pick you up but every time we attempt to pick up something stopped us, but a month ago, it was like nothing stood in our way so we had to come for you and I said ahhaaa “*As3m b3 ba dadi*” that was the beginning of my sorrows. I sent people to plead and intercede he won’t listen and I heard oneday he was in London and I came here and I found him and I threw myself on the floor and I said mercy, mercy!!, mercy!!!, “somebody scream and say mercy, mercy!!.”

Listen, listen those of you who are very arrogant and proud and your heart is lifted up because you are gifted, you are anointed, you have hundred thousand people coming to your church Sunday morning, you are loaded you can eat anything you want to eat, buy anything you want to buy, you run twenty services on Sunday morning, you are the biggest thing in town so your heart is lifted up, be careful because the anointing of Lucifer is looking for you. And listen to what he said, he said satan this is between me and my son stay out of it and he said go back. When I went back Tuesday night I was praying and the Holy Ghost said they are coming for you tomorrow at 8:30pm resist the arrest, if you don’t resist it you will see Jesus. Michael M. was speaking for me on Wednesday, Wednesday night 8:30pm on the dot, security came and said there are some people from national security here they are looking for you, I said bring them in, they came and said we have instruction to bring you and I said I reported today why should I come back today, they said we don’t know but we are asked we were told to bring you in and I said am not going and the gentleman said what did you say? He said this is revolution and I said I know it’s revolution and I said in the name of Jesus I am

not dying today or tomorrow and I said you were given instructions to pick me up for assassination and it's not happening. They look at each other and then they said excuse me, they went and talk to each other came back made some calls and then said report tomorrow at 10:00 without fail, I said I will be there, that night we had an all-night and whiles we were praying the Spirit said when you go tomorrow, before the panel begin their investigation, request for prayer.

So I went and when I sat before the panel, I said can I please pray before we begin they said fine go ahead and something came upon me, I felt the oil and I said oh Lord, thou art my judge and my law giver, let not men sit in judgment over your anointed then I said set satan on their right hand and ye when they had judge let them be guilty and I began to invoke Psalm 109 and by the time I had finish the man said this is not fair, we are just doing our job and they said go sit outside. I was there for 3 hours with Bishop Ben Annum and they came back and said go we will call you and that was it I was never called again. You know what Idahosa said, Idahosa said satan this is between me and my son stay out of it, you see because the accuser who is a prosecutor had evidence to prosecute me and the old man took the evidence out of the way, when he took the evidence out of the way, the enemy could not exact on me anymore.

**Citi Showcase: Celebrating 40|60 with Archbishop Duncan William.**

Retrieved from <https://web.facebook.com/watch/?v=10154853170906107>

Interviewer: what were some of the most difficult moment starting as a young man in airport residential area with a new message; you are not an established church in a country under military rule. How was it like

**Arch-Bishop:** well, there were a lot of complications and contractions and one of the things was that I started not a pastor-teacher, I began as an evangelist and I established a revival center where people came to be blessed, received impartation, miracles and healings and miracles. So that was how it began and as we went on it moved into a church, a local church without any much understanding of how a church operates, I depended more on inspiration than following a particular pattern and all these young guys came around, I give them responsibility and it was moving and suddenly everybody started breaking away and leaving to start their own thing and some just came to see how I was doing it and felt we can do better than this guy so they also went and they started doing their own thing and people started pulling people from what I was doing to do their own thing. So there were a lot of difficulties at that time and I didn't have the light or the illumination I have today so a lot of betrayal, a lot of breaking away and it was very painful in the early stages you know people I trained, I raised, brought up in the things of God suddenly everybody felt like they could do better than I and also some of my own challenges with education and all that some of them were students of universities and all that so they felt like we can express ourselves better than this guy so that was very difficult at that time but I



as I grew up and I began to grow in understanding I realized that it was meant for evil but it has also advanced the cause of Christ and the Kingdom because all these guys have gone and they have done great things for God, big things, they've advanced, set up churches some of my sons have even more churches than me myself, you know some of them have written more books than myself and it's all advancing in the cause of Christ so even though I lost in some areas, the kingdom has gained, so in a way I feel satisfied and blessed because anyone I touched and anyone I blessed and anyone I did anything with as long as ministry is concerned is doing well and I see that from the way God define success that I have some kind of share or equity in the successes of all those people.

Interviewer: so when they do well you get blessed

**Arch-Bishop:** I get blessed.

I: so what about the government, because again I remember as a child I was at a program at the children's park and I remember the government of the day said we were making too much noise so we should move the program somewhere else and you doing programs in such places, people see you now and you speak to presidents easily and they feel you haven't had any run-ins with political people in the past, do you care to share a bit of it?

**Arch-Bishop:** I remember I was misrepresented to the government then during the revolution during the time of President Rawlings and I was picked up and I had to go through investigation for two years, they picked my passport up, picked my passport, took my passport from me and I have to report every morning, I

have to face a panel, I have to fill IRS forms, face all kinds of tribunal and some heavy charges.

I: for what?

**Arch-Bishop:** first they said I was a security threat, it was few months after Oral Roberts and Idahosa came and we packed the stadium. I was accused and some people went told somebody in power that I was a CIA agent because of O. Roberts and that I was reporting the government to CIA and so I was investigated, they investigated went back to my background, the places I lived and went to London, America through the Ghanaian embassy to interview the churches and the pastors I used to preach for about my life, what I come there to do, how they give to me, how many shoes do you have, how many shirts do you have, I mean everything you have to declare everything and people went and told all kinds of lies about me and for two years I was under investigation. They parked a car in front of my house and when I come out the car will follow me and wherever I go if I come to your house after I leave they will come to you and interview you and say what did he come there to do and a lot of people didn't want to relate to me I lost a lot of people from my church they felt it's a harassment they couldn't take it so left, some of my pastors left me they felt I wasn't going to make it and recover, some pastors went and told other sons of mine in the ministry that the guy is finished, he will not rise again.

I: where you ever jailed or tortured?

**Arch-Bishop:** I wasn't jailed, there was a lot of intimidation, a lot of threatening.

I: so at what point did your relationship with Mr. Rawlings become better because, now we see when you do parties you invite Rawlings, Kuffour, Mahama and everybody and everybody is happy, at what point did your relationship with him amend since he was the chairman of the revolution

**Arch-Bishop:** I think that one of the things I found out later on was that even though a lot of people had misrepresented me to him, some of the things I was going through and dealing with was not coming from him direct but there were other very powerful people in the system who gave instructions that I should be picked up and there was even a time where there was an attempt of an assassination on my life.

I: really, in Ghana?

**Arch-Bishop:** Yah

I: Do you know who sponsored it?

**Arch-Bishop:** I don't know up to today, later on I was told it was this it was that, but when I met President Rawlings himself and we talked, I will be honest with you that sincerely I believed that he had heard a lot of negative things about me but he didn't give an instruction for me to be picked up and investigated and harassed to the extent that it was so it was after I met him and we talked in everything and the wife that I think that some instruction was given for them to leave me alone.

I: what kind of relationship must a pastor have with a politician, what can you advice young pastors who are rising because you deal with almost all the presidents, how should they relate with political people?

**Arch-Bishop:** I think that to relate to the powers that being is a calling and an anointing and is a Grace and I don't think every pastor is called to deal with people in authority because it's a very complicated and difficult terrain to navigate and I am a son of a politician so think there is something in my DNA already when it comes to dealing with politicians, I lived with them I saw people like O. Beckoe, M. Igala and also K. Dusei, K. Dusei was my father's friend we lived in the same area, he used to walk from his house to my father and so I don't personally believe that every pastor is called to deal with politician. Daniel was called to stand in the court of kings, princes and princesses and he could speak against kings and prophesy against them and they couldn't touch him, Jeremiah was a Prophet to the nation and anytime he spoke and prophesy against the king he was put in prison, so everybody with his calling so I don't believe that every pastor is called to deal with people in authority, it is a calling, it is an anointing, it is a grace and that gives you the capacity to manage them because there are brigades of liars around people in authority, yes they are around people in authority and you've got to be very weighty to deal with those people because if they don't like you, you see when Lady Diana was asked what are you afraid of, she said she is afraid of nothing but the men in the grey suit, every nation have men in the grey suits and the people who influence the man that sits in the chair are very powerful people.

I: Are there men in the grey suit in the church too, those who lie to the pastor and how do you discern?

**Arch-Bishop:** Oh yeah, I have a lot around me, you discern it by due diligence, when I was young, I acted on things I heard but as I come of age I check everything but that spirit is very prominent here in Ghana even in the Church where you find that Ghanaians have this special anointing of ‘**crabology**’ (pull him down) for whatever reason, you can see Ghanaians and Nigerians standing and somebody will just drive and pull up with a beautiful nice car and the Nigerian will say *‘Oga God bless you, your car ebe fine oohhh ebe fine paaa adey pray that one day God ego bless me too pray for me Oga but I thank God for you’* the Ghanaian will say *‘ahh this thief where did he get his money from’* so it’s something about us wherever we are, we don’t complement each other and we don’t celebrate the success of one another it’s like self-hatred.

I: Two points, how do you deal with bad press because I know you had a lot of negative reportage in the newspapers, sometimes people report things you in church in the news, a lot of people see you as somebody who is extremely wealthy and don’t think about poor people, they look at the clothes you wear and when you do interviews we read a lot of stories about you. How have you evolved in dealing with the media and negative reportage about your person?

**Arch-Bishop:** well I think that a lot of people don’t know me and they don’t know where I have come from and they don’t know what I do, I have an orphanage I had adopted many years ago and Citifm know I have introduce you

there and you know things I have done there and things I do for all those kids for many years, I feed them every day, build bore-holes, dormitories and things for them, accommodations and I have a drug rehab, I do boreholes in the villages for clean water, build schools under trees, I have done and I still do a lot outreaches to hospitals and to prisons. I don't owe it to anybody to define who I am by social responsibilities of giving to the poor, Jesus said the poor you shall always have with you, I think we are very hypocritical people and it's something that I can stand and I don't stand it when it comes to dealing with the media, many years ago I met somebody in the media I won't mention his name he is one of the top journalist in this country I have a lot of respect for him and in the heat of all these negative press, heavy scandals I met him and I said what have I done to you people, what is the problem and he said can I be honest with you and I said be honest with me and he said if you really want to know the truth it's not anything you have done against us, you are a household name and you sell and he said if you want to know the truth, that is the truth, you sell papers, you make news, you are a household name and I said how did you come to that conclusion, he said I have investigated you and he said anytime, any newspaper put you on their front page in few hours all their newspaper is finished, it's gone so you make money and he said that is the truth if you want to know the truth that is it so don't take it personal, it business.

I: let's end by looking foward, 60years of life 40years of ministry, what left because I look at you and I see a successful man, I look at a lot of ministries who

draw strength from you, I see a vibrant church, I see a happy man, what else so you want to do?

**Arch-Bishop:** I want to do what I do the best, touching lives, impacting lives, transforming lives, helping people discover their reason for being, why they came into this world and empower them and help them to fulfill it. One of the things I feel strongly about is to go back to the schools to help the potential leaders of tomorrow and impact their lives because I see that the people I help the past 48years are those who are impacting their generation today so I believe I have more to offer than never before because when I began I was very young and I wasn't mature I made a lot of mistakes and I have learnt from my mistakes. A lot of the things people call success for me is born out of my afflictions and my adversities in life and I believe that I am wiser today than I was 40years ago or 10years ago and I can handle power, I can handle wealth better today than then and I have feel I have learnt a lot of lessons and I have gained or acquired a lot of keys that I can give to potential leaders of tomorrow to avoid some of the mistakes I made and that they don't have to go through what I went through to have what I have and to experience what I experience after 40years of such a difficult journey but that they can take it from where I am and stand on my shoulders and see beyond and do better than I did.

I: So is it possible you will leave the confines of this place and go back hitting the road?

**Arch-Bishop:** Yes I have started am back in the schools and going back in the outreach days, I have trained a lot of bishops and pastors who can run everything without me, I have done it in a way that they don't really need me to be here to get things to work. I can be wherever I am and give directions and they run things without me and that is what effective leadership is all about, being around and not being needed but still influencing what goes on. The people who control this world are not seen or known, they are behind the scenes and that is the way I want to run things, be around but let others be more relevant than me and stay at the background impact and raise up future generations.

I: Finally, so when you are gone, gone to Christ what would you want to be written on your tombstone? Have you thought about that yet?

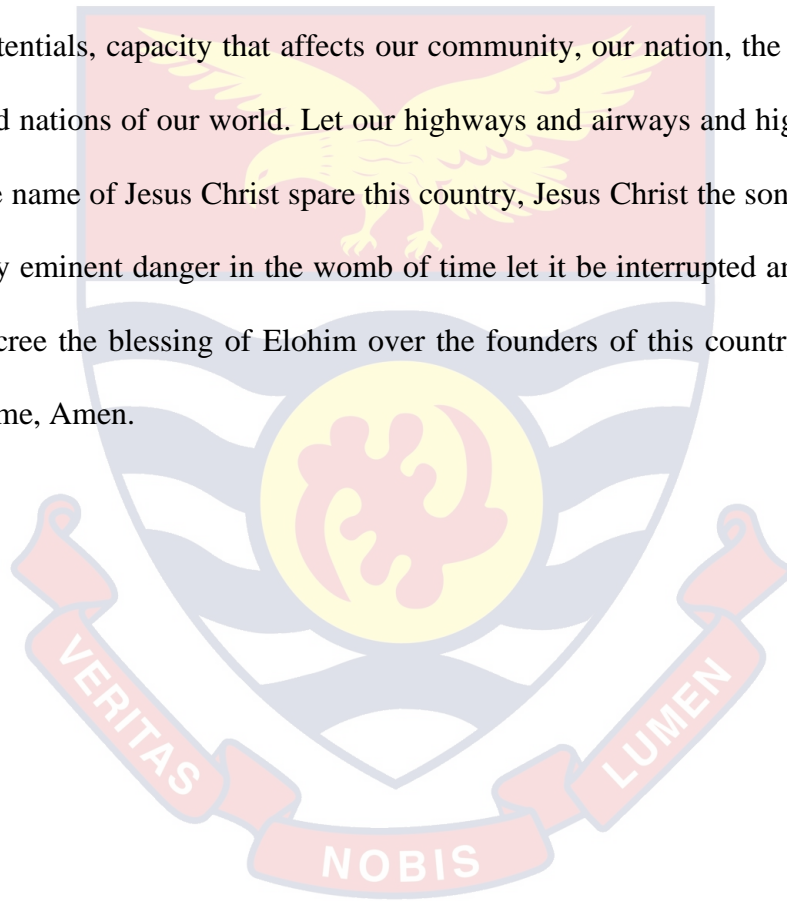
**Arch-Bishop:** I am not thinking about tombstone I am thinking about being raptured, I am talking about the rapture, do you believe in the rapture? Am looking at the rapture and I am not looking at dying and being buried. Those who will be left I won't be among them, I am making the rapture when Jesus comes.

I: what if it tarries?

**Arch-Bishop:** if it tarries we will go up as one and I believe that I want to be remembered as a man that came from nowhere and became somebody through the grace of God to demonstrate to my generations and generations yet unborn what the grace of God can do in the now when men and women dare to depend on the grace of God than the intelligence or the five senses of men.



Prayer: father we pray that your blessing will abound on my motherland Ghana, that Ghana will rise and shine in the corridors and in the flag of nations that whatever you've intended this country to be that Ghana will become in the name of Jesus anything that you intended this country to be from the beginning, let our borders be safe, let the land bear fruit, let the land prosper, let the people of this country be unique be prosperous, be people of destiny, be people of great potentials, capacity that affects our community, our nation, the nations around us and nations of our world. Let our highways and airways and high seas be safe. In the name of Jesus Christ spare this country, Jesus Christ the son of the living God any eminent danger in the womb of time let it be interrupted and averted and we decree the blessing of Elohim over the founders of this country in Jesus mighty name, Amen.



## APPENDIX E

### Attached News papers

