THE PENTECOST FIRE IS BURNING: MODELS OF MISSION ACTIVITIES IN THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST

by

DANIEL OKYERE WALKER

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ABSTRACT

The use of models to study mission activities enables not only vivid description and systematic analysis but also prescriptions for the future. This thesis examines the mission activities of the Church of Pentecost from 1917 to 2008 using five mission models: local, regional, migrational, reverse and reflex. Departing from the general pattern, where mission activity is normally shaped from above by a mission organization, members of the Church of Pentecost developed a 'mission from below' strategy that has become a feature of all aspects of mission work in the church. These models were formed and shaped by members at the grassroots. Reflecting on their strengths and weaknesses, the thesis proposes another mission model that can be used as an analytical tool to evaluate mission models generally. The 'Economission' model which draws on economic principles enables the mission practitioner to assess, evaluate, identify and apply the appropriate model to a particular mission context.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Rev. Frederick D. Walker and Mrs. Florence Walker, first Church of Pentecost missionaries to Liberia, and all missionaries who continue to advance the cause of *Missio Dei*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CoP - The Church of Pentecost

ELICOP - Elim Church of Pentecost

GS - General Secretary

IMD - International Missions Director

LMM - Local Mission Model

MMM - Migrational Mission Model

RMM - Regional Mission Model

RevMM - Reverse Mission Model

RefMM - Reflex Mission Model

PPL - Pentecost Press Limited

PENTSOS - Pentecost Social Services

PUC - Pentecost University College

CHAPTER ONE

THE PENTECOST FIRE IS BURNING: INTRODUCTION

'The fire is burning in my soul
The fire is burning in my soul;
The flame of glory maketh whole,
Hallelujah! It's burning in my soul.'
(Hugh Mitchell, Composer of 'Thy Loving Kindness', 1956)

1.1 Introduction to the Study

'The fire is burning' became a common and much loved tune amongst the Church of Pentecost (hereafter CoP) members in the 1970s and beyond when the church popularized it by using it as a theme song for their radio broadcast 'The Pentecost Hour'. The desire to spread the good news of the Lord Jesus Christ was so paramount that the church took advantage of a radio broadcast on the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio 2 on Monday and Tuesday evenings. Members will usually invite friends and family members to sit by their radios to listen to Pentecostal messages from the 'Pentecost Hour' radio pastor. Much attention was given to the radio programme and other forms of mission activities. Later 'Pentecost Fire' became a catch phrase in the CoP with leaders and members naming literature, vehicles and several activities as 'Pentecost Fire'. These activities developed into mission models that have become characteristic of CoP mission praxis and polity. Mission was seen to be a simple activity in the life of the church. In its simplicity, some members filled with the power of the Holy Spirit went around preaching the good news and were able to start branches of the CoP. An Apostolic missionary sent from the UK to the Gold Coast had been successful in starting the CoP in Ghana with no formal mission training. ¹ This was possible in the CoP and other Pentecostal traditions since it was believed that the Holy Spirit, who is a missionary Spirit, equipped them for such service. According to Allan Anderson, Pentecostal mission 'has not always been clearly formulated or strategized'. ² Andrew Lord observed that people with the experience of the Spirit are often drawn together as 'communities' and become 'God's vehicle for mission' into the world. ³ Many people, and for that matter some members of the CoP, were therefore able to undertake mission with little or no difficulty and have recorded some successes by mainly dwelling on the empowerment of the Holy Spirit.

The work of mission could however also be complex because some have jumped in without adequate training or with little orientation and still relying on the Holy Spirit have caused many blunders and lost many souls. In other instances, there has been a misunderstanding of the dynamics of the respondent cultures. Some have not been productive because there has been an over-emphasis by the missionary on their own church's cultural identity in the expression of the Christian faith. For instance, the CoP has been classified as "Ghana church" or "Fante church" in some of its mission areas just because it tried to transport the Ghanaian culture and style of worship in such areas without contextualizing its mission practice and therefore suffered serious consequences.

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¹ James McKeown and the story of the Church of Pentecost is the subject of this discussion. See Christine Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana* (Sussex: New Wine Ministries, 1989). Even though Leonard's book was not written for the academia, members of the CoP accept it as credible since she interviewed James McKeown and most of the early apostles and pastors of the church. Her book (and later Larbi's book on Ghanaian Pentecostalism) is a must read for all CoP ministers in training at the Pentecost Bible College.

² Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 207.

³ Andrew Lord, *Spirit-Shaped Mission: A Holistic Charismatic Missiology* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2005), p. 105.

There were instances where the church suffered serious troubles to the extent that government intervention became necessary. But the development of any church may thrive on its mission activities. Wilbert Shenk has reported that 'the renewal of the church is linked to recovery of the priority of mission' and therefore 'mission must precede the church'. He further asserts that 'the God-given identity of the church arises from its mission.' God himself is a 'missionary God', and the church must be seen as doing the work of mission. In arriving at an ecclesiastical foundation for mission, Gustav Warneck suggests that the church must engage herself in mission for 'from it she exists and that if she were to give it up, she would be cutting off her very own lifeline'.

For this reason there have been several conferences and papers written in the name of mission. One example is the Festchrift for John Stott's 70th Birthday. In this, Vinay Samuel and Christopher Sugden reiterated that most Christians, and specifically major churches, were planning vigorously to complete the task of mission by the year 2000. There is no doubt that this task has not been achieved. The church would continue to pursue the task of mission until the end of time. This was the concern of Shenk when he proposed that, to be authentic, mission must be thoroughly theocentric. It begins in God's redemptive purpose and will be completed when that purpose is fulfilled. Shenk goes on to state that theologically, mission is focused on the future, for mission is God's

⁴ Wilbert R. Shenk, *Changing Frontiers of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), p.7.

⁵ Shenk, *Changing Frontiers*, p. 7.

⁶ Gustav Warneck, cited by Johannes Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1978), p. 27.

⁷ Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden, A.D. 2000 and Beyond: A Mission Agenda (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1991).

⁸ Samuel and Sugden, AD 2000, p. ix.

⁹ Jesus' statement in Matthew 24:14, *The New English Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

¹⁰ Shenk, *Changing Frontiers*, p. 7.

means of carrying forward the work of redemption until it is completed in the eschaton'. ¹¹ Mission therefore becomes 'more of a journey than an event'. ¹²

If the work of mission must continue, then of course, we must learn new ways of doing effective mission or at least modify and make our present mission models more effective. One church that has taken the call to mission seriously is the CoP. From its humble beginnings in 1953, the CoP has grown to become the biggest Protestant church in Ghana. In 1989, the Ghana Evangelism Committee published a survey of churches where the CoP was found to be the largest with regards to church attendance in Ghana. A further survey in 1993 revealed that the CoP had become the biggest Protestant church in Ghana. Later in 2001, the *Operation World* church statistics confirmed this position. In fact, in terms of number of congregations, the CoP is the largest in Ghana. Ogbu Kalu and Christine Leonard regard the church as one of the largest and fastest growing churches in West Africa, whilst Anderson admits that it is the largest of the classical Pentecostal churches in Ghana. As at the end of December 2008, there were 13,962 branch churches of CoP distributed over 72 nations worldwide with 11,032 churches in Ghana alone. Membership stood at 1,788,114 with Ghana having 86% of the membership

¹¹ Shenk, Changing Frontiers, p.177

¹² Vinay Samuel, 'Mission as Transformation', in Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden (eds.), *Mission as Transformation* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1999), p. 229.

¹³ Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana* (Accra: Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1989), pp.16-17.

¹⁴ Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana* (Accra: Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1993), pp. 24-5.

¹⁵ Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk with Robyn Johnstone, *Operation World: 21st Century Edition*, (Carlisle: Paternoster Lifestyle, 2001), p. 274.

¹⁶ Johnstone, *Operation World*, p. 274.

¹⁷ Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p 8; Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, p. 11.

¹⁸ Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, p. 116.

and the remaining 14% in 71 nations. There were 1,345 full-time paid ministers who were supported by 78,584 unpaid officers – elders, deacons and deaconesses.¹⁹

It is interesting to note that James McKeown, the founder of the CoP, did not have any formal theological or missionary training. According to Kingsley Larbi, most of the church's beliefs have not been documented which is partly due to the attitude of James McKeown, ²⁰ who had often rejected publicity. ²¹ Yet the church that he founded has become very significant in the history of the Christian church in Ghana. By all indications, his missionary methods have been formulated in a manner that has become peculiar and quite distinct to him and to the CoP. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu contends that 'the CoP has acquired a unique indigenous character marking it out as different in outlook from say the Assemblies of God, whose American imprint after sixty years of existence in Ghana is still visible'. 22 Probably these missionary methods evolved as a result of how the early fathers of the church perceived what was meant by missionary work, their eschatological understanding and interpretation of the Bible, and their response to the baptism and power of the Holy Spirit coupled with their understanding of the Christian faith as Pentecostals. Jean-Baptiste Roamba believes that 'the Pentecostal experience of the Holy Spirit is an integral aspect in the African theology of missions'. 23 He argues further that most churches in the developing world are leading in Christian

¹⁹ The Church of Pentecost, Summary Statistics, 2008.

²⁰ Kingsley Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity* (Accra: CPCS, 2001), p. 244.

²¹ Opoku Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', in Opoku Onyinah (ed.), *James McKeown Memorial Lectures: 50 Years of the Church of Pentecost*, Accra: The Church of Pentecost, 2004.

²² J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *Renewal Within African Christianity: A Study of Some Current Historical and Theological Developments Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana* (University of Birmingham, 2000), p. 23.

²³ Jean-Baptiste Roamba, 'A West African Missionary Church', in S. M. Burgess (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 12.

mission today as a way of reciprocating what the early Western missionaries did.²⁴ In the past, mission work centred on mission societies in the West sending missionaries to the two-thirds world. Today, it seems the trend is changing with much more mission work being undertaken from the two-thirds world. Mission has become an activity from everywhere to everywhere. Similarly, in the CoP mission work has become global. The reason for this could be more than what Roamba has suggested, and modelling such mission activities from the era of Peter Anim in 1917 to the Ntumy era in 2008 could reveal the fundamental practice of mission within the CoP which appears to be a "mission from below" strategy.

As James McKeown and his assisting ministers fashioned out a missionary lifestyle in the church the laity might have caught the vision and carried on with the work of mission from below. Most members of the CoP therefore engaged in mission work without knowing if there was any specific missiological methodology to be followed or any principles to be applied. Probably they were engaged in mission as a matter of duty and obligation and did mission their own way.²⁵ In his important book *Missio Dei*, George Vicedom noted that 'God the Father sent the Son, and the Son is both the Sent One and the Sender. Together with the Father the Son sends the Holy Spirit, who in turn sends the church, congregations, apostles, and servants, laying them under obligation in discharging his work'.²⁶ It is therefore not difficult to agree with Valdir Steuernagel who

²⁴ Roamba, 'West African Missionary Church', p. 12.

²⁵ Larbi sees the entire church as a missionary force with every member being a missionary both at the local scene and in foreign nations. He also argues that the philosophy of mission of the CoP is based on prophecy and identity, and therefore there is strong motivation for every member to engage in missions. See Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 250-53.

²⁶ George Vicedom, *Missio Dei*, cited by Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p. 3.

suggests that 'as the wind of the Spirit blows to and through the South, the poor churches of the Third World are receiving an opportunity *to shape a new form of missionary initiative*'. ²⁷ This new form of missionary initiative though has not been without difficulty. The CoP has experienced litigation, splits and even near collapse and closure in some of its mission areas. However, there have also been successes, and studying such stories can be very illuminating.

1.2 Towards a Hypothesis

Christian missions and missionary endeavours from the nineteenth century and beyond have taken different shapes and forms. Some have criticised the missionary enterprise as destabilizing society and culture, ²⁸ as exerting external control leading to 'imperialism, colonialism, westernity or modernity' and also as being paternalistic. ²⁹ Pentecostalism, which, according to Anderson, is perhaps 'the fastest religious movement in the twentieth century and now found in almost every country in the world', ³⁰ also took on some of the traits of the early missionaries in its mission endeavours. Some of these early mission problems have been identified with the Christian mission in Ghana. Due to these problems there have been several modern mission models which have attempted to offer solutions especially regarding mission work in the developing world. The CoP mission enterprise, which is based on a 'mission from below' system, could be considered as one of the models to address some of these missionary problems and therefore would make an

²⁷ Valdir R. Steuernagel, 'An Evangelical Assessment of Mission: A Two-Thirds World Perspective', in Samuel and Sugden (eds.), *A.D. 2000 and Beyond*, p.6.

Harris W. Mobley, The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary: An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries By Ghanaians 1897 – 1965 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 12; Dana L. Robert, Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2009), p. 88.

²⁹ Robert, *Christian Mission*, p. 88.

³⁰ Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, p. 206.

important contribution to the field of mission. But what really was the motivating factor behind the CoP's achievement? Was it just the move and unction of the Holy Spirit? Murray Dempster has said that 'theological reflection on church mission by early Pentecostals started with the conviction that the New Testament church was called into existence and empowered for evangelistic witness throughout the world by the coming of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost'. ³¹

What missiological strategies were used in reaching other nations? Were there any structures put in place? What was the practice of mission during the Anim, McKeown, Safo/Yeboah and Ntumy eras? Are the factors that aided the CoP to become the biggest and fastest growing church in Ghana still relevant in this post-modern era? What missionary methods are being applied in establishing, managing and sustaining churches within and outside Ghana? How does the external or receiving end perceive the CoP's missionary strategies? What are the strengths and weaknesses of these mission models? How can these models be re-developed to become effective models for the church today? These questions will be addressed in this research.

Until recently when Larbi published his book *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity* little had been known about CoP in the academy. Asamoah-Gyadu and Onyinah followed with PhD research on the CoP,³² but none have attempted an extensive

³¹ Murray Dempster, 'A Theology of the Kingdom: A Pentecostal Contribution', in Samuel and Sugden (eds.), *Mission As Transformation*, pp. 48 – 9.

Earlier works on the CoP were done by Robert Wyllie, *The Spirit Seekers: New Religious Movements in Southern Ghana* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1980); Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Pentecostalism*; Asamoah-Gyadu, *Renewal Within African Christianity*; Opoku Onyinah, 'Akan Witchcraft and the Concept of Exorcism in the Church of Pentecost', PhD Dissertation (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2002)

study on the mission of the Church. According to Roamba, comparatively, very little has been written on the role of the Holy Spirit as a missionary spirit with regard to the West African church.³³ Since the CoP emphasises the activity of the Holy Spirit in their mission praxis, the study of mission models that it has developed will fill this gap. At the moment there is no existing work on mission models of the CoP, and it is hoped that research will add to the field of modelling Pentecostal mission activities. A thorough investigation, examination and evaluation will therefore be made of existing missionary methods within the CoP, and a model will also be developed that will be used to assess different mission models. An attempt will also be made to understand the faith of the early fathers that made them so zealous for the work of missions. This will lead us to test the hypothesis that The Church of Pentecost has shaped a form of missionary initiative that could be relevant for the wider church today if it is re-defined to reflect post-modern elements. In this way the unwritten faith, principle and practice of mission in the CoP would have been documented. As the largest Protestant church in Ghana that has in some way produced leaders for some of the main Charismatic churches in Ghana, such an outcome is expected to affect the wider church in Ghana in particular and other African Pentecostals. Again some Charismatic and other churches have started planting churches outside Ghana or outside Africa and would benefit from such a study.

As it is true that a lot of work has already been done on missions generally, there is still 'much work to be done in gaining an understanding of the varying factors affecting

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³³ Roamba, 'West Africa', p. 12.

receptivity³⁴ and also understanding the practice of mission from below or doing mission from 'bottom-up'.

1.3 Methodology and Limitations

When it became apparent that I would be engaging in research work, I began collecting material that will be relevant to my field of study. As the son of a CoP pastor, I had full access to my father's collections and library in Accra. Before his death in October 1988, my father, Apostle Frederick D. Walker, was one of the early leaders of the Gold Coast Apostolic Church and the Church of Pentecost who worked extensively with Rev. James McKeown and other Apostolic, UK missionaries. My recollections of past experiences especially in the 1970s when I joined my father who was sent as a missionary to do pioneering work in Liberia, gave me better understanding of the material I gathered. I have also been actively involved in the activities of the CoP as a lay leader from 1985 and as an ordained minister since 1993. In all these years, I observed there was something unique about the mission practice of the CoP that needed academic investigation, and this sets the tone for this research.

Actual fieldwork for the research, however, was conducted between June and August in 2007 in Accra, Ghana. During the period, I collected relevant material from the Statistics, Records and Archives Department based at the Head Office of the CoP in Accra. These materials included circular letters from the offices of the Chairman, General Secretary (GS) and the International Missions Director (IMD); correspondences and reports from

³⁴ Robert L. Montgomery, *Introduction to the Sociology of Missions* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1999), p. 144.

missionaries to the IMD; mid-year and annual statistical reports, minutes of meetings from Missions Board, Executive Council and General Council Meetings; Mission Newsletters; Missionary Conference reports, mission audio tapes and IMD's mission reports. Other primary documents were retrieved from the Ghana Government National Archives in Accra. Secondary resources available on the subject – books, journals, articles, reports, minutes and published magazines - were also consulted.

The following CoP officials were also interviewed: the Chairman, the GS, the two past IMDs, the current IMD, the Rector of Pentecost University College, four former CoP missionaries, five retired ministers and a retired missionary's wife, and other selected church members who have had various experiences with regards to mission work in the CoP. Questionnaires were administered to two hundred and forty members of the CoP-Ghana. Out of this sixty were women, sixty were men and sixty were youth with the remaining sixty being leaders of various local congregations. Four attendants who are also members of CoP were engaged to assist with the running of the questionnaires. This became necessary so that members could freely give their vivid opinion of church issues to their fellow member and to avoid members trying to impress me as their pastor. In addition to this, a comprehensive fieldwork was conducted in Britain. As at the end of December 2008, the CoP had established 82 congregations which have been divided into fourteen church districts in the UK. So Questionnaires were administered to sixteen people of each district of which five were women, five were men, five youth and one local leader

³⁵ The districts were Tottenham, Harlesden, Dagenham, Berkshire, Camberwell, Surrey, Pentecost International Worship Centre (PIWC), Milton Keynes, Manchester, Telford, Birmingham, Glasgow, Harlow and Leicester, The Church of Pentecost, International Missions Report, 2008

which comprised a total of 224 from the fourteen church districts. Five pastors in CoP-UK were also interviewed.

The preference for a questionnaire to be conducted in CoP-Ghana was to understand the formation of mission in the CoP. Particular attention was therefore given to the age group and gender of the respondents. The rationale of this was to identify the main emphasis of mission trend from the Anim era through to the Mckeown, the Safo-Yeboah and the Ntumy era and also to note how mission is perceived amongst the youth of the present generation. CoP-UK was amongst the earliest CoP mission in Europe and the USA. It was therefore thought that using CoP-UK as a case study will reflect the general trend of CoP mission in the developed world. Besides, since the researcher resides in the UK it was a lot easier to undertake any extensive survey locally. As a pastor, I was privileged to be assigned the responsibility of pastoring three congregations with membership of about 200 in Telford for four years which I also used as a survey base. Together with this I also visited fifteen other congregations of the CoP-UK and randomly interviewed five members at each congregation. Other primary literature was gathered from the archives section based at the CoP-UK national office in London. I was privileged to gain access to past correspondences of previous missionaries as well as having an interview with the first missionary to the UK. It is believed that this will enrich the results of the research. As much as it is difficult to avoid familiarity as an insider, there is also the advantage of having easy access to classified information. With this advantage on my side and also my knowledge of the CoP system, I was aware that in order to offer a critical analysis, assessment and interpretation of data academically, I had to employ a certain level of reflexivity. Caution was therefore taken to present the views of interviewees rather than familiar views, offer a data-driven interpretation and provide interpretation at several levels from the grass roots membership to the leadership level. Again, to obtain objective responses to questionnaires and interviews, I hid my identity as a pastor from members and chose congregations that most people could not recognize me. I also requested from the leadership not to intoroduce me as a pastor at places that I conducted questionnaires and interviews.

To test the validity of mission in CoP-UK as a general trend for CoP mission in Europe and the USA, CoP-Italy, CoP-Germany and CoP-Holland were visited to conduct interviews, administer questionnaire and engage in participant observation. These congregations were amongst the biggest in Europe. USA and Canada were left out of this survey even though the CoP is well established in these countries. It is believed that the circumstances that led to the establishment of the church in Europe were similar to that of the USA and Canada. The CoP in these countries is mainly a migrant church and predominantly Ghanaian. Questionnaires were also sent to two countires in Latin America, two in Africa and two in Asia. This was done mainly by post and /or via e-mail. Twenty CoP ministers were also randomly selected outside the UK to answer questions on church administration.

The adequacy of the data collected, however, may be limited since responses depended on the good will of the people who are the recipient of the CoP's missionary activities. Travelling to all the selected countries to have engaged in participant observation was

also not possible as a result of financial and time constraints. Montgomery agrees that 'theory construction requires research in the real world, namely, fieldwork. Fieldwork however offers numerous problems, not the least of which is finances. The people to whom religions are diffusing are often difficult to reach and to interview.'36 However using the church in Britain as a case study, it is believed that information that was gathered is representative enough and a good deductive measurement that gives an accurate picture of the mission of the CoP. The questionnaire administered was intended to reveal information on administrative procedures being upheld in the mission field, church structure involving CoP praxis and ethos, worship style and liturgy, the nature and distribution of church membership and challenges being faced in the mission field. Some of these issues are quite sensitive in the CoP and where respondents and interviewees have asked for anonymity, their confidentiality has been respected. All other names that have been cited are done so with their permission. The information therefore gathered has been able to inform the nature of the CoP as a migrant church in Europe, as an indigenous church in Asia, as a regional church in Africa and as a local church in Ghana.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

Since communities and governments may differ in their perception and acceptance of the gospel as well as their understanding of the operation and mission practice of the CoP, the contextualization model will be used as a framework to evaluate the principle and practice of mission in CoP. This will help us to test the hypothesis put forward in this research and also to answer some of the following research questions. How did the mission models develop in the CoP? How is the church dealing with growth crisis,

³⁶ Montgomery, Sociology of Mission, p. 142.

nationalism and church independence? How ready is the church to modify its liturgy and worship, leadership and structure to enhance or disrupt mission activities? According to Lord. Pentecostal approaches to mission are mainly contextual³⁷ and contextualization offers a better understanding of the gospel in different communities.³⁸ The main features of the contextualization model include the following:

- 1. A process whereby the gospel message encounters a particular culture, calling forth faith and leading to the formation of a faith community, which is culturally authentic and authentically Christian.
- 2. Control of the process resides within the context³⁹ rather than with an external agent or
- 3. Culture is understood to be a dynamic and evolving system of values, patterns of behaviour, and a matrix shaping the life of the members of that society.⁴⁰

Anderson posits that the issue of contextualization has been severally debated with little understanding of the term and often times has been confused with the concept of 'indigenization'. Whereas 'indigenization' connotes that 'the gospel message and Christian theology are the same in all cultures and contexts', "contextualization" 'assumes that every theology is influenced by its particular context and must be so to be relevant'. 41 For Dean Flemming, the term has even become a 'slippery' one with a wide variety of meanings that makes it difficult for one to know the perspective in which it is being used. For instance, contextualization could be used as a hermeneutical activity, a theological process or a missiological activity. Flemming also looks at contextualization from a historical and cultural perspective in which the gospel is incarnated. According to

³⁷ Lord, *Spirit-Shaped Mission*, p. 101.

Second Formula

Lord, *Spirit-Shaped Mission*, pp. 91 – 92.

The context may be determined by the following factors: 'geography, language, ethnicity, political, economic, and social systems, class, gender, age, and time-frame, sense of identity, religion, values and history'. See Alan Neely, Christian Mission: A Case Study Approach (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995), pp. 8-9.

Shenk, Changing Frontiers, p 56.
 A. Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism, p. 212.

him, this will demand a dynamic and a comprehensive process. ⁴² Neely adds that when the gospel message is preached from one culture to another, it must be adapted in that particular culture for it to be relevant. ⁴³ With the CoP operating in over seventy countries, it is probable that cultures in various communities may influence receptivity and acceptance of the gospel and therefore is likely to affect the way mission work is done from one community to another. For this research, we will combine the contextualization understanding of Anderson and Flemming. Contextualization therefore will be seen as a missiological activity, in which the mission practice of CoP is influenced by particular contexts. A further advantage of the model is that contextualization gives broader cultural understanding to include social, political and economic issues. ⁴⁴

The concept of contextualization has been debated as to its appropriateness to mission since the word was first used in Christian circles in the early 1970s by the Theological Education Fund (TEF) within the World Council of Churches (WCC). The concept was applied to how to interpret a particular biblical text within a particular setting. Later, mainline theologians argued that less emphasis should be placed on the text and prominence given to its usage in a given culture. Evangelicals like Byang Kato, Theological Processing Structure of the concept was applied to how to interpret a particular biblical text within a particular setting. Later, mainline theologians argued that less emphasis should be placed on the text and prominence given to its usage in a given culture.

⁴² Dean Flemming, *Contextualization in the New Testament: Patterns for Theology and Mission* (Downers Grove, Ill: Inter Varsity Press, 2005), pp. 18-19.

⁴³ Neely, *Christian Mission*, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005, Revised and Expanded Edition), pp. 26-7.

⁴⁵ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001), pp 420-21; David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally: An Introduction to Missionary Communication* 2nd Edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991), p. 133. ⁴⁶ David E. Embree, 'Contextualization in Burgess', (ed.) *Encyclopaedia*, p. 111.

⁴⁷ Byang Kato, 'The Gospel, Cultural Context, and Religious Syncretism', in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *Let the Earth Hear His Voice* (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1975), p. 1217.

Nicholls⁴⁸ and George Peters⁴⁹ have defined contextualization as making or translating theological concepts according to their particular situations.⁵⁰ Pentecostals add another dimension to the concept by recognizing the active role of the Holy Spirit who gives visions and prophetic directives to people concerning their way of worship and living in a particular culture. According to David Embree, contextualization is therefore 'the intersection of biblical exegesis, cultural application, and the Holy Spirit's enlightenment of spiritual truths'.⁵¹ The mission of the CoP could therefore be contextualized in a way to bring the understanding of their theology to bear in particular cultural environments without imposing the 'host' or 'church' culture at the mission front. This will ensure the development of a contextualized indigenous church that will promote the mission of the CoP.

Before the introduction of the contextualization model in the 1970s, earlier models had been the 'identification' or 'replication' and the 'indigenization' models. Incidentally, features of these are still apparent today, when it is common to find all three models being followed. Defence that had been associated with the contextualization model include 'Accommodation', 'Adaptation', 'Inculturation' and 'Autochthonization'. It must also be noted that even though the term

⁴⁸ Bruce Nicholls, 'Theological Education and Evangelization', in Douglas (ed.), *Let the Earth Hear*, p. 647.

⁴⁹ George Peters, 'Issues Confronting Evangelical Missions', in Wade T. Coggins and E. L. Frizen (eds.), *Evangelical Missions Tomorrow* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey, 1977), p. 169.

⁵⁰ Hesselgrave, Communicating Christ, pp 135 – 37.

⁵¹ Embree, 'Contextualization', in Burgess (ed.), *Encyclopaedia*, p. 113.

⁵² Shenk, *Changing Frontiers*, pp. 50-5. See also Montgomery, *Introduction to the Sociology of Missions*, p. 156.

p. 156. ⁵³ Dean Gilliland, "Contextualization," in A. Scott Mooreau, *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2000), p. 226; Neely, *Christian Mission*, pp.4-10.

"contextualization" does not appear directly in the Bible, there are several traces in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles which suggest that the message was presented in a way that considered the context in which it was being delivered. Good contextualization should therefore be grounded in Scripture. 54 Similarly, mission practice in the CoP might have involved traits of contextualization consciously or unconsciously in the past and definitely before the 1970s. To obtain an accurate result using the contextualization model, therefore, a historiographical approach will also be adopted in order to discover changing trends in a particular context while not losing track of evaluating the entire mission principle and practice in the general framework of the 'contextualization' model. Kwame Bediako claims that through exposure to the history of mission 'it should be possible to appreciate and understand some of 'the essential urges of Christianity as these have manifested themselves in the different cultural contexts of mankind'. 55 According to him, 'Christian mission history itself provides parallels, insights and explanations to the puzzles we encounter in Christian mission.'56 The CoP has had a unique history from Ghana to other nations and recounting or telling this story will help us to understand the practice of mission in the CoP from one culture to another and also to model CoP mission practice. Kalu argued that 'Pentecostalism responds differently to various ecosystems' and therefore 'African historiography should be attentive to contextuality'. In discussing further the historiography of Pentecostal genealogy, Kalu insisted 'African Pentecostalism should be reconstructed from four discourses namely the historical,

⁵⁴ Michael Pocock, Gailyn Van Rheenen, and Douglas McConnell, *The Changing Face of World Missions: Engaging Contemporary Issues and Trends* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), p. 324.

⁵⁵ Kwame Bediako, "World Evangelisation, Institutional Evangelicalism and the Future of Christian World Mission," in Vinay Samuel and Albrecht Hauser (eds.), *Proclaiming Christ in Christ's Way: Studies in Integral Evangelism* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1989), p. 65.

⁵⁶ Bediako, "World Evangelization," p. 65. See also Steuernagel, 'An Evangelical Assessment of Mission', p. 12.

cultural, instrumentalist and the religious'. These dimensions help us to discover the roots or origins of the historical account being studied.⁵⁷ This study will therefore focus on the historical, cultural and the religious aspect of the contextualization model as defined by Anderson, Flemming and Kalu.

1.5 Definitions

Before looking at mission from a Pentecostal perspective, it will be helpful to attempt a definition of mission since it has undergone many interpretations and meanings. According to Scott Moreau, 'the contemporary secular definition of mission is simply sending someone forth with a specific purpose'. That purpose may be defined broadly as representing the interests of the sender, or narrowly as hand-delivering a message given by the sender. ⁵⁸ This idea of the 'sender' and the 'sent one' is also present within the academic discipline of Mission Studies.

In the field of missions, the word "mission", according to Montgomery, is based on the concept of 'being sent', ⁵⁹ whilst Shenk contends that the word is synonymous with movement and therefore 'stands for purposeful going and doing'. ⁶⁰ But Manfred Linz, a student of Walter Freytag, has given a more detailed definition:

Mission is God engaging the church as a partner in his work in the world. Through mission Christ establishes and exercises his Lordly rule. Mission frees men for discipleship in every area of human life and thereby offers active hope for the final goal

⁵⁷ Kalu, African Pentecostalism, pp. ix, 15.

⁵⁸ A. Scott Moreau, 'Mission and Missions', in Moreau (ed.), *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, p. 636.

⁵⁹ Montgomery, *Introduction to the Sociology of Missions*, p.3.

⁶⁰ Shenk, *Changing Frontiers*, p. 1.

of God's creation to be reached". Linz thus sees the work of the church within the perspective of the *missio Dei*; the church herself is mission.⁶¹

Bosch however cautioned us to note the difference between *mission* (singular) and *missions* (plural). According to him, mission is the activity of God, *Missio Dei*, where God reveals himself to the world through the church. Those who are engaged in mission are only privileged to participate in God's mission. Missions, on the other hand, refers to 'the missionary ventures of the church'. ⁶² This is the *Missiones Ecclesiae* and may involve how mission work is done. This includes logistics, personnel, mode of operation, timing and proposed places of mission activity. Mission is therefore broader, the main business, and encompasses everything that is missions, the strategy. Bediako added another dimension to the definition of mission by demonstrating that,

Mission has to do not with triumphalism, but with travail; that travail in mission has to do with more than the expending of resources, finance and personnel; it is the expending of life itself, for the sake of more life and for the overthrow of sin, evil and death in every manifestation of these.⁶³

This definition seems to be more holistic where the goal of mission is not only seen as participating in the mission of God but sharing the life of Christ with an expectation to bring about change in lives where sin, evil and death are defeated in individual lives. To Africans, generally, mission is more holistic because their understanding of salvation includes the spirit, soul and body.

Moreau has noted that approaches to the definition of mission have not been in constant agreement. He claims that the issue will continue to be debated and that 'consensus over

⁶¹ Manfred Linz, cited by Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p.33.

⁶² Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p.10.

⁶³ Bediako, 'World Evangelisation', p. 56.

this complex issue will remain a goal to be reached in the future rather than a present reality'. 64 He further argues that as the term 'mission' is so broad, any church's understanding of the 'mission of the church' will as much as possible depend on their 'theological orientation rather than an etymological analysis'. 65 But since definitions are 'operational' and 'study-specific' 'it does not matter how a particular variable is defined as long as the definition is clear'. 66 This research work will therefore use the simple meaning that 'mission' is the sending activity of the church, where the church recognizes that the sender is God and therefore moves according to his will by the power of the Holy Spirit, causing the church to positively affect the lives of others and their environment for the glory of God; whilst 'missions' is the sending organization together with their resources and strategies. 'Missionaries' will be considered as those deliberately sent by the sending organization, ⁶⁷ as well as those who voluntarily engage in mission activities at home or abroad to conform to the mission practice of the CoP. It must however be noted that a lot more people within the CoP are working as missionaries without the due recognition. In most cases only full-time ministers are called and sent as missionaries. Others who have elected themselves to serve as missionaries are only referred to as church leaders. This makes the definition of who a missionary is in the organizational setup of the CoP a bit narrow since in reality those who are serving as unrecognized missionaries are more than the officially recognized ones.

⁶⁴ Moreau, 'Mission and Missions', pp. 637-38.

⁶⁵ Moreau, 'Mission and Missions', p. 636.

⁶⁶ Montgomery, *Introduction to Sociology of Missions*, pp. 130-31.

⁶⁷ Montgomery, *Introduction to Sociology of Missions*, p. 47.

1.5.1 Pentecostal Mission

Now turning to defining Pentecostal mission, we may infer in a very simple way that it is a sending activity that places much or absolute emphasis on the empowerment of the Holy Spirit. ⁶⁸ The term 'Pentecostal' as defined by Anderson describes 'globally all churches and movements that emphasize the working of the gifts of the Spirit, both on phenomenological and on theological grounds – although not without qualification'. ⁶⁹ Anderson thus continues to define and explain Pentecostal mission in a very clear and explicit manner:

Pentecostals place primary emphasis on being 'sent by the Spirit' and depend more on what is described as the Spirit's leading than on formal structures. People called 'missionaries' are doing that job because the Spirit directed them to do it, often through some spiritual revelation like a prophecy, a dream or a vision and even through an audible voice perceived to be that of God. In comparison to the 'Missio Dei' of older Catholic and Protestant missions and the 'obedience to the Great Commission' of evangelical missions, Pentecostal mission is grounded first and foremost in the conviction that the Spirit is the motivating power behind this activity. Pentecostal leader J. Roswell Flower wrote in 1908, 'When the Holy Spirit comes into our hearts, the missionary spirit comes in with it; they are inseparable.... Carrying the gospel to hungry souls in this and other lands is but a natural result'. The heart of Pentecostal missions is the experience of the power of the Spirit. This mission has not always been clearly formulated or strategized, as Pentecostal missionaries got on with the job in a hurry believing that the time was short.⁷⁰

Since the basic teaching in the CoP is on prayer and the activity of the Holy Spirit, such an explanation becomes very helpful in CoP mission praxis. Lord argues that 'it is the Holy Spirit, working in the hearts of individual believers, that brings them together for the work of Christian mission'. ⁷¹ Pentecostal missions therefore may be described as

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⁶⁸ Lord, Spirit-Shaped Mission, p. 107.

⁶⁹ Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, pp. 13-14. See also Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), p. 3.

⁷⁰ Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, pp. 206-207.

⁷¹ Lord, *Spirit-Shaped Mission*, p. 108.

being 'pneumatocentric' in emphasis, however, in the delivery and witness of the Gospel message its 'Christocentric' nature is clearly seen.⁷²

During the age of modern mission from 1792, the founding of William Carey's Baptist Missionary Society to 1910 when the first World Missions Conference was held in Edinburgh, dubbed the 'missiological great century' by Anderson, mission became more structured with the establishment of mission societies as a way of doing missions.⁷³ Fuelled by the mission activities and the theological understanding of Puritanism and Pietism which directly or indirectly influenced Pentecostalism, 74 Pentecostal mission gained prominence from the early 1900s. The direct precursors to Pentecostalism, that is, Methodism and the nineteenth-century Holiness movement, based their mission endeavours on the 'experience of 'baptism with the Spirit''. ⁷⁵ Pentecostal mission was not only influenced by Methodism and the Holiness movement, but also an earlier 'reformed revivalism of Jonathan Edwards and the latter "Oberlin Perfectionism" of revivalists Charles Finney and Asa Mahan' and also the Keswick Movement. 76 Due to the historic passage of earlier missionary movements, the Pentecostal movement picked up certain traits of its predecessors. For instance, aside from its main mission practice of receiving the qualification of 'Spirit baptism' with the sign of speaking in tongues, the Pentecostal gospel has also been preached with an eschatological fervour. Pentecostal

⁷² Anderson, 'Towards a Pentecostal Missiology for the Majority World', in G. McClung (ed), Azusa Street and Beyond (Gainsville, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2006), p. 173.

⁷³ Justice Anderson, 'The Great Century and Beyond (1792 – 1910)', in John Mark Terry, Ebbie Smith, Justice Anderson (eds.), Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History, and Strategies of World Missions (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1998), pp. 200, 202.

⁷⁴ Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987), pp. 37-

<sup>8.
&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007), pp. 18-19; Dayton, *Theological Roots*, p. 38. Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, pp. 22-3.

mission has also been perceived as 'foreign mission', from 'white' to 'other' peoples,⁷⁷ from the 'centre' to the 'periphery' or 'margin', from 'core' to 'outer', from 'north' to 'south' and from 'top' to 'bottom', to use various terms.

1.5.2 The CoP Mission Concept

It is the proposal of this research that the CoP has fashioned out a mission model or a mission polity and praxis that has developed from its inception with resemblances to the early church mission model and other mission practices but which has particularity to the CoP. The CoP mission has always centred on the activities of the grassroots. Ordinary members have carried out missionary activities without any mission orientation, instruction or financial assistance. This became an unwritten general mission practice within the CoP, and it was only in 1994 that a mission statement was written by the church. According to the General Secretary of the CoP, Apostle Alfred Koduah, as the mission of the CoP developed, it became imperative for the church to clarify their understanding of mission in the contemporary world. The Executive Council of the church therefore responded to this need and promulgated the following mission statement:

The Church of Pentecost is a worldwide, non-profit-making Pentecostal church with its headquarters in Accra, Ghana. It exists to bring all people everywhere to the saving knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ through the proclamation of the gospel, the planting of churches and the equipping of believers for every God-glorifying service. It demonstrates the love of God through the provision of social services in partnership with governments, communities and other like-minded organizations. ⁷⁹

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⁷⁷ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 27.

⁷⁸ Interview, Apostle Alfred. Koduah, 4 September 2009.

⁷⁹ The Church of Pentecost Home Page, <u>www.thechurchofpentecost.com</u>, (accessed on 28 June 2008).

The first part of the mission statement dealt with preaching and planting of churches, that is, sending the gospel message of the Lord Jesus Christ to all people everywhere, whilst the second part dealt with supporting people everywhere with services such as schools and medical services. Even though the first part of the statement assumed the involvement of all church members in missionary activities, it was clear that the second part was mainly a top-down approach with emphasis on the use of established structures. This, however, had not been the main focus of mission activities in the CoP. In September 2008, the newly elected Chairman of the CoP, Apostle Opoku Onyinah, put forward a proposal to revise the mission statement to give a better reflection of the mission practice of the church. After careful consideration and discussion by the Executive Council and other senior ministers of the church the revision was stated in two parts as follows: a) Vision Statement: planting and nurturing healthy churches globally; and b) Mission Statement: we exist to establish responsible and self-sustainable churches, filled with committed, Spirit-filled Christians of character who will impact their communities for Christ.⁸⁰ The second part of the former mission statement, which was the provision of social services, was completely removed to give more recognition to the grassroots and to emphasize the fact that the CoP mission is generally a 'mission from below'. With the shifting of global mission from the north to the south, missiologist Michael Nazir-Ali has described the new nature of mission as from 'everywhere to everywhere'. 81 Samuel Escobar takes it a step further by describing the new global

⁸⁰ The Church of Pentecost, 'Vision 2013: Five-Year Vision for the Church of Pentecost Covering the Period 2008 – 2013', Unpublished Church Document, p. 3.

⁸¹ Michael Nazir-Ali, From Everywhere to Everywhere (Glasgow: Collins, 1990).

mission as 'the gospel from everywhere to everyone'. 82 However, in the CoP, mission is not only from everywhere to everywhere or from everywhere to everyone but also from everyone to everyone. This gives the CoP mission practice a wider perspective by involving members and leaders at all levels. To continue the proposition that the CoP mission is a 'mission from below', some missionary activities within other earlier established missions are examined in the next chapter.

1.6 Some Biblical Perspectives on the Practice of Mission

To be able to evaluate the mission practice of the CoP and develop mission models that will incorporate the practical experiences of the CoP and past and contemporary mission practice models, we need to put the mission practice of CoP into a broader mission modelling perspective. A few mission concepts are therefore examined below.

1.6.1 Mission as Missio Dei

The concept of mission has been severally explained and extensively used in different ways. However, one major aspect of studying mission is to understand the subject as God's mission or *Missio Dei*. According to Bosch, Karl Barth 'became one of the first theologians to articulate mission as an activity of God himself' at the Brandenburg Missionary Conference in 1932.⁸³ Later, in 1934 Karl Hartenstein formulated the term *Missio Dei*.⁸⁴ The German delegation at the Tambaram Missionary Conference in 1938 expatiated on mission as an act of God but *Missio Dei* as a missiological concept was

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⁸² Samuel Escobar, *The New Global Mission: The Gospel from Everywhere to Everyone* (Downers Grove, Ill: Inter Varsity Press, 2003).

⁸³ Bosch, Transforming Mission, p. 389.

⁸⁴ Moreau, 'Mission and Missions', p. 637.

clarified and developed at the Willingen Missionary Conference in 1952.⁸⁵ It was George Vicedom who made the term more popular at the Mexico City Missionary Conference in 1963.⁸⁶

According to John McIntosh, *Missio Dei* which is the Latin for the sending of God is 'everything God does for the communication of salvation'. ⁸⁷ Mission is therefore initiated by God, designed by God, implemented by God and finalized by God. 'It is a God centred activity', ⁸⁸ 'an attribute of God' and a 'movement from God to the world'. ⁸⁹ Andrew Kirk states that *Missio Dei* springs from 'God's boundless and matchless love for the universe he has created, and particularly for the beings within it that bears his image'. ⁹⁰ The mission of God thus 'flows directly from the nature of who God is' with love being the overarching attribute. ⁹¹ It is not 'people and church centred'. ⁹² 'There is church because there is mission, not vice versa'. ⁹³ Any effective mission model must therefore recognize the fact that mission is primarily God's mission which becomes effective through the *Missio Trinitatis* with God the Father sending the Son, Jesus the Son sending the Holy Spirit and the Holy Spirit empowering the Church to do mission. The ultimate goal of *Missio Dei* is thus the 'glory of God' where God establishes his reign in the hearts of people which is evidenced by the conversion of souls and resulting

⁸⁵ Bosch, Transforming Mission, p. 390.

⁸⁶ Moreau, 'Mission and Missions', p. 637.

⁸⁷ John A. McIntosh, 'Missio Dei', in Moreau (ed.) Evangelical Dictionary, p. 631.

⁸⁸ A. Nasimiyu-Wasike and D. W. Waruta (eds.), *Mission in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1993), p. 1.

⁸⁹ Bosch, Transforming Mission, p. 390.

⁹⁰ J. Andrew Kirk, *What is Mission? Theological Explorations*, (London: Darton, Longmann & Todd, 1999), pp. 27–8.

⁹¹ Kirk, What is Mission?, p. 28.

⁹² Nasimiyu-Wasike and Waruta (eds.), *Mission in African Christianity*, p. 1.

⁹³ Bosch, Transforming Mission, p. 390.

in 'love, community, equality, diversity, mercy, compassion and justice' amongst God's creation.

1.6.2 The Mission of Jesus and *Missio Dei*

God has been at the centre of his mission since the 'Adamic' covenant when he sought to bring fallen humanity back to himself. The Old Testament continues with several Missio Dei episodes including the Patriarchal events particularly the Abramic call and covenant and the election of Israel as the nation of God. 95 During this time, Missio Dei was exclusive to Israel as the 'people of God'. When Jesus started his historic earthly mission, 'Judaism had never experienced a call to mission among Gentiles equivalent to that which swept through early Christianity'. 96 According to Senior and Stuhlmueller, 'the catalyst that triggered the missionary consciousness of the early church and shaped its basic message was the person and ministry of Jesus' and that 'the connection between the mission of Jesus and the worldwide mission of the church forms the backdrop for almost all of the New Testament' models of mission. 97 Some however have argued that Jesus himself did not have a Gentile or Global mission mind or perhaps only his postresurrection statements depict a universal missionary thinking. Robert Garrett in response to this submits that Jesus had to work through the established Missio Dei as laid down in the Old Testament. When the Israel of God declined the invitation to become the nation of God 'Jesus moved forward to accomplish God's overall purpose through the creation

⁹⁴ Kirk, What is Mission? p. 28.

⁹⁵ W. Bryant Hicks, 'Old Testament Foundations for Missions', in Terry, Smith and Anderson, *Missiology*, pp. 55-6.

⁹⁶ Donald Senior and Carroll Stuhlmueller, *The Biblical Foundations for Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, p. 141.

⁹⁷ Senior and Stuhlmueller, *Biblical Foundations*, pp. 141-42.

of a "new Israel", called into being through faith in him ... a movement from Old Testament particularity to New Testament universality'. 98 Lesslie Newbigin however does not see the Missio Dei as a movement from one stage to the other but that the concept of particularity and universality co-exists. He gives a clear explanation to this by noting that Jesus preached a gospel that was both universal as well as referring to particular peoples, places and cultures. The concepts of particularity and universality were therefore interwoven, compatible, not contradictory and required one another. Using the doctrine of election Newbigin explains that Missio Dei has been universal from the beginning; nevertheless, there has been particular 'elected' choices throughout Scripture. For instance, Abraham, Moses, the disciples and the church were particular persons or groups that were chosen to be agents of blessing or redemption to the wider world but also to their particular context. 99 Newbigin's explanation thus combines the particular and the universal, and also considers the New Testament in the light of the Old Testament and therefore becomes more acceptable. The establishment of the universal church therefore may represent the universality of the mission of Jesus that begun in a particular Jewish context.

Before Jesus started his earthly mission, he openly declared that he was executing his mission activity in the framework of the *Missio Dei*. Biblical texts such as Luke 4:18 and John 4:34 suggest that Jesus was just fulfilling the mission of God the Father. W.

⁹⁸ Robert Garrett, 'The Gospels and Acts: Jesus the Missionary and His Missionary Followers', in Terry, Smith and Anderson (eds.), *Missiology*, pp. 65-6.

⁹⁹ Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret: An Introduction to the Theology of Mission* (London: SPCK, 1995), pp. 66-8.

pp. 66-8.

100 Luke 4:18-19 – 'The Spirit of the Lord is one me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to

Bryant Hicks remarks that 'Christ fulfilled that purpose of the missionary Creator, bringing it to perfect fruition in himself as his Son, and extending it through God's redeemed church'. 101 As a result of this Jesus' dominant theme during his mission was the 'coming of the Kingdom of God'. He carried out his mission in a way 'to bring God's kingdom into human life'. 102 The eschatological, theological and soteriological character of the kingdom of God were all expressed by Jesus noting that the purpose of the Missio Dei was for God to reveal himself as Lord of the universe at the end of the age, establish his rule over the nations with the intent of saving all those who come to him and thereby destroying 'pain, sickness, evil and death'. 103

The Mission of the Holy Spirit and Missio Dei

The role of the Holy Spirit has been paramount in the *Missio Dei* process. He has been 'active in the Old Testament, in creation, in redemption, and in various other spiritual undertakings. In the New Testament, however, his work becomes totally and evidently apparent and prominent in regard to world missions'. 104 Before Jesus ended his mission on earth, he had promised his disciples he would ask God the Father to send them the Spirit of truth. 105 He claimed it was the Holy Spirit who will empower them for global mission. 106 On the 'Day of Pentecost' the Spirit of God descended on the waiting

release the oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor.' John 4:34 – 'My food,' said Jesus, 'is to do the will of him who sent me and to finish his work.' (NIV)

¹⁰¹ Hicks, 'Old Testament Foundations for Missions', p. 51.

¹⁰² Garrett, 'Gospels and Acts', p. 68.

¹⁰³ Senior and Stuhlmueller, *The Biblical Foundations*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁴ G. William Schweer, 'The Missionary Mandate of God's Nature', in Terry, Smith and Anderson (eds.), Missiology, p 108.

¹⁰⁵ John 14:16, 17

¹⁰⁶ Acts 1:8

disciples in Jerusalem, empowered them and ushered them into global mission. ¹⁰⁷ According to Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, the missionary church 'participates in the passion of Christ and the "sighings of the Spirit" until God's kingdom of joy and peace arrives'. ¹⁰⁸ Harvey Cox describes this kingdom that gave rise to a new community of previously divided languages and nations as the work of the Spirit'. ¹⁰⁹ Even though many Reformed and/or Evangelical Christians see the work of Spirit baptism as regeneration or new birth in the life of those who respond to the message of the gospel, Pentecostals see the active role of the Holy Spirit in God's redemptive work. ¹¹⁰

After the first Pentecost, there have been several other Pentecosts with some of the remarkable ones being the Wesleyan movement in England, the Pietist revivals in Europe and the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century. ¹¹¹ The Cane Ridge Revival in Kentucky in 1801 and the revival at the 'burned-over district' of western New York, in which Charles Finney was very instrumental, included reports of several incidences of Holy Spirit activity. ¹¹² Other Pentecostal revivals were the 1904 Welsh Revival that was characterized by Holy Spirit baptisms ¹¹³ and directly or indirectly gave rise to a number

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¹⁰⁷ Acts 2

¹⁰⁸ Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *Pneumatology: The Holy Spirit in Ecumenical, International, and Contextual Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), p. 131.

¹⁰⁹ Cox, Fire From Heaven, p. 47.

¹¹⁰ Frank D. Macchia, 'The Kingdom and the Power: Spirit Baptism in Pentecostal and Ecumenical Perspective', in Michael Welker (ed.), *The Work of the Spirit: Pneumatology and Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006), p. 114.

Roberts Liardon, *The Azusa Street Revival: When the Fire Fell, An In-Depth Look at the People, Teachings and Lessons* (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image Publishers, 2006), p. 35.

¹¹² Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1997 2nd Edition), pp. 11-14.

¹¹³ Robert Owens, 'The Azusa Street Revival: The Pentecostal Movement Begins in America', in Vinson

Robert Owens, 'The Azusa Street Revival: The Pentecostal Movement Begins in America', in Vinson Synan (ed.), *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901-2001* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2001), p. 41.

of Pentecostal movements;¹¹⁴ the Ramabai Mukti Mission revival in India in 1905-7,¹¹⁵ and the Azusa Street Revival from April 1906,¹¹⁶ which 'played the role of Grand Central Station for the Pentecostal movement'.¹¹⁷

In all these revivals it was the Holy Spirit who empowered people to accomplish the mission of God the Father. At the first Pentecost, Peter empowered by the Holy Spirit received the ability to preach, converting 3,000 people to Christianity in a single day. ¹¹⁸ The Azusa Street Revival reached twenty-five nations in two years through Pentecostal missionaries sent from the revival or by people who had travelled from other nations to receive the baptism of the Spirit and going back to spread the revival. ¹¹⁹ According to Anderson, various Pentecostal leaders have described the Holy Spirit as a 'Missionary Spirit' and the gift of the Spirit as a 'Missionary Gift'. ¹²⁰ The Holy Spirit therefore empowers people through baptism and causes people to do the work of mission in obedience to the 'Great Commission'. If *Missio Dei* were to be likened to a vehicle, the Holy Spirit would be the engine that drives it with Jesus in the driver's seat.

1.6.4 Mission as *Missiones Ecclesiae*

As much as mission is primarily the activity of God, it is also the basic activity of the church. In this Church Age the *Missio Dei* is incubated and hatched through the

¹¹⁴ James E. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain: With a Breviate of Its Early Missionary Endeavors* (Thorndon: Julian Literature Trust, 1991), pp. 4-13.

¹¹⁵ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 27.

Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street* (New Kensington, PA: Whitaker House, 1982), pp. 39-47.

¹¹⁷ Douglas Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 10.

¹¹⁸ Acts 2.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, pp. 41-2.

¹²⁰ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 65.

Missiones Ecclesiae. For God has chosen the church and commissioned it with ambassadorial mission to propagate the gospel of Jesus. 'Since God is a missionary God, God's people are a missionary people'. 121 Kirk reiterates that 'the Church is by nature missionary to the extent that, if it ceases to be missionary, it has not just failed in one of its tasks, it has ceased being Church'. 122 Scott Moreau, Gary Corwin and Gary McGee add that 'the church is both the centre and the agent for the kingdom of God in the world'. 123 This means that it is the mission of God that gives birth to the church, and the church must by the nature of its birth exhibit the DNA of mission in its activity. Christopher Wright affirms that 'the scope of our mission must reflect the scope of God's mission'. 124 The church in its essence can therefore not be left out of the mission of God. Risto Ahonen sees the existence of the church as 'inseparably bound up with mission'. 125 Gailyn Van Rheenen states that the Church is the embodiment of the very essence of the mission of God and God's instrument for mission. 126 In fact the Missio Trinitatis is revealed through the existence and life of the church. Recognizing that God the Father is a 'Missionary God', Jesus is a Missionary himself and the Holy Spirit is a 'Missionary Spirit' Bosch concludes that

Mission is derived from the very nature of God. It is put in the context of the doctrine of the Trinity, not of ecclesiology or soteriology. The classical doctrine on the *Missio Dei* as God the Father sending the Son, and God the Father and the

¹²¹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 372.

¹²² Kirk, What is Mission?, p. 30.

¹²³ A. Scott Moreau, Gary R. Corwin and Gary B. McGee, *Introducing World Missions: A Biblical, Historical and Practical Survey* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004), p. 52.

¹²⁴ Christopher J. H. Wright, *The Mission of God: Unlocking the Bible's Grand Narrative* (Downers Grove, Ill: Inter Varsity Press, 2006), p. 265.

¹²⁵ Risto A. Ahonen, *Mission in the New Millennium: Theological Grounds for World Mission* (Helsinki: The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission, 2000), p. 146.

¹²⁶ Gailyn Van Rheenen, *Missions: Biblical Foundations and Contemporary Strategies* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996), pp. 28-32.

Son sending the Spirit was expanded to include yet another "movement": Father, Son, and Holy Spirit sending the church into the world. 127

Since the church remains God's strategy for his mission¹²⁸ the church should be seen as having a divine mission mandate to fulfil the purpose of God. For Guder *et al* mission is not merely an activity of the church. Rather, mission is the result of God's initiative, rooted in God's purposes to restore and heal creation. There is therefore a strong relationship between church and mission and the two should not be dissociated from each other. It is within such framework that the 'Great Commission' is accomplished. Whether the church is seen as an organism, institution, congregational, individual, local or global it is the 'called out' people of God who have evolved out of the mission of God to carry out the mission of God. It is the assertion of Bosch that

the primary purpose of the 'missiones ecclesiae' can therefore not simply be the planting of churches or the saving of souls; rather, it has to be service to the *Missio Dei*, representing God in and over against the world, pointing to God, holding up the God-child before the eyes of the world in a ceaseless celebration of the Feast of Epiphany.¹³¹

Before this understanding mission had been thought to be 'ecclesiocentric' (church-centred) rather than 'theocentric' (God-centered). Mission boards and enterprises were set up with the aim of planting churches in deprived areas. Mission success was measured by the number of churches established outside mission-sending churches. According to

James Dennison, 'Thriving in the Ecotones: The Local Church and World Missions', in Terry, Smith and Anderson (eds.), *Missiology*, pp. 640 – 41.

¹²⁷ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 390.

¹²⁹ Darrell L. Guder (ed.), *Missional Church: A Vision for the Sending of the Church in North America* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1998), p. 4.

¹³⁰ Ron Rogers, 'The Missionary Purpose of God's People', in Terry, Smith and Anderson (eds.), *Missiology*, p. 118.

¹³¹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 391.

Guder the understanding of the church as being the centre of mission in its initiation and implementation shifted toward the *Missio Dei* as the foundation for the mission of the church' in the mid twentieth century. The church became redefined as the community spawned by the mission of God and gathered up into that mission'. The church should therefore form an integral part of any contemporary mission model but noting that mission is primarily the mission of God, with God acting through the church for his own glory.

1.7 A Review of Some Mission Models

Since the New Testament times several mission models or mission strategies and methodologies have been employed. Some strategies that have been used in mission include the free spread of the gospel by the early New Testament Christians as they moved out of Jerusalem. Other methods have included the translation and publishing of Christian literature, establishing of mission training schools and social evangelism through the provision of medical care and education. Mission was also done through colonial expansion and the learning and use of cultures. Later churches, Christian towns and missionary societies were established as a means to expand mission work. These methods have their own strengths and weaknesses.

According to Robert Schreiter, modern day mission from the nineteenth to the twentieth century can be classified under two broad models which are the 'expansionist mission

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¹³² Guder (ed.), Missional Church, p. 81.

¹³³ Guder (ed.), Missional Church, pp. 81-2.

Ebbie Smith, 'Introduction to the Strategy and Methods of Missions', in Terry, Smith and Anderson (eds.) *Missiology*, p. 436.

Smith, 'Introduction to the Strategy and Methods of Missions', pp. 436-38.

model' and the 'accompaniment mission model'. Schreiter argues that before 1945 'mission took place within the context of European colonial expansion'. The expansionist model was characterized by transporting mission from the West to the other nations. During this period, the biblical text that served as the driving force was Matthew 28:18-20. Bosch refers to this model as 'mission as disciple-making'. Commonly referred to as the 'Great Commission' missionaries went with the passion to teach others the gospel of Jesus together with their own civilization. Unfortunately, everything that did not conform to the missionaries' gospel and civilization was wrong. Even though the early missionaries managed to carry on the work of mission, they did not achieve all their expected results. For instance, Mobley writes of the early mission to Ghana:

The inevitable application of western concepts resulted in the formation of western institutions "as in England". Without a proper understanding of the indigenous religions, the missionary proceeded to introduce western rites, ceremony and art. Marriage and funeral customs were foisted upon the Christian converts. Participation in lineage events was forbidden; "Christian socials" were substituted in the congregations and the schools. Procedures of worship were transferred to Ghana from Europe and America. The missionary came with his hymnbook, Geneva gown and cross. He failed to recognize the value of material objects associated with traditional worship. With iconoclastic fervor he destroyed and commanded to be destroyed. Ghanaian craftsmen dwindled; art forms were forgotten and their techniques lost. The Ghanaian's image of the missionary during this early period was that of an institutional iconoclast 'dealing death on every hand, and all the while, laying the flattering unction to his soul that he is doing God service'. 139

From all indications the expansionist model had its flaws and gave way to the accompaniment mission model at the end of the colonial era. Schreiter indicates that

¹³⁶ Robert J. Schreiter, 'Reconciliation as a Model of Mission', in Robert L. Gallagher and Paul Hertig (eds.), *Landmark Essays in Mission and World Christianity* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009), pp. 66-7. ¹³⁷ Schreiter, 'Reconciliation as a Model of Mission', p. 67.

¹³⁸ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 56.

¹³⁹ Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary*, p. 155.

during this period after 1945 the way of doing mission was reviewed. Even though mission was still engaged in expansionism other elements like images of insertion and solidarity, programs of contextualization and inculturation, gradualism, presence, seed sowing, humanitarian work, dialogue and commitments to join the struggle for justice and liberation were emphasized. ¹⁴⁰ Contemporary mission models therefore shifted to embrace issues that promoted the dignity of humanity in their environment.

1.8 Modelling the CoP Mission Activities

Modelling is extensively used in the natural and physical sciences. For instance in system analysis, scientists use mathematical models to describe how viable a hypothetical system may work or fail and are able to use estimations to calculate relationships that exist between different variables. Modelling is also used in the social sciences and offers a useful tool since it is able to provide both 'a description of what is happening as well as a prescription for how to act in that world so described'. ¹⁴¹ The Oxford English Dictionary gives the definition of a model as a 'simplified description, especially a mathematical one, of a system or process, to assist calculations and predictions'. ¹⁴² Modelling CoP mission strategies will therefore enable us to describe in a very simple and systematic way how mission work has been undertaken in the past. It is expected that the CoP mission models will reveal the strength and weaknesses or the advantages and disadvantages of each model. We will then be in a position to offer suggestions as well as provide modifications for present mission models and predictions for future models.

¹⁴⁰ Schreiter, 'Reconciliation', p. 66; Smith, 'Introduction to the Strategy and Methods of Mission', p. 440.

Schreiter, Reconciliation, p. 66.

Concise Oxford English Dictionary 11th Edition CD-Rom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) n. p.

1.9 Structure of Thesis

Chapter 1 of this thesis deals with the identification of the major problem or hypothesis to be investigated and the methodology to be applied. The next chapter discusses briefly the history and development of mission activities in Ghana. This includes the mission activities of the mainline churches, early revivalists like Wade Harris, Swatson and Oppong and some of the major Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. Mission strategies of these churches are discussed noting successes and challenges. Chapter 3 looks at the history of CoP very briefly and focuses on the development of the local mission model. Some of the issues raised here include the understanding and practice of theology that existed during particular periods. How the early fathers perceived the baptism of the Holy Spirit and how this affected their evangelistic drive was important for the practice of mission in CoP. The structure and functioning of the International Missions Department based at the headquarters in Accra also helped to shape the mission of the church. Chapter 4 takes the mission story from Ghana to the rest of the world examining first how regional mission was developed in West Africa and other parts of Africa.

The migrational mission model is discussed in chapter 5 with a case study of CoP-UK as a migrant church. As this is a case study it examines in-depth the practice of mission in the church as well as the working relationship of the CoP with the Elim Pentecostal Church. Chapter 6 looks at how the mission of CoP has penetrated the European religious space as well as its impact in Asia and Latin America. Chapter 7 introduces and develops a mission model that can be used to assess other mission models. Even though the mission of the CoP seems to be developing with few challenges, issues of

contextualization in this post-Christendom and post-modern contemporary world have to be taken seriously. The situation of planting 'Ghanaian' churches outside Ghana with the view of protecting the ideals and wishes of the early fathers is becoming a concern. The role of social services, the media, the public and the issue of post-modernity, in the light of managing and sustaining growth within the church are areas that challenge the sustainability of CoP's mission. All of these need to be assessed in a framework that could determine their effectiveness as viable mission models. The 'Economission' model has been proposed to deal with this problem, and chapter 6 explains its application.

The concluding chapter summarises the results of the research and the hypothesis that the CoP has fashioned a form of missionary initiative that could be relevant for the wider church today when modified.

CHAPTER TWO

PREPARATION OF THE PENTECOST FIRE: THE PRECURSORS AND HISTORY OF THE COP MISSION ACTIVITIES

2.1 Mission Activities in Ghana before the CoP

Ghana, which was known and called Gold Coast before independence in 1957, forms part of the sub region of West Africa, and was part of the British Empire for over one hundred years (1844 – 1957). Before the white man arrived at its shores in the fifteenth century, the sub region of West Africa was grouped into Kingdoms that were the Ghana, Mali and Songhai empires that survived until the thirteenth Century. Other empires that developed after these were the Hausa and Fulani States in the Savannah zone and Asante, Oyo and Benin in the forest zone. Each of these states had their own political systems and the people of the Gold Coast had already inhabited their present geographical location before the arrival of the Europeans. The Asante for instance had developed an organized powerful kingdom that became very prominent in the seventeenth century ¹⁴³ and the 'basic social and cosmological institutions' of the people may also have been developed. ¹⁴⁴

On the religious scene the people of the Gold Coast had a concept of God before the missionaries arrived. The Akans for instance believed in the existence of the Supreme God (*Onyankopon*), the Creator of the Universe who was once closer to man but due to disobedience of a woman who continually hit him with a pestle whilst pounding *fufu* this

¹⁴⁴ Assimeng, Social Structure of Ghana, p. 36.

¹⁴³ E. O. Boakye-Yiadom, *A Human Geography of Ghana and West Africa* (Accra: Anest Company Limited, 2003), pp. 19-21. See also Max Assimeng, *Social Structure of Ghana: A Study in Persistence and Change* (Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1999), pp. 35-36.

God retreated to heaven. It was also believed that the Supreme God did not desert man entirely but still exercises his power through lesser gods (abosom) or his spirit sons and daughters who exist in the forms of rivers, trees, mountains, rocks and forests amongst others. For this reason prayer is usually offered to the Supreme God through the lesser gods by pouring of libation and various sacrifices as appearement for the disobedience of humankind. Sin was therefore abhorred since it could be punished severely. They held the view that a premature death could be as a result of bad conduct and behaviour whereas old age was a testimony to good conduct. 145 The Creator was seen as the source of life and that procreation was a divine blessing. A woman with many children was a blessing whilst childlessness was seen as a curse or could be as a result of the activities of evil spirits. 146 The world was therefore seen as having a multiplicity of spirits that could be good or evil. These spirits though belong to their own world had much influence in the world of humans. 147 In the world of humans there were those like the sorcerers, magicians, witches, men and women who practiced juju, and the use of talismans, fetish priests and priestesses, some herbalists and others who manipulated the spirit world to cause evil to others. Events in the physical therefore had causal effect from the spiritual. 148

¹⁴⁵ K. Nkansa Kyeremateng, *The Akans of Ghana: Their History and Culture* (Accra: Sebewie Publishers, 1996), pp. 82, 91-92. Max Assimeng has enumerated 12 elements of beliefs and practices that existed among Ghanaian communities. These include God as Creator; the existence of spiritual intermediaries; the mediation of lesser gods, the inescapable presence and influence of magic, witchcraft and sorcery; the existence of spiritual counterpart to the material world as well as human beings; the dual existence of matter as evident in totems as objects of veneration and adoration; the assumption that humans are both physical and spiritual; the role of rituals and symbolism in thought, belief and behaviour; beliefs in myths especially relating to destiny; the importance of propitiation; the position of the dead and the presence of evil spirits that need exorcism. See Assimeng, Social Structure of Ghana, pp. 42-43. ¹⁴⁶ Assimeng, Social Structure of Ghana, p. 48.

¹⁴⁷ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 7-8.

Because of this situation in the world it was important for people to search for power. The more powerful a person becomes the better it is for their security. The local people therefore became receptive to any form of religious practice that could offer protection from the world of evil as well as empower them to resist any evil oppression from the spirit world. Since sickness and death was also seen as influence from evil spirits there was also the quest for healing and longevity. This understanding of God and the spirit world helped shaped Pentecostalism in Ghana.

Even though traces of Pentecostalism emerged in the Gold Coast in the early 1900s, we have seen that Christianity was actually introduced into the country centuries earlier. These early Christian formations became catalysts to present day Pentecostalism in Ghana. As Pentecostalism developed in the country, their characteristics were also found in the Catholic and Protestant churches. Christian mission in Ghana can therefore be described as cyclical in nature where the earlier churches provided the impetus for the Pentecostals but later became recipients of Pentecostalism itself. It is therefore possible to identify varieties of Pentecostalisms in the Ghanaian Christian context: the Charismatic renewal within the Catholic and Protestant mainline churches, the Spiritual churches, the classical Pentecostals and the new Charismatic churches. It is thus important to recount the missionary activities of these churches before considering the historical development of the mission of the CoP.

2.1.1 Catholicism in Ghana

It is generally believed that the Portuguese were the first to introduce Christianity into the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in January 1482. This was also the first Christian mission in West Africa. A band of 600 Portuguese expedition led by Don Diogo d'Azambuja arrived at Elmina near Cape Coast in the central region of Ghana and preached the Christian message, which was based on the Roman Catholic faith, to the chief of Elmina. The chief responded positively by giving a piece of land to the Portuguese on which they built a fort and a chapel. 149 The Portuguese had earlier in 1471 landed and planted a huge wooden cross at the coast near Cape Coast to give an impression of the Christian message. 150 It had been reported that in 1503 the chief of Komenda in the Central region of Gold Coast and his people got converted to Catholicism. Later the king of Efutu also in the Central region and some of his subjects accepted Christianity however by 1650 there was no trace of Catholicism in the country except for a little influence among the people of Elmina. Catholicism therefore became extinct in the country until 1880 when Fathers Auguste Moreau and Eugene Murat revived it through an appeal by an English man, Sir James Marshall. The activities of Moreau and Mural were mainly focused on building chapels and providing schools and health centres through which the gospel message was communicated. By 1906, mission stations had been established in most parts of the country. 151 According to Peter Clarke, it seemed the earlier missionaries or chaplains limited their work to the areas near the forts. They also had more interest in trade and commerce than spreading the gospel message. Coupled with this problem was

¹⁴⁹ Kofi Agbeti, *West African Church History: Christian Missions and Church Foundations: 1482-1919* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), p. 3.

¹⁵⁰ Harris Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), p. 12.

¹⁵¹ Agbeti, West African Church History, pp. 102 – 110.

the rivalry that rose amongst the Portuguese, English and the Dutch resulting in several raids on towns like Axim and Elmina between 1607 and 1642. 152

When the Catholic mission was finally established, emphasis was laid on education and medical care. Several colleges and medical centres were established and through this many adherents were won to the Catholic faith. The Catholic Church continues to be involved in these services and have added development and relief services¹⁵³ as well as establishing a University College. These missionary activities depended solely on the plan and implementation of the organization rather than individual members and therefore operated differently from what has been the practice in the CoP.

2.1.2 Protestantism in Ghana

English Protestants started missionary activities in Ghana in 1618 followed by the Dutch in 1637. ¹⁵⁴ The Dutch made several attempts to establish Christian ministry on the coast of Ghana by sending Frederick Pedersen Svane who was a native of Accra and had graduated from the University of Copenhagen. He arrived in Christiansborg in Accra with his Danish wife in 1735 as the first African Protestant missionary to his fellow Africans. He had language problems since he had forgotten his native Ga language and could not communicate to his people and therefore could not achieve much as a missionary. ¹⁵⁵ Other missionaries like Christian Protten and Henry Huckuff, who

Peter B. Clarke, West Africa and Christianity (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Limited, 1986), p. 19.
 Paul Gifford, African Christianity: Its Public Role (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1998), p. 65.

¹⁵⁴ Agbeti, West African Church History, p. 5.

Daniel J. Antwi and Paul Jenkins, 'The Moravians, the Basel Mission & the Akuapem State in the Early Nineteenth Century', in Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle (eds.), *Christian Missionaries and the State in The World* (Oxford: James Currey Ltd., 2002), pp. 39-40.

followed between 1737 and 1772 died due to severe weather conditions and therefore resulted in the termination of missionary activities until the nineteenth century. These missionary activities depended mainly on the training and sending of missionaries to Africa.

The Basel Mission started their missionary activities in Ghana in 1828. 157 By 1840 very little had been achieved due to high mortality rate amongst the missionaries. There was rivalry between the Danish and the English at the West African coast which also affected the development of the missionary work of the Basel Mission. Later in 1850 Johann Zimmerman joined the mission work in the Gold Coast. His leadership abilities enabled the Basel Mission to expand and spread to other parts of the country. Johannes Gottlieb Christaller, a Basel missionary was able to publish the Bible into the local Twi language in 1871 thus facilitating the use of vernacular in the worship of the Basel church and consequently bringing about much progress in their missionary effort. The Basel missionaries established schools and vocational training centres. These school compounds and centres which often times included the missionary residential areas were known as Salem. Here, converts, students and any other residents in the area were expected to live according to strict Christian principles and through this, strong churches were developed. 158 These activities rightly involved the use of local members. Agbeti agrees that the expansion of the work of the Basel missionaries was mainly due to the training and use of local personnel. The use of local personnel has a resemblance to the

¹⁵⁶ Peter Falk, *The Growth of the Church in Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1979), pp. 117-118.

¹⁵⁷ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁸ Falk, *The Growth of the Church*, p. 329.

mission practice in the CoP. However, whereas the Basel missionaries trained their local personnel in pastoralia and mission strategies, emphasis of training for local members within CoP was prayer to receive the Holy Spirit baptism. Once members received the Spirit baptism with evidence of speaking in tongues they voluntarily engaged in mission activities. The emphasis of approach to local personnel training was therefore different to what was the practice in the Basel church.

The Wesleyan Methodist sent their first missionary in the person of Joseph Dunwell in 1835. Thomas Birch Freeman, the son of an African father and an English mother followed, and his exceptional services resulted in the establishment of the Methodist Church amongst the Ashanti in 1838. ¹⁵⁹ He was instrumental in establishing schools along the West Coast of Africa. ¹⁶⁰ In the Gold Coast, the Methodists experienced rapid growth by using local personnel. By 1885, there were fifteen African Methodist ministers with 126 catechists and evangelists in the country. ¹⁶¹ Ten years later in 1895 the Methodists had produced the New Testament in the Fanti language thus facilitating further growth in the church especially in the western and central regions of the country. ¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions (London: Penguin Group, 1964), p. 261.

Falk, *The Growth of the Church*, pp 119-120; Lamin Sanneh, 'The African Transformation of Christianity: Comparative Reflections on Ethnicity and Religious Mobilization in Africa', in Dwight N. Hopkins, Lois Ann Lorentzen, Eduardo Mendieta, David Batstone (eds.), *Religions /Globalizations: Theories and Cases* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 124. Around the same time another notable freed slave in Sierra Leone, Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who worked with Freeman in Nigeria and became the main designer of the CMS plan to agitate for antislavery in West Africa was very instrumental in the CMS Christian mission to Nigeria. Anderson, 'The Great Century and Beyond', p. 211; Lamin Sanneh, 'The CMS and the African Transformation: Samuel Ajayi Crowther and the Opening of Nigeria', in Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley (eds.), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799 – 1999* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), pp. 176–78.

Agbeti, West African Church History, pp. 54-7.

Wyllie, *The Spirit Seekers*, p.7.

From the very beginning of its establishment, the Methodist Church laid emphasis on education and the training of national workers. This mission practice aided the growth of the Church since the Gospel message was shared when people enrolled in the schools. Mission schools became synonymous with mission churches. Some of the early training centres that were established included the Freeman College, Trinity College and Kwadaso Women's Training Centre. The evangelistic activities of the trained, national workers also aided the growth of the Church and by 1955 mission work had already been started in the northern region of Ghana. This however is unlike the mission practice in the CoP since the Methodists used mostly trained clergy and the provision of schools as a missionary tool.

The North German (BREMEN) Missionary Society's activities in the Gold Coast spanned a period of 72 years from 1847 – 1919. During this period the Bremen mission was able to open 40 stations with 11,682 members, 8,100 school children and 198 catechists. The Society of African Missions started its work in the country in 1880 and in 1904, Bishop N.T. Hamlyn was sent from Nigeria to the Gold Coast to revive the Anglicans work in the country. All these missionary activities did not emphasize the 'mission from below' approach but used trained missionaries who mostly received finance and followed directives from their sending organizations.

¹⁶³ Falk, *The Growth of the Church*, p. 328.

¹⁶⁴ Falk, *The Growth of the Church*, p. 328.

¹⁶⁵ Agbeti, West African Church History, pp. 80-92.

¹⁶⁶ Agbeti, West African Church History, pp. 18, 45-46.

Thomas Birch Freeman established the first African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1898 under the authorization of Bishop John Bryan Small. Freeman, the son of the veteran missionary of the Methodist church in the Gold Coast had seceded from the Methodist church upon an allegation of adultery. In 1903, Rev. Frank Arthur Osam Pinanko returned from America to the Gold Coast after pastoral training to establish the AME Zion church in Cape Coast. By 1910 the AME Zion had been well established across the country and was noted for establishing primary schools that were attached to the churches. 167

In 1911 the Salvation Army started their ministry in the country, and by 1920 Christianity had spread throughout the Gold Coast with Bibles already translated into all the major languages of Southern Ghana. 168

Missionary activities in the Gold Coast by the Europeans had been quite significant. From the 1700s, the white missionaries or chaplains who were attached to the commercial forts decided to train local Africans which eventually prepared the ground for missionary work in the nineteenth century. Jacobus Elisha Johannes Capitein was trained by the Dutch at the University of Leyden from 1737 and became the first African to receive Protestant ordination after his training. He was ordained into the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church¹⁶⁹ and was subsequently posted to the St. George fort at Elmina

Agbeti, West African Church History, pp. 145 – 151.
 David M. Beckmann, Eden Revival: Spiritual Churches in Ghana (St. Louis, MI: Concordia Publishing) House, 1975), p. 19.

¹⁶⁹ Falk. *The Growth of the Church*, p. 77.

as a Chaplain. ¹⁷⁰ Christian Protten sailed from Copenhagen for Elmina in 1737 as a missionary to the Dutch fort. ¹⁷¹ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1751 appointed Thomas Thompson, the first Anglican missionary to Africa, to live and work at the Cape Coast Castle. He recommended three African boys to be trained in England of which one was Philip Quaque who became the first non-European to be ordained into the priesthood of the Church of England. Philip Quaque was sent as a missionary to the Gold Coast in 1766 ¹⁷² but could not achieve much. His long absence from the Gold Coast made him a bit detached from his native people. He found it difficult to gain acceptance from his own people and that impacted negatively on his evangelistic efforts. ¹⁷³

Missionary activities of the above mission organizations had revealed that the main practice of mission in the mainline churches had been in the area of evangelism, education, teacher and pastoral training and the provision of medical care. These factors aided the growth of the mainline churches. According to Robert Wyllie mission efforts from the fifteenth century did not see much progress until the second half of the nineteenth century. Until this time prospects for successful mission work was limited and only improved after 'the removal of rival powers in 1850 and 1872, the establishment of the Gold Coast as a Crown Colony in 1874, and the conquest and annexation of Ashanti

¹⁷⁰ Agbeti, West African Church History, p. 6.

¹⁷¹ Falk, *The Growth of the Church*, p. 117.

¹⁷² Agbeti, West African Church History, pp. 6-9.

¹⁷³ Sean Hawkins and Philip D. Morgan, 'Blacks and the British Empire: An Introduction', in Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins (eds.), *Black Experience and the Empire: Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 33.

in 1901.' The Some writers have assessed the activities of the missionary as to its contribution to the African religious space. Kofi Agbeti is of the view that though the missionaries may have made some mistakes their work in the country produced some useful fruits. The schools they established were training grounds for Ghanaians through which some became educated and eventually fought for freedom from their colonial masters. 175 According to Max Assimeng, the missionaries were instrumental in bringing about social change in the religious behaviour of the Ghanaian. The expression of their worship for instance changed from rigorous ritualism to that of rationalism. The import of western culture through education, the economy, agriculture, health delivery systems, the learning of a cross- tribal language, English, by the Christian missionaries all helped to shape the social systems of the country. ¹⁷⁶ In fact the Christian influence was so significant that by 1936 about 10% of the population had become Christian. Even those who did not openly pledge allegiance to Christianity participated in Christian festivals and prayers. The Bible was also widely read by those who attended the mission schools. 177

Besides the above success stories, the missionary enterprise in Ghana had its own problems and challenges. It is the assertion of Adrian Hastings that as much as these missionaries tried they all had very little missionary success. Even though converts were made, churches were established, Bibles were published in the local language,

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¹⁷⁴ Robert W. Wyllie, *Spiritism in Ghana: A Study of New Religious Movements* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1980), p. 5.

¹⁷⁵ Agbeti, West African Church History, p. 166.

¹⁷⁶ Assimeng, Social Structure of Ghana, pp. 55-7.

¹⁷⁷ Falk, *The Growth of the Church*, pp. 330-331.

¹⁷⁸ Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1994), pp. 178-179.

schools were built and the local people were educated not much was achieved. Looking on the other side of the Ghanaian missionary story, Agbeti remarks that the inadequate achievement of the mission enterprise was so because the African missionaries who were trained as missionaries were not appropriately suited for evangelistic work. He also claims that the instability of the political climate at the time and the attitude of the European merchants who favoured economic trade over missionary work, ¹⁷⁹ high mortality rate and rivalry amongst white missionaries were all contributing factors. Some of the challenges were also the 'western-ness' of the churches' theology and worship. Avery in an article on 'Christianity in Sierra Leone' rightly noted that though Christian theology was the same no matter where and when it is being propagated 'the methods and modes used to convey this message need to vary for different areas and circumstances.'180 For this reason, Kalu posits that 'the missionary enterprise produced a Church without theology, without its own liturgy and even polity'. 181 The message of God should therefore be put into its proper context for it to be relevant to various peoples at specific times in prescribed environments. Probably this was the reason why the mission churches were not able to sustain some of their converts. Another challenge was that the missionary societies were not able to provide the necessary adequate medical care after encouraging their converts to leave traditional medicine and this necessitated the search for other forms of healing. According to Hastings, 'African religion was, to a very large

¹⁷⁹ Agbeti, West African Church History, pp. 9-10. Peter Clarke has enumerated the problems that beset the Protestant missionary effort as follows; problems of climate, the high mortality rate, the paucity of missionary personnel, the lack of success in training sufficient members of indigenous clerics, the slave trade, the close association of Christianity with European politics, commerce and culture, and the rivalry between the European nations themselves. Other problems were missionary attitudes toward evangelism and the local people's belief systems (Clarke, West Africa, p. 25).

¹⁸⁰ W. L. Avery, 'Christianity in Sierra Leone', in Ogbu U. Kalu, (ed.), *The History of Christianity in West* Africa (London: Longman Group Limited, 1980), p. 118.

181 Kalu (ed.), The History of Christianity in West Africa, p. 333.

extent, health-oriented¹⁸² and therefore it became difficult to contain converts when it came to seeking healing. Others who did not leave the mission churches altogether still sought healing outside the church and her medical delivery system since it was believed that not all health problems have physical sources. The belief was that the incidence of disease and death, misfortunes of childlessness and poverty were the result of evil spirits in the society. According to Larbi 'the missionaries made no conscious efforts to build Christianity into the African religious and social life.' ¹⁸³ Missionary activities were mainly imparting a set of acquired religious beliefs with its benefits like a changed behavioural attitudes, good health and good education among others without confronting the supernatural. Belief in supernatural powers like witchcraft, juju and idols were rejected as illusions. This mission practice by the missionaries placed the African convert in a situation where they had to continue to seek for power outside the church to combat the spirit forces they faced daily.

With the preparation of the gospel ground by the European and European trained African missionaries it became more feasible for revivalists like Wade Harris, John Swatson and Sampson Oppong who have had no missionary training in Europe to bring about the needed conversion and confrontation of the evil spirit world.

¹⁸² Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, p. 530.

¹⁸³ Kingsley Larbi, 'The Church of Pentecost: Sustaining the Growth', in Onyinah (ed.), *McKeown Memorial Lectures*, p. 138.

2.2 African Revivalists in Ghana

From the early 1900s, far away from the famous 1906 revival meetings at the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles, USA, some African men initiated a Pentecostal-type of revival in the western coast of Africa. These African-style evangelists, who did not receive any official missionary training, but developed a mission from below approach to mission, were able to appeal to their African adherents by confronting the spirit world with the power of God and exhibited signs and wonders in their ministry which the early missionaries had failed to do. Their activities are examined below.

2.2.1 William Wade Harris

One of the most successful African missionaries was a Grebo from Graway near Cape Palmas in the south-eastern part of Liberia called William Wade Harris (1865 – 1929). Prior to his call as an itinerant preacher, Harris had been brought up as a Methodist, had his education at the American Methodist Mission School, at which he later became a teacher (1892 - 1909). ¹⁸⁴ He also became a Methodist lay preacher in the Episcopal Church in Liberia.

He agitated against the Americo-Liberian government and in 1909 caused a political stir in Liberia by publicly pulling down the Liberian flag and hoisting the Union Jack that

¹⁸⁴ G. O. M. Tasie, 'Christian Awakening in West Africa 1914-1918: A Study in the Significance of Native Agency', in Kalu (ed.), *Christianity in West Africa* p. 296. Gordon Haliburton however gives an account of Harris as a Government Interpreter and Mission School teacher who was discharged of that position for instigating an uprising between two factions of the Graway tribe. It is also known that Harris worked as a merchant sailor along the West Coast of Africa. See Gordon Mackay Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris: A Study of an African Prophet and his Mass-Movement in the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast 1913 - 1915* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1971), p. 31.

consequently led to his arrest and imprisonment. Whilst in prison, he claimed to have seen a vision of the angel Gabriel commissioning him to leave his political ambition and preach the gospel of Christ. After his release from prison in about 1912, he obeyed the command of the angel Gabriel. He stripped himself of European clothes and wore a simple white robe, a round white hat, 186 black bands crossed around his chest and a cross in his hand. Besides the cross, he carried a gourd dish or calabash with water from which he baptized his converts as he embarked on a journey from Liberia through Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire and the Gold Coast. It is believed that his preaching which began in late 1913 through 1914, converted thousands who left their idol worship and witchcraft to worship the Lord. It is alleged that in Half-Assini in the Gold Coast, people threw away their 'juju' and were baptized. Fetish priests and those who were supposedly possessed by evil spirits denounced their shrines and got baptized. Those who were converted were instructed to join churches that had been established by the missionaries.

Harris' approach to mission was different from his white contemporaries. His evangelistic style was different. 'It was indiscreet, imprudent and undiplomatic. When he attacked traditional religion he directed his message to the root of the matter'. He contextualized the gospel message by wearing a costume that could speak volumes to his adherents. Besides its simplicity, the colours of his gown had meaning in the Ghanaian worldview. A plain white robe portrayed him as one coming with purity to remove or defeat evil, which was represented by the crossed black band over his chest. His cross

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¹⁸⁵ Tasie, 'Christian Awakening in West Africa', p. 296.

¹⁸⁶ Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, p. 36.

¹⁸⁷ Clarke, West Africa, p. 179.

Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, pp. 443-45.

¹⁸⁹ Tasie, 'Christian Awakening in West Africa', p. 297.

was a symbol of a new force that was available to defeat the evil spirit-force. He baptised from a gourd dish or calabash which was a familiar household ware that was cherished and used in serving water and palm wine to visitors as an act of hospitality. Baptism was therefore thought to be an acceptance and invitation to receive spiritual blessings and protection from Harris' God. Amongst the Akans in Ghana, a visitor was always welcomed by offering them a drink which was usually water. Without this offer, the visitor interpreted it as not being wanted in the house. This was the message the people understood. They were enthused by the open confrontation of powers with signs following. Some of them left their 'juju' and became members of the existing churches.

Whereas some ministers were grateful to Harris for increasing their membership, others were hostile to him believing that he used black magic to perform miracles. Even though some of the converted members soon went back to their fetishes and other practices there are every indication to believe that Prophet Wade Harris brought awareness of the worship of God to the areas he visited and that some of his converts remained in the churches. According to Baeta, the visit of Harris in the Apollonia area resulted later in the Methodist Mission baptizing more than 36,000 adults who had converted from heathenism and by 1920 there were as many as 15,000 who were receiving catechumen instruction. 190 Harris also inspired John Nakaba and Grace Tani who became the founders of the Twelve Apostles Church and Spiritual churches in Ghana. ¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ C.G. Baeta, *Prophetism in Ghana: A Study of Some Spiritual Churches* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1962), p. 22. See also Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p.60. ¹⁹¹ Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, p. 71.

2.2.2 John Swatson

Like Harris, Prophet John Swatson was trained as a teacher-catechist in the Methodist Church. 192 Swatson reportedly met Harris in 1914 in Côte d'Ivoire where he begged Harris to teach him some of his powers of baptism. Harris then taught him and commissioned him as his 'bishop' and apostle for Côte d'Ivoire and the Gold Coast. 193 Swatson resigned from the Methodist church, and dressed in a white robe with a cross in hand and a bowl of baptismal water like that of Harris. He toured parts of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana preaching and baptizing people who left their shrines to become Christians.

Swatson's converts joined the Anglican Church. He was eventually commissioned into the priesthood of the Anglican Church. Through Swatson, the Anglican Church was able to open a mission station in the interior of the country. He also helped to translate parts of the Anglican Prayer book and hymns into the Nzema language.

2.2.3 **Sampson Oppong**

Another early twentieth century revivalist was Prophet Sampson Oppong. Oppong had no formal education and was converted to Christianity whilst practicing as a fetish priest. It is asserted that during his conversion the Spirit told him to burn all his fetishes, which he obeyed. He also received instruction to carve out a wooden cross that eventually became his companion throughout his preaching ministry that started in 1917.

¹⁹² Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 63.
¹⁹³ Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, pp. 147-48.

Sampson Oppong worked in the Methodist Church and it is believed that through his missionary activities the Methodist in the Ashanti region had converts of about 20,000 by the end of 1923. Oppong had an incredible divine gift. Even though he was illiterate, it is on record that he could read the Bible perfectly well without errors by looking at a white stone wrapped in a handkerchief that he carried. 194

These African revivalists were able to connect to their own people by presenting the message in a context that was relevant to their listeners, but since they did not establish their own churches, their activities were later absorbed by the mainline churches. The African revivalists' mission practice was one in which missionary activity was centred on an individual, the 'Prophet-Healer', who demonstrated the power of God to his adherents. This again is different from mission practice in the CoP where mission activity is not centred on an individual but on the entire membership.

The missionary style of the African revivalists however left an indelible mark on the minds of the local people. Later when Pentecostal-type or 'Spiritual' churches 195 and

 ¹⁹⁴ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 64-6.
 ¹⁹⁵ According to Kofi Appiah-Kubi, 'Spiritual churches are churches founded by Africans for Africans in our special African situations. They are autonomous groups with an all-African membership and leadership.' The term 'spiritual' however has been given various explanations in regard to the church in Ghana. Baeta refers to churches that are called 'Spiritual' churches in Ghana as those who claim that their worship and church activities are initiated or empowered by the Holy Spirit of God. Larbi has deduced that what is commonly termed Spiritual Churches in Ghana belong to what Turner has referred to as Prophethealing churches or Aladura Church types. According to Beckmann, 'Spiritual' churches in Ghana are the replica of 'independent churches' and 'indigenous churches' that exist in other parts of Africa. For instance, in South Africa indigenous Pentecostal-type churches are also known as 'Spirit-type' churches or 'Zionisttype' churches, which fall under the general classification of African independent churches. In Ghana the popular vernacular expression for these independent churches is 'Sunsum sore' (Akan) or 'Mumo solemo' (Ga), meaning 'Spirit' churches which seem an 'appropriate expression of their experiences, central beliefs and theological orientation.' See Kofi Appiah-Kubi, 'Christology', in John Parratt (ed.), A Reader in African Christian Theology 1997 Revised Edition (London: SPCK, 1987), p. 65; Baeta, Prophetism In Ghana, p 1; K. Larbi The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism: A Study in the Appropriation of the

Pentecostal churches were established in the Gold Coast people were easily able to identify with the use of their dress code and worship articles in the case of the 'Spiritual' churches and the manifestation of the gift of the Holy Spirit by speaking in tongues and evidence of divine healing amongst the Pentecostals. The ability of Sampson Oppong, who was illiterate, to preach and read the Bible may have attracted the uneducated believing that one could gain access to Christianity without going to school. Some members then left the mainline churches to join these 'Spiritual' and Pentecostal churches. One can therefore conclude that Pentecostalism was seen as an 'Africanfriendly' form of Christianity. A from of Christianity that the African can relate to in terms of worship style and an expression of spirituality that addressed issues of demonic activity, poverty, disease and death as well as salvation of the soul. According to Birgit Meyer, the popularity of Pentecostalism in Africa may be due to the fact that it deals with the spirit-world. 196 Today, Pentecostalism is not only the predominant Christian type of worship in Ghana but almost all the mainline churches have been 'pentecostalized' as well. 197

2.3 Mission in some major Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches

The leading classical Pentecostal churches in Ghana include the Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost, the Apostolic Church and the Assemblies of God Church. The first three mentioned churches started as one group in 1917 through the ministry of Peter

Christian Gospel in the 20th Century Ghana Setting With Special Reference to the Christ Apostolic Church and the Church of Pentecost' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1995), p 59; Beckmann, Eden Revival, pp. 12-3.

¹⁹⁶ Birgit Meyer, Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 216.

¹⁹⁷ Cephas Omenyo, Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of the Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2002).

Anim. In 1935, the group affiliated with the UK Apostolic Church who consequently sent a missionary in the person of James McKeown to oversee the work in the Gold Coast in 1937. In 1939, disagreement rose between McKeown and Anim over the use of medication in healing. Whereas McKeown believed that medicines could be used in healing, Anim was of the view that healing should be completely divine and therefore would not accept the use of any form of medication. Anim then left McKeown and reorganized his converts into what became known as the Christ Apostolic Church. 198 McKeown continued to lead the remaining group after the split and maintained the name the Apostolic Church. The two groups operated separately until 1953 when schism erupted in the Apostolic Church resulting in the formation of two churches – the Apostolic Church and the Church of Pentecost. Because of its similarities and shared history, discussion of their missionary activities will be based only on the CoP in the next chapter.

The Assemblies of God started its mission in the Gold Coast in 1931 when the Rev. Lloyd and Margaret Shirer from Burkina Faso visited the northern region. They recruited other missionaries to work with them. Mission stations were built mainly in the northern region. Aside from preaching the gospel, clinics and schools were built to attend to the medical and educational needs of the people. The church is noted for its contribution in providing health needs to the area they worked. 199

¹⁹⁸ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 69-70. ¹⁹⁹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 73-74.

The Charismatic churches in Ghana include the Christian Action Faith Ministries (CAFM) International and the International Central Gospel Church (ICGC). CAFM was founded by Bishop Nicholas Duncan Williams in 1979 after completing a two-year course at the Benson Idahosa's Bible College in Nigeria. On his return to Ghana, Duncan Williams had hoped to be accepted as an evangelist in the CoP where he was a member before his Nigerian training. But due to the strict procedure of ministerial calling in the CoP he started a Christian fellowship that eventually became CAFM. ²⁰⁰ The church believes in the 'Faith Gospel of success, health and wealth' and teaches members to aspire to the highest class in society.

ICGC was founded by Mensa Otabil in 1984. Services are conducted in English with various groups set up to meet felt needs. One of the success stories of the ICGC is the establishment of Central University College that has become a leader in private universities in Ghana. Here members are encouraged to attend to upgrade their skills. Sponsorships are offered by the church to needy students.

These and other Pentecostal and Charismatic churches like Agyin Asare's Word Miracle Church International, Tackie-Yarboi's Victory Bible Church International, Korankye Ankrah's Royal house Chapel International and Dag Heward-Mills and the Lighthouse Chapel International which all boast of Sunday single service worshippers in the thousands²⁰² present a great challenge to the mission of the CoP. Before the advent of the Charismatics in the late 1970s the CoP enjoyed a kind of monopoly (with the exception

²⁰⁰ Alfred Koduah, *Christianity in Ghana Today* (Accra: Alfred Koduah, 2004), pp. 232-33.

²⁰¹ Gifford, African Christianity, pp. 77-78.

²⁰² Koduah, *Christianity in Ghana*, pp. 200-234.

of AG and a few others) of Pentecostalism in the country. However with the coming in of the 'newcomers' or the 'new religious superstars', as Gifford describes the bishops of these churches, with their modernized form of worship using technology and the media they have become very attractive to the elite of society who want Pentecostalism with modernity. The common 'International' postscripts to their names do not only suggest that they are open to other nationals in the country but they are also opening branches overseas.

The mission of the Pentecostals and the Charismatics became more successful because they addressed the needs of the people. Pentecostalism and Charismatism impressed upon people that Christianity was more than salvation of the soul and the worship of God. They introduced the 'power' element, that is, the power of God to confront the power of evil, which the African needed to live in their 'world'. The Charismatics went further by introducing a 'health and wealth' gospel to the elite of the society. According to Olupona, 'as in the prophetic independent African churches before them, the charismatic churches emphasized speaking in tongues, divine healing, and miracles. In addition, they professed that the material success and prosperity of their members were signs of divine grace and benevolence'. The Africans quickly embraced this form of Christianity which offered them the hope of overcoming evil, disease and poverty. Pentecostalism has therefore become the main form of Christian expression in Ghana. The CoP was to follow this form of Christianity.

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²⁰³ Paul Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity: Pentecostalism in a Globalizing African Economy* (Bloomington, ID: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 23-4.

²⁰⁴ J. K. Olupona, 'West Africa (Survey)', in Burgess (ed.), *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, p. 14.

2.4 The CoP: Historical Overview

2.4.1 Peter Anim and Pentecostalism in Ghana

The beginnings of Pentecostalism in Ghana can be dated as far back as 1917 when Peter Anim received, through correspondence, a magazine called 'Sword of the Spirit' from the Faith Tabernacle Church (FTC) in Philadelphia, USA. One of the main doctrines taught by the Faith Tabernacle was faith healing. ²⁰⁵ By reading this magazine, Peter Anim accepted its teachings on divine healing and claimed to have been healed of guinea worm infection and a protracted stomach ailment in 1921. He became convinced of the teachings of the FTC, USA, and consequently left the Presbyterian Church to establish a church at Asamankese in the Eastern region of Ghana, naming it after FTC and also affiliated it to the FTC in 1922. ²⁰⁶

As the Pentecostal fire spread through North America and other parts of the world in the early 1900s, another magazine 'the Apostolic Faith', published by the Apostolic Faith Church of Portland, Oregon in the USA, arrived in the Gold Coast. In 1926, Peter Anim read a copy of this magazine and became interested in its testimonies and also learnt more about divine healing, the work and personality of the Holy Spirit, salvation from sin and the second coming of Christ among other doctrines. For instance, the nineteenth edition of the Apostolic Faith magazine reported that:

God is blessing the Paper: We print four tons at a time and send them all over the world. Many feel the power go all through them when they read them, and the sick are being healed in many homes. We can not understand how God could use these humble witnesses as He does. But we know that God pours out His Spirit as

²⁰⁵ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 99-100.

²⁰⁶ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 100.

they are prayed over, and it seems as if we could not stop praying, and the Spirit will sing and weep over the papers through the saints. God is certainly using every clean and holy channel to spread this gospel.²⁰⁷

Peter Anim became interested in these doctrinal areas. In his quest to know more about the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, probably by seeking clarification from the FTC, USA, the latter objected, and Anim was disaffiliated. According to Larbi, Anim separated from the FTC and adopted the name "The Apostolic Faith" in 1930. 208 According to Yaw Bredwa-Mensah, a similar fate happened to the leader of the FTC in Nigeria, Pastor David O. Odubanjo. He also received further information on the activities of the Holy Spirit, and his curiosity and enquiries led to his expulsion from the FTC. 209 According to general account, Odubanjo left the FTC because of the marital infidelity of Pastor Clarke, the founder of the FTC and editor of the magazine, 'Sword of the Spirit'. However, Michael Ogunewu argues that it was hostilities from the colonial government and sections of the community against Odubanjo's successful evangelistic campaigns that caused him to seek affiliation with the British Apostolic Church, since the FTC could not give him the needed support. 210 In the meantime, Anim had been corresponding with Odubanjo, probably due to the fact that they both had affiliation with the FTC. It was also possible that the leadership of FTC had introduced them to each other since they were in the same region of Africa. Anim therefore got to know about the break of the Nigeria group with the FTC, USA, and their new contact with the Apostolic Church of Bradford, U.K.

²⁰⁷ The Apostolic Faith Magazine, Portland, Undated p. 11.

²⁰⁸ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 103.

²⁰⁹ Yaw Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost in Retrospect: 1937-1960', in Onyinah (ed.), *James McKeown Memorial Lectures*, p. 4.

²¹⁰ Michael Leke Ogunewu, 'David Osmond Odubanjo 1891 – 1951, Christ Apostolic Church, Nigeria', in *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, 2002, <u>www.dacb.org</u> (accessed 23 February 2010).

2.4.2 The Apostolic Church, UK, in West Africa

Through Odubanjo, Anim contacted the British Apostolics in September 1931 when the FTC in Nigeria invited three members of the Apostolic Church to visit them in Nigeria.²¹¹ Anim and two of his members attended the Nigeria meetings and were enthused about the Holy Spirit ministrations in the Apostolic meetings. In 1935, Pastor George Perfect of the Apostolic Church, Bradford visited Anim's group. After witnessing his healing and teaching ministry, Anim and his leadership team decided to affiliate their church to the Apostolic Church, Bradford, and subsequently named their church the Apostolic Church, Gold Coast.²¹²

The British Apostolics belonged to the Pentecostal movement that resulted from the revival of the early 1900s that occurred in the United Kingdom. In 1916, they seceded from the Apostolic Faith Church of W. O. Hutchinson. Hutchinson had visited the Welsh Revival in 1906, attended the Sunderland Convention where he received the glossolalia experience in 1908, and had left the Baptist church to open the 'first purpose-built' Pentecostal church in Britain, Emmanuel Hall in November 1908. 213 Hutchinson changed the name of his church from Emmanuel Mission Hall to the Apostolic Faith Church, ²¹⁴ possibly identifying with the Apostolic Faith Mission associated with the North American Pentecostal revival.

²¹¹ Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost in Retrospect', p. 4.

²¹² Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp.106-7.

²¹³ William K. Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain* (Carlisle: Paternoster Publishing, 2000), p. 16. James Worsfold however gives the date of the opening of Emmanuel Hall as 5 November 1909, citing Kent White who had associated with the revival at Bournemouth from 1910 and had become a minister of the Apostolic Faith Church from 1914. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church*, p.31. ²¹⁴ Kay, *Pentecostalism in Britain*, p. 16.

Daniel Powell Williams from the Welsh mining village of Penygroes and a Congregational Church member had also received the Holy Spirit baptism and had spoken in tongues while on a holiday at Aberaeron in 1909. Early in 1910, he visited Emmanuel Mission Hall at Bournemouth. In February 1911, a prophetic message received at a prayer meeting of the Evangelistic Church at Penygroes directed D. P. Williams to invite his brother William Jones Williams to ministry. Jones Williams accepted the invitation and in 1913 was ordained as a prophet by Hutchinson. His elder brother D. P. Williams was ordained an apostle in 1914.²¹⁵ In January 1916, the Williams brothers led the churches in Wales to secede from the Apostolic Faith Church to become the Apostolic Church in Wales.²¹⁶ The Apostolic Church then built their administrative headquarters at Penygroes, a small village in South Wales whilst Bradford became the head office for international mission activities.²¹⁷

James McKeown, Pentecostal Missionary to the Gold Coast

In October 1936, the Missionary Secretary of the Apostolic Church, Pastor Vivian Wellings visited Anim's group. The visit further strengthened the relationship between the Gold Coast Church and the British Apostolic Church and eventually led to a permanent missionary sent to Gold Coast in the person of James McKeown in 1937.²¹⁸ The request for a missionary was perhaps to help the Gold Coast Church to understand the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and also to help establish the Apostolic Church in the Gold Coast. The strong desire by the Gold Coast church for a white British missionary was

²¹⁵ Worsfold, The Origins of the Apostolic Church, pp. 24, 56.

²¹⁶ Worsfold, The Origins of the Apostolic Church, pp. 151-65.

²¹⁷ James Robinson, Pentecostal Origins: Early Pentecostalism in Ireland in the Context of the British Isles (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), pp. 271–72. ²¹⁸ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 107.

also probably to gain national recognition at a time the Gold Coast was under British colonial rule. As a permanent missionary was being considered for the Gold Coast, a prophetic message called James McKeown to pastoral ministry in Africa and particularly to the Gold Coast, but McKeown declined. Larbi is of the view that McKeown declined because he was not convinced of the way the call came.²¹⁹ On the other hand, Bredwa-Mensah thinks that McKeown declined because of his poor educational background which he thought would be a great disadvantage to fulfilling such a demanding ministerial calling. ²²⁰ Several of his later writings reveal that he wanted to be sure of the rightness of the call to the Gold Coast.

James McKeown, who was born on 12 September 1900 in Glenboig, Scotland had left school at age 11 to help his father on the farm. He did not have further opportunity to continue his schooling. His vocational training had been on the farm and later as a tram driver. He had however become accustomed to Pentecostal spirituality when his father, William John McKeown, became interested in Pentecostalism and joined the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance in 1908. 221 McKeown probably thought these were not enough qualities to qualify him for missionary work. Fifteen months after hisprophetic call, McKeown however accepted and sailed to the Gold Coast in March 1937. His wife Sophia joined him in September 1937. The McKeowns quickly adapted to the life of the local people and contextualized their mission practice in their newly found environment. They learnt to eat the local food and lived together with their landlord who had three

²¹⁹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 176.
²²⁰ Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 7.

²²¹ Robinson, *Pentecostal Origins*, p. 206.

wives and twenty-six children all living in the same house.²²² McKeown was able to mix freely with the local people, accepted and enjoyed their songs and dance at church and got involved with the daily activities of the people. However, Anim disagreed with McKeown on some doctrinal matters.

Peter Anim's early association with the Faith Tabernacle Church, USA, convinced him that divine healing was to be pursued in times of sickness rather than the use of medicine. These teachings had been emphasized in his church. Thus, when McKeown taught otherwise that there was nothing wrong in seeking medical help from medical practitioners whilst putting faith in God for healing, there was strong resistance from the leadership of the Gold Coast Apostolic Church. A similar situation occurred in Nigeria with Odubanjo's group. Even though they received the ministry of the Williams brothers when they visited Nigeria, Worsfold reports that 'the only area of disagreement between the delegation and the Nigerian leaders was the doctrine of Divine Healing'. 223 Worsfold claims that this issue eventually led to the 'revolt in the Apostolic Church in Nigeria in 1939'. 224 Anim's group had also signed a resolution to sever relationship with McKeown in December 1937, resolving that 'any form of medical treatment, including the use of preventive medicine was abominable and constituted a sinful act that deserved disciplinary action just like fornication, drunkenness and idolatry'. 225 By June 1938, two groups had emerged on doctrinal lines, Peter Anim's group with headquarters at Asamankese, who later in June 1939 officially ended affiliation with the Apostolic

²²² C. Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, p. 28

²²³ Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church*, pp. 265-66.

²²⁴ Worsfold, The Origins of the Apostolic Church, p. 266.

²²⁵ Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 10.

Church and adopted the name Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), and James McKeown's group with headquarters at Winneba, maintaining the name Apostolic Church, Gold Coast. 226 Anim became known as Apostle Peter Anim, founder and Chairman of CAC and associated with Odubanjo's church in Nigeria which also became known as Christ Apostolic Church, Further association with the Apostolic Church, Gold Coast ceased until the late 1970s when the Ghana Pentecostal Council was formed. Anim continued to head his church until his retirement in 1957 and died at an advanced age of 94 on 7 February 1984.²²⁷

The Creation of the Church of Pentecost

The Apostolic Church, Gold Coast grew rapidly and by the end of 1952, 512 local congregations had been established throughout the country with about 10,000 members and at least 53 ordained African full time pastors. 228 The church wanted to experience more of the power of the Holy Spirit. Literature on the activities of the Holy Spirit was circulated and read widely. One of such magazines was the 'Wings of Healing' published by Dr. Thomas Wyatt Ministries of Portland, Oregon USA. 229 This magazine gave testimonies of healings and various miraculous signs that were occurring in crusades organized by the 'Latter Rain Movement', led by Dr. Thomas Wyatt and others. It thus became accepted when Adam McKeown, a former missionary to the Gold Coast and

²²⁶ Opoku Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', in Onyinah (ed.), *James McKeown Memorial Lectures*, pp. 57-8.

227 Detailed account of the CAC has been given by Larbi. Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 100-31

²²⁸ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 180.

²²⁹ J. A. Hewett, 'Thomas Wyatt (1891 – 1964)', in Burgess (ed.), *International Dictionary*, p. 1221.

brother of James McKeown, and Pastor Fred C. Poole invited the Latter Rain to do a crusade in the Gold Coast under the auspices of the Apostolic Church. 230

Dr. Wyatt, Fred Poole and Adam McKeown arrived in the Gold Coast in February 1953 but at the displeasure of the Apostolic Church, Bradford. Bradford was not comfortable with the worship style and practices of the Americans. The Latter Rain Movement laid emphasis on deliverance, laying on of hands for Holy Spirit baptism, and signs and wonders. They also opposed rigid church systems, ²³¹ which was a strong feature within The Apostolics, therefore, accused the Wyatt team of the Apostolic Church. disorganizing church systems wherever they went, and Thomas Wyatt in particular for having divorced his wife and re-married.²³² Dr. Wyatt and and his team, on the other hand, felt that the British Apostolics were autocratic and not flexible enough to allow other giftings to operate in the church, and therefore they decided to honour the invitation to the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast Apostolics also took a similar stand even though James McKeown had his reservations. The general consensus was that the visit was going to benefit the church, there was a yearning for Holy Spirit revival, and that should Bradford counter the visit, McKeown was going to have maximum support from the people of the Gold Coast. Christine Leonard suggests that another reason for the church's support of the invitation was that the Gold Coast was in a period of political change with

²³⁰ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 210-11.

Peter Hocken, Streams of Renewal: The Origins and Early Development of the Charismatic Movement *in Great Britian* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1986), pp. 5-6. ²³² Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 211.

Kwame Nkrumah calling for self-government.²³³ The church council therefore wanted the freedom to decide what kind of revival to have.

The Latter Rain evangelistic meetings were held in Accra and Kumasi, and it was reported that several miraculous healings and conversions took place. In May 1953, James McKeown attended a Quadrennial Council meeting in the UK where the Latter Rain visit to the Gold Coast was discussed. Overlooking the great success of the Gold Coast revival, the Apostolic Church took exception to Thomas Wyatt's criticism of the administrative structure of the Apostolics. Cecil Cousen, who had also become an Apostolic Church missionary in Canada and had admired the ministry of Thomas Wyatt, was allowed initially to demonstrate the practice of laying on of hands amongst the Apostolics in Britain in 1951. However, during the 1953 meeting, some of the Executive who opposed the Latter Rain Movement managed to get the President to require all participants at the meeting to re-affirm their faith and belief in the doctrines and Constitution of the Apostolic Church. James McKeown and Cecil Cousen declined. The two missionaries were consequently dismissed from the Apostolic Church and their ordination certificates withdrawn.²³⁴ According to Leonard, the Apostolic Church has very rigid regulations and has been described as 'the most authoritarian and hierarchical structure in British Pentecostalism'. 235 Hocken confirms that the Apostolics have a rigid structure and that their 'exclusiveness to much wider Christian fellowship' caused Cecil Cousen to break away.²³⁶

²³³ Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana* p. 135. ²³⁴ Hocken, *Streams of Renewal*, pp. 6-7.

²³⁵ Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, p. 138.

²³⁶ Hocken, Streams of Renewal, p. 9.

When news of McKeown's dismissal reached the Gold Coast, the pastors were very proud that he could take such a bold stand on their behalf. They invited McKeown to the Gold Coast after adopting the following resolution:

- (a) The Gold Coast Church recognized James McKeown as its leader.
- (b) With immediate effect any relationship between the Gold Coast Church and Bradford was severed. Consequently, Bradford must stop sending missionaries to the Gold Coast Church.
- (c) The Gold Coast Church would not entertain any delegation sent by Bradford ²³⁷

Before James and Sophia McKeown returned to the Gold Coast in October 1953, schism had developed in the church. The Apostolic Church, Bradford, had requested a meeting with the Gold Coast church but the request had been turned down. Bradford proceeded to send delegates to the Gold Coast in the persons of Vivian Wellings and G. Rosser. These delegates arrived in the Gold Coast a month earlier than the McKeowns in September 1953. Larbi reports that the Bradford delegates were able to meet with the McKeown group on 14 October 1953 after the latter had repealed a clause in an earlier resolution that they were not going to entertain Bradford delegates. The meeting decided to support McKeown as their Chairman. Wellings and Rosser, however, managed to rally around some pastors and elders who pledged their allegiance to them and to Bradford, and thereby a faction of the church was created with the name 'the Apostolic Church, Gold Coast'.

²³⁷ Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 23.

²³⁸ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 217.

The McKeown group became known as the Gold Coast Apostolic Church. As the row between the two groups continued the Apostolic Church, Gold Coast (the Bradford group), sued and won a case against the Gold Coast Apostolic Church at the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast, Eastern Judicial Division, in Accra. The Court was presided over by a British judge, L. G. Lingley. On 12 July 1956, Lingley ruled in favour of the Bradford Group, and the McKeown group had to render accounts and pay an amount of £3,296 to the Bradford group representing various funds accrued to the church before the break.²³⁹ According to the Court, the break between the Apostolics occurred on 21st May 1953,²⁴⁰ a date probably calculated from the time McKeown resigned from Bradford. It cannot easily be ascertained whether the Bradford group was granted some favours by the court and the British judge. Even though the Gold Coast as a nation was at the verge of regaining her independence from the British with several self-reliance activities, the Bradford Group somehow had the legal support to exercise control over various church property. Probably the court was protecting the interest of the Bradford-British Group. Meanwhile the court ruling had a negative impact on the McKeown group. Finances were frozen and bank accounts went into debit resulting in near bankruptcy. Gold Coast Apostolic Church also lost buildings, plots of land and other church assets to the Bradford group resulting from litigations in various assemblies in the principal towns.²⁴¹

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²³⁹ Court Ruling Document, dated 12 July 1956 at the Ghana National Archives, Accra. Larbi gives the total fine paid by McKeown group as £3,244 2s. 6d quoting from Pastors Council Minutes dated 27 Oct – 3rd Nov 1959. Since Larbi uses a report which was over three years after the ruling it was likely an error occurred in its documentation at the Pastors meeting. (See Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 225). ²⁴⁰ Court document, 1956.

²⁴¹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 225-26.

The political turbulence in the country reached its apex in 1957. The Gold Coast had gained independence from the British in March 1957 and had changed its name to Ghana. Similarly, the Gold Coast Apostolic Church changed its name to Ghana Apostolic Church. The struggle for political independence had been characterized by agitations for self-rule and indigenization. In his maiden independence address to the nation on 6th March 1957, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, who also became the first President when Ghana was declared a republic on 1 July 1960, declared that a new generation had been birthed with an African identity and that 'the Black man is capable of managing his own affairs'. 242 The ideologies and policies of the Convention People's Party (CPP) and its leader Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had great influence on the citizenry. ²⁴³ Probably this stimulated the Deputy Superintendent of the Ghana Apostolic Church, J. A. C. Anaman, to lead an internal coup d'état to oust James McKeown as the Superintendent and Chairman of the church, to prove that the black man could manage the affairs of the church. Anaman had written letters to James McKeown when the latter was on furlough in Britain stating that the President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, had decided to mediate and resolve the impasse between the two Apostolic Churches and thus bring them under one umbrella. Hiding under the guise of the Ghana government's intention to join the two groups, Anaman intimidated that, to give higher administrative rights to the Ghana Apostolic Church over the Apostolic Church Ghana, it was proper that the McKeown's group should have an African leader and that he, Anaman, was being forced

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²⁴² Kwame Nkrumah Independence Speech

⁽http://ghanaconscious.ghanathink.org/audio/by/album/africa_s_man_of_destiny), accessed 28 July 2010. ²⁴³ K. Botwe-Asamoah, *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Politics: An African Centered Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution* (Madison Avenue, NY: Routledge, 2005), pp. 8, 19-20.

to become the new Chairman of the Church. McKeown willingly accepted the proposal and supported the appointment of Pastor Anaman as the new Chairman of the Church. 244

The plot however failed. McKeown returned to Ghana to find out that the whole story of Nkrumah wanting to merge the two churches was a hoax. Members re-affirmed their allegiance to Pastor McKeown as Chairman of the Ghana Apostolic Church. However, the opposition did not die out completely. As the political turmoil continued so did the problems in the church. Frantic efforts were made to get McKeown deported by liaising with people who opposed European rule. A Committee of enquiry was set up to suggest ways of bringing the two groups together but their report did not favour McKeown's group. The Committee's concluding recommendations after their prejudiced investigation were that the Ghana Apostolic Church should rejoin the Apostolic Church, Ghana or have James McKeown, who has been the cause of the 1953 crisis, deported. 245 President Nkrumah was petitioned. A meeting was held on 21st July 1962 chaired by President Nkrumah and assisted by Hon Dowuona Hammond, Minister of Education, and Hon. Tawiah Adamafio, Minister of State. The outcome of the Presidential hearing was that James McKeown was free to stay and to continue to head the Ghana Apostolic Church. It was, however, advised that the Ghana Apostolic Church change its name to avoid any confusion and also to reflect the break. It was also ruled that properties acquired before the schism in 1953 should go to the Apostolic Church, Ghana. All assets acquired after 1953 were to go to the group that acquired them. The Ghana Apostolic Church accepted

Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 229-30.
 Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 37.

the ruling in good faith and on 1st August 1962 changed its name to The Church of Pentecost.²⁴⁶

The CoP lost almost all its property from its inception to 1953. Not much was acquired between 1953 and 1962 due to the crisis. Literature and other administrative material and documents had to be changed to reflect the new name. Membership surprisingly rose from 13,940 in 1953 when the crisis started to 47,108 in 1960.²⁴⁷ There was however a drop in membership the following year by 13.8% to 40.600 in 1961. 248 There are no available records to explain the reason for the decline. However, some of the events mentioned above may have contributed to the decline. Ghana had become a republic in July 1960, and Nkrumah had been elected president. Colonialism had officially ended. McKeown had gone on furlough to the U.K. According to Larbi, the government of Ghana had declared its intention to unite the two church factions under an African chairman.²⁴⁹ J. A. C. Anaman's attempt to oust McKeown, which occurred in October 1960, had failed yet its effects impacted negatively on church membership. These events perhaps caused splits among members with those who pledged allegiance to McKeown, temporarily withdrawing their membership with the church, thus affecting church membership in 1961. There was a further decline in church membership of about 6.2% from 1962 to 1963. This may also be attributed to the final decision made by Nkrumah regarding the situation of both churches on 21 July 1962. The Bradford group seemed to have been on the favoured side with regards to the ruling, and some members may have

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²⁴⁶ Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost', pp. 37-42.

²⁴⁷ Onyinah, James McKeown Memorial Lectures, p. 168.

²⁴⁸ Onyinah, James McKeown Memorial Lectures, p. 168.

²⁴⁹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 227-28.

defected to them. Anaman and three other pastors also resigned to join the Bradford group in 1962 and may have been followed by their supporters and those who were agitating for Africanism and African leadership. In the mean time, James McKeown and the CoP had been given the right to operate as a church, which meant that it was now free to fashion out its own mission praxis and polity. Even though traces of the legacy of the administrative structure of the Apostolic Church, Bradford, is still evident in the CoP, it has developed a 'mission from below' model that is unique to the CoP.

But when exactly the CoP was formed had been a controversy in the past. Could the foundation be traced from 1917 when Peter Anim started Pentecostal meetings or in 1937 when McKeown arrived in the Gold Coast? Was it in 1939 when Peter Anim broke away from McKeown or in 1953 during the schism in the Apostolic Church? Could it also be in 1962 when circumstances surrounding the schism were resolved and the church named as the Church of Pentecost? It is in the annals of the CoP that previous anniversary celebrations of the CoP had been protested by either the CAC or the Apostolic Church based on the history of the church. It has been recently resolved that the CoP started its activities in 1953. Based on the above historical accounts of Pentecostalism in Ghana, I want to propose that the inception of the Church of Pentecost was on 21 May 1953. This was the date that the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast presented as marking the break between the Gold Coast Apostolic Church and the Apostolic Church, Gold Coast. It also coincides with the date that James McKeown resigned from the Apostolic Church, Bradford. The change of name to the CoP in 1962 was only to differentiate the two Apostolics and therefore could not be the beginning of the CoP. When CAC broke away in 1939, the administration of the church was still under the Apostolic Church, Bradford and therefore could not also be the beginning of the CoP.

The activities of the early missionaries, no matter how it is assessed, helped to lay the foundation of Christianity in Ghana. Churches, schools and medical care were provided by the early missionaries that helped to improve the intellectual, spiritual and physical well-being of the Ghanaian. The early African revivalists also created the awareness that the Christian God was able to deal with the African spirit world. The Pentecostal movement further developed the African revivalists approach to the Christian worship. Even though the precursors to Ghanaian Pentecostalism did not agree on basic doctrinal issues, their disagreement could be viewed positively as it has eventually created the three biggest Pentecostal churches – the Church of Pentecost, the Apostolic Church, the Christ Apostolic Church – in Ghana, which probably McKeown and Anim could not have achieved as one group. The crisis within the Apostolics may also have provided and shaped the mission of these churches. For example in the CoP, evangelism took an aggressive turn during and after the crisis. Members were taught to share their faith wherever they went. They were taught to turn the aftermath of the crisis into a period of soul harvest and to regain what was lost. But like the disciples of Jesus were to wait for the power of the Holy Spirit which was also the 'power of evangelism', ²⁵⁰ members were prayed for to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Once baptized it was believed that they were empowered to go back to their homes, families, schools, work and market places, towns and villages and on the streets to share their new found faith. This was

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²⁵⁰ Acts 1:8 "But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth." NIV

done with much zeal and also as a matter of urgency with the view of the soon coming of Christ similar to what Anderson has explained about the early Holiness and revivalists movements.²⁵¹ Bredwa-Mensah believes that the attitude of the early church members regarding evangelism emanated as a result of the crisis the church faced between 1953 and 1962.²⁵² As it were churches had been lost, properties have been seized, fines have been imposed, ministers have not been paid due to financial difficulties and therefore the only way to continue as a church was to witness, win more souls and rebuild what had been broken down. Before long, many churches were planted in hitherto un-reached areas. This was done through directing the renewed spiritual strength of the members from the crisis period into evangelism. No exact evangelistic strategy was formed but these activities gradually developed into mission models that the church had followed. With the preparation of the Pentecostal fire by the early mission churches, coupled with its own historical experiences, the CoP was able to lay the foundation of the Pentecostal fire and develop the 'mission from below' strategy. This started with the local mission model as discussed in the next chapter.

²⁵¹ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 25.
²⁵² Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 43.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FOUNDATION OF THE PENTECOST FIRE: THE COP MISSION ACTIVITIES I

3.1 The Local Mission Model (LMM)

Mission activities in the CoP were largely influenced by the early formation of Pentecostalism in Ghana. From 1917 when Anim got into contact with foreign mission from the USA and later from the UK, there was the desire to transpose this new form of Pentecostal Christianity into the local sphere. During this period the acquired Pentecostal spirituality was shared amongst family members, friends and neighbours. I have termed such activities as the Local Mission Model (LMM) since mission activities were mainly centred locally in Ghana. It was predominantly a mission to their 'Jerusalem'. 253 Those who converted to Pentecostalism and joined the church embarked on a series of prayer and fasting sessions seeking the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which was understood as a spiritual endowment. This was the only qualification required by members to enter into mission. Once Holy Spirit baptism was received with the evidence of speaking in tongues, there was an immediate passion to tell friends and family members about the good news, whilst still remaining active members of the local church.²⁵⁴ When people accepted the message, prayer and fellowship meetings were started in homes and in any available spaces. Church leaders were then approached to send a leader to take care of the small group. The group was then guided so that it gradually grew into a branch of the local church. In this case mission was done from below, by the local members themselves, and did not require any organized activity from the top or from the church

²⁵³ Acts 1:8

Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, p. 89.

leaders. With time mission practice in the CoP developed to include the provision of social services and engagement with the political fabric of society which also became part of the LMM. It is best to understand the development of these mission activities in the CoP by considering major practices during the eras of specific leaders of the church. The chapter has therefore been divided into the Anim, McKeown, Safo/Yeboah and Ntumy eras. Even though Anim did not become a leader in the CoP, his activities spilled into the fabric of the mission of the CoP. Also a faction of his group became the nucleus of the McKeown group that eventually became the CoP. Including the Anim era will therefore explain certain mission activities of the CoP.

3.2 The LMM and the Miraculous: The Anim Era (1917 – 1939)

As has been explained above the main feature of the LMM is the 'mission from below' strategy. There are however several characteristics of the LMM that were evident during the Anim era. Reports of miraculous events during this era contributed to the practice of the LMM in the church. Some of these events are discussed below.

3.2.1 The Role of Signs and Wonders

'Tongues', 'healing', and 'empowerment for witness' have been interpreted in Pentecostalism as privileged 'signs' of the empowerment of the Spirit.²⁵⁵ In fact 'the Pentecostal revival was believed to be the "latter rain" promised by God through the prophet Joel, and would be characterized by a "worldwide resurgence of faith", and

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²⁵⁵ Jose Miguez Bonino, 'Changing Paradigms: A Response', in Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, Douglas Petersen (eds.), *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel* (Carlisle: Regnum Books International, 1999), p. 120.

"healings and miracles" that were a prelude to the second coming of Jesus Christ. 256 These elements were the characteristics of the Anim era. The early missionaries went to Africa to establish churches, social services and teach the Christian gospel as stated earlier. Anim on the other hand was motivated by divine healing he received in 1921 by appropriating faith in the teachings of Pastor A. Clark which he had learned since 1917 from the magazine 'Sword of the Spirit' published by the Faith Tabernacle Church in Philadelphia, USA. 257 Anim had left the Presbyterian church in 1921 following his healing experience and was faced with the challenge of preaching his new found faithhealing gospel and establishing of churches. Anim not only preached divine healing but it was believed that many people who attended his meetings received their healing as well. Testimonies about these healings brought several people who became converted to his faith-healing group. ²⁵⁸ Frank Macchia has said that 'By making healing an important aspect of the church's mission, the Pentecostal movement became a haven for those who were dissatisfied with the decline of emphasis on healing in the mainstream evangelical churches'. 259 Anim's church did not only provide physical healing but spiritual healing as well and therefore appropriately responded to the African holistic worldview. Donald Dayton noted that 'perhaps even more characteristic of Pentecostalism than the doctrine of the baptism of the Spirit is its celebration of miracles of divine healing as part of God's salvation and as evidence of the presence of divine power in the church'. 260

²⁵⁶ Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism, p. 44.

²⁵⁷ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 99 – 101.

²⁵⁸ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 100.

²⁵⁹ Frank D. Macchia, 'The Struggle for Global Witness: Shifting Paradigms in Pentecostal Theology', in Dempster, Klaus, Petersen (eds.), Globalization of Pentecostalism, p. 9. Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, p. 115.

As we have seen faith healing was so much emphasised in Anim's group that it became doctrinally unacceptable for one to use medicine for healing in the Faith Tabernacle Church just as was taught by Pastor Clark. 261 Clark who belonged to the Holiness tradition had taught about the non use of medicine for healing amongst other teachings 'personal holiness', 'persecution as a mark of sanctity', and a 'distaste for such as acquiring property because of the imminence of the Second Advent'. 262 According to Larbi, of all Clark's teachings, the emphasis on healing became dominant in Anim's group. 263 This stand of the African church was not surprising since access to conventional health care was not readily available. Infrastructural development in the colonial era had been very low and had only improved during the Guggisberg²⁶⁴ era from 1919 to 1928.²⁶⁵ During this period, infrastructural development in the education, health and energy sectors were greatly improved. However, the second colonial period from 1929 to 1942 saw a complete reversal of the Guggisberg program. According to Jonathan Frimpong-Ansah, the economic period from 1929 to 1942 'took on the character of a colonial predatory state with strict fiscal discipline, and an accumulation of external reserves in Britain' thus spilling off the economic effects of the post-world war on the poor African colony. 266 About 50 years later in 1993, only 25% of the Ghanaian population had access

²⁶¹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 100-101.

²⁶² Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 101.

²⁶³ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 101.

²⁶⁴ Sir Gordon Guggisberg was Governor of the Gold Coast from 1919 to 1927. He developed a ten year development program for the Gold Coast and had the philosophy that "no country can develop trade to its full paying capacity without incurring a debt for the construction of the necessary infrastructure." (Guggisberg, 'The Governor's Annual Address to the Legislative Council, the 1924 Address' p. 24 in Jonathan Frimpong-Ansah, *The Vampire State in Africa: The Political Economy of Decline in Ghana*, (London: James Currey Limited, 1991), p. 19.

²⁶⁵ Frimpong-Ansah, *The Vampire State in Africa*, p. 55.

Frimpong-Ansah, *The Vampire State in Africa*, pp. 55 – 62.

to adequate health care.²⁶⁷ Like most African societies, healthcare delivery remains a major problem in Ghana. 268 Thus, few had access to health care during the Anim era. Putting faith in a God who can heal all diseases from 'bad colds' to 'raising the dead' as was claimed by many Pentecostal preachers²⁶⁹ through prayer at anytime and at any place seemed a good alternative to western medicine which was woefully inadequate. Faith healing was also a better alternative to traditional and herbal medicine which was also not fully developed. Sometimes prescriptions and administration could result in fatality. Again, faith-healing was important due to the belief in the spirit world. Asians and Africans believe that most natural disasters are caused supernaturally and that spirit beings are responsible for deaths, diseases, miscarriages, successes and failures. To combat these one needs a higher power or divine power, that is the power of God to bring about deliverance. According to Jungia Ma, the effectiveness of Pentecostalism amongst people with such beliefs lies not only in its truthful proclamation of the gospel but also its ability to demonstrate the power of 'God's supremacy over their deities' and that 'one tangible form of this supernatural demonstration is healing'. 270 It therefore made sense to seek healing from places other than the hospitals if diseases were caused supernaturally.

The emphasis on healing without medication was therefore an effective missionary tool to propagate the gospel and build the church of God. People joined the church once they experienced divine healing or could witness and testify that a relative or friend has

²⁶⁷ Kofi S. Kyeremeh, *Ghana's Development Problems: Some Reflections / Solutions*, (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 2001 Edition), p. 40.

²⁶⁸ Kalu, African Pentecostalism, p. 36.

²⁶⁹ Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition, p. 192.

²⁷⁰ Jungja Ma, 'Pentecostal Challenges in East and South-East Asia', in Dempster, Klaus and Peterson (eds.), *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*, p. 194.

received healing from the church. Those who received healing went away and brought friends and relatives to the healing meetings. The expansion of the church was thus propelled from below. The grassroots members spread the good news about divine healing.

This approach to healing which Anim had adopted was however not exclusive to Clark and his Faith Tabernacle. Earlier Holiness exponents like Kelso Carter who was healed of heart disease under the ministry of Charles Cullis, a physician turned preacher and an instrumentalist in exposing healing by faith to the church in the late 1800s, had taught that the use of medical help or medicine was a 'sign of lack of faith'. 271 Carter later changed his mind about healing without medicine when after three years of suffering from 'brain prostration' he was persuaded to accept medication. ²⁷² The Holiness faith healing teachings was popularized by the Holiness-Pentecostal preacher and healer Maria Woodworth-Etter and the faith healer Alexander Dowie of Zion, Illinois, and from 1901 it had become a major theme within the Pentecostal tradition. 273 Dowie 'underscored healing as part of the "signs and wonders" that accompany the work of the Spirit'. ²⁷⁴ The Holiness evangelist Charles Fox Parham who tried to take over from Dowie theologized some of these practices and teachings of his predecessors. Some of his teachings at the Bethel Healing Home in Topeka Kansas where he offered faith training for the sick were sanctification and divine healing.²⁷⁵ Comparing Parham's teachings on sanctification to that of John Wesley on the same subject, Synan commented that whereas Wesley taught

²⁷¹ Dayton, *Theological Roots*, pp. 122-23, 129-30.

²⁷² Dayton, *Theological Roots*, pp. 130-31.

²⁷³ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 192.

²⁷⁴ Macchia, 'The Struggle for Global Witness', p. 19.

²⁷⁵ J. R. Goff, 'Charles Fox Parham', in Burgess (ed.), *International Dictionary*, p. 955.

on 'the possibility of entire cleansing from sin, Parham taught an entire cleansing from disease'. ²⁷⁶ It was therefore conceived to be sin if one went to the doctor or took medicine. Dowie for instance 'perceived the medical community as being used by Satan to keep the church in bondage to sickness'. ²⁷⁷

Notable amongst the early Pentecostals who continued the propagation of faith healing or divine healing without any form of medications during the Anim era was the British Pentecostal Harold Horton.²⁷⁸ Horton taught that 'divine healing' was the 'only way' of healing open to believers and 'authorised by the Scriptures' and that any form of 'natural' healing was unacceptable.²⁷⁹ For Anim and his faith healing group, the use of medicine was not only seen as 'evidence of weak faith',²⁸⁰ but those who took medicine or went to a doctor were conceived as having fallen from the faith.²⁸¹ This strong stance which Anim has adopted became a hindrance to working with James McKeown who taught otherwise. Eventually this doctrinal disagreement between Anim and McKeown caused them to part company.

But the mission practice of Anim, organizing healing sessions in homes and in the open air, had gone down well with the people and by 1925 branch churches had been opened in several towns in the Eastern, Central, Western, Volta, Ashanti and Greater Accra

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²⁷⁶ Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition, p. 192.

²⁷⁷ Kimberly E. Alexander, *Pentecostal Healing: Models in Theology and Practice* (Blandford Forum: Deo Publishing, 2006), p. 61.

²⁷⁸ Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, p. 232.

Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism, p. 232.

²⁸⁰ Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism, p. 232.

²⁸¹ Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 9.

Regions of the Gold Coast.²⁸² According to Anderson 'the role of signs and wonders particularly that of healing and miracles, is important in Pentecostal and Charismatic mission praxis and reflection'.²⁸³ He further states that evangelization by the early Pentecostal missionaries was characterized by the supernatural or at least these missionaries expected that signs and wonders especially divine healing would follow their ministration of the Word. This mission praxis according to him 'has led to the rapid growth of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in many parts of the world'²⁸⁴ including the CoP. Hollenweger posits that 'Pentecostals have always had a praxis of prayer with the sick'.²⁸⁵ In the CoP, healings have mostly been conducted during prayer and revival meetings.

Even though the concept of faith healing only without any form of medication ended with Anim, the CoP continues to practice divine healing as a major theme in its hermeneutical understanding. It is categorically stated amongst the tenets of the church that 'we believe that the healing of sickness and disease is provided for God's people in the atonement'. 286 Like most other African Pentecostals, 'the prevalence of sickness and affliction becomes a hermeneutical key in which the Bible is interpreted'. 287 Knowing Christ as not only the Saviour but also the Healer was paramount in the theology and practice of the church. Christ gives life and abundant life. Abundant life means salvation which is understood as

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²⁸² Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 102; Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 4.

²⁸³ Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism, p. 211.

Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism, p. 211.

²⁸⁵ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1997), p. 229.

²⁸⁶ The Church of Pentecost, *Ministers Manual* (Accra: The General Council of the Church of Pentecost, 2000), p. 8.

Allan Anderson, Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2000), pp. 137–38.

transcending the saving of the soul to the healing of the body. He is 'the powerful Conqueror over sickness and affliction'. ²⁸⁸ This was the message that the members during the Anim era became familiar with.

3.2.2 Glossolalia – Power for Missions

The Anim era in the mission history of the CoP was also marked by the quest for the power and baptism of the Holy Spirit. Peter Anim had read another magazine 'the Apostolic Faith' published by the Apostolic Faith Church of Portland, Oregon in 1926. This magazine emphasised teachings on the Holy Spirit including pardon and salvation from sin, divine healing, consecration and the pre-millennial coming of Christ. Anim developed interest in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit but his enquiry led to his expulsion from association with the Faith Tabernacle Church (FTC) since for the FTC glossolalic experiences were regarded as being satanic.²⁸⁹ Anim and his organization nevertheless continued to search for the power and baptism of the Holy Spirit and by 1930 had changed their name from FTC and adopted the name The Apostolic Faith Church. Two years later in 1932 Stephen Owiredu, a member of Anim's FTC, experienced the Holy Spirit baptism. Following this experience a revival meeting was held in which many received Spirit baptism with the evidence of speaking in tongues and prophesying. According to Larbi, Anim reportedly wrote after the revival that a there were practical demonstrations of the work of the Holy Spirit as it happened in the days of the Apostles. Many who witnessed the revival were converted and received the baptism of the Holy

²⁸⁸ Allan Anderson, *African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the 20th Century* (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 2001), p. 233.

Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 101.

Ghost and left for their various towns and villages to propagate the good tidings.²⁹⁰ The practice of members spreading the message was further developed when they had the experience of the Holy Spirit baptism. This era, referred to as 'the Holy Ghost Dispensation' by Anim's group, resulted in numerical growth and expansion in the FTC.²⁹¹

This phenomenon of speaking in tongues became so important and sought after in the early 1930s among members of the church in the Gold Coast that people walked over 160 miles to seek the glossolalic experience. There were accounts of people who left their jobs after receiving the 'baptism in the Spirit' with the evidence of speaking in tongues and proclaimed on the streets 'I have received what Apostle Peter and others received'. A cobbler whose client enquired why he had not mended his shoes replied 'I have now found my true vocation. Shoe mending is just to make enough money to buy bread', as he continued speaking in tongues and preaching on the streets. There were several accounts of such testimonies where members who had been baptized by the Holy Spirit left their jobs to preach the gospel and plant churches in their villages. According to Anderson, there is no doubt that 'speaking in tongues was the most distinctive and central preoccupation of early Pentecostal experience'.

²⁹⁰ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 104-5.

²⁹¹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 105.

²⁹² Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 105.

²⁹³ Interview, Mrs. Florence Walker, 15 July 2007. Accra.

²⁹⁴ Interview, 5 retired ministers of CoP, 20 – 23 July 2007. Accra and Kumasi.

²⁹⁵ Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism, p. 190.

Speaking in tongues, which was believed to be the 'consequence' or 'initial evidence' of Spirit baptism, was also the belief of most classical Pentecostals and was regarded as giving 'power to witness'. Appealing to the biblical text Acts 1:8, ²⁹⁶ Spirit baptism was known to offer 'power for last-days world evangelization' as was also the case in the early Pentecostal movement.²⁹⁷ According to Hollenweger, Spirit baptism is 'the arming of a person with power for missionary service'. 298 In fact, Spirit baptism had been associated with 'power' as far back as 1870 when the Holiness teacher Asa Mahan published his book 'The Baptism of the Holy Ghost'. 299 Mahan taught that 'the "consequences" of the "baptism" are described primarily in terms of "permanence and power," or more elaborately as (1) a quickening of our "natural powers"; and (2)'a vast accumulation of moral and spiritual power – power to endure, and power to accomplish' among other themes'. 300 So it was the Holy Spirit who gave worshippers the power to preach, pray, worship, sing spiritual songs, heal, prophesy and do all works of service for the Lord in and outside the church. Later revivalists like Charles Finney, Dwight L. Moody, R. A. Torrey and J. Wilbur Chapman also believed that 'Spirit baptism' resulted in 'empowering for service' or was an 'the endowment of power'. 301

For Anim's group, seeking 'power for service' was not a strange phenomenon. In fact converting to Christianity or Pentecostalism in the early 1900s in the Gold Coast meant that one had to seek a supernatural power to overpower the evil spirit world. Particularly

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²⁹⁶ 'But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth' (New International Version).

²⁹⁷ Steven J Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), p. 18.

²⁹⁸ Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1972), p. 332.

²⁹⁹ Asa Mahan, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost* (W. C. Palmer Jr., 1870).

Dayton, Theological Roots, p. 89.

³⁰¹ Dayton, *Theological Roots*, pp. 100-1.

in the 1930s shrines or *abosom* were predominant in the Gold Coast with the popular ones being *Tegari*, *Hwemeso and Aberewa*. These shrines were consulted for healing and various other needs. The early missionaries were not able to speak against these gods in public; rather the British colonial administrators used the priests of these shrines as opinion leaders making them even more powerful and treacherous. ³⁰² Pentecostalism therefore had to brace itself to oppose these powers. Aside from the renowned evangelist, William Wade Harris who admonished his hearers to leave their *juju* and small gods to serve the Supreme God it is believed that these early Pentecostal adherents were among the first Ghanaians to openly preach against and challenge the powers of *Tegari* and other *abosom*. Probably this is one reason why the experience of the power of the Spirit was so much needed to receive divine protection. According to Anderson,

The *sine qua non* of African Pentecostal churches is the power of the Holy Spirit. He is the one to whom credit is given for almost everything that takes place in church activities. He causes people to 'receive' the Spirit, to prophesy, speak in tongues, heal, exorcise demons, have visions and dreams, and live 'holy' lives – generally he directs the life and worship of the church.³⁰³

The manifestations of the power of the Holy Spirit in these forms in the church therefore gave confidence to worshippers that they could encounter and defeat evil forces. Spirit baptism gave them 'empowerment', as Mark Cartledge puts it, the anointing of the Spirit on the Church gives them power to witness. It later became a practice in the CoP that leaders were not appointed until they had experienced Spirit baptism. One of the

³⁰² Albert Amoah, 'The History of the Church of Pentecost', Lecture Notes, Pentecost Bible School, Accra, 1993.

³⁰³ Anderson, Zion and Pentecost, p. 240.

Amos Yong, The Spirit Poured Out on all Flesh: Pentecostalism and the Possibility of Global Theology (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic Press, 2005), pp. 40-1.

³⁰⁵ Mark Cartledge, *Encountering the Spirit: The Charismatic Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd., 2006), p. 105.

main criteria for ordination into pastoral, missionary or any lay leadership role in the CoP is Spirit baptism with the evidence of speaking in tongues.³⁰⁶ The rationale behind this was probably to avoid any incidence such as happened to the 'sons of Sceva' in the book of Acts, where evil spirits overpowered supposed exorcists and disgraced them in public.³⁰⁷ Spirit baptism was therefore thought to provide the spiritual power needed to overcome evil powers.

The quest to seek Spirit baptism during the Anim era left two spiritual legacies for the church, prayer and evangelism, ³⁰⁸ which became the primary activity of every member in the church and therefore strengthened the foundation of the 'mission from below' model of the church. This activity was done in urgency and with the expectation that 'the return of Christ was at hand'. This became part of the hallmark of the next era, the James McKeown era.

3.3 The LMM and Eschatology: the McKeown Era (1939 – 1982)

Peter Anim's group severed affiliation with the UK Apostolic Church in June 1939 to form the Christ Apostolic Church. 309 James McKeown worked as a missionary for the UK Apostolics until 1953 when he resigned on policy issues that eventually led to a split in the Gold Coast Apostolic Church. In August 1961, the Apostolic Church faction, which had maintained McKeown since the split in 1953, became known as the Church of

³⁰⁶ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, p. 36, 73. Acts 19:14-16.

³⁰⁸ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 107-8.

³⁰⁹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 110-111.

Pentecost. James McKeown led this group as Chairman until he retired in 1982. The Local Mission Model developed through the McKeown era.

During the McKeown era, the Gold Coast Apostolic Church/Church of Pentecost experienced tremendous growth to become the leading Pentecostal church in Ghana. It grew from a membership of 13,940 in 1953 to 177,311 in 1982.³¹⁰ Even though the CoP during this era also emphasized Spirit baptism and the demonstration of the gifts of the Holy Spirit especially healing as in the Anim era, other factors like prayer, evangelism and holiness within an eschatological framework, predominated the thinking and practice of the McKeown era. Wonsuk Ma points out that 'the earliest Pentecostals chronicled the eschatological significance of the Spirit's outpouring' and that 'Spirit baptism was viewed as empowerment for the last days before Jesus' immanent return'. 311 This empowerment was not only a sign for the last days' events but was also the enablement to witness before the second advent of Jesus. According to L. Grant McClung Jr, personal experience with the Holy Spirit which was 'integrated with an eschatological urgency and a passion for souls' was 'at the heart of the early Pentecostals' missiology'. 312 Spirit baptism, evangelism and the second advent of Jesus was therefore seen to be operating together in the CoP.

One of the pillars of the four or sometimes the 'five fold gospel' is 'Jesus Christ, the Soon Coming King'. Most of the early Pentecostals regarded Pentecostal theology as

³¹⁰ Onyinah (ed.), James McKeown Memorial Lectures, p. 168.

Wonsuk Ma, 'Biblical Studies in the Pentecostal Tradition: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow', in Dempster, Klaus and Peterson (eds.) *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*, p. 56.

³¹² L. Grant McClung, Jr. 'Try to Get People Saved, Revisiting the Paradigm of an Urgent Pentecostal Missiology', in Dempster, Klaus and Peterson (eds.), *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*, p. 36.

revolving around four themes, which were Jesus as Saviour, healer, baptizer and soon coming king. 313 A fifth aspect was at times added which was Jesus as sanctifier. 314 Although all these themes are important to Pentecostalism, Robert Anderson, David William Faupel and Steven Land have argued that the *parousia* of Jesus Christ is central to the Pentecostal message. 315 This means that all the other themes find their completion in the *parousia*. Dayton also assesses the importance of the eschatological message in Pentecostalism as follows:

This eschatological motif certainly permeated the earliest literature of the movement, has resurfaced in key periods like the Latter Rain revival of the 1940s, appears even in the Catholic Charismatic movement where the themes of classical Pentecostalism have been transformed by a new theological context, and characterizes the more distant cousins of Pentecostalism like the African independent churches. 316

Even as the eschatological theme began to dwindle amongst some Pentecostals, it remained strong amongst African Pentecostals. During the McKeown era, the message of eschatology gave them hope. If conditions were so poor on earth, it was certainly not going to be the same in heaven. Such a hope 'is not given by and in and for the present world order that is passing away. This does not mean they demeaned this world. It was a hope which had continuity – a new body, a new earth, a new heaven'. Such was the belief of members during the McKeown era. McKeown himself was noted to have given announcements at the close of church service such as 'if the Lord tarries' or 'if the Lord

³¹³ Dayton, *Theological Roots*, pp. 21 - 22.

Land, Pentecostal Spirituality, p.18.

Robert M. Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1979), p. 79; Land, Pentecostal Spirituality, p.59; David William Faupel, The Everlasting Gospel: the Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

³¹⁶ Dayton, *Theological Roots*, p. 143.

³¹⁷ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 65.

does not come tonight, we will meet tomorrow'. In this way the mission of the church during the McKeown era was carried out with the view or hope that Christ could come at anytime. This understanding helped to shape their 'mission from below' strategy in the same way that eschatology was connected to their prayer and evangelistic activities.

3.3.1 Eschatology and Worship in Mission

Even though the culture of prayer may have been developed in the church during the Anim era as indicated earlier, it seemed to have assumed greater importance during the McKeown era. James McKeown himself was a man of prayer and he taught his members how to pray. According to Leonard, McKeown believed that the growth of the church, the purity of the church and the worship of the church all depended on prayer. ³¹⁹ He had a passion for prayer and every member learned to pray. Larbi noted that of all the characteristics of the Church of Pentecost 'prayer may be said to be the most significant distinguishing mark of the church'. 320 During the McKeown era prayer meetings were organized anywhere there was space like the chapel, classrooms and in the bush. Bush prayers for instance were a common occurrence. Such prayer meetings could last between three and eight hours. Fridays became known as Fiada Kõkõõ, which literally means Red Friday. A minister during the McKeown era explained that Friday prayer meetings were serious business. Red was associated with seriousness and therefore the day was referred to as Red Friday. The day was observed with fasting. Prayers were solicited for healing, deliverance, Holy Spirit baptism and for the impartation of spiritual gifts. He continued that Friday was important for the fact that Jesus died on Friday to

³¹⁸ Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', p. 79.

Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, pp. 43-6.

³²⁰ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 244.

redeem humanity, and therefore he will compassionately listen and answer prayer perhaps more quickly. Fridays were therefore set aside for prayer meetings and such meetings attracted a large following including those who were not members of the church. Friday was also the last day of the working week, and people were more available to attend such meetings. Prayer meetings were also held at the local chapels during the early hours of the day from Monday to Thursday. The dawn prayer meetings or *ahemakye sore* was also highly patronized by the members. At these meetings, strength and guidance was received for the day. People went to such meetings before they set out to the farm or other work places. Sunday worship service began with prayer and ended with prayer. Members were admonished to prepare prayerfully at home before they went to church. Prayer was indeed the spiritual life activity of the people.

But just what was the motivating factor for such persistent prayer meetings? An octogenarian retired pastor's wife recounted that:

We believed the Lord would come at any moment and since we did not want to be like the five foolish virgins who did not prepare adequately for the bridegroom and were left out, we had to be in constant prayer. When we prayed, we received strength, strength to live pure lives. We got closer to God and we did not love the world. In prayer, the Lord speaks to us in prophecies and tells us what we should do. We did not want to miss out about what the Lord was going to tell us in any particular meeting; and he always warned us he was coming soon. 322

Another retired minister, referring to James McKeown, had this to say:

³²¹ Interview, Retired Minister, 20 July 2007. Accra.

Interview, Mrs. Florence Walker, 15 July 2007. Accra.

McKeown always taught us that 'the work was prayer and prayer was the work.' Prayer was our oxygen that gave us spiritual strength. If you stopped it, we die spiritually. Through prayer, we communicate with heaven. We speak a heavenly language (referring to speaking in tongues) whilst we pray that equips us to communicate when we get to heaven. Without this, it will be difficult to get to heaven. And as you know Jesus is coming soon and so we should always be in communication with him.³²³

The McKeownites³²⁴ prayer life was thus embedded in the consciousness of the second coming. In a letter to ministers in 1978, McKeown wrote 'brothers, the coming of the Lord is nearer than ever... therefore keep praying and ask the Lord to bring souls into the kingdom'. Much premium was also placed on prophetic utterances which directed and warned them concerning the second coming. According to Peter Wagner, 'hearing from God through prophecies or words of knowledge or visions is an important part of the prayer life of many Pentecostals'. Prayer therefore is not only a 'monologue' but 'dialogical'. As they talked to God in prayer, they expected God to speak to them in prophecies.

Several songs of the CoP were received prophetically during prayer meetings. These prophetic songs were therefore taken as direction from God to the church. The practice was that, anytime there was a new prophetic song, McKeown and his men would call the person with the new song to the front. The song is repeated several times and the entire congregation learn the song. The songs were then recorded and compiled for use by the

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³²³ Interview, Retired Minister, 21 July 2007. Accra.

³²⁴ A term commonly used amongst the CoP members when referring to members of the McKeown era. ³²⁵ Letter to ministers by James McKeown, Tuesday, 14 March 1978 CoP Headquarters Archives, Accra.

³²⁶ C. Peter Wagner, 'A Church Growth Perspective on Pentecostal Missions', in Dempster, Klaus and Petersen (eds.), *Called and Empowered*, p. 273.

³²⁷ Keith Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology: A Theology of Encounter* (London: T & T Clark, 2008), p. 214.

church. 328 These songs were taken seriously and members lived by them. In one of the early compilation of church choruses that was published in 1963, some of the songs portrayed how the members understood eschatology, prayer and the power of the Holy Spirit. According to Hollenweger, 'nothing shows how the life of Pentecostals is set upon the world to come as clearly as their hymns'. 329 For instance, in the following song the expectation of the coming of the Lord is infused with the worship and praise that is offered to the Lord in prayer.

Bra, bra, bra, Awurade Yesu e, bra! Yebesom Wo, yebekamfo Wo Yebeda W'ase, vebevi W'ave Bra, bra, bra, Awurade Yesu e. bra! 330

Come, come, come, Lord Jesus come! We will worship you, we will glorify You, We thank you, we praise You. Come, come, come, Lord Jesus come!

Prayer was also believed to be the vehicle to bring down revival or the presence of the Holy Spirit, as shown in the song below.

5hyewb5w5wim h5enne, õhvewbõ wõ wim hõ, Yede mpaeb 5 betwe aba: *5hvewb5w5wim h5εnnε*³³¹ There is revival in the air today, There is revival in the air. We will bring it down with prayer: There is revival in the air today.

Prayer was therefore an integral aspect of the mission of the church during the McKeown era. They prayed to receive power, they prayed to receive strength to evangelise and they prayed as a daily life activity. But more importantly they prayed to stay closer to the Lord because his return was imminent.

Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, p. 416.

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³²⁸ Interview, a retired pastor, 21 July 2007.

The Church of Pentecost, Christian Choruses: Twi & Mfantse (Accra: The Literature Committee of the Church of Pentecost, 1963), p. 21.

The Church of Pentecost, *Christian Choruses*, p. 22.

3.3.2 Eschatology, Evangelism and Mission

The CoP experienced remarkable growth during the McKeown era. McKeown's philosophy of mission had been 'just to evangelise', 'make the people know God' and to 'set people's hearts on fire to do the work'. 332 According to Larbi, one of the factors that led to the growth of McKeown's CoP was the various evangelistic campaigns that were held. Young men and women voluntarily committed themselves to the preaching of the gospel 333 with an air of urgency because they understood that the Holy Spirit had been poured out to give them the power to witness before the coming of the Lord. They formed an evangelistic group that later became known as the Witness Movement. The group described themselves as a spiritual militant group with several military actions, slogans and songs and went to various towns and villages preaching the gospel. With the slogan: 'Sons of God, March Forward!' and 'Victory, through the Blood of the Lamb' they marched to remote areas in the nation to preach the gospel, believing that with Christ they will be victorious. Some of the early songs that accompanied their evangelistic campaigns included the following.

Sons of God, March Forward!
In the power of the Latter Rain
Sons of God, March Forward!
For Jesus is ever the same
Sons of God, March Forward!
For we are more than conquerors in His Name
Sons of God, March Forward!
In the power of the Latter Rain³³⁴
I am a soldier in the army of the Lord
I am a soldier in the army.
And when a soldier falls down

³³² Opoku Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', p. 72.

³³³ Larbi, *Pentecostalsism*, pp. 176-182.

The Church of Pentecost, Songs Compiled for Council Meetings, Retreats, Conferences (Accra: The Literature Committee, 1999), p. 59.

In the army of the Lord He will rise again in the army. 335

As they went out to preach they believed they have been commissioned and empowered by the latter rain, that is, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Going out as a soldier for Christ gave them the assurance that no matter what happened at the battle field, Christ who was their Captain would help them to rise even if they fall for 'they are more than conquerors in His name'. This mission to evangelize their nation had some eschatological connotations as is captured in the songs below.

Yenim se yeye Nyame asraafo, Yebeko ama Awurade. Nkonim, nkonim, Nkonim bedi yen akyi daa.³³⁶

Krist' asraafo, monsore Momma venk**ɔ̃ ɔ̃**ko n'anim, õkofo a õko di nkonim no Benya ahenkyew. 337

Da n'a aben kese bebom paa, paa Ogyefo biara nni hɔ̃ mma obiara; Yesu bɛtra N'ahengua no so; Da no, da no, ebeve dwe W bosom ntumi nnye wo! Wo sika ntumi nnve wo! Wo yerenom ntumi nnye wo! W'abusua ntumi nnye wo! W'ahoɔ̃fɛ ntumi nnye wo! Da no, da no ebeye dwe. 338

We know we are soldiers of God, We will fight for the Lord. Victory, victory, Victory shall always follow us.

Christian soldiers, Arise! Let us go to the battle The warrior who wins the victory, Shall receive a crown

The day the trumpet shall sound There will be no saviour for anyone Jesus will sit on His throne That day will be great Your idols cannot save you! Your money cannot save you! Your wives cannot save you! Your family cannot save you! Your beauty cannot save you! That day would be great.

³³⁵ Witness Movement Songs Pamphlet, unpublished, n.d. 336 The Church of Pentecost, *Christian Choruses*, p. 40.

The Church of Pentecost, *Christian Choruses*, p. 40.

The Church of Pentecost, *Christian Choruses*, p. 43.

The members also saw themselves as fighting a spiritual battle with the kingdom of evil as depicted in the songs above. Winning souls into the kingdom of God was a defeat for Satan's kingdom and a victory for the saints. They also realized that the task may not be easy but if they endured, they were to receive crowns in the kingdom of God. It therefore seemed evident that they believed their effort in witnessing would duly be rewarded in heaven. Keith Warrington argues that Pentecostals take issues relating to heaven and hell seriously because of their belief in eternity. 339 One could also deduce that they thought the coming of the Lord was very near and would happen probably in their time. This perhaps activated their desire to do the work of evangelism. The general leader of the Witness Movement from 1955 to 1967, Apostle F. D. Walker, wrote in an address to leaders of the movement that 'the harvest is ripe, men and women everywhere should rise up and continue to preach the gospel. I do not need to tell you that the Lord is coming soon and those who win souls will shine like the firmament forever'. 340 Generally, 'Pentecostals have viewed the return of Jesus as a major stimulus to Christian service, holiness (1 Jn 3.3) and, in particular, evangelism (Mt. 24.14)'. This phenomenon has characterized the Pentecostal movement from its very beginning. Anderson, for instance, attributes the phenomenal growth of the Pentecostal Movement to the 'strong emphasis on mission and evangelism' that has emanated from the early Pentecostal belief that 'the Spirit had been poured out on them in order to engage in the end-time harvest of souls'.342

³³⁹ Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology*, p. 317.

³⁴⁰ F. D. Walker, Address to Witness Movement Leaders, 4 February 1961, F. D. Walker files.

³⁴¹ Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology*, p. 313.

³⁴² Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism, p. 206.

According to Cartledge, Spirit baptism which gives Pentecostals the power for Christian witness 'is associated with an expectation of a "harvest of souls" indicating the imminence of the End'. 343 Evangelism has therefore been strongly linked to eschatology as a motivational factor in Pentecostal mission. For Gary McGee, even the guest for Spirit baptism by the early Pentecostals was done with eschatological consciousness³⁴⁴ for 'Christ would not come until this message had been proclaimed to all nations in words, signs and wonders'. 345 Land adds that the Pentecostal movement was 'simultaneously restorationist and eschatological' for God has restored 'the baptism in the Holy Spirit as power for last-days world evangelization'. 346 He continues that the mission of the early Pentecostals was 'to warn the church to repent, consecrate, put on the robes of white, and to get oil in the lamp before the Bridegroom appeared', and for those outside the church 'it was urgent that men and women be called from darkness into light, because the kingdom age was already dawning'. 347 When people joined the church, it was a sign that the Lord was gathering his people for the end time. This notion also triggered the practice of 'mission from below' where everyone joined in to bring others into the kingdom of God because the end was near.

The CoP has not backed out of its mission to evangelize the world. Addressing the Missions Board at an end of year meeting held in Accra in 1995, a former Chairman of CoP, who was also one of the ministers during McKeown's time, wrote that:

³⁴³ Cartledge, *Encountering the Spirit*, p. 113.

³⁴⁴ Gary B. McGee, 'Pentecostals and their Various Strategies for Global Mission: A Historical Assessment', in Dempster, Klaus and Petersen (eds.), *Called and Empowered*, p. 207.

³⁴⁵ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 20.

³⁴⁶ Land, Pentecostal Spirituality, p. 18.

³⁴⁷ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 54.

I believe the end-time ministry of the Church should be in line with the Great Commission... You will agree with me that the vision of the Church of Pentecost is Mission and Mission is the life-blood of the Church. Any Church that does not fulfil the Great Commission is dead, since stagnant waters normally stink. Waters that flow are potable and health-giving. We thank the Lord that the Church is still spreading its tentacles to the nook and cranny of the world. 348

The statement above is a translation of how evangelism was associated with eschatology during the McKeown era. Most of the early apostles of the CoP during the McKeown era shared this understanding. ³⁴⁹ CoP members still see a clear connection between eschatology and evangelism. Evangelism is a obligatory activity of the church. Evangelism gives life to the Church and is an unending activity, and everybody is supposed to get involved.

3.3.3 Eschatology and Sacrificial Giving for Mission

One mission principle that McKeown stood for was that the church should be financially self-supporting.³⁵⁰ McKeown himself had not lived in affluence whilst in Europe. He had started his missionary expedition to Africa with very little money. When McKeown broke with Anim he had £10 left to start a new church. McKeown had therefore learned to rely on the provision of God³⁵¹ and to live by faith. 'For many missionaries faith was defined as obedience, courage, trust, hope, and a willingness to die for the sake of planting the church'³⁵² which were characteristic of McKeown. He also taught the people

³⁴⁸ M. K. Yeboah, Address delivered at Missions Board Meeting, Accra, 16 February 1995, CoP Headquarters Archives, Accra.

³⁴⁹ I interviewed five retired ministers who served under McKeown. They stated that they saw a strong correlation between evangelism and eschatology. They also indicated that McKeown shared a similar understanding of the influence of the Second Coming of Christ on evangelism (interview, July, 2007, Accra)

³⁵⁰ Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', p. 71.

³⁵¹ Interview, Retired pastors, 20 July 2007, Accra.

³⁵² Jim Reapsome, 'Faith', in A. Scott Moreau (ed), Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions, p. 352.

the biblical principles of tithing and offerings and made the African church to rely on itself.353 He resisted foreign financial aid which Allen believes makes converts rely on them 'instead of making every effort to supply their own needs'. 354 McKeown is noted to have said that when people are set on fire for Jesus 'the fire will mean sacrifice, it will burn right into their pockets and money will be coming out'. 355 Koduah posits that one of the factors that served as catalyst for the phenomenal growth of the Church of Pentecost was its 'financial self-supporting policy'. 356

There are several accounts that during the McKeown era people sold their treasures and gave it to McKeown to run the church with it. One of such persons was Christiana Obo who it was believed sold her jewellery and made the money available for the use of the church. 357 Others left their well paid jobs and offered sacrificially to serve as pastors with little or sometimes no salary. 358 As McKeown refused to depend on outside funding members and workers in the church had to sacrifice in a way of giving financially or offering a free service to the church. It seems this was possible and easy for the people at the time to do due to their understanding that the Lord was coming soon. This act of sacrificial giving in an eschatological framework can be gleaned from the following songs:

Wiase anigye, enye anigye biara Daakve a wobewu.

The joy of this world is nothing One day you will die

³⁵³ Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', pp 75-76

³⁵⁴ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1962), p. 56.

³⁵⁵ Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, p. 69.

Kodua, The Church of Pentecost in a Postmodern Society in Onyinah (ed), *James McKeown*, p.110.

³⁵⁷Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 181.

³⁵⁸ Interview, Retired pastors who worked with McKeown, 20 July 2007, Accra.

Wobenya sika mpem a wobedan agya: Wiase anigye, enye anigye biara Yeye akwantufo, õkyena na yerekõ Your millions of money will be left behind The joy of this world is nothing We are travellers, Tomorrow we are gone

Hwim me kõ soro daa nyinaa; Hwim me kõ soro daa nyinaa, Awurade; Hwim me kõ soro daa nyinaa; Wiase nneema nyinaa 'ra ye kwa, Asase nneema nyinaa 'ra ye hunu: Hwim me kõ soro daa nyinaa, Awurade; Hwim me kõ soro daa nyinaa. Draw me to the heavens always
Draw me to the heavens always, Lord
Draw me to the heavens always
The treasures of this world are nothing
The treasures on earth are vanity
Draw me to the heavens always, Lord
Draw me to the heavens³⁵⁹

During the McKeown era people were conscious of the fact that their actual home was in heaven and that any treasures they acquired would be left behind. Since this was the case, it was not difficult for them to give their substance for the use of the church. The act of people who had received the fire of Pentecost and had felt the urgent need to sacrifice their life or resource for spreading the gospel was also evident during the 1906 Azusa Street revival. Anderson writes that 'people affected by the revival started new Pentecostal centres in the Los Angeles area, so that by 1912 there were at least 12 in that city'. He further writes that others who were also affected by the revival began the Pentecostal mission abroad. ³⁶⁰ For those who worked full time or part time including Pastor Seymour for the Azusa Street Mission did so sacrificially with no guaranteed salaries. ³⁶¹ In all these instances the understanding that Spirit baptism was the sign of 'the latter rain' which brings empowerment for world evangelization in these last days was a major contribution to the extent that people sacrificed their lives and resources to the work of mission.

³⁵⁹ The Church of Pentecost, *Christian Choruses*, pp. 35, 39.

³⁶⁰ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, pp. 50-51.

³⁶¹ Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement,* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 2006), p. 108.

3.3.4 Eschatology and Prophecy as a Mission Strategy

Another common feature that was given prominence during the McKeown era was the gift of prophecy. When members prayed for the baptism of the Holy Spirit, they believed they would be endowed with the gift of speaking in tongues. It was also believed that when one was baptized with the Holy Spirit, the gifts of the Holy Spirit including prophecy could also be manifested, as the Spirit wills, along with the gifts of tongues. Their understanding of how the gift of prophecy operated in the church was similar to what Cecil Robeck has identified as 'an oracle, spontaneously inspired by the Holy Spirit and spoken in a specific situation' and could also be a pronouncement dealing with the 'moral or ethical nature' of the people. ³⁶² Prophecy in the church was also used as a 'predictive word of future events, and therefore as foreknowledge'. ³⁶³ According to Larbi, prophecies were given to warn people of the Second Advent in the CoP. ³⁶⁴ Furthermore, much of the mission and major decisions of the church were directed through prophetic utterances.

Prophetic utterances that were received during pastors' meetings and conventions in 1931, 1941 and 1948 were recorded and taken as directives for the Church. Some of these prophetic utterances were carefully chosen and captioned as 'God's First Covenant and Promises with the Church of Pentecost'. The following is the outcome of these prophecies and what has become known as 'God's covenant with the Church of Pentecost'.

³⁶² C. M. Robeck Jr., 'The Gift of Prophecy', in Burgess (ed.), *International Dictionary*, p. 999.

³⁶³ Robeck, 'The Gift of Prophecy', p. 999.

³⁶⁴ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 286.

It is not because of how few or how many you are in membership but according to my divine and eternal purpose and goodwill for my Church.

- 1. That He God would raise a nation out of Africa that would be a spearhead and light to the world, heralding the 2nd Coming of Christ Jesus our Lord.
- 2. That the Gold Coast has been chosen to fulfil this eternal will and purpose of God.
- 3. He God would accomplish this through a White Missionary from Europe who would come to lead the group in future, and the group which through many trials, tribulations, temptations and persecutions would be nurtured, protected and grow up spiritually, numerically, would become a great International Pentecostal Church which would send out missionaries from the country, the Gold Coast to all parts of Africa and the world as a whole.
- 4. That it would make disciples for the coming Christ while He would call out men according to His own choice from time to time.
- 5. That God would ensure that no weapon that is formed against the Church prospers, and every tongue that rises against it in judgment shall be condemned. For this is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness is of Him saith the Lord.
- 6. That God would meet the Church's financial problems in season and out of season for all other churches to acknowledge that His divine presence, blessings and glory are with the Church.
- 7. That He would pour abundant Spiritual Gifts on both men and women.
- 8. That God would from time to time prune and purge His church all parasites, pests, personality cults, false doctrines, social and religious evils, from the Church to make her holy and radiant to portray His divine presence, radiance, glory in it spiritual and physical performances, in order to avoid both Spiritual decline and apostasy. 365

Two of theses prophecies or 'covenants' are discussed below:

(a) Gold Coast as a Leader in World Evangelization

From the first and second 'covenants' stated above members of the church during the McKeown era believed that the Gold Coast had been chosen and empowered by God to propagate the gospel to the rest of the world before the second coming of Christ. The first 'covenant' refers to the sending group as a 'nation'; the second 'covenant' identifies the nation as the Gold Coast. In the church's theology 'nation' is understood and used

³⁶⁵ The Church of Pentecost, *Songs Compiled for Council Meetings*, pp. 147-48.

interchangeably with 'church' as in 1 Peter 2:9, where a 'holy nation' is also a 'chosen people'. This is identified in the following song.

5man, 5man, 5man kronkron; Yehowa Ne man bɔ̃n renntsena mu: *5man kronkron nye vi.* M'asem nye yi de hom ndzi mu.

Nation, Nation, Holy Nation; Sin will not exist in God's nation. This is a holy nation. My word is that 'be perfect'.

As ɔ̃r, As ɔ̃r, As ɔ̃r, kronkron Yehowa N'as ɔ̃r b ɔ̃n rennstena mu: As **5**r kronkron nye yi. M'asem nye yi de hom ndzi mu.³⁶⁶

Church, Church, Holy Church; Sin will not exist in God's church: This is a holy church. My word is that 'be perfect'.

The common interpretation, therefore, was that the church that McKeown led in the Gold Coast was the one chosen by God to evangelize the world as suggested in the third 'covenant' that 'He God would accomplish this through a white missionary... who would lead the group... that would become a great international Pentecostal church... sending out missionaries to the world'. In a paper presented at a recent missionaries orientation course held in Accra in July 2007, the IMD of the CoP reiterated the fact that effective ways are to be developed for the church to 'continue our vision of planting churches in every tribe and dialect' in the world. 367 According to the General Secretary of the church, the CoP has a 'global obligation' to reach the world with the gospel as directed by God prophetically in 1931, 1941 and 1948. 368 It seems the church continues to uphold the ideology that the CoP has been ordained or received the mandate to evangelize the world before the Lord's return. Even though the CoP continues to expand globally with branches in over 70 nations, it is evident that other churches and mission organizations

³⁶⁶ The Church of Pentecost, *Christian Choruses*, p. 137.

³⁶⁷ Stephen K. Baidoo, 'Indigenous Church Planting', unpublished paper presented at missionaries' orientation course, Accra, n.d.

³⁶⁸ Interview, General Secretary, CoP, 6 July 2007. Accra.

are equally engaged in global evangelization. There are also other African churches that have affiliation with white missionaries but later became nationalized and are now sending missionaries world-wide. CoP mission should, therefore, be regarded as partners in the global effort to evangelize all peoples. Such assumptions of groups of people or churches being elected by God for end time world evangelization are however not new to Pentecostals. Charles Parham, for instance, claimed that 'those who spoke in tongues were being especially equipped to carry out God's end-time global missionary mandate'. ³⁶⁹

(b) Prophetic Providence for the Church

Not only did the McKeown group believe in the God who supplied every need according to Philippians 4:19,³⁷⁰ they also believed that God had prophetically and specifically promised that He would supply their every need. In 'covenant' 6, the CoP claims God's abundant and eternal provision for His Church. Since God has promised to 'meet the church's financial problems', it was believed as part of God's covenant with the CoP that 'the Church should not owe any man, borrow or seek financial aids, loans or grants from anywhere as God is its Eternal Riches, Treasury and that He is able to sustain the Church in all its needs'.³⁷¹ This covenant has been adhered to in a very religious manner, and up to now 'tithes and offerings have been the main source of income for the church'.³⁷² Asked whether with the church's policy of depending only on tithes and offerings and income generated within the church, the mission of world evangelization could be

³⁶⁹ Cecil M. Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Inc., 2006), p. 236.

³⁷¹ The Church of Pentecost, *Songs Compiled for Council Meetings*, p. 148.

³⁷² Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 186.

accomplished, the General Secretary of the church replied in the affirmative that 'we still trust the Lord who has promised us'. He was however quick to add that the church's resources were limited to achieve that goal. ³⁷³ This buttresses the fact that world evangelization should be a shared responsibility of the Universal Church.

The gift of prophecy continues to play a major role in the CoP. However, whereas those endowed with the gift of prophecy amongst the clergy and laity are allowed to exercise their gift in any church meetings, it is only those ordained into the office of prophet among the clergy who have the authority to give directive prophecies for the church. For instance, the election of Chairman M. K. Yeboah in 1988 and Chairman Michael Ntumy in 1998 were both preceded by a prophetic utterance that called out their names before council members confirmed with voting. 374 Perhaps because of the sensitivity surrounding this office, not many are ordained into the office of the prophet. As at the end of December 2008, there were only six ordained prophets as against thirty-one apostles in CoP-Ghana. Outside Ghana, either apostles or pastors were national heads of CoP churches. No prophet was responsible for any of CoP churches outside Ghana.³⁷⁵ Even though the office of the prophet was to complement that of the apostle in calling, directing and administering the church, ³⁷⁶ it seems the ministerial hierarchical order of 1 Corinthians 12:28 is inherent in their ministerial practice. 377 This was also the situation in the British Apostolic Church. The gift of prophecy was to edify, exhort and comfort the

³⁷³ Interview, General Secretary, CoP, 6 July 2007. Accra.

³⁷⁴ CoP, General Council Meeting minutes, 1988 and 1998, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

³⁷⁵ Pentecost Diary, 2009.

³⁷⁶ Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, p. 19.

³⁷⁷ 1 Cor 12:28: 'And in the church God has appointed first of all apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles' (NIV)

church according to 1 Corinthians 14.3³⁷⁸ and was not 'intended to contribute to the government of the church'. However, ministers who had been ordained into the office of prophet were 'intended to take part in church government, working alongside apostles to confirm their decisions'. 379 This system was developed and practiced in the Apostolic Faith Church, where Hutchinson believed that the church was to be governed by "theocracy" or "Christocracy" rather than "democracy" since the prophetic and other ministries was to complement that of the apostles in sharing burdens and taking part in church government. 380 According to Peter Wagner, the church recognizes a select few of those endowed with the gift of prophecy as also occupying the office of the prophet. These direct the path in which the church should travel. 381 Some Pentecostal churches like the Assemblies of God, Elim and the Church of God, however, do not see prophecy as a 'decisive means of guidance' for the church even though it is believed prophecy should form an important role in the worship of the church. 382 The fear is that when prophetic utterances are influenced by the human spirit the outcome might not necessarily reflect the purpose and mind of God. In the CoP a form of "demotheocracy" which is a combination of democratic and theocratic rule has been developed. This is where church leaders are able to arrive at decisions based on directive prophecy, personal divine intuition or revelation and other divine or spiritual signs which are believed to supersede church constitution or normal church practice. The process of decision making however does not end with the revelation or prophetic utterance but are confirmed through the

³⁷⁸ 1 Cor 14:3: 'But everyone who prophesies speaks to men for their strengthening, encouragement and comfort.' (NIV)

³⁷⁹ Kay, *Pentecostals in Britain*, p. 66.

³⁸⁰ Worsfold, *Origins*, p. 86.

³⁸¹ C. Peter Wagner, *Apostles and Prophets: The Foundation of the Church* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 2000), p. 97.

³⁸² Kay, *Pentecostals* in Britain, pp. 67-68.

ballot box or other democratic process by majority vote of members of the presbytery or group at the meeting. This seemed to be working for the church except that members are at times cautious in voting against what is perceived to be divine. This gives room for every so-called revelation to be endorsed without proper scrutiny and may affect the future progress of the church. Church leadership should therefore be bold to discuss such prophetic directives and revelations in the light of reality of the present generation.

3.3.5 Eschatology and Holiness

Holiness became the hallmark of the church during and after the McKeown era. For instance, the slogan of the 'Women's Movement' of the Church, which became officially organized in 1945 by Adam McKeown, the brother of James McKeown, ³⁸³ was 'Holiness! Unto the Lord'. According to Onyinah, McKeown laid so much emphasis on holiness during his teachings, often times citing Hebrews 12:14b 'without holiness no one will see God' to the extent that it seemed 'without holiness salvation might be considered absent'. ³⁸⁴ Members adhered to his teachings, and holiness consequently became a life-style of the church. Koduah posits that one of the factors that led to the fast growth of the CoP was its 'strong emphasis on holiness'. ³⁸⁵

Holiness in character was also expected to be exhibited outwardly. Women especially were required to dress modestly without the use of cosmetics during the McKeown era. Cosmetics or make-ups were seen as belonging to the 'world'. At a General Church Council meeting held at Kumasi in 1968, it was directed that 'the wives of elders,

³⁸³ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 184.

³⁸⁴ Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', p. 77.

Alfred Koduah, 'The Church in Postmodern Society', in Onyinah (ed.), *James McKeown*, p. 110.

overseers and pastors should set good examples by dressing modestly and discarding the wearing of wigs'. Some even referred to wigs as the 'extension hair piece of *Mame Wata*', the water goddess. The men were also discouraged from spending time visiting football stadiums whilst they could use the time to pray. At the same Kumasi meeting in 1968 the church was also instructed that 'football pools, lotteries, raffles, sweep-stakers, horse racing, etc. are classified as gambling and should be discouraged in the Church'. Several disciplinary actions were therefore instituted for those who fell into such sin and other kinds of behaviour that the church felt would tarnish the image of the church. For instance, children born out of recognized marriages were not to be dedicated, and suspended officers were not to be re-instated into their former position of office after release from suspension.

Other areas of discipline that have been enshrined in the church's constitution are: i) habitually visiting questionable places; ii) falling into open sin; ³⁹⁰ iii) embracing or spreading false doctrine; iv) divorcing wife or husband; v) marrying more than one wife; vi) a sister getting married to a married man; vii) disobeying and showing disrespect to the Church authority at any level; viii) practising immorality. ³⁹¹

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³⁸⁶ The Church of Pentecost, Working Principles (1962 – 1992), Accra p. 7.

³⁸⁷ The Church of Pentecost, Working Principles, p. 7. Synan also records similar 'holiness code' in the Church of God and the Pentecostal Holiness Church. Some of which were that wearing of rings, bracelets, and earbobs were sinful and there prohibited. Wearing of necktie was not accepted and joining associations like lodges, political parties and labour unions were all seen as "instruments of Satan". Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 81.

³⁸⁸ General Council Meeting decision, 1968, Kumasi, CoP Working Principles, p. 8.

³⁸⁹ General Council Meeting decision, 1974, Asamankese. CoP Working Principles, p.10.

³⁹⁰ This could be anything from sexual sins to assaulting a neighbour.

³⁹¹ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, p. 75.

These principles were jealously guarded, and every member made the effort to live a holy life. Similar to the teachings of the Holiness Movement, Pentecost was associated with both 'holiness and power'. Members earnestly prayed for the baptism of the Holy Spirit because it was believed that the Spirit gave the believer the power to live a holy life. But a closer look at their theology reveals that it was their understanding of the Second Advent that made them more zealous to live Christ-like lives as the following songs suggest.

W̄akyerɛkyerɛw Onyame mma din w̄soro.

Me din wõ mu bi, Onyame nhoma no. Nea ehia ne sɛ megye Yesu adi, Nea ehia ne sɛ mɛsakra m'adwene, Nea ehia ne sɛ mɛbõ me bra yiye, Na m'afata soro ahemman no.

Wope Yerusalem akɔ̃ Wope Yerusalem akɔ̃ Nanso bɔ̃ne ahyɛ wo ma; Na so wo da so bɔ̃ mpae? Bɔ̃ wo bra yiye, onua, bɔ̃ wo bra yiye

Na wubenya Yerusalem ak 5. 394

Ahen mu Hen na õreba n'ampa; No tum kese n'b õwosow wiadze nyina: Ewufo b õs õer nye ateasefo nyina B õb õ m'ekehyia No w õ wim h õ. M'beka ho, Alleluia! Mbeka ho bi, No b õgyaa ntsi mo so m'beka ho. Ndzeb õnyefo runntum nnhwe N'enyim hyenhyen n'; Ahotsewfo nye No betsena afeb õõ. 395 The names of God's children are being written in heaven.

My name is also in God's book.

What I need is to believe in Jesus,
What I need is to repent,
What I need is to live holy life,
To inherit God's kingdom

You want to go to Jerusalem You want to go to Jerusalem But you are full of sin Are you still praying? Live a holy life, brother/sister, live a holy life And you will inherit Jerusalem.

The King of Kings is indeed coming;
His great power will shake the entire world:
The dead will rise and together with the livin
Will go and meet Him in the sky
I will be one of them, Alleluia! I will be one
By His blood I will be one of them.
Sinners will not be able to comprehend
His shining, shining face;
The saints will live with Him forever.

³⁹² Dayton, *Theological Roots*, p. 94.

³⁹³ Church of Pentecost, *Christian Choruses*, p. 41.

³⁹⁴ Church of Pentecost, *Christian Choruses*, p. 42.

³⁹⁵ Church of Pentecost, *Christian Choruses*, p. 120.

Members of the CoP during the McKeown era believed their names were written in the 'Book of Life' and that to be able to inherit the kingdom of God one had to live a holy life. They sang that instead of praying, one had to lead a holy life to merit God's kingdom. It must be noted that prayer meetings were common during the McKeown era; however, when it came to attaining God's kingdom, holiness was the criteria, because sinners will not be able to stand before God's judgment. Rather, it is only the saints, whether dead or alive, who will be able to meet the soon coming King. Land has put forward the thesis that 'the righteousness, holiness and power of God are correlated with distinctive apocalyptic affections which are the integrating core of Pentecostal spirituality'. 396 This also seems to be the trend in the CoP during the McKeown era. When a retired minister was asked what was the motivating factor for holy living during the early formation of the church, he quickly answered by asking a question, 'how can the bride make her clothes dirty when she knows that the bridegroom was at the door'?³⁹⁷ In a message delivered at Sunyani, Ghana, in 1971, McKeown emphasised the point that 'the church should be holy without spot or wrinkle. This is the church that Jesus will come for. Those who are not clean will not see the face of Jesus'. 398 A holy church meant that everyone was in the position to contribute to the mission of the church. Living holy lives thus became an aspect of the LMM.

It has been revealed that the driving force behind activities during the McKeown era was the eschatological motif. The 1953 crisis of the church, as described above, seems to have motivated members to evangelize. The crisis might even have been regarded by members

³⁹⁶ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 23.

³⁹⁷ Interview, Retired Minister, ly 23 July 2007, Kumasi.

³⁹⁸ Notes in F. D. Walker diary, 1971.

as a sign of the end-times.³⁹⁹ Evangelism was therefore embarked on because 'Jesus would have to bring the lost to the fold before he returned'.⁴⁰⁰ After the McKeown era, these same activities like evangelism was carried out in a more structured way with less emphasis on eschatology.

3.4 The LMM and Social Ministry: The Safo-Yeboah Era (1982 – 1998)

Apostle F. S. Safo became the first African Chairman of the CoP when James McKeown retired in 1982. Safo died in 1987 after a short illness. Prophet M. K. Yeboah was elected the next Chairman of the church in April 1988 and ended his two-five year term of office in September 1998. After the exit of McKeown, there was a smooth leadership transition, but the church began putting structures in place for easy and good governance since the founder was no longer available to direct its affairs. Max Weber calls this the 'charisma of the office'. According to him, the test of any great leader does not lie only in the ability to build a great institution but also to build institutional structures and transmit charisma and vision to successors in a process of 'routinization of charisma'. As it were, McKeown was able to transfer leadership to others who built on his principles. McKeown taught that when people's hearts are set on fire 'the fire will burn right into their pockets and money will be coming out'. The church will then be in a position to help its own people by providing meaningful and sustainable social services. McKeown therefore had taught his people that social services were essential part of the ministry but

³⁹⁹ Interview, Retired Minister, 20 July 2007, Accra.

⁴⁰⁰ Interview, Retired Minister, 20 July 2007, Accra.

⁴⁰¹ Max Weber and S. N. Eisenstadt, *On Charisma and Institution Building* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. xxi.

⁴⁰² Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, p. 69.

probably the time was not ripe for it. It seems the Anim and McKeown eras were not able to focus on the provision of social services due to lack of funds and not because they opposed it.

It is therefore not surprising that when the first African Chairman took over the administration of the church, during the following General Council meeting held at Koforidua in 1983, the Council decided that a special fund was to be set up known as the Sophia McKeown Memorial Fund. Proceeds from the fund were to be used to set up a scholarship scheme for the training of nurses and also to support children of deceased ministers at secondary schools. Part of the fund was also to be used to establish a library for the church. The church from 1983 became more responsible to the national society by providing new or improving existing social services as well as building structures to effectively manage the ensuing change.

3.4.1 Building Structures: Pentecost Social Services (PENTSOS)

On 17 March 1980, just two years before the exit of McKeown, the Pentecost Welfare Association (PENTWAS) was formed and registered with the Registrar's General Department as an NGO with the following objectives: to care for the poor, the needy and the handicapped in the society; to train up the children academically and morally and to inculcate into them the fear of God; to train the youth to become economically independent via programmes like agriculture; to embark upon the distribution of Bibles and other Christian literature and the establishment of Christian Libraries; to embark

⁴⁰³ The Church of Pentecost, Minutes, General Council Meeting, Koforidua, 1983. (CoP HQ Archives, Accra).

upon programmes aimed at maintaining the environment and to build retreat and recreational centres; to embark upon evangelism; to establish health clinics, day-care centres and orphanages; and to render general relief services. 404

On 2 June 1983, PENTWAS was reorganized and commissioned with a new name Pentecost Social Services (PENTSOS). This was during the early part of the Safo-Yeboah administration. In a response to a questionnaire, the PENTSOS director wrote that the goal of PENTSOS was as follows:

To initiate and or support community initiated development programmes such as education, educational support scheme, health services, economic empowerment, income generation, disaster prevention and management, relief services and advocating for the equitable distribution of God given resources and opportunities for development.

Larbi has noted that, before the Safo-Yeboah era, the church made a 'sharp distinction between evangelism and social service'. He argues that the Pentecost Social Welfare Association (PENTWAS) was only set up as a result of revolutionary pressure from the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) of J. J. Rawlings in 1979. 406 In fact, Larbi's assertion that PENTWAS was established as a result of pressure from the AFRC is misleading since the establishment of social services in CoP was discussed officially in 1978 at the Finance Board meeting before the 1979 revolution. 407 The 1979 General Council meeting held in Accra created the Pentecost Relief Association but its name was changed the following year to PENTWAS at the 1980 General Council meeting. 408

⁴⁰⁴ PENTSOS Director's report, December 2008.

⁴⁰⁵ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 250.

⁴⁰⁶ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 249-50.

⁴⁰⁷ CoP Documents on Social Services (1975-1995) compiled by Yao Yeboah, PENTSOS Director.

⁴⁰⁸ CoP Documents on Social Services.

Even though the McKeown era may not have concentrated on the provision of social services, McKeown was not against these services; he rather taught that his mission was 'just to evangelize' and that when people got saved they 'were going to provide finance, build schools and hospitals, and serve their nation in diverse ways'. 409 Leonard quotes McKeown explaining his vision in 1945 as follows: 'Our policy for the future is to put the claims of Jesus Christ first, on this ground: establish churches and as the church is able to bear the burden without endangering her health as a spiritual power, we will open schools for the education of the youth'. 410 Onyinah thinks that McKeown's position was common among Pentecostals of his day as revealed in the writings of Hodges and Pomerville. 411

In 1957, McKeown wrote a letter to the church after meeting with the church's education board outlining plans to build an Industrial school at Kade that would train young women in dressmaking and equip young men with various trades. In the same letter plans to establish basic schools and agricultural farms were also communicated to the church public. Even though these plans did not materialize at the time, Leonard believes the problem was mainly financial. Land acquisition and other logistics were, however, put in place long before PENTWAS was established. McKeown therefore was not against the provision of social services but rather laid the foundation for later development during the Safo-Yeboah era.

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⁴⁰⁹ Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', p. 72.

⁴¹⁰ Leonard, A Giant in Ghana p. 72.

Opoku Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', p. 72.

⁴¹² Chairman's circular letter dated 29 November 1957. CoP HO Archives, Accra.

⁴¹³ Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, pp. 69-70.

The Safo-Yeboah era therefore did not have difficulty expanding the social service network of the church. PENTSOS was created to deal with an aspect of the mission of the CoP, that is 'demonstrating the love of God through the provision of social services' or as in the revised mission statement 'impacting their communities for Christ'. The ministry of needs thus becomes essential to the mission of the church, and seems to resonate with the biblical record as well as similar concerns expressed through church history and within contemporary world Christianity. According to Bosch 'the first words the Lukan Jesus speaks in public (Luke 4:18f) contain a programmatic statement concerning his mission to reverse the destiny of the poor'. The Brussels Statement on evangelization and social concern of the WCC in April 1999 reiterated this concern:

In Jesus' ministry, which is our model, he used many different ways to introduce people to God's offer of salvation. Jesus ministered to people in a manner that met their needs, challenged them, and invited them to come under the rule of God. In the gospels, for children it meant dignity, for women self worth and justice in marriage, for the sick it meant healing... The church bears responsibility for the proclamation of the gospel. As the Spirit-empowered church extends the offer of salvation to all people, it will reflect the same diversity in methods and means as seen in the ministry of Jesus... The church should develop strategic alliances especially in areas of evangelism, discipleship and ministries of compassion. 415

After Jesus' ministry on earth, the early apostles continued the ministry of social services as a vital aspect of the life of the church. Members sold their property and shared with the poor to create a level of equality within the church. In Acts chapter 6, the apostles chose deacons to be responsible for relief services in the church in what was known as

⁴¹⁴ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 100.

⁴¹⁵ 'Brussels Statement on Evangelization and Social Concern', *Transformation*, Vol. 16, No. 2, April 1999.

diaconiae pauperum or 'ministries to the poor'. 416 According to Watkins, the principle of the deaconship became the bedrock on which modern day social work and the modern day church as a charity organization was founded. Watkins continues that in 1814 Thomas Chalmers, a Presbyterian minister elected deacons to provide personal service and care for his poor parishioners at the St. John's church in Glasgow, Scotland. The success of this scheme became the foundation for the formation of the Charity Society Organization of London with its 'Friendly Visitors' who were the 'forerunners of modern British social workers'. 417 In a further assessment of the reason for Christian social ministry. Watkins reveals that whereas some ministries provide social services as a humanitarian need, others use the service mainly to evangelize, while others provide social services for both humanitarian aid and evangelization. 418 Social services in the CoP belong to the third group where the provision of health and education to the wider society also becomes an avenue for presenting the gospel message. For instance, there is a full time resident pastor or chaplain assigned to the CoP's Alpha Medical Centre who provides spiritual and pastoral care to the sick. 419

As the office of the hospital chaplaincy is fairly new,⁴²⁰ there are no available statistics to prove the effectiveness of evangelistic ministry to the sick. However, considering the Christian atmosphere at the hospital and clinics, where most medical and support staff are CoP members, and the regular Christian devotions held in all the Pentecost schools, one

⁴¹⁶ Derrel R. Watkins, *Christian Social Ministry: An Introduction* (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1994), p. 16.

⁴¹⁷ Watkins, *Christian Social Ministry*, pp. 17–18.

⁴¹⁸ Watkins, *Christian Social Ministry*, p. 21.

⁴¹⁹ PENTSOS report, 2008.

⁴²⁰ The first hospital chaplain was appointed in September 2007.

might conclude that these services are shaping the development of mission in the CoP. In any case, thousands of people are receiving medical care and good education through these social services.

Social services in the form of schools and clinics have also been provided in other countries.⁴²¹ All these have been done with caution as suggested by Chairman Yeboah in the following statement:

The history of our church shows clearly that the Founding Fathers did not start with social development projects. Things have changed since then anyway. These days we are told that Governments request and even in some cases set it as a condition for operation of a church, the church's contribution to social development. Our mission stations are being asked to set up schools, clinics, industries, etc. While I agree that we may go into these areas, I advise that great caution has to be exercised in agreeing to meet these demands. In the same vein, so-called income-generating ventures need critical appraisal before they are allowed to operate otherwise they become income-sapping ventures. I want to stress that when the Lord visits His church with spiritual gifts and these are manifested, secular governments would not take the Church for granted and would not set preconditions for our churches.

According to Yeboah, McKeown and the early ministers who formed the Gold Coast Apostolic Church that became the CoP, referred to by him as the 'founding fathers', did not make social services a priority. Yeboah therefore cautioned the church about engaging in social services. However, by the time Yeboah was retiring in 1998, seven years after this caution, the church had already started building schools and clinics, amongst other projects. The PENTSOS directorate at the moment supervises one hospital, the Alpha Medical Centre in Accra, six rural clinics, one technical training

⁴²¹ Minutes of Missions Board Meeting, Accra, 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra

⁴²² Chairman's Address, Accra, 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

college, three vocational training colleges, two senior secondary schools, and 80 preparatory and junior secondary schools throughout Ghana. PENTSOS also initiated poultry and crop farm programmes but these that later became defunct. There are several CoP branches in various nations providing especially education and health services to their people. PENTSOS is engaged in poverty alleviation programmes amongst women with the support of UNICEF and Geneva Global, a US-based Christian NGO. 423 The CoP also annually donates generously to the Bible Society and the Heart Foundation amongst others. 424 Much attention has been given to the provision of social services in the education, health and agricultural sectors of the economy during the Safo-Yeboah era which have been carried through to succeeding eras.

Building Structures: Church Government and Administration

Prior to the Safo-Yeboah era, McKeown had administered the activities of missions from his office. Probably McKeown's vision was to evangelize the Gold Coast, and resources were just not sufficient to begin mission expansion outside the Gold Coast. Interestingly, a Missionary Fund was set up before the break with the Bradford Apostolics. However, during the Court case between the two Apostolic groups in 1956 monies had not as yet been paid into the Mission Fund account. 425 Later, the CoP was able to establish churches in neighbouring West African countries but there was still no structured instrument to look after mission outside Ghana. Another reason could be the 'mission from below' strategy that evolved as most of the churches were established by individual

⁴²³ Interview, Yao Yeboah, , 20 August 2009. ⁴²⁴ Church of Pentecost, PENTSOS Report, 2008.

⁴²⁵ Court Document, 1956, Ghana National Archives, Accra.

church members, and therefore the Head Office did not regard it as a priority to have a separate administrative structure to oversee its mission work. In any case, there were only a few of them. In April 1988, a five-member Missions Board was constituted which had its first meeting on 9 July 1988 to discuss current church events in Benin, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Togo and Nigeria. 426 Issues that emerged at the meeting, coupled with a missions board memorandum sent to the Executive Council on 30 December 1988 that outlined several proposals from the board's end of year meeting held on 7 December 1988, 427 and probably other head office administrative deficiencies, may have raised the need to re-structure the entire church and Head Office set-up. In an address to the Missions Board, the then Chairman of the CoP, M. K. Yeboah noted that:

It cannot be strongly emphasised that we have now come face to face with the challenge of rehabilitating our existing External Branches and opening of new ones to cater for our numerous brethren scattered all over the world. In this direction I deem it vitally important for us to restructure the administrative machinery of our existing External Branches in the bid to make them viable enough to eliminate or reduce their overdependence on Ghana for their economic survival. 428

To accelerate this need a seven-member restructuring committee with Opoku Onyinah as its Chairman was formed in 1989 to restructure the Head Office administration. The restructuring committee was inaugurated on 9 January 1990 and presented its final report to the Executive Council on 18 March 1991. The Committee developed several useful proposals which were eventually adopted by the church and enshrined in the church's

⁴²⁶ Minutes of the first missions board meeting held in Accra, 9 July 1988. CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴²⁷ Memorandum to the Executive Council, 30 December 1988.

⁴²⁸ Chairman's Address to the Missions Board Meeting, Accra 5 December 1989, CoP HQ, Archives, Accra

⁴²⁹ Chairman's Circular, Ref. COP/CO/127/89 dated December 12, 1989, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴³⁰ Chairman's Circular, Ref. COP/CO/60/91 dated 21 April 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

constitution. The constitution of the church, which was not critically utilized during the McKeown era, underwent at least three revisions 431 during the Safo-Yeboah era to include the new structures. Most of the new structures brought changes in the administration of the church and impacted positively on the growth of the church. Two proposals of the restructuring committee are discussed below.

(a) The International Missions Directorate

The Restructuring Committee proposed the establishment of an International Missions Directorate. The General Council of the church accepted the proposal and at the 27th Session of the Council's meetings held at Koforidua from 19 to 21 April 1991 elected Apostle Opoku Onyinah as the first International Missions Director (IMD). 432 Subsequently, a Missions Board was reconstituted with the IMD becoming its secretary and the Chairman of the church as the Board Chairman. The IMD was to function among others as the head office official responsible for the administration of the International Missions and the provision of missionary information in official publications of the Board. He was to represent the church and the board in all matters relating to Government or authorities where missionary activities are involved; organise seminars and retreats for training ministers and officers in the international missions; advise missionaries in the work of effective evangelism; and implement decisions of the board.433

⁴³¹ Larbi. *Pentecostalism*, p. 244. ⁴³² Chairman's Circular, Ref. COP/CO/60/91 dated 21 April 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra

⁴³³ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, pp. 32-3.

The creation of the International Missions Directorate did promote the work of missions in the CoP. In an address to the Missions Board end of year meeting, Chairman Yeboah noted that the advantages that the International Missions Directorate would add to the growth of mission work in the CoP 'are too obvious to be enumerated'. 434 From 1949, when the first mission station was opened from Ghana in neighbouring Togo, to 1991, when the mission directorate was established, only 13 mission stations had been opened in Africa, Europe and the USA over a period of 42 years. 435 The IMD reported on 11 mission stations in his 1991 end of year report, 436 indicating that two of the mission stations may not have officially been established by sending a resident missionary. By the time the first IMD was leaving office in September 1996, the CoP had mission stations in 34 countries in Africa, Europe, America, Australia, Asia and the Middle East, 437 an increase of 23 mission stations within 5 years! Whereas the sudden growth may have been triggered by the mass exodus of Ghanaians to Europe and the USA 438 due to the economic downturn in Ghana in the late 1980s, there are other indicators to suggest that the directives and strategies initiated by the International Missions Directorate functioned as a major catalyst in the church's missionary enterprise.

In his first circular letter to missionaries in October 1991, the IMD reiterated the fact that 'the aim of missions is to establish the kingdom of God in all nations'. ⁴³⁹ Prophet M. K.

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⁴³⁴ M. K. Yeboah, Chairman's address to the Missions Board, Accra, 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴³⁵ Chairman's Circular, Ref. COP/CO/11/91, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴³⁶ International Missions Director's Report, 4th Quarter 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴³⁷ The Church of Pentecost, 'International Missions Newsletter' June 1996 issue, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴³⁸ CoP churches in Europe and USA are mainly migrant churches.

⁴³⁹ International Missions Circular, Ref. COP/IMO/GC-001/91 dated 30 October 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

Yeboah, the then Chairman of the CoP, in his address to the first missions board meeting after the restructuring added that 'God blesses the mission-minded church and that we shall not relent in our efforts to reach every part of the globe'. To achieve this goal emphasis was laid on 'discipling', 'teaching', 'training', and 'building'. Conferences that dealt with issues of indigenization, inculturation and contextualization, amongst other issue, were organized for missionaries. Mission newsletters and 'Know Your Mission Areas' booklets were published to educate church members about the work of missions. A new missions' manual containing financial and administrative missions procedures, and a revised missions' board policies document, were published and distributed to all missionaries to acquaint them with the new missions directorate's directives. To further accelerate the vision of the directorate, missionary committees were created at the regional and area levels as well as the appointment of district missionary secretaries who were responsible to co-ordinate and promote missionary interests in their various places of jurisdiction.

Reflecting on their prophetic mandate to establish the CoP in every nation, the issue of finance was discussed. The leadership of the church, anyway, wanted to stick to its policy of planting self-financing, self-supporting and self-governing churches. In his address to the Missions Board, Chairman Yeboah emphasised the policy of the church concerning finance as laid down during the McKeown era.

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⁴⁴⁰ Chairman's Address to the Missions Board Meeting held in Accra on 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴⁴¹ IMD's circular, 30 October 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴⁴² IMD's circular, 13 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴⁴³ IMD's circular, 30 October 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴⁴⁴ CoP Constitution, pp. 80-1.

This point brings me to the domain of policy. The Board is aware that our ultimate aim is to establish churches that could be self-sufficient at the earliest possible time. This demands that we study our Church's history to learn how the Founding Fathers financed the Church in Ghana at their time with the view to taking cues from it for our mission stations, particularly those in Africa. It is important to impress upon our missionaries the need to teach their converts to give toward the work. Let us take note of this: A church that depends upon foreign aid to meet its administrative costs and pay salaries of its workers is prone or susceptible to stunted growth and eventual death. When the foreign aid is withdrawn for any reason, the church crumbles like a castle of cards. I believe quite strongly that with the end of the Cold War and the opening up of the Eastern World, churches in Africa that depend upon traditional foreign donors from the West are likely to crumble as the West diverts aid from Africa to the East. This belief adds poignancy to my conviction that our Missionaries in Africa should explore the giving potentialities of their members.

With this background of understanding of financing mission work, the McKeown Missions Fund was established in the CoP. The Fund, which was launched on Sunday, March 10 1991 under the theme 'Follow my example, as I followed the example of Christ' (1 Corinthians 11:1), ⁴⁴⁶ sought to admonish church members to sacrifice financially to the work of missions as the founder James McKeown did to establish the church in Ghana. The McKeown Missions Fund has since been celebrated in the CoP every second week of March ⁴⁴⁷ to raise funds to support mission work in the church.

(b) Church Governing Committees

Another important structure that was built into the church during the Safo-Yeboah era was church governing committees, known as Executive Councils at the time they were

⁴⁴⁵ M. K. Yeboah, Chairman's address to the Missions Board, Accra, 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives

⁴⁴⁶ Chairman's Circular, Ref. COP/CO/11/91 dated 18 February 1991, CoP HQ Archives.

⁴⁴⁷ The month of March was chosen to commemorate the month in which James McKeown first arrived in the Gold Coast.

introduced in 1991. 448 The Executive Councils that later became known as Executive Committees were formed at the Regional (now Area) and District church administrative centres 449 and were responsible for the administration of the church in the area or district. The Executive Committees were also intended to implement decisions of the General Council, and also to formulate and recommend policies affecting them to the district or area presbyteries for consideration. 450 The creation of the seven-member Executive Committees greatly enhanced the day to day administration of the church which hitherto had been the sole responsibility of the presiding minister. Elected members to the Executive Committees brought their experience and expertise to the administration of the church. Even though some members of the Executive Committees tried to hinder ministers from operating freely without inhibition according to their God-given vision, most CoP ministers believe the Executive Committee concept has greatly improved the administrative set up of the church. 451 The Executive Committee as an administrative tool is however essential as it helps to guard and protect the minister in legal and sensitive church matters.

If the CoP can claim to be a self-governing church, then probably its system of church administration has been a contributing factor. Much of the worship of the church is organized from below where the local presbytery is headed by the presiding elder. The

⁴⁴⁸ Chairman's Circular, Accra. Ref. COP/CO/72/91, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴⁴⁹ A district or region in the CoP does not necessarily follow the administrative divisions of a nation. A district could be part of a town or city, or a whole town or a number of towns with CoP branch churches with a resident pastor overseeing the churches in the area. A region comprises a number of CoP districts with a Senior Pastor, Apostle, Prophet or an Evangelist having an oversight responsibility. Recently regions have been demarcated as areas to cope with the growth of the church.

⁴⁵⁰ Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, pp. 16, 20, 21.

⁴⁵¹ All 20 ministers who were interviewed about the Executive Committee concept of the church responded that the administration of the church has improved since its introduction.

next level of leadership in the CoP is the district. The CoP district is made up of a number of assemblies in an area and is governed by a district Executive Committee that is headed by the district minister. A number of districts form an area that is led by an area Executive committee with a senior minister as the area head. All these committees at the various levels enhance the overall leadership of the Chairman who works with a ninemember Executive Council to formulate policies and other decisions for the ratification of the General Council (see Table 1 below).

Table 1 below shows the administrative structure of the CoP. Even though the structure shows a highly hierarchical nature, it does work from the bottom-up with regards to mission practice. The local CoP congregation is led and administered by the local presbytery. The local presbytery is the highest decision making body at the local level. It is the presbytery that decides who should become a leader of the church, recommends those to be called into pastoral service and appoints members for various offices in the local congregation. The head of the local presbytery, known as the presiding elder is responsible for the worship and general care of the local congregation. Unlike other churches like Elim or Assemblies of God where a pastor heads the local congregation, the CoP uses elders and sometimes ordinary members who are unpaid by the church to head and local congregations. The local congregation is responsible to develop and run the children's and youth ministry, the women's ministry and men's fellowship as well as embark on other mission activities in their localities. The structure seemed to have aided the expansion of the church since several congregations or local branches of the church

can be opened without the need for a paid pastor. As it is any member supposedly moved by the power of the Holy Spirit can open a branch or congregation for the CoP.

The structure however becomes considerably hierarchical when it comes to levels of ministerial function. Ministry work thus follows a rigid pattern. In the CoP, the entry point to full time ministry is the 'Probationary Overseer'. 452 The probationary overseer is nominated by the local presbytery from amongst the elders, deacons or members of the local church. He is then presented to the district presbytery for vetting by the district ministerial committee. If successful, the proposed person is vetted by the area ministerial committee, then the national ministerial committee before acceptance into full time ministry as probationary overseer. After a minimum of two years successful ministry the probationary overseer is confirmed as overseer upon the recommendation of the National or Area Head. 453 Because of its strict way of recruiting into the ministry those who feel the call to ministry but are not recommended by the local presbytery eventually leave to join other ministries or break away to found new churches.

⁴⁵² This title was also used by the Apostolic Church. However, the Apostolic Church used 'Assistant Overseer' and Overseer (see Worsfold, *Origins*, pp. 169, 170). ⁴⁵³ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, pp. 37-8.

The General Council ¹ Executive Council ² Chairman Gen Sec **IMD** Area Head Area Presbytery National Council ³ Resident Missionary / National Head Area Executive National Executive council District Pastor / Area Head District Presbytery Area Presbytery Overseer / Pro Overseer Area Executive District Executive Council District Local Presiding District Pastor / Presbytery Presbytery Elder Overseer / Pro Overseer District Executive Local Presbytery Presiding Elder

<u>Table 1:</u> Government and Administration of CoP – Ministerial⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁴ Developed from Church of Pentecost Constitution

Notes

Deacons, Trustees Chairman of the Boards and committees and Movement General Leaders or Director(s)

The overseer or probationary overseer is not permitted to bless marriages nor wear clerical collars which are strictly the preserve of the pastorate. They are however required to perform all other ministerial functions like officiating at water baptisms or dedication of children. Like the district pastor the probationary overseer or overseer also becomes a district minister responsible for a number of local churches. District Overseers who prove themselves capable of pastoral work within three and five years are ordained as pastors. Ordained pastors are required to bless marriages and perform all other ministerial functions. District pastors and district overseers work under the area head who are usually senior pastors, evangelists, prophets or apostles. Evangelists, prophets and apostles are called from amongst the pastorate and ordained into their particular office after they have been identified and recommended by their area or national head. There is also a provision in the church's constitution for ministers who exhibit the ministry of a teacher to be called and ordained as 'Teacher' however no one has been ordained as such in the church. Even though the office of the teacher is part of the five-fold ministry referred to in Ephesians 4:11, 456 which the church believes in, it has been shelved probably because the parent church, the Apostolic Church, never used the title. Some also argue that the

¹ The General Council is made up of all Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists and ordained Pastors of the church, Area Executive Committee members, National Heads, National

² The Executive Council is made up of nine members with one representative each from the external Anglophone and francophone zones.

³ National councils are formed outside Ghana.

⁴⁵⁵ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, p. 38.

⁴⁵⁶ Ephesians 4:11: 'It was he who gave some to be apostles, some to be prophets, some to be evangelists, and some to be pastors and teachers.'

office of the teacher is included within the office of the pastor⁴⁵⁷ and should appropriately be referred to as Teacher-Pastor. Pastors, Evangelists, Prophets and Apostles may be called and commissioned as Area heads either in Ghana or outside Ghana. The area head reports to the Chairman of the church if they are in Ghana and to the national head or resident missionary if they are outside Ghana. National heads are given that responsibility if they are called from amongst the pastorate in their own nations. National heads may be referred to as Missionaries if they are called and sent to nations other than where they were first called as ministers. National heads and missionaries report to the IMD who in turn reports to the Chairman. Only ordained apostles and prophets are qualified to assume the two top-most offices in the church, the Chairman and the International Missions Director as is stipulated in the church's constitution. 458

Like the CoP, the Apostolic Church followed the ministerial offices of the apostle and the prophet as was practiced in the Apostolic Faith Church. According to Worsfold, Hutchinson is the 'father of the twentieth century apostolic-type of Pentecostal movements in Great Britain... who believed that God would restore the New Testament ministries and offices of apostle and prophet'. According to Kay, this view is different from the rest of the Pentecostal movement. Anim, McKeown and the Church of Pentecost were later to follow these ministerial appointments. The CoP has however built into their structure executive committees and presbyteries that work with the presiding elder, district pastor or overseer, area head, national head or missionary and the chairman

⁴⁵⁷ Kay, Pentecostals in Britain, p. 222.

⁴⁵⁸ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, pp. 26, 32.

⁴⁵⁹ Worsfold, *Origins*, pp. 31–2.

⁴⁶⁰ Kay, Pentecostalism in Britain, p. 225.

to enhance decision making. Table 1 shows the hierarchical order from the local presbytery to the general council. Decisions by the leaders, that is, from the presiding elder to the chairman are expected to be endorsed by their various committees and ratified by their respective presbyteries. For instance proposals from the district pastor are expected to be discussed by the district executive and ratified or approved by the district presbytery which is the highest decision making body at the district level. Similarly proposals by the Chairman is expected to go through the executive council and ratified by the general council.

As much as the CoP administrative structure seem to be working at the ministerial level for the church it has not been without difficulty. Decisions that are taken by the General Council are supposed to filter through to the local congregation for implementation. Often times there is little or no opposition when the Executive Council, Chairman, or General Council issues a circular letter directing an activity in the church. For instance, ministerial appointments, and ministers who are posted or transferred to various stations are made by announcement in a circular letter, known in the CoP as a 'White Paper'. The 'White Paper' is not supposed to be questioned and for that matter most ministers who are affected by its decisions accept it is as God's will for them. However, there have been others who have thought otherwise and have either refused their transfers or postings and have consequently left the church to join new ministries or found their own churches. There is therefore the need for the church leadership to have a critical review of its ministerial structure for the future.

3.4.3 Building Structures: Other CoP Ministries

The CoP has used broadcasting and publishing to enhance its mission work. The first broadcast, which was aired on Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) Radio 2 on Monday 4 December 1972, 461 was greatly improved during the Safo-Yeboah era. 'Pentecost Hour' as the radio broadcast was dubbed developed gradually through the Safo-Yeboah era to become a formidable contributor to the socio-religio-cultural space of the nation. Later in 2001, TV broadcasting was added to the church's media programme. Today, with its redefined mission of 'combating false doctrine on air, teaching sound doctrine on air and winning souls, 462 'Pentecost Hour' is heard throughout Ghana on most of the major radio stations including Uniiq FM, Adom FM, Channel R, Obonu FM, Radio Univers, Sunny FM, Asempa FM and GBC Radio 2.463 Aside from this the Radio Ministry also coordinates CoP preaching programmes on 32 radio stations throughout Ghana as well as formulating and implementing policies affecting media activities in the church. 464 Most of these radio broadcasts have been initiated by the local churches with the radio pastor's office only given training and guidance. This is one area where technology has aided the 'mission from below' concept.

Recently, African societies have become more media active. Jolyon Mitchell noted that Ghana, for example, has cultivated an 'indigenous film and video culture'. ⁴⁶⁵ The number of households with television sets in Ghana rose from 140,000 in 1991 to 2,800,000 in

⁴⁶¹ Chairman's Circular, Reference COP/PHO/Vol. 1/684/82 dated 17 February 1982. CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁴⁶² Telephone Interview, Radio Pastor, 14 July 2009.

⁴⁶³ Telephone Interview, Radio Pastor, 14 July 2009.

⁴⁶⁴ Telephone Interview, Radio Pastor, 14 July 2009.

⁴⁶⁵ Jolyon Mitchell, 'From Morality Tales to Horror Movies: Towards an Understanding of the Popularity of West African Video Film', in Peter Horsfield, Mary E. Hess, Adan M. Medrano (eds.), *Belief in Media: Cultural Perspectives on Media and Christianity* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), p. 110.

2002. 466 Kalu sees this culture as an evangelical strategy for African Pentecostalism to engage with both the indigenous and contemporary culture through the use of media. 467

The CoP, like other African Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, continues to use the media to propagate the gospel. According to Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, 'modern African new religious movements... make wide and extensive uses of modern mass media technologies in the dissemination of their messages' and that 'there is now no aspect of African life that has not been encroached upon by the new 'pentecostalist' culture'. 468 Radio and televangelism, which combines music that produces a kind of entertainment to the listening society as well as the presentation of the gospel message, have therefore become powerful tools in the practice of mission.

Printing and publishing in the CoP started on 6 March 1965 with the launching of the first official magazine of the church, 'Pentecost Fire', 469 which disseminates information on CoP theology and church activities as well as social issues. In 1978, a printing department was set up at the church's head office to cater for the printing needs of the church. In 1983, the printing department was turned into a limited liability company to be known as Pentecost Press Limited (PPL) with Rev. L. A. Nyarko becoming the first managing director. 470 PPL was established to print Christian and educational literature and stationery generally, to publish Christian and educational literature in West Africa

⁴⁶⁶ Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, Audience Research Unit, 2002 Survey Report.

⁴⁶⁷ Kalu, African Pentecostalism, p. 103.

⁴⁶⁸ J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Pentecostal Media Images and Religious Globalization in Sub-Saharan Africa', in Horsfield, Hess and. Medrano (eds.), *Belief in Media*, pp. 65, 68.

⁴⁶⁹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 189–90.

⁴⁷⁰ Interview, Managing Director, Pentecost Press Limited, 20 September 2009.

and elsewhere, provide assistance and encouragement in various ways for the development of Christian writers and authors with a view to disseminating Christian information.⁴⁷¹ Even though this activity is mainly administered from the top, church members have made use of its services to publish Christian articles and books which has modernized the 'mission from below' strategy.

Formal Christian education was introduced into the CoP during the McKeown era in 1954 when the church started a World Mission Bible College to train pastors. The school, however, closed down within one year in 1955. In 1963, the idea of establishing a formal bible training institute for the church was revisited and accepted during the General Council meeting held at Winneba. 472 However, the school did not open until February 1972 when Rev David Mills, an Elim missionary, started a one-month bible course for pastors thus becoming the first Principal of the Pentecost Bible Centre as it was later called. With an initial enrolment of fourteen pastoral students, 473 the school ran successfully until 1974 when it closed down again. 474 Leonard noted that Mckeown personally trained his pastors by asking them to preach, then correcting their mistakes afterwards whilst on evangelistic tours. 475 Preaching the word to the lost with an eschatological fervour was probably considered more important than sitting in the classroom as the word had to be preached quickly to hasten the Second Advent. Preaching was therefore learned in prayer by the power of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals were of the notion that it was 'impossible to know God and the things of God without

⁴⁷¹ Interview, Managing Director, PPL, 20 September 2009.

⁴⁷² Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost in Retrospect: 2', p. 52.

⁴⁷³ Bredwa-Mensah, 'The Church of Pentecost in Retrospect 2', p. 52.

^{&#}x27;History of the University', in Pentecost University College Diary 2009.

⁴⁷⁵ Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, pp. 113–15.

prayer, because in prayer one responds to the Spirit of truth. When one ceases to be prayerfully open, even the light of truth or belief that one has becomes dark, distorted and may soon be forgotten'. ⁴⁷⁶ Perhaps this method of practical ministerial training by McKeown overshadowed the running of a formal bible institution. As was characteristic of most Pentecostals at the time, theological training and academic work was seen as irrelevant to Christian mission. ⁴⁷⁷

PBC re-opened in 1981 when James McKeown was preparing to leave office as Chairman and leader of the CoP. When Fred Safo took over the leadership of the church as Chairman in 1982, the then executive of the church realized the need to build an educational institution that will cater to the need of the pastorate to meet the ministerial challenges of the time. This need was met by providing a permanent campus for the Centre in 1983 at Madina, Accra. The school had previously been organized in church halls with little or no learning facilities. During the Safo-Yeboah era, PBC developed to become a Bible College training pastors as well as lay leaders of the church. By 1999, PBC had a modern infrastructural college campus that could enrol over 300 residential students at Sowutuom in Accra. The College, which was affiliated to the University of Ghana in 2003, was upgraded to a University College with Opoku Onyinah as the first Rector. The College has now expanded its faculties to include business administration and information technology as well as the mission and theology faculty to satisfy the Ghana national accreditation board's requirements and also to provide tertiary education

⁴⁷⁶ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 36.

⁴⁷⁷ Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, p. 126.

⁴⁷⁸ "History of the University" Pentecost University College Diary 2009.

to the youth of the nation. As at the end of December 2008, Pentecost University College (PUC) had a student population of 1,764 with 146 lecturers and support staff.⁴⁷⁹

Admission into the pastoral training programme at PUC is quite distinct from other institutions. Aside from those who would want to enrol at the school for their own academic attainment, prospective CoP ministers are selected by the local church. These are then recommended to the district minister and presbytery who assess the candidate and also recommend them to the area minister. After going through vetting procedures, the approved candidates are interviewed by the national ministerial committee before they are approved by the General Council. It is only at this point that one becomes eligible to enrol at PUC to be trained for CoP ministry. This process recognizes the role of the local church in selecting people who will become future leaders of the church and therefore emphasizes the 'mission from below' model of the church.

3.5 The LMM and Politics: The Ntumy Era (1998 – 2008)

Apostle Michael Kwabena Ntumy was elected Chairman of the CoP at the 31st General Council meeting held at Koforidua in May 1998. He replaced Prophet Martinson Kwadwo Yeboah who completed two 5-year terms from 1988 to 1998. During the Ntumy era, that is between 1998 and 2008, the CoP became more awakened to the political climate of Ghana and other nations.

⁴⁷⁹ Rector's Report, PUC End of Year Report for 2008.

⁴⁸⁰ Michael K. Ntumy, *Coming With Fire: Autobiography of Apostle Dr. M. K. Ntumy* (Accra: Advocate Publishing Ltd, 2005), pp. 240–45.

Prior to the Ntumy era, the relationship between the church and the state had not been very cordial. Jerry John Rawlings, a flight lieutenant in the Ghana Armed Forces, staged a coup de tat in June 1979 and set up the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council. He handed over power to a democratically elected government headed by Dr. Hilla Limann in September 1979 but staged a military come back on 31 December 1981 which some Ghanaians described as the Second Coming of Christ. 481 His initials J. J. was interpreted as Junior Jesus but the one who was accorded this Christian accolade became hostile to the church. It is not uncommon for Ghanaians to describe events, activities or businesses in terms of their religion. So when it was perceived that Rawlings had failed the nation, his initials was consequently changed to Junior Judas. Rawlings and his Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) initially opposed western political ideology and were great admirers of socialism. 482 Mission Churches especially were therefore seen as foreign importation of religion, and in June 1989 all churches were mandated by law to register under PNDC Law 221 with the Ministry of Interior for reasons of accountability. 483 Whilst the mission churches opposed this law of registration, the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches quickly complied with the order. Earlier in 1982, the PNDC banned religious broadcasting on the Ghana national radio and television network but the Afrikania Mission founded by Vincent Kwabena Damuah, a former Catholic priest and a former member of the PNDC, was given prominence on the national

⁴⁸¹ Rodney Nkrumah-Boateng, 'The Rawlings Years - they began 24 Years Ago Today', Feature Article, 31 January 2005. (http://www.modernghana.com/news/118802/1/the-rawlings-years-they-began-24-years-ago-today.html), Accessed, 25 March 2010.

⁴⁸² Paul Gifford, *African Christianity*, p. 59.

⁴⁸³ Gifford, *African Christianity*, p. 5

radio. 484 The Afrikania Mission presented itself as a 'cultural renaissance', offering a religious alternative to the 'historic' or 'missionary' churches with the vision of enhancing "Black and African identity and dignity". It therefore claimed to have "reactivated" or "re-structured" and "reformed" African Traditional Religion as a form of worship proclaiming the message that 'God speaks to every race and culture, and as Africans the best way to serve God and our society productively is through our cultural perspective'. 485 This seemed to have appealed to the PNDC, and therefore the Afrikania Mission was given priority over other churches.

The excesses of the 31st December Revolution resulted in several anti-government protests. The churches also added their voice to the protests, but, according to Paul Gifford, whereas the Catholic Church and Christian Council of Ghana vehemently criticized the PNDC government, the Pentecostals and Charismatics were more sympathetic, leading and organizing national thanksgiving services and sometimes praising Rawlings and his government.⁴⁸⁶ One of the few requests to the government by the Church of Pentecost in particular was a letter written on 17 February 1982 to the Chairman, Ghana Broadcasting Advisory Board from the then Chairman of the CoP, Apostle Fred Safo, requesting the government to lift the ban on religious broadcasting including the 'Pentecost Hour' programme.⁴⁸⁷ According to Samuel Obodai, a CoP elder who later became a member of parliament and a deputy minister of state, CoP members

⁴⁸⁴ Samuel Gyanfosu, 'A Traditional Religion Reformed: Vincent Kwabena Damuah and the Afrikania Movement', 1982 – 2000, in David Maxwell and Ingrid Lawrie, (eds.), *Christianity and the African Imagination: Essays in Honor of Adrian Hastings*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 271-72.

⁴⁸⁵ Gyanfosu, 'A Traditional Religion Reformed', pp. 272-73.

⁴⁸⁶ Gifford, African Christianity, pp. 64-69, 85-87.

⁴⁸⁷ Chairman's Circular, COP/PHO/Vol.1/684/82, dated 17 February 1982. CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

were not interested in politics because people had misconceptions about politics branding it as unholy and not proper for Christians to indulge in. The role of the Christian was to pray for the political leaders since God has appointed them to rule. 488 It is likely that President Rawlings was comfortable with the uncritical stance of the Pentecostals and the Charismatics. When he converted his military rule PNDC to the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and was elected the President of the Fourth Republic of Ghana in 1992, he nominated Prophet Martinson Yeboah, the Chairman of CoP, from amongst the clergy to serve as a member of the Council of State. 489

The election of Chairman Yeboah as a member of the Council of State was however a blessing in disguise. Most CoP members had already been victims of the excesses of the revolution. In Suhum for instance armed men ransacked the premises of the CoP in June 1979. The head pastor, D. K. Arnan, was searched and molested, an elder of the church was taken hostage for about seven hours and was brutalized before being released. 490 The years following resulted in political oppression, harsh economic conditions, 'grave social unrest and potential disintegration', mass exodus of Ghanaian youth and strange and unlawful arrests, imprisonment and murders. 491 The 1992 election was vehemently opposed, ⁴⁹² and therefore to see the Chairman of the CoP serving in such an administration could have had negative impact on some members of the congregation.

⁴⁸⁸ Telephone Interview, Samuel Obodai, MP, Agona West Constituency, July 16 2009.

⁴⁸⁹ There is a provision in the constitution of Ghana to appoint a 25-member Council of State whose duty is to advise the President of Ghana in the performance of his duties. Aside from those who are elected from the regions of Ghana the President has the mandate to appoint 11 members. The practice has been to appoint someone from the clergy to serve on the Council. Prophet Yeboah served from 1992 – 1996. (Ghana News Agency, Tuesday 20 January 2004).

⁴⁹⁰ Daniel Walker, eye witness account, June 1979.

⁴⁹¹ Mike Oquaye, *Politics in Ghana: 1982-1992 Rawlings, Revolution and Populist Democracy* (New Delhi: Thomson Press (India) Ltd, 2004), pp. 487-88. ⁴⁹² Oquaye, *Politics*, p. 496.

There is however no recorded studies to ascertain the effect of the Chairman's role in politics. One of the largest Pentecostal churches in South Africa, the Apostolic Faith Mission, for example, had several set-backs in the development of the organization for several decades due to their involvement in politics. ⁴⁹³ Lyton Chandomba thus concludes that 'the Pentecostal Movement in South Africa should remain neutral with regard to politics and work together with the society to expand the movement. Their voice should be heard on social issues'. ⁴⁹⁴ Though the situation in South African politics may be different from Ghanaian politics caution must be taken by church officials to avert any negative political implications in church life. The Chairman's role in politics, however, had some positive impact on the church and gave the church a national identity.

3.5.1 Building a Political Identity

The nomination of the Chairman of the CoP into the Council of State created the conditions for the church to become active in political affairs. When Ntumy therefore became Chairman of CoP from 1998, it was no longer seen as 'worldly' amongst the leadership of the church to be actively engaged in politics. Elders and Deaconesses of the church contested and got elected as members of Parliament. As at 2009, there were 15 elders and officers of the CoP serving as parliamentarians in various constituencies and political parties in Ghana.⁴⁹⁵ It became common for the Chairman of CoP to issue out statements of national concern. For instance just before the 2008 general election Chairman Ntumy 'stressed the need for all political parties and the voting public in the

⁴⁹³ Lyton Chandomba, *The History of Apostolic Faith Mission and other Pentecostal Missions in South Africa*, (Milton Keynes: Author House, 2007), p. 72.

⁴⁹⁴ Chandomba, *The History*, p. 72.

⁴⁹⁵ Interview, Samuel Obodai, MP 16 July 2009.

country to exercise extreme circumspection and tolerance'. 496 He urged the government to provide adequate funding and electoral material to ensure free and fair election. 497 Touching on the economy Ntumy noted that with the discovery of oil in Ghana, workers' salaries should be increased to commensurate with labour. He further asked government to reform its education programme by re-introducing religious and moral education (RME) into schools curriculum as a way of addressing the moral decadence of the nation. 498 Such statements were mostly issued during church functions, like the church's general council meetings, where it has been the tradition of the church to invite government functionaries to attend. At such meetings, the chairman speaking for and on behalf of the church addresses state and church issues for the government official present to respond to. Since the Chairman spoke on politics, members were also free to identify with political parties and even become political activists. Statements and activities of leadership and members could then affect the political scene. According to Philip Jenkins 'the politics of Africa, Latin America and Asia have been profoundly affected by religious allegiances and activism, as clergy have repeatedly occupied centre stage in political life'. 499

Apostle Ntumy himself assumed political roles in the country. Having spoken strongly against the government's campaign to use condoms to combat HIV/AIDS pandemic in

⁴⁹⁶ Michael Ntumy, 'Ghana Needs Peace', Ghana News Agency, 31 January 2008. (http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=138549). (Accessed on 25 March 2010)

⁴⁹⁷ Michael Ntumy, 'Ghana Needs Peace'.

⁴⁹⁸ Michael Ntumy, 'Ghana Needs Peace'.

⁴⁹⁹ Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 141-42.

the country in 2000,⁵⁰⁰ Apostle Ntumy in the year 2002 was appointed a Commissioner of the Ghana Aids Commission. The Commission has the President and Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana as chairman and vice-chairman respectively with several other ministers and state functionaries serving on it.⁵⁰¹ As President of the Ghana Pentecostal Council with membership of over 5million representing at least 25% of the Ghanaian population,⁵⁰² the chairman of the CoP assumed a role in society in which his voice could be heard on state matters.

The Ntumy era therefore added a dimension of growth impetus to the development of mission in the CoP. CoP leadership could rub shoulders with the Catholic Secretariat and other mainline churches in matters of politics. With this political advantage, it became easier for Ghanaian and other missionaries to acquire travel and resident visas to nations where previously it was difficult to enter. For instance in 1983/1984, none of the Ghanaian missionaries posted to Europe (Italy, France, Holland and Germany) were able to obtain resident visas for missionary work. However, as at the end of 2008 there were 62 CoP missionaries resident in 54 countries worldwide. State at the end of 2008 there were resident and other state functionaries to attend CoP programmes and perform official duties. The Pentecost University College for instance was inaugurated by President John Agyekum Kuffour in May 2003. The Chairman of CoP could also seek audience with the President to discuss matters on church-state affairs. The CoP MPs are actively

⁵⁰⁰ A. C. Ohene, 'Encouraging the Use of Condom is Wrong', Ghanaian Chronicle, Friday 7 April 2000. (http://www.ghanawebtest.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=9824), Accessed, 26 March 2010.

⁵⁰¹ Ntumy, *Coming with Fire*, pp. 266-67.

Ntumy, Coming with Fire, pp. 265-66.

⁵⁰³ Church of Pentecost, 2008 Missions Report.

⁵⁰⁴ Ntumy, Coming With Fire, p. 272.

involved in a non-denominational Christian fellowship of MPs in parliament that meets to pray for the business of government and other national issues. These Christian MPs claim their involvement in politics can positively benefit the nation and the church at large. According to one Christian parliamentarian, decisions may negatively affect the church if there are no Christian MPs. 505 In most African countries where it is difficult to gain access to public resources and services, having political power as a church can greatly enhance the work of mission in the church. As the centre of Christianity, therefore, shifts to the South there is also the possibility of a shift in "Christian politics". Jenkins believes 'we might even imagine a new wave of Christian states, in which political life is inextricably bound up with religious belief. 506 On the other hand, some political activities have greatly affected the church. According to Kalu, 'the power adventurism' of some African states has resulted in major changes in how the African church is patterned. 507 The role of the church in societies will therefore force the church to either take advantage of compromising politicians or, on the other hand, succumb to or oppose hostile political pressures.

The political identity and power gained by the CoP rather enhanced the 'mission from below' strategy that has been created. Members who voluntarily preached the gospel to their neighbours in villages, towns, schools and the work place, were no longer seen as illiterate, uneducated and *abonsam*, that is, people who clap at church. Members gained recognition, an identity and were able to confidently talk about the gospel message and

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⁵⁰⁵ Interview, Samuel Obodai, MP Agona West, 16 July 2009.

⁵⁰⁶ Jenkins, *The New Christendom*, p. 142.

⁵⁰⁷ Ogbu Kalu, 'African Christianity: From the World Wars to Decolonization', in Ogbu Kalu (ed.), *African Christianity, An African Story* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc, 2007), p. 310.

their church. Having laid the foundations of the Pentecostal fire, the spreading fire reached several nations in Africa and beyond.

3.6 Summary of the LMM

The stages of the LMM can be summarised as shown in the following table.

Table 2: Stages and Activity of the LMM

Stage	Activity
Stage 1	The Message of Jesus is preached and converts are saved and
	added to the church.
Stage 2	Members seek the power of the Holy Spirit and are baptized with
	the evidence of speaking in tongues.
Stage 3	Empowered members spread the gospel message amongst family,
	friends and neighbours.
Stage 4	Those who accept the message start small fellowships in homes
	and any available space.
Stage 5	A church leader is contacted and informed about the new group.
Stage 6	Church leaders arrange to send a local leader to help establish the
	church.

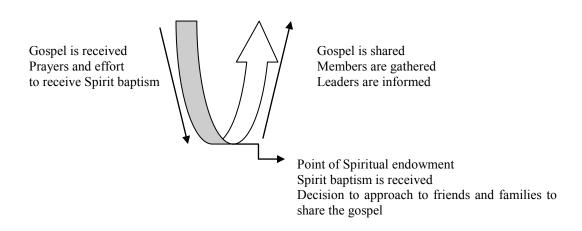
The activities of the LMM reveal that from its formation, the concept of mission had been in the minds of both leaders and members, clergy and laity within the CoP, and mission had actually been practised whether consciously or unconsciously by the church. When Peter Anim and the later leaders of the CoP embarked on their mission endeavours, they were seeking to offer an alternative religiosity to its adherents in areas where it was felt the mission churches had failed to appeal to the African convert. The eras of Peter Anim and James McKeown, who have been described as the fathers of classical Pentecostalism in Ghana, ⁵⁰⁸ led in patterning the practice of mission in the CoP. This was continued by

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⁵⁰⁸ Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism, pp. 116-117.

Fred Safo, Martinson Yeboah and Michael Ntumy. In all these eras mission activities centred on members of the church as shown in the Figure 1 below.

Fig 1: The Local Mission Model



It has been shown that the LMM was locally based and was mainly developed from the bottom up. It was the duty or the desire of every member to engage in the work of mission, and this urge was directed to their own friends, families and the local community. No exact evangelistic strategy was formed but individuals preached everywhere and established branches of the church. When churches have been established, places of worship could be at the hall of a church member, a classroom, a rented public space and sometimes in very remote areas meetings were held under sheds or under trees. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu infers that Pentecostalism in sub-Saharan Africa does not see the acquisition of places of worship as a barrier or hindrance to church planting. In contrast to the situation in Western Europe where churches are being turned into pubs, clubs, restaurants, warehouses and others being sold to other faiths and the Pentecostal churches, those in sub-Saharan Africa are refurbishing public and

commercial places into worship centres of which Ghana is no exception. 509 Also unlike the early twentieth century Pentecostal revival when people felt they were called to foreign mission after receiving Spirit baptism, 510 the situation was different in the CoP and the Pentecostal movement in Ghana. Frank Bartleman writes of incidences during the Azusa Street revival when 'the Spirit conducted the services... Hundreds met God. Many received a call to foreign fields, to prove God along real faith lines. The rapid evangelism of the world, on real apostolic lines, was the goal set'. 511 In contrast, when people received the baptism of the Spirit in the CoP they felt they were called to witness to their family members, friends and the local community. Leonard reports that new converts in the CoP did not wait for any organized systems but went about evangelizing their own people. 512 This difference in the trend of evangelism after Spirit baptism amongst American Pentecostals and Ghanaian Pentecostals cannot easily be explained. Probably the prevailing mission practice at the time was common knowledge. Mission was from the Western world to the other. 513 The Ghanaian church themselves requested the Apostolic Church for a white missionary to assist them. The arrival of James McKeown in the Gold Coast in 1937 fulfilled that need, confirming again that the West was 'already' missionized. The urgency was therefore to witness to fellow Ghanaians before the coming of Christ.

⁵⁰⁹ J Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics: Current Developments Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2005), p.10.

⁵¹⁰ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 27.

⁵¹¹ Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, p. 100.

⁵¹² Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, pp. 121–22.

⁵¹³ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 27.

Another possibility could be that most of the Africans at the time did not have the means to travel abroad. Transportation in Ghana was underdeveloped during the Anim and McKeown era, and people were not able to travel far without the necessary resources. Travelling outside the Gold Coast at the time would have been difficult and very expensive for the people at the time who were mainly subsistence farmers. Language could have also been another obstacle. Though the early American Pentecostals believed they received the gift of foreign languages when they spoke in tongues and therefore travelled to foreign lands, African Pentecostals after receiving Spirit baptism may have travelled to different language groups within their own land. There were reports that some pastors from the south of Ghana were able to speak the language of the north when they were sent to preach during the McKeown era. The speak the language of the north when

This mission trend in the CoP makes the LMM very localized and cannot be applied globally as a tool without clearly defining its underlying concepts. However its usefulness lies in its understanding that mission should be from everywhere to everywhere and from everyone to everyone. If mission models are to incorporate Jesus' words in Acts 1:8 then our 'Jerusalems' should first be impacted by our missionary activities whether by providing social services or engaging in political action. Bosch explains that Luke-Acts reveals a geographical understanding of mission. In Acts, the church begins in Jerusalem, expands to Samaria and spreads to several places including

⁵¹⁴ Kofi Kyeremeh gives an overview of the transportation system in the Gold Coast before contact was made with the Europeans. According to him, people at the time lived in villages and small towns. They walked on narrow paths to farm, visited other villages and towns by walking, and paddling their canoes to fishing in the sea or big rivers. Kyeremeh states that there are still villages and towns with difficult transportation systems. (Kyeremeh, *Ghana's Development Problems*, p. 33.)

⁵¹⁵ Oral history of CoP, narrated by a retired pastor. Kumasi, 17 July 2007.

Rome.⁵¹⁶ The LMM thus offers a mission practice within a Acts 1:8 paradigm and incorporates a mission from below strategy that has become peculiar to the CoP. This is the foundations of the Pentecostal fire that burned in the CoP from the early 1900s in Ghana but eventually spread to neighbouring countries with improvement in transportation network and regional trade.

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⁵¹⁶ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 88-9.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SPREAD OF THE PENTECOST FIRE: COP MISSION ACTIVITIES II

Mission activities in the CoP developed beyond the local scene into the sub-region of West Africa. Due to the mission practice that had been developed at the local level, it was not difficult for the second phase to take off. In fact, activities that led to the second phase of missionary activities in the CoP was spontaneous. Whilst individuals expressed their newly-found Pentecostal faith to others, its rippling effects reached the neighbouring countries. These activities which have been referred to as the regional mission model also involved a 'mission from below' strategy. This chapter looks at how the mission of the CoP reached other nations, including its acceptance and challenges.

The Regional Mission Model (RMM), which has the objective of reaching out to neighbouring countries with the gospel, begins when those who receive the message and are converted seek the power of the Holy Spirit baptism. Once they are baptized with the evidence of speaking in tongues they feel empowered to preach the good news to others. Some of these people travel to neighbouring countries to trade or do other jobs like fishing, farming and teaching. During such business endeavours, they share the gospel and make converts who congregate together in small groups for fellowship. The home church is then contacted and leaders are sent to take care of the group which gradually grows into a church. Mission expansion followed a similar pattern to the early church model, where 'the spread of Christianity was largely accomplished by informal missionaries' who had no planned strategy. 517 In the case of the early church, evangelism occurred spontaneously in the region of the Roman Empire, greatly aided by geographical factors like single political control system, common Greek language, easy

⁵¹⁷ Michael Green, Evangelism in the Early Church (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), p. 310.

regional accessibility and regional trade. 518 Similar conditions existed in the West African sub-region, and it was therefore not difficult for people to move across borders to preach the gospel. The movement of Ghanaians to other parts of the sub-region, which resulted in the expansion of the CoP, occurred from the McKeown era through the Safo-Yeboah eras. CoP mission to the West African sub-region began as early as 1949.

4.1 African Pentecostalism: The Contribution of the CoP Regional Mission

The CoP Mission to West Africa 4.1.1

The Pentecostal fire reached Togo first in 1949, Benin in 1952 and Côte d'Ivoire in 1956. 519 In 1962 and 1967 the CoP mission reached Liberia and Burkina Faso respectively. After 1962, it was not until 1980 that CoP mission activity was reported in Nigeria. 520 Most of the CoP mission stations were opened from the late 1980s as follows: Sierra Leone in 1987, Gambia in 1988, Cameroon in 1990, Guinea in 1994 and Senegal in 1994. Others were Niger in 1995, Guinea Bissau in 1996 and Cape Verde Island in 2003.⁵²¹ Anderson has remarked that early Pentecostals believed that 'the baptism in the Spirit could not be limited to one place or nation, but such great fire would 'burn its way into every nation'. 522 At present, the Pentecostal fire burning within the CoP has reached all the sixteen states of the West African Region with the exception of Mauritania, which does not belong to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). As at the end of December 2008, the CoP in the West African subregion had a total

⁵¹⁸ Green, Evangelism, pp. 312-4.

⁵¹⁹ Church of Pentecost Missions, 'Into the World We Go' (Unpublished write-up of the History of the Church of Pentecost Missions).

⁵²⁰ Church of Pentecost Missions, 'Into the World'.

⁵²¹ Church of Pentecost Missions, 'Into the World'.

⁵²² Anderson, Spreading Fires, p. 46.

membership of 156,983 distributed over 1,947 branch churches which constituted an average church size of 81 members per church, including children who formed about 30% of the church membership. 523 Out of these members about 84% were indigenous, 10% were Ghanaians and 6% were from other nationals. 524 The 16% members that were not indigenous were also found to be in the West African cities leaving the CoP in rural West Africa as a mainly indigenous church. This means that most of the CoP congregations in rural West Africa were reached by their own nationals probably after they have identified with the church in the cities indicating that the early Ghanaian missionaries were only able to reach the cities. The CoP missions report also revealed that Côte d'Ivoire had the highest membership with about 60,000, while Nigeria, with by far the largest population in Africa, had a membership of only 7,621 with an average church membership of 58, much lower than the sub-regional average. 525 With a population of over 150 million and having a similar Pentecostal or rather Apostolic Church history, it is surprising that the CoP does not seem to be popular in Nigeria. This is probably because initially the CoP was built around Ghanaians who had gone to Nigeria during the Nigerian oil boom in the 1980s to seek employment. Mass deportations of Ghanaians from Nigeria in 1983 and 1985 may also have had a negative effect on how the Nigerians perceived the Ghanaian-led church. The CoP in Cape Verde was the smallest church in the sub region with a total church membership of only 54.

⁵²³ Church of Pentecost, International Missions Summary Statistics 2008.

⁵²⁴ National CoP Statistics from 10 West African States, June, 2010.

⁵²⁵ Church of Pentecost, Mission Statistics, 2008.

4.1.2 Characteristics of the CoP West African Mission

4.1.2.1 Formation

The CoP in Togo was established following reports of miraculous events. The church had held one of its usual evangelistic rallies at Keta in the Volta Region of Ghana in May 1949. During the rally, it was reported that a Togolese woman, Alice Quist, who had attended the rally was enthused by the miracles that took place and 'accepted the Lord as her personal Saviour'. She then solicited prayer on behalf of her brother Anthony Japhet, a clerk with U.A.C., a trading firm in Lome, who had been relieved of his job due to an extreme alcoholic habit. In response to her request, Pastor A. S. Mallet and V. Y. Gogo went to Lome on 29 May 1949 to pray for him. It was reported that Japhet was healed instantly and gave up alcoholism. As a result of this event, a church started in the house of one Paullina Kpodo at Koketime, a suburb of Lome. 526

The CoP in Côte d'Ivoire, on the other hand, started as a fellowship that had been organized by members of the CoP from Ghana who had gone to do business in that country. In 1956, the group which was led by someone called Morrison, invited Pastor J. B. Archer from Ghana to visit them. Pastor J. B. Archer, with the help of another Ghanaian CoP minister, Pastor John Mensah, organized a gospel campaign in Abidjan. It is reported that the campaign was a great success with several persons joining the

526 Church of Pentecost Missions, 'Into the World'.

fellowship. The result was that CoP Côte D'Ivoire was started. But it was not until 26 May 1966 that the church was officially registered with the Ivorian government.⁵²⁷

In Liberia and Nigeria, the CoP mission started in a similar fashion. In Liberia, members of a Ghanaian Fishing Company, who had travelled to Liberia for work, started a small prayer group at West Point in Monrovia in 1962. The group met in the home of Kobina Awortwe who was the head of the fishing company. As the group grew reports were sent to Accra about the mission in Liberia. Apostle F. D. Walker was sent from Ghana to pay regular visits to the group from 1971 until 1976 when he was sent as the resident missionary of the CoP to Liberia. Thus, in the same way that Jesus used fishermen to establish the early church, fishermen were also instrumental in opening branches of the CoP.

In Nigeria, the CoP started as a result of individual efforts. In 1980, a woman known as Sister Sarah, who professed to be an evangelist and a member of CoP in Ghana, had travelled to Nigeria to settle there for economic reasons. Together with a man called Kwame Teye, they evangelized and gathered a few Christians, who gradually formed the foundation of the church in Lagos. A similar group had started simultaneously at Felele,

Ibadan in Oyo State, Nigeria. The Ibadan group was led by a man called Achiaa, a

Ghanaian who had settled in Nigeria. In 1981, the group sent a report of mission

⁵²⁷ Email, Rev. Gabriel Kpokame, Personal Assistant to the National Head, CoP Côte D'Ivoire, 27 November 2008.

⁵²⁸ Interview, Mrs. Florence Walker, 27 November 2008.

Matthew 4:18-20 'As Jesus was walking beside the Sea of Galilee, he saw two brothers, Simon called Peter and his brother Andrew. They were casting a net into the lake for they were fishermen. 'Come, follow me,' Jesus said, 'and I will make you fishers of men.' At once they left their nets and followed him'. (NIV).

activities in Nigeria to Accra. The following year, a resident missionary was sent from Accra to Nigeria to take care of the church. 530

The CoP in the Gambia was started as a result of the initiative of someone who was not a member of CoP. An Anglican and Director of Youth for Christ named Eddie Carroll had attended a conference in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1988 and had met Overseer Kwasi Ansah who was conducting an evangelistic campaign. Having observed what he considered to be the power of the ministration of the word with signs of speaking in tongues, he invited him to the Gambia as the main speaker of a two-week Holy Ghost session at the Methodist Church, Bakau, in the Gambia. Overseer Kwasi Ansah thus visited from 4th to 14th August 1988 to honour this invitation. In a country where Islam constitutes almost 90% of the religious population with the 4.1% Christian population being predominantly Roman Catholic, ⁵³¹ Pentecostalism was little known at the time. During the meetings, however, it was reported that the power of God was mightily demonstrated with many being baptized in the Holy Spirit with signs of speaking in tongues. ⁵³² The outcome of that visit led to the gathering of twenty Ghanaian and Gambian converts who became the foundation members of CoP in the Gambia. ⁵³³

⁵³⁰ Chuch of Pentecost Missions, 'Into the World', pp. 21–2. A resident missionary is a minister who has been sent to do missionary work in another country.

⁵³¹ Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, p. 265.

⁵³² Church of Pentecost Missions, 'Into the World'.

⁵³³ Church of Pentecost Missions, 'Into the World'.

4.1.2.2 Growth, Schisms and Nationalization

The CoP in West Africa grew at a very fast rate even though it was not free from schisms, leadership struggles, agitations for nationalization, unfavourable government policies, and civil wars. It is interesting to note that the three largest CoP churches in West Africa were all in the Francophone block of the sub-region. Whilst it is not altogether clear why this was so, several reasons may be deduced. First, Côte d'Ivoire, Togo and Benin are all close neighbours of Ghana, and even though French is the official language of these countries, there are ethnic groups such as the Ewes that are found in Ghana, Togo and Benin, and the Bonos found in Ghana and Côte D'Ivoire. Interactions between these peoples may have been stronger and fostered stronger relationships. A second and more likely possibility is the difference in the official language. Because of the language barrier the indigenous people may have been allowed to take over the leadership of the church very early on. At present, the church in Côte d'Ivoire, Togo and Benin are headed by nationals, whilst a missionary from Ghana is still responsible for the church in Nigeria. Even though Nigerians are beginning to accept the mission of the CoP with about 800 or 10.5% of the membership being indigenes and a few Togolese and Beninese members, the CoP in Nigeria could be described as being largely Ghanaian. Out of the twenty-nine pastors administering the CoP in Nigeria, eight were Nigerians, one was French and twenty were Ghanaians. 534 Thirdly, there might have been some pressures from some of the members in the French-speaking countries who were agitating for autonomous status.

⁵³⁴ Telephone interview, Rev Patrick Ennin, 28 March 2010,

In Côte d'Ivoire, for instance, a group of dissidents led by Yao Bio campaigned for the nationalization of the Ivorian church in 1981.535 It was believed that Yao Bio was fluent in French and was endowed with the gifts of healings. It was therefore not difficult for him to gain a large following. When the international executive declined the request of Bio's group for autonomy because Accra was not ready to declare the Ivorian church as independent, Bio seceded with about 60% of the membership at that time together with all the legal documentation of the church. 536 Soon after the secession, a leadership struggle caused Bio's group to divide into four with Bio leading one group and Elder Tano, Elder Yao Paul and Anotchi Moussa Jean leading the other three. Three of them established churches of their own but Anotchi Moussa Jean re-joined the CoP. 537 From 1982 to 1986, other church problems caused the resident missionary to vacate his post, allowing Rev. K. Angaman Gaston, an Ivorian, to head the church. Rev. B. Y. Apedo, a Togolese missionary, replaced Gaston from 1986 to 1991. Rev. M. K. Ntumy from Ghana was next to head the church in Côte D'Ivoire from 1991 to 1996. From 1996 to date the CoP in Côte d'Ivoire has been led by an Ivorian. 538

The church in Togo suffered a similar fate when Apostle F. K. Darkooh, together with some other ministers, broke away under the guise of forming another ministry in order to gain possession of benefits that would have accrued to the CoP from T. L. Osborn's ministry. T. L. Osborn had organized a crusade with the CoP in Togo in 1959 and had

⁵³⁵ Email, Rev. Gabriel Kpokame, November 2008.

⁵³⁶ Email, Kpokame, 27 November 2008.

⁵³⁷ Email, Kpokame, 27 November 2008

⁵³⁸ Email, Kpokame, 27 November 2008

pledged to sponsor 100 African ministers in full time ministry. 539 The sponsorship fell through when T. L. Osborn learnt of the deceit. Darkooh however led a faction of the church away to establish his own church which affected the membership and administration of the CoP. Between 1960 and 1978, Ghanaian missionaries headed the CoP in Togo. From 1978, Togolese nationals took over the administration of the church, which subsequently enjoyed a considerable level of stability. 540 There was, however, another major schism in the church in 1991 that almost led to the extinction of the church when the church building committee chairman, Abosse Sotome, led a dissident group to accuse the national head and two national deacons, who were in charge of church finance, of financial mismanagement. 541 Apparently the group had learnt of financial support to the church in Togo from a group of churches in Germany, Switzerland and France which they hoped to take advantage of. 542 A report of the accusation was therefore sent to Accra who advised that the National head, Apostle K. Kokoe Mensah, should proceed on a month's leave, allowing Pastor A. M. D'Almeida to take over as the interim national head. Before Mensah's resumption of duty, D'Almeida, together with other ministers, had decided to write a letter to the church in Accra requesting that Mensah remain on leave indefinitely. 543 Accra did not oblige and asked Apostle Mensah to resume duty whilst appointing two young national deacons to understudy the existing administration with a view of taking over after one year. Meanwhile D'Almeida continued to function as national head creating an element of chaos in the church. To resolve the impasse Apostle

⁵³⁹ Church of Pentecost Missions Annual Reports, 1960.

⁵⁴⁰ Church of Pentecost Missions, 'Into the World'.

⁵⁴¹ International Missions Director's Report to the Missions Board, Accra, 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra

⁵⁴² Telephone Interview, Apostle Komi Agbavitoh, National Head, CoP-Togo, 17 September 2009.

⁵⁴³ Telephone Interview, Agbavitoh, 17 September 2009.

Apedo was transferred from Côte d'Ivoire to Togo as national head whilst D'Almeida was transferred during the 1991 27th Session of Council meeting held at Koforidua, Ghana. S44 When news of the transfer reached Togo, D'Almeida and some other ministers resolved to sever relationship with the church in Ghana, S45 accusing it of receiving all tithes and offerings from the church in Togo, resulting in the latter's impoverishment. CoP-Accra was also accused of exerting too much authority over the church in Togo and also of diverting agricultural aid meant for Togo from Europe to Ghana. To make matters worse the D'Almeida group took the national executive of CoP-Togo to court accusing them of embezzling CFA 57million of church funds. The case was dismissed for lack of evidence. However, the D'Almeida group managed to get a court order to re-possess church property.

Even though these allegations were not proved, nine attempts by the Church in Accra and also an intervention by the then President of Togo, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, to mediate between the dissidents proved futile. ⁵⁴⁷ CoP-Togo lost 14,700 of its members to the D'Almeida group and was left with only 300 ⁵⁴⁸ in five assemblies with three pastors. ⁵⁴⁹ All church properties and buildings (movable and immovable), including the registered name "CHURCH OF PENTECOST", were also confiscated, and CoP-Togo had to start a new work from 1992. ⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁴ IMD's report, 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁵⁴⁵ IMD's report, 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra

⁵⁴⁶ IMD's report, 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁵⁴⁷ Telephone Interview, Agbavitoh, 17 September 2009.

⁵⁴⁸ Church of Pentecost Missions, 'Into the World'.

⁵⁴⁹ IMD's report, 11 December 1991.

⁵⁵⁰ IMD's report, 11 December 1991.

The reasons the D'Almeida group gained such a large following may be attributed to political issues rather than church issues since most of the members at the grass roots were unaware of what was happening in the administration of the church. Prior to the schism in 1991, the PNDC government of Ghana had accused Togo of conspiracy to overthrow the government. Togo had been implicated in the November 1982 coup attempt, the February 1983 conspiracy in which the PNDC claimed the government of Togo backed by the US government were the main architects, and also the March 1984 coup attempt in which Togo and Côte d'Ivoire were blamed. 551 Tensions were high amongst Ghanaians and Togolese as reports indicated that several Togolese were arrested, detained or executed. 552 According to Agbavitoh, it was not difficult for members to believe rumours that church officials from Accra were transporting ammunitions to Togo under the guise of church functions to avenge Togo's political actions against Ghana. 553 Accra was therefore seen as a political enemy, and so the church wanted to become independent. Because of the involvement of President Eyadema, Agbavitoh thinks that the President himself was facing similar opposition from younger dissidents and was full of sympathy for what was happening to CoP-Togo. 554 In his annual report, the CoP International Missions Director wrote that even though CoP had contested an 'unusual court order' they had not had redress due to 'the turbulent political situation in Togo'. 555 These events contributed immensely to the nationalization of the CoP in Francophone West Africa.

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⁵⁵¹ Oquaye, *Politics in Ghana*, pp. 405-6.

⁵⁵² Oquaye, *Politics in Ghana*, pp. 405-6.

⁵⁵³ Telephone Interview, Agbavitoh, 17 September 2009.

Telephone Interview, Agbavitoh, 17 September 2009.

⁵⁵⁵ IMD's report, 11 December 1991, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

4.1.2.3 Growth Factors and Mission Strategies

The missionary success in the West African sub-region to a large extent can be attributed to the aggressive efforts of young men and women who preached the gospel of Christ in cities, towns, villages and other remote areas. This was possible due to the migratory nature of the peoples of West Africa. Migration has long been the lifestyle of the people in the sub-region and has involved different classification of migrants such as temporary cross-border workers, like female traders, seasonal migrants, professionals, refugees, farm labourers, unskilled workers and nomads. 556 Such activities were vital in the lives of the people and became a catalyst to Christian development in the region as well. Until the 1980s when migration patterns slightly focused on a south-north pattern, migration had predominantly been and still remains a south-south pattern in the region. According to Mariama Awumbila, about 61.7% of emigrants moved to another part of the sub-region during the last decade and that in Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Togo, over two-thirds of emigrants are living within West and Central Africa. 557 This trend in migration pattern contributed to the regional expansion of the CoP in West Africa.

It is also possible that the formation of ECOWAS in 1976, which aimed to promote free movement of people across the sub-region and thereby foster economic integration, helped to speed up the missionary process. According to Anderson, the invention of the steam engine and the development of railway networks in the early twentieth century

⁵⁵⁶ Mariama Awumbila, 'Intra-Regional Migration in West Africa: Changing Patterns and Dynamics', http://www.iss.nl/DevISSues/Articles/Intra-Regional-Migration-In-West-Africa-Changing-Patterns-And-Dynamics (accessed, 28 March 2010).

Awumbila, 'Intra-Regional Migration'.

greatly aided Pentecostal migrants to spread the *fire* across nations.⁵⁵⁸ Ease of travel, therefore, provided the vehicle by which the missionary message travelled. According to John Arthur, innovations in transportation like the building of the railway network and water transport by the colonial administration strengthened peoples' movement in West Africa especially between colonial cities.⁵⁵⁹ As people moved across these cities they also carried with them the gospel.

Again, the historical and cultural similarities across the region made it easier for neighbours to understand and accept the gospel message in an African Pentecostal context. For Hesselgrave, 'the communication of most people is circumscribed by the perspective provided by their own worldview', and therefore the missionary who is familiar with the basic orientation of the respondent cultural group would be able 'to predict with a significant degree of accuracy' how people will decode and respond to the gospel message. ⁵⁶⁰ Probably this was another determinant factor that made it quite easy for self-elected missionaries to spread the message to their neighbours. Most of these missionary endeavours were initiated by members who had no mission orientation nor had they been sent officially to establish churches but had a common cultural identity with those they were witnessing to, and above all had been baptized in the power of the Holy Spirit. Anderson, quoting from J Roswell Flower, wrote that 'when the Holy Spirit comes into our hearts, the missionary spirit comes in with it; they are inseparable'. ⁵⁶¹ He

⁵⁵⁸ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 46.

John A. Arthur, 'International Labour Migration Patterns in West Africa', in *African Studies Review*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (December 1993), pp. 70-1.

⁵⁶⁰ Hesselgrave, Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally, pp. 95-6.

⁵⁶¹ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 65.

further argued that 'just as Spirit baptism is Pentecostalism's central, most distinctive doctrine, so mission is Pentecostalism's central, most important activity', and that there exists a strong 'theological link between Spirit baptism and missions'. 562 This understanding that Spirit baptism gives the power for witness 563 was paramount among early CoP members and therefore caused them to preach the gospel everywhere they found themselves. As a result, mission stations or branches of the CoP were opened in foreign countries not through the initiative of the church's mission department nor by an organized church rally or crusade but by individuals who had travelled to do their private businesses. The mission approach used here was a 'bottom-up' approach whereby grassroots members went to places they had not been sent, preached without any intimidation and established churches before reporting to an elder or pastor. According to Kärkkäinen, Pentecostal mission praxis is characterised among other features by aggressiveness, boldness and the participation of all believers. ⁵⁶⁴ On special occasions the 'top-down' mission approach where church leaders consciously organized crusades with the aim of establishing churches or missionaries sent specifically to open churches was used. But in most of the established churches of the CoP the latter was not the case.

4.1.2.4 West African Missions and Civil Wars

One major difficulty that has plagued the church in West Africa is civil war. The CoP in Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia, for instance, were victims of these wars. In Liberia, Charles Taylor's Libyan-trained rebel forces, the National Patriotic Front of

⁵⁶² Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 65. ⁵⁶³ Acts 1:8 'For you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you and you will be my witnesses...' (NIV). ⁵⁶⁴ V. M. Kärkkäinen, 'Pentecostal and Charismatic Missiology', in Burgess (ed), *Dictionary*, p. 877.

Liberia (NPFL), invaded the country on Christmas Eve. 24 December 1989. Their mission was to oust President Samuel Kanyon Doe who had himself toppled the administration of President William R. Tolbert Jr in a bloody military coup in 1980. Charles Taylor and his men began their rebel incursion from Nimba County which had suffered the wrath of Doe's government from 1985 when an attempted coup led by General Quiwonkpa, who hails from the county failed. For revenge most young men from the county joined the rebel group. This was at a time when the CoP had established churches as far as Cape Palmas with a missionary attaché M. K. Ntumy stationed at Buchanan City in the Grand Bassa County. 565 By the end of April 1990, one church had already closed at Number 3 Compound in Grand Bassa County due to rebel incursion. The elder in charge of the CoP in the town, Edwin Flomo, had to flee for his life and quickly evacuated to Monrovia. 566 The rebels captured Buchanan City in May 1990, and the church had to close when most of the members including the missionary attaché Rev. M. K. Ntumy and his family were taken hostage. One horrific incident occurred when over 1,500 Ghanaians were exterminated because Charles Taylor's NPFL had warned against ECOWAS sending an intervention group ECOMOG (Ecowas Monitoring Group) to Liberia. Michael Ntumy reported that 'some of our finest and most dedicated church elders and members were killed together with their children'. 567 These members died in Marshall City where the CoP was firmly established and was the second largest church after the one in Monrovia. The CoP in Monrovia with over 400 members was also scattered and could not meet for several months after a missile hit part of the church building at Clara Town, Monrovia, where members had sought refuge. A member was

⁵⁶⁵ Ntumy, Coming With Fire, p. 161.

⁵⁶⁶ Ntumy, Coming With Fire, p. 165.

Ntumy, Coming With Fire, pp. 169-70.

later shot and killed by armed patrol men in front of the church building.⁵⁶⁸ This led most of the members to seek refuge in Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire and elsewhere during the ECOMOG evacuation exercise, thus seriously affecting church attendance and membership.

The Sierra Leone civil war began in 1991, initiated by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) led by Foday Sankoh. Sankoh was one of the students' leaders together with Abu Kanu and Rashid Mansaray who were agitating for a revolution in the country. Within four months of the war about 107,000 refugees fled the conflict area with the RUF eventually capturing and controlling the diamond resource area. The attack took place in March 1991 just six months after the first Ghanaian resident missionary to Sierra Leone Pastor Felix Antwi had taken up his office in October 1990. According to a respondent, the church was greatly affected with members fleeing to safe havens in neighbouring Guinea.

4.1.2.5 The CoP West African Mission: Evaluation

From the historical perspective of how the CoP was established outside Ghana, where the International Missions Headquarters is located, it can be deduced that of the churches in the 14 states of ECOWAS (as the sending church, Ghana is excluded) seven of them or 50% were established by the initiatives of members who had travelled to those countries as fishermen, traders and other workers as stated above. For Anderson, the early

⁵⁶⁸ Daniel Walker, eye witness account. The present writer was one of those seeking refuge in the church. ⁵⁶⁹ C. Magbaily Fyle, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), pp. 161-3.

Pentecostal movement that swept across West Africa in the early 1900s, changing the face of West African Christianity, also represented a radical reformation of African Christianity. ⁵⁷⁰ Whether the CoP members were being radical as well as being empowered by the Holy Spirit in their approach to church planting, John Arthur is of the view that Ghanaian immigrants establish churches to provide the infrastructure and building blocks that are needed to link with others in the community where their social and religious beliefs can be affirmed. ⁵⁷¹ From the account of the CoP members, the former was the case. People left their businesses to preach to others, not necessarily to fellow Ghanaians but to anybody they met. The CoP in Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, Cameroon, Cape Verde and Mali fall into this category where a group of persons decided from their own volition without any mission orientation to share the gospel of Christ and start a local church for the CoP. This mission activity can be described as a form of mission from below.

The CoP in five countries were also established as a result of small teams of three or four visiting designated countries with the aim of preaching, winning converts or finding existing members to start a church. In two (14%) countries in West Africa, the CoP was established at the initiative of those who were not members of the CoP but converted from either traditional religion or from a non-Pentecostal church as in the case of Togo and the Gambia respectively. Whereas the provenance of the latter two churches came about as a result of mission from below, the five churches in Sierra Leone, Guinea,

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⁵⁷⁰ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 167.

John Arthur, *The African Diaspora in the United States and Europe: The Ghanaian Experience* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), p. 83.

Benin, Guinea-Bissau and Niger seem to have emerged more as a result of a 'mid-point' mission approach. In these cases, missionaries, pastors, elders and key members of the church embarked on conscientious evangelistic campaigns with the aim of establishing branch churches of the CoP in neighbouring countries. The International Missions Directorate in Accra, which is responsible for establishing and managing mission stations, does not seem to initiate any of these missionary endeavours but only takes responsibility for sending missionaries and managing the stations where churches have been established. In the case of the CoP, the 'top-down' mission or mission from above strategy, where the mission organization initiates and implements a mission activity is not strongly advocated within the West African mission since most of the activities were initiated by individual CoP members, yet an entire region has been reached in less than 40 years.

4.1.3 The CoP Mission to Other African Nations

Aside from West Africa, the CoP's mission has also been successful in Southern Africa. Its mission to Southern Africa coincided with the mass exodus of Ghanaians travelling abroad to seek greener pastures. The economic crisis of the 1980s in Ghana compelled many Ghanaians to travel abroad. Coincidentally during the 1980s many South African schools advertised for expatriate graduate teachers, and this resulted in an influx of Ghanaian trained teachers to Southern Africa. Most of these graduate teachers started branches of the CoP in the 1990s in Southern Africa. The church in South Africa for instance was pioneered by Deacon Evans A. Akuffo a resident of Umtata. Evans Akuffo had moved from Ghana with his family to South Africa in 1985 for mainly economic

reasons. In 1990 he decided to establish a branch of the CoP and communicated this idea to the International Missions Office in Accra. Permission was granted to him in a letter from the General Secretary's Office⁵⁷² and subsequently Akuffo started a fellowship on 14 October 1990 with a few Ghanaians who were also residents of Umtata. In 1991 the CoP in Malawi was started by Pastor Alfred Mikondo and a couple John Adu and wife Beryly Adu in 1991.⁵⁷³ John Adu had been posted to Malawi from Ghana on a United Nations High Commission for Refugees assignment. This was as a result of civil war that broke out in Mozambique in the 1980s and dragged on until it ended in October 1992. The situation in a way gave advantage to the Adu's to invite destabilized refugees under their care to a prayer meeting that was held at the refugee camp in Dedza, a small town in the central region of Malawi. The prayer group grew rapidly that it became necessary to inform the International Missions Office in Accra for missionary assistance. The church was thus officially established when IMD visited Malawi in 1993.

The practice of mission from below within the CoP where individuals have voluntarily embarked on the mission of CoP was also the case in Zambia. Elder Samuel Yaw Antwi, a chemistry school teacher had taken up a teaching appointment in 1988 at Kafue a town near Lusaka in Zambia. After being accused of turning the Baptist Church he was attending in Kafue to Pentecostalism, Antwi had to leave unceremoniously and think about establishing a branch of the CoP. He started a prayer group which attracted a lot of people. The ministry of Samuel Antwi was reportedly accompanied with healings and

⁵⁷² Letter from General Secretary to Evans Akuffo with reference COP/GSO/526/90 (CoP HQ Archives, Accra)

⁵⁷³ CoP Malawi Report (October 1994 – February 1995) by Rev. Achim Gyimah (CoP HQ Archives, Accra)

deliverance from evil powers. After communication with the Missions office in Accra, the church in Zambia took off in the home of Davis K. M. Munalula on 3 January 1993.⁵⁷⁴ The CoP in Botswana, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Tanzania were started in 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997 respectively amidst similar stories.⁵⁷⁵ As at the end of 2008, the CoP had established 272 churches with about 32,000 members in 12 of the 15 member states of the Southern African Development Community (SADC).⁵⁷⁶ The rate at which CoP Southern Africa mission occurred could be due to the early spread of Pentecostalism in the region which probably made it a easier for the CoP to communicate the gospel along Pentecostal lines.

Even though the CoP has been planted in Southern Africa it has not grown like the church in West Africa. As at the end of 2008, the CoP in Southern Africa represented only 15.5% of the CoP in West Africa in terms of membership.⁵⁷⁷ This is because the CoP mission in Southern Africa is fairly new, though it is actually growing faster than the CoP mission in West Africa. Between 2004 and 2008 the average annual growth rate of CoP-Southern Africa was 44.45% whilst that of CoP-West Africa within the same period

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⁵⁷⁴ Handing Over Notes from Elders Ekow Badu-Wood, Davies K. M. Munalula, Daud Chandamali and N. M. Lukwesa to Pastor Alfred Kodua signed on 13 November 1994, CoP HQ Archives, Accra.

⁵⁷⁵ Church of Pentecost Missions Reports (1993 – 1998) (CoP HQ Archives, Accra)

⁵⁷⁶ The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is an inter-governmental organization that exists to enhance socio-economic cooperation and integration as well as political and security cooperation among member states. In the UN scheme of geographic regions only five countries constitute the region of Southern Africa, which includes Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland. Some of the countries listed above are sometimes demarcated as Central or Eastern Africa. The SADC has been used so that comparisons can be made with ECOWAS.

⁵⁷⁷ Church of Pentecost Missions, Statistics, 2008.

was 19.61%. ⁵⁷⁸ This means CoP-Southern Africa has the potential to grow whilst the mission strategy in West Africa needs to be reviewed.

The CoP is totally absent in Northern Africa. This is because the region is predominantly Islamic and would need much effort to reach. A few churches have been established in Eastern and Central Africa.

4.2 Summary of the RMM

The stages and activities as they occurred during the RMM is shown in table 3. Those who converted to Pentecostalism and received the baptism of speaking in tongues believed they were ushered into world-wide evangelism. Coupled with their understanding of prophetic messages to the CoP as discussed in the LMM, they saw it as a duty to establish the mission of the CoP beyond the borders of Ghana. Members therefore had the passion to engage in voluntary mission work as they travelled outside the country and therefore created the regional mission model.

⁵⁷⁸ Calculation derived by using CoP Mission statistics report for 2004 and 2008.

Table 3: Stages and Activity of the RMM

Stage	Activity
Stage 1	The Message of Jesus is preached and converts are saved and added to the church
Stage 2	Members seek the power of the Holy Spirit and are baptized with the evidence of speaking in tongues
Stage 3	Members travel to neighbouring countries to trade, seek employment or engage in other businesses
Stage 4	The Gospel is preached and converts are made. Prayer meetings are started in available premises
Stage 5	Home church is informed about the new group
Stage 6	Home church guides and supports the new mission

There are close parallels between the RMM and the LMM. Both share similar patterns and strategies in sharing the gospel message, common religious beliefs, familiar cultural traits and similar economic, political and social challenges across Africa. Although different languages and cultural traits may hinder transmission across national borders, inhabitants share a similar world view like the reality of evil in the world that causes poverty, misfortune, disease and death and the need for a greater power to combat this evil. These characteristics make the transmission of the gospel between neighbouring countries a little easier because the transmitter is able to communicate in ways that are familiar to the receiver. The West African region was relatively easy to evangelize by the early CoP members from Ghana because conditions were quite familiar, as for instance in Togo, Benin and Côte D'Ivoire. Similarly, after the CoP was started in South Africa, it became easier to reach people and establish branches in other Southern African countries. Aloo Mojola has said 'In Jesus, God came and spoke to people in a specific culture in a way they could understand. Believers were instructed to follow his example, and thus wherever Christianity spreads, it takes on the cultures and languages of the new believers'. ⁵⁷⁹ For instance, the Liberian preacher, Prophet William Wade Harris, was very successful as a missionary in neighbouring Côte D'Ivoire and Ghana because he used familiar instruments during his ministrations and also 'intelligently placed the potency of herbal medicine in the context of prayer to the High God who has been brought nearer to his people. The people, therefore, had no doubt in believing Harris because he demonstrated the nearness of God through the signs he wrought'. 580 According to Eunice Okorocha, 'the understanding of the role of culture is of great importance both in understanding what the Bible says and in communicating this message in terms that are meaningful in relation to local culture and issues in Africa'. 581 Similarly, the way most Africans understand the causes of disease, poverty and death may influence their understanding of the salvation message. Kwame Bediako posits that 'Jesus, as our Saviour, brings near and makes universal the almightiness of God. Thus he is able to do all things, to save in all situations, to protect against all enemies, and is available whenever those who believe may call upon him'. 582 Anderson adds that 'African churches (of the Spirit) proclaim that the same God who saves the soul also heals the body, and that God also provides answers to the fears and insecurities inherent in the African worldview. The God who forgives sin is also concerned about poverty, oppression, and liberations from afflictions'. 583 These common factors, and the understanding and interpretation of the gospel message, were vital in developing the

⁵⁷⁹ Aloo Osotsi Mojola, 'Bible Translation in Africa', in Tokunboh Adeyemo (gen. ed.), *Africa Bible Commentary: A One-Volume Commentary Written by 70 African Scholars* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishers, 2006), p. 1315.

⁵⁸⁰ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 61.

Eunice Okorocha, 'Cultural Issues and the Biblical Message', in Adeyemo (gen. ed.), *Africa Bible*, p. 1467.

⁵⁸² Kwame Bediako, *Jesus in Africa: The Christian Gospel in African History and Experience* (Akropong-Akwapem: Regnum Africa, 2000), p. 22.

⁵⁸³ Allan Anderson, 'African Initiated Churches of the Spirit and Pneumatology', *Word and World* (Volume 23, Number 2, 2003), pp. 178-79.

Regional Mission Model. In this way, the CoP was seen as developing a form of transregional contextualization where conditions that created mission activities in Ghana were contextualized and transported to other African countries where the CoP was established.

The basic difference between the RMM and LMM is that in the RMM, those who initiate the process of mission do not always remain as part of the group. They remain with the group as long as their trade or business allows them to. The new mission activity eventually develops to become mostly indigenous. The duty of the initiators was simply to share the gospel as an outcome of their Pentecostal faith and help at the initial stage to establish new converts in the faith. This model is similar to the Apostle Paul's mission practice in the book of Acts. When Paul was converted and became convinced of the power of Jesus to bring salvation to all, he preached the good news from city to city. Even though he gave attention to personal pastoral care, Paul 'devoted his life's energy to a mobile ministry of preaching that swept across the Gentile world'. 584 In a place like Corinth, where Paul stayed on a little longer, he worked as a tentmaker whilst preaching the gospel. 585 While it may be true that Paul did not go to Corinth specifically to look for employment, he both worked and preached there, which is similar to the Regional Mission Model of the CoP. This became a pattern in Paul's mission practice as is evident from the words he wrote to the Church in Thessalonica: 'we worked night and day in order not to be a burden to anyone while we preached the gospel of God to you'. 586

⁵⁸⁴ Senior and Stuhlmueller, *The Biblical Foundations*, p. 184. ⁵⁸⁵ Acts 18:1-4 (NIV).

⁵⁸⁶ 1 Thessalonians 2:9 (NIV).

Another characteristic of the RMM, which was also evident in Paul's mission strategy, was the fact that mission activities were not specifically planned. Roland Allen remarks that even if one would argue about the possibility of some amount of planning in Paul's first missionary journey, 'it is perfectly clear that in the second journey St Paul was not following any predetermined route'. This method has the potential of accelerating the work of mission. However, the home church might find it very challenging to meet the leadership and financial needs of churches established through such means. Despite these challenges, CoP mission eventually went beyond regional boundaries to Europe and the USA, and developed new mission models which the next chapter discusses.

⁵⁸⁷ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1962), p. 11.

CHAPTER FIVE

TRAVELLING WITH THE PENTECOST FIRE: COP MISSION ACTIVITIES III

The expansion of mission to Europe and the USA in the CoP occurred from the 1980s. This was mainly as a result of global migration. As members travelled abroad they took the mission of the church with them. The third phase of mission activities within the CoP therefore reached Europe and the USA. In the same vein of migration, others who travelled from parts of Asia to Africa and experienced the mission of the CoP decided to transport it back to their own countries in a kind of a reflex action. Similarly, those who travelled from Latin America to the USA and were exposed to the mission of the CoP, facilitated the establishment of the CoP mission in Latin America. This chapter examines the first form of overseas mission activities in the CoP with particular reference to CoP-UK.

5.1 The Migrational Mission Model (MMM)

Unlike the Regional Mission Model where the established mission activity eventually turns to be mainly indigenous, the Migrational Mission Model (MMM) has the migrant as the central focus and therefore forms the nucleus of the mission activity. The MMM which has resemblances to the Reverse Mission Model discussed below occurred first in the CoP during the Safo-Yeboah era. This era also coincided with political instability and severe economic hardships in Ghana during the late 1970s to the early 1980s. During this period many Ghanaians migrated to Europe and the USA to seek either political

⁵⁸⁸ Ghana Statistical Service, *Ghana Child Labour Survey* (Accra: Ghana Statistical Service, 2003), p. 2.

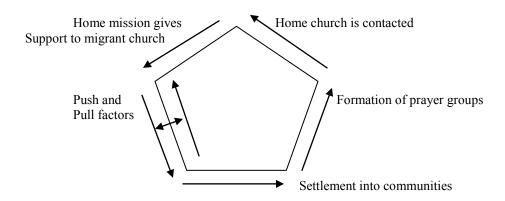
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asylum or economic prosperity. Aside from these push factors there were others who were attracted to Europe to take advantage of higher education or professional enhancement opportunities, commonly referred to as the 'brain drain', 589 Doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers and other highly skilled workers left the country to settle in Europe and the USA. Others were also pulled to Europe and the USA by family members, friends and other relations who had already settled abroad. These settlers started fellowship meetings at homes and moved to rented premises when their growth could not be contained in the family halls. At this stage the international missions office was contacted for advice and support. The group eventually grows to a full blown church where members are mostly migrants from Africa. The CoP mission in Italy and Germany, for instance, was created according to this model. Unlike the RMM, where the nationals of the neighbouring countries formed the nucleus of the church, the migrants in this case constituted the church with a small percentage (usually less than 2%) of the membership being non-Africans who in most cases were married to an African member. Leaders are also raised from the migrant group. For instance in the UK, out of the 15 pastors who managed the CoP at the districts only the national head was posted to UK from Ghana. All others were migrants who had settled in the UK with creditable UK immigration status. A similar type of migrant church is the Nigerian-led Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) which Richard Burgess describes as 'the largest and fastest growing African initiated church in Britain with over 250 parishes'. 590

⁵⁸⁹ Joseph R. Oppong, 'GHANA: Internal, International and Transnational Migration', in Maura I. Toro-Morn and Marixsa Alicea (eds.), *Migration and Immigration: A Global View* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), pp. 91- 92.

⁵⁹⁰ Richard Burgess, 'Born Again and Born Abroad': Nigerian Initiated Churches in Britain', Paper presented at the Conference of the European Research Network on Global Pentecostalism, University of Heidelberg, Germany, 1 – 2 February 2008.

Fig 2: The Migrational Mission Model



The MMM can be considered an important aspect of the modern day church. In fact demographers and missiologists alike have become increasingly concerned about the growth of international migration as a population trend.⁵⁹¹ The more people move from one place to the other, the more the church has to deal with migrant members. Michael Pocock et al have noted that 'in the more developed regions of the world, nearly one in ten persons is a migrant.' 592 As migrants travel with their religion, new churches including African-led and other black majority churches have become increasingly present in most of the cities of Europe and North America. With their increasing population these churches have become an 'important part of God's mission'. 593 According to Anderson, African Christianity, which has been greatly Pentecostalized, 'is also being exported to other countries, especially in Europe and North America' and thereby has 'fundamentally altered the character of Christianity, including that of the

⁵⁹¹ Michael Pocock, Gailyn Van Rheenen, Douglas McConnell, *The Changing Face of World Missions*: Engaging Contemporary Issues and Trends (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), p. 46. ⁵⁹² Pocock et al., Changing Face, pp. 46-47.

⁵⁹³ Pocock et al., Changing Face, p. 66.

older, so-called "mission" churches'. ⁵⁹⁴ In UK, most of the CoP congregations rent and use chapels belonging to the mainline churches. The CoP presence in these churches has created a kind of renewal for these older churches. In some of them rental fees have sustained the running of chapels. Others invite CoP members to join them during some of their celebrations, which confirms Anderson's assertion that African Pentecostalism has altered the character of Christianity in the older churches. Claudia Währisch-Oblau has also discovered that even though Pentecostal/charismatic migrants are considered to be amongst the 'most marginalized and powerless social and political groups in Germany, they perceive themselves as extremely powerful in the spiritual realm and thereby expect to effect positive changes on the social and material level'. ⁵⁹⁵ Pentecostals believe that the Holy Spirit empowers them to change their world. However, the level of adaptation and integration into the host culture will determine how much the Christian migrant can effect social and material change.

5.1.1 Migration into Europe: The Push and Pull Factors

Ghana, which up until 1957 was known as the Gold Coast, a name given by the English colonialists because they found so much gold, became literally impoverished by the end of the 1970s. Mike Oquaye, a political scientist enumerates some of the reasons for the economic downturn: (i) dependent development after independence where monopolised economic activities prevented the rise of indigenous entrepreneurship; (ii) socialist policies pursued by the first Ghanaian government administration; and (iii) corruption. 596

⁵⁹⁴ Anderson, 'African Independent Churches', p. 65.

⁵⁹⁵ Claudia Währisch-Oblau, 'Migrants with a Mission', Paper presented at the Conference of the European Research Network on Global Pentecostalism, University of Heidelberg, Germany, 1 – 2 February 2008. ⁵⁹⁶ Oquave. *Politics in Ghana*, p. 74.

The high rate of military intervention in Ghanaian politics resulting in destabilising governments, and inconsistent economic policies also contributed to the economic woes of the country. Kwesi Jonah described the performance of the Ghanaian economy for the period between 1970 and 1980 as 'stagnation' and 'decline'.⁵⁹⁷ Production of cocoa and gold, the backbone of the Ghanaian economy, fell within the period.⁵⁹⁸ By 1981, per capita income for Ghana was \$438 compared to West Germany, where it was \$11,759. Ghana's problem was compounded by high population increase with a birth rate of 48.4% per 1,000. The negative effect was a high infant mortality rate of 156 per 1,000, life expectancy of 46.7 years for males and 50 years for females. During the same period there were 2.7 doctors, 0.2 pharmacists, 6.9 midwives and 18.6 nurses to every 10,000 Ghanaians.⁵⁹⁹ Studies done by Oquaye revealed that:

The Ghanaian economy in January 1982 was characterized by budgetary deficits, declining real output, hyper-inflation, contortions in fiscal policy, over-bloated currency which nurtured a booming currency black market, empty shelves, smuggling and corruption. There was decline in production of all commodities and goods, including export products. Vehicles were parked because of lack of basic spare parts including mere contact sets, spark plugs and tyres. ⁶⁰⁰

These factors gradually pushed some Ghanaians to leave the country and seek greener pastures elsewhere. The problem was compounded when the economic crisis was exacerbated by severe drought conditions which gave rise to wild bush fires that destroyed villages and most of the food crops in 1983. In fact the fires were so intense that the *Ghanaian Times*, reporting on an incidence that destroyed an entire village and killed 26

⁵⁹⁷ Kwesi Jonah, 'Social and Economic Conditions for a Stable Democracy', in K. A. Ninson and F. Drah (eds.), *The Search for Democracy in Ghana: A Case Study of Political Instability in Africa* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1987), p. 103.

⁵⁹⁸ Jonah, 'Social and Economic Conditions', p. 104.

⁵⁹⁹ Oquaye, *Politics in Ghana*, pp. 74-75.

⁶⁰⁰ Oquaye, Politics in Ghana, p. 451.

people, described the fires as 'equivalent to the blast of an atomic bomb, like the one dropped at Hiroshima'. 601 The Daily Graphic and Ghanaian Times together with the major newspapers reported daily on land and markets destroyed by fire. The Ghana government, responding to these destructions, indicated that the fires had caused 'unnecessary demands on the government'602 and that 'the bushfires have brought about so much hunger and famine to the populace that some have resorted to eating raw rice and raw starch'. 603 In fact, in the year 1983 Ghana recorded its highest inflation rate since independence of 123%. 604 As if that was not enough in 1983, Ghanaians were expelled from Nigeria. The returnees increased the Ghanaian population by about 9%, and since most of them were of working age when they travelled to Nigeria in the 1970s during the Nigerian oil boom, their return also increased the economically active population by about 17% and therefore raised unemployment levels to record highs. 605 Job opportunities, better salaries and better standard of living in Europe became very attractive to some of these unemployed personnel as they made frantic efforts to leave their country of origin.

Others fled the country for political reasons. Oquaye observed that during the era of the Provisional National Defence Council of J. J. Rawlings human rights abuse was worse than any other regime in Ghana. During the period from 1979 to the early 1990s there

^{601 &#}x27;Bush Fire Equals Nuke Bomb', Ghanaian Times (Issue 7823, Saturday February 19 1983), p. 2.

⁶⁰² P. Osei-Wusu, 'Lets Stop Bush Fires', Ghana Daily Graphic (Issue 10032, Thursday February 10, 1983), p. 3.

⁶⁰³ 'Traders Exploit Bush Fires', Ghana Daily Graphic (Issue 10036, Tuesday February 15, 1983), front page.

Oquaye, *Politics in Ghana*, p. 464.

⁶⁰⁵ Nicholas Van Hear, *New Diasporas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 72, 167.

were 'wanton abuse; the use of repressive legislation; political trials which were used to suppress individuals; detention for alleged coup attempts; torture and inhuman treatment; clampdown on press and religious freedom'. ⁶⁰⁶ Some of those who were affected managed to escape to Europe and other parts of the world to seek either political asylum or live a secure life. A few others left having suffered loss of farmlands and building structures during the fires of 1983. According to Darrell Jackson and Alesia Passarelli, migration in Europe is patterned after economic, social, political and environmental ⁶⁰⁷ reasons which seemed to be the very reasons most Ghanaians left their country in the 1980s. Ecological and demographic pressures may also force people to leave their country of origin. ⁶⁰⁸ A few others also travelled to Europe and elsewhere for education purposes.

5.1.2 Building Communities: Naturalization and Transnationalism

The result of the push factors that have been listed above was that a good number of Ghanaians found themselves settling into communities in Europe and the USA to seek a better life. Stephen Castles and Mark Miller have noted that there are millions of people who are constantly searching for work or finding a new home to live outside their countries of birth. ⁶⁰⁹ For this reason most Ghanaian visitors in Europe and the USA made it their goal to settle and build a second home away from home. Asurvey conducted among the CoP congregations in Germany, Holland and Italy revealed that 68% of the

⁶⁰⁶ Oquaye, Politics, p. 399.

⁶⁰⁷ Darrell Jackson and Alesia Passarelli, *Mapping Migration, Mapping Churches Responses: Europe Study* (Brussels: Churches Commission for Migrants in Europe, World Council of Churches, 2008), p.5.

⁶⁰⁸ Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, Third Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 4.

⁶⁰⁹ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 3.

membership travelled in the 1980s to permanently settle in Europe either through asylum seeking or working towards an indefinite resident status. 32% others indicated they travelled on a short term basis either to further their education or acquire funds to go back home. The majority of the people who settled in Europe lived together in communities that they were comfortable with. Communities were therefore gradually developed with certain characteristic patterns. In Germany and Italy, for instance, it was very common to see the Ghanaian community congregating in areas where semi-skilled jobs were readily available, where house rental fees were affordable and where it cost less to get to work. Aside from the economic migration trend there was a strong social migration that aided the growth of the Ghanaian migrant community. Most Ghanaians invited friends, family members and relatives to join them once they were comfortably settled in a community. This pulling effect was evident in the CoP in Spain for instance, where majority of the members were related and were originally from the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana.

During the exodus of Ghanaians to Europe, Germany became a popular destination for most people. In fact, travelling to Germany became so popular that those who went there and came back to Ghana were nicknamed 'Burger,' meaning that they had lived in Hamburg. 'Burgers' were the envy of most Ghanaians especially amongst the youth and the middle-aged. It was easy to identify a 'Burger' who had just returned from Europe. They dressed in the most expensive clothing, rode expensive cars and embarked on expensive building projects and economic ventures. The 'Burger' was seen as the

⁶¹⁰ Survey, Church of Pentecost congregations in Europe, conducted in November 2008.

⁶¹¹ Arthur, *African Diaspora*, pp. 34–5.

'saviour' and provider for the family and relatives back home and was expected to send remittances for almost everything like money for food and clothing, payment of rent, medical expenses, school fees, and capital to start small businesses. The more relations a 'Burger' had at home the higher the remittance sent. The Bank of Ghana reported that Ghanaians living abroad remitted \$1.3billion in 2002, 612 thus contributing significantly to the Ghanaian economy. Remittances came only second after exports in terms of resource inflow in 2003 according to Bank of Ghana balance of payments records. 613 Yaw Sophism thinks that the amount was even higher because it did not take into account those who sent remittances through unofficial means. 614 The 'Burger' was also given a prominent role in Ghanaian society and was consulted on important family and community matters, especially matters relating to finance. Churches appealed to former members who had travelled abroad to support in fund raising and church building projects, and community leaders requested support for community projects. Other organizations and institutions like political parties also formed their European branches with 'Burgers' able to speak with 'loud' voices for or against the ruling party. Strong links therefore existed between 'Burgers' abroad and those at home. As part of their responsibility 'Burgers' were to make sure other family members also became 'Burgers'. Alejandro Portes et al described such activities whereby immigrants relate regularly with their home country counterparts as 'transnationalism from below'. 615 Afe Adogame argues that 'the transnational nature of several new African Pentecostal/Charismatic

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⁶¹² Yaw Sophism, 'A Case For Remittance Policy in Ghana, Feature Article', 12 September 2003. (http://www.modernghana.com/news/112620/1/a-case-for-remittance-policy-in-ghana.html) (Accessed, 26 March 2010).

⁶¹³ E. K. Y. Addison, 'The Macroeconomic Impact of Remittances in Ghana', Research Paper by the Research Department, Bank of Ghana, 3 September 2004.

⁶¹⁴ Sophism, 'A Case for Remittance'.

Alejandro Portes, Luis Guarnizo and Patricia Landolt, 'The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 22:2, 1999. p. 221

churches in Diaspora challenges the assumption that immigrants usually cut off ties and links with their homeland after integration into the new host context'. 616 He identifies the activities of transnationalism to include

Investments by migrants in the country of origin, sustained family links in both countries of origin and settlement, home-based religious and cultural organizations that set up branches in countries of new settlement and vice versa, as well as the mobilization of migrants by homeland political parties and social movements, or the diffusion of home-based conflicts to the migrant community and vice versa. 617

This was also the case with some 'Burger' members of the CoP who formed religious transnational networks bringing their church at home with them in their new host country whilst maintaining strong ties with family and church members at home.

5.1.3 Building Religio-Cultural Identity

Before the advent of the 'Burger', Ghanaians normally talked about travelling to abrokyire or amerika as the Akans called it when referring to Britain and the USA. Later, the name 'Burger' was used to refer to anyone who had lived in Europe and North America. In fact travelling abroad became a 'national cultural epic and phenomenon', and international migration was seen as one of the fastest way to fulfil one's goal. 618 Akyeampong adds that going abroad was not limited to overseas, as was initially thought, but it could be anywhere outside one's country of residence. So as those who went to Europe were referred to as 'Burger', Ayeampong referred to the mass emigration of

⁶¹⁶ Afe Adogame, 'Transnational Migration and Pentecostalism in Europe', Paper presented at GloPent Conference, University of Birmingham, February 2009.

⁶¹⁷ Adogame, 'Transnational Migration'.

Adogame, Transnational Wigian 618 Arthur, *African Diaspora*, p. 25.

Ghanaians to Nigeria as 'Agege'. Returnees from Nigeria were known as 'Agege' boy or 'Agege' girl and their large radio systems that they brought from Nigeria were referred to as 'Agege' newspaper. Ambitious men and women craved to travel to Nigeria to have their share of the oil boom and acquire expensive electronic gadgets to Ghana. Similarly, the 'Burger' era reflected this desire to travel. It was therefore the aspiration of most young Ghanaians to travel to Europe sometimes under dangerous, life threatening and very expensive travelling conditions. With such a desire to travel abroad, it did not take much time for there to be sizeable numbers of Ghanaians especially in some of the major cities in Western Europe. In a study on migration in Europe by the World Council of Churches, Jackson and Passarelli discovered that 'Independent and Pentecostal Churches, different language congregations of various denominations can be found in most of the European capitals and bigger cities', and that structures were already in place for black and migrant Churches.

As the numbers grew, there was the need to develop associations. The church was seen as a place to come together for spiritual and social enhancement. Arthur sees it as the 'cultural nerve centre of the immigrant community' where members congregate to have fellowship but at the same time express their traditional ethos'. For Adogame, religious beliefs and churches 'occupy a conspicuous place in processes of religious transnationalization'. New marriages, child naming and dedication ceremonies, funeral

⁶¹⁹ Emmanuel Akyeampong, 'Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa', *African Affairs*, Vol. 99 No. 395, April 2000, pp. 186, 206-7.

⁶²⁰ Jackson and Passarelli, *Mapping Migration*, pp. 1-2.

⁶²¹ Arthur, *African Diaspora*, pp. 94-95.

⁶²² Adogame, 'Transnational Migration'.

services, birthday parties and fund raising activities were all practices that the new immigrants expected to function in the Ghanaian way as a way of expressing their strong religiosity, 623 since Africans generally migrate 'carrying their religious identities with them'. 624 Some individuals soon elected themselves and organized fellow Ghanaians and other Africans for such fellowship. The CoP mission in Western Europe started from Germany in 1983, and by the end of December 2008 the CoP had established a total of 351 churches in Western Europe with over 29,200 members. Countries where the CoP had been established were Austria, Luxembourg, Belgium, Denmark, Finland and Norway, France, Germany, Spain, Greece, Netherlands, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom. CoP-UK was the biggest church in Europe with 8,386 members followed by CoP-Italy, CoP-Germany and CoP-Netherlands with 7,076, 4,851 and 2,241 members respectively. 625 All the churches were largely migrant churches with Ghanaian dominance in terms of composition of membership.

5.2 CoP-UK: A Migrational Mission Case Study

5.2.1 Factors that Led to the Creation of CoP-UK

The Ghana Evangelism Committee in a national church survey reported that the CoP in Ghana recorded an average Sunday church attendance of 186,509 in 2,803 congregations between 1986 and 1988.⁶²⁶ This number of attendance was second only to the Catholic Church.⁶²⁷ As indicated earlier, the CoP has developed a vibrant evangelistic attitude since its inception. The 1953 crisis faced by the church had enhanced its evangelistic

⁶²³ Arthur, African Diaspora, p. 95.

⁶²⁴ Adogame, 'Transnational Migration'.

⁶²⁵ Church of Pentecost International Statistics Report, 2008.

⁶²⁶ Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey*, pp. 16-19.

⁶²⁷ Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey*, pp. 16-19.

enterprise. The period immediately following the crisis was characterized by an intensification of prayer sessions focusing on Spirit baptism and the power to win souls. Evangelism became the business of all members and was not seen as a preserve for the clergy. Larbi assessed the evangelistic ethos of the CoP as follows:

The whole church sees itself as a missionary force. Because of this, every member to a greater or lesser extent sees her/himself as a missionary, whether at the local scene or in foreign lands, whether at the market place or the office. It is expected that a member who travels to another location where CoP does not exist, would first and foremost think of starting one there. This is done first, by living out the gospel as is expected of a member of the church, and second by beginning to propagate the gospel as a missionary of the church, with the aim of establishing a local congregation. 628

With this understanding and practice of mission among the CoP membership, those who would travel abroad were in a way being prepared to introduce the gospel and the church in their new found communities.

As the church grew in Ghana, church members constantly reminded themselves of God's covenant that was supposedly made with the founders of the church from its beginnings in 1931. 629 It was believed that any progress the church made was as a result of this covenant. A vital aspect of the covenant, which was discussed in chapter 3 was that God would raise a nation out of Africa that would be a spearhead and light to the world, heralding the Second Coming of Christ. 630 Since the Gold Coast was thought to be the chosen nation to fulfil this task, and the CoP as the chosen church, its expansion to the West was seen as a fulfilment of the prophecy. The CoP in the UK and other parts of the

⁶²⁸ Larbi, Pentecostalism, p. 250.

⁶²⁹ The Church of Pentecost, Church of Pentecost Songs, p. 147.

⁶³⁰ CoP, Church of Pentecost Songs, p. 147.

world was therefore to a large extent seen as a fulfilment of prophecy 'for God has also promised to take them to various places of the world'. 631 These prophetic utterances, which formed the basis for 'God's Covenant with the Church of Pentecost', were therefore regarded as having created the impetus for the church to move to other parts of the world and particularly, for this case study, the United Kingdom.

The forces at the home front that really pushed Ghanaians to other parts of the world were the decline in the economy, political persecutions, and the guest for further education. 632 These resulted in the influx of Ghanaian migrants into Europe in the 1980s. Migration contributes to a more diverse Christian presence as African-led and Independent and Pentecostal Churches continue to make inroads into the European religious landscape. 633 The Institute for Public Policy Research in the UK reported that the presence of several faith groups in the UK was as a result of migration patterns. 634 The Eurostat Migration statistics database of January 1997 recorded Ghanaian immigrants (where immigration is taken to mean the intention to settle for more than one year) to the UK as 1,600 in 1985, 600 in 1986, 300 in 1987 and 600 in 1988. 635 However, the question arises why the number of Ghanaian immigrants reduced from 1,600 in 1985 to just 600 in 1988 as this was the period most Ghanaians were travelling abroad due to

⁶³¹ Larbi, Pentecostalism, p. 250.

⁶³² Van Hear, New Diasporas, pp. 208 – 211; Gifford, Ghana's New Christianity, pp. 3-6; Larbi, Pentecostalism, pp. 44-9; Basil Davidson, The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation State (New York, NY: Three Rivers Press, 1992) pp. 210-12; Oquaye, Politics in Ghana, pp. 74-5; Jonah, 'Social and Economic Conditions', p. 103; Frimpong-Ansah, The Vampire State in Africa, p. 39.

⁶³³ Afe Adogame, 'From House Cells to Warehouse Churches?: Christian Church Outreach Mission International in Translocal Contexts', in Gertrud Huwelmeier and Kristine Krause (eds.), Traveling Spirits: Migrants, Markets and Mobilities (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2010), p. 165.

⁶³⁴ Zaki Cooper and Guy Lodge (eds.), Faith in the Nation: Religion, Identity and the Public Realm in Britain Today (London: Institute for Public Policy Research, 2008), p. 4. 635 Van Hear, New Diasporas, p. 208.

the economic downturn. Margaret Peil estimated that between 10 and 20 percent of Ghanaians may have been living abroad in the 1980s and 1990s. 636 Studies done by Oquaye and others show that most Ghanaians left the country in the later 1980s. 637 According to Jackson and Passarelli, in European countries where Government agencies provide migration data, sources were not always reliable due to changing migration patterns. 638 They further observed that 'in the United Kingdom, the sampling method initially failed to recognize that low-cost airlines were providing many new entry points to the UK. In some instances the migrant people in question may prefer to remain invisible to official methods of counting them'. 639 There are several others also who entered the UK as short time visitors but have over-stayed their limited leave to remain in the UK, making their residence status illegal. BBC News reported that the UK may be home to about three-quarters of a million illegal immigrants based on a recent research conducted for the Mayor of London. 640 For these reasons, it is very likely that many more Ghanaians came to live in the UK than have been recorded.

5.2.2 Settling into British Communities

Most of the early migrants to the UK settled in London. London is renowned as having the status of a global city. As one of the world's business, financial and cultural centres it commands a global influence over politics, education, entertainment, media, fashion and

⁶³⁶ Margaret Peil, 'Ghanaians Abroad', African Affairs 94, Vol. 94: 376, (1995), p. 376.

⁶³⁷ Oquaye, *Politics in Ghana*, pp. 451-484; Frimpong-Ansah, *The Vampire State in Africa*, pp.144-159; Van Hear, *New Diasporas*, pp. 204-211; Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, pp. 3-4; Kyereme, *Ghana's Development Problems*, p. 80.

⁶³⁸ Jackson and Passarelli, *Mapping Migration*, p. 3.

⁶³⁹ Jackson and Passarelli, Mapping Migration, p. 4.

⁶⁴⁰ BBC News Online, 'Big Rise in Illegal Immigrants', Monday 9 March 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7928880.stm (accessed, 26 March 2010)

the arts. With a population of 7,512,400 as at mid 2006,641 making it the most populous municipality in the European Union, London comprised of a wide range of peoples, cultures, and religions and had over 300 people language groups. This, among other factors, encouraged most of the early Ghanaian migrants travelling to the United Kingdom to settle in London. According to Peil, large numbers of Ghanaian migrants were present in London. 642 In fact before the 1980s the name London was synonymous to Britain in the minds of most Ghanaians. A person who had travelled to Britain had been to London, no matter where the person had settled. Probably London was the gateway to Britain. Also having been colonized by Britain and followed its educational structure meant that London was popularized in the Ghanaian imagination. Thus, London was an important point of destination for Ghanaians who travelled to Europe whether to work or to seek further education. The Office for National Statistics indicated that 78% of all Black Africans in the UK were living in London as at 2001. 643 It was also estimated by census that at the beginning of 2002, 56,000 Ghanaians were living in the UK. However, the Ghana High Commission list of registered Ghanaians indicated a Ghanaian population of 1.5million of which 850,000 or about 57% were living in the boroughs of London. 644 London therefore offered an important geographical space in which the CoP in UK would be developed.

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 ⁶⁴¹ Simon Brown and Gill Redgwell (eds.), (Office for National Statistics), *Key Population and Vital Statistics*, Series Vs No. 33, PPI No 29 2006 Data, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 43.
 ⁶⁴² Peil, 'Ghanaians Abroad', p. 346.

⁶⁴³ Office for National Statistics, Census 2001 (London: ONS, 2003).

⁶⁴⁴ Arthur, African Diaspora, p. 159.

5.2.3 Building Christian Communities: Fellowship with Elim Pentecostal Church

The CoP members who travelled to the UK were initially directed to fellowship with the Elim Pentecostal Church (Elim) by the church headquarters in Accra due to an existing accord between the CoP and Elim. Among the Elim churches that had sizeable numbers of Ghanaian CoP members' fellowshipping with them from the early 1980s were those at Regina Road, Seven Sisters, Clement Road, Ilford, and Kensington Temple, at Kensington Park Road, all in London. 645 It is worthwhile noting that James McKeown, the founder of the Church of Pentecost, had been associated with Elim at a very early stage when he was just 11 in 1911.⁶⁴⁶ As well as being converted at age 19 through the preaching of Pastor Robert Mercer of the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance (later, Elim Pentecostal Church) as suggested by Leonard, 647 Onyinah adds that he was probably influenced by the preaching of George Jeffreys, the founder of Elim, 648 and Smith Wigglesworth, an independent evangelist who worked with Assemblies of God as well as Elim. 649 McKeown met the woman he later married, Sophia Killough, at one of Elim's meetings at Ballymena, and both were reportedly baptised by George Jeffreys. 650 Later, when he moved back to Glasgow, Scotland, McKeown became associated with the Apostolic Church because there was no Elim nearby. 651 He was later to become an

⁶⁴⁵ Samuel Poku Boateng, 'The Formation of Elicop', Unpublished paper, n.d.

⁶⁴⁶ Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', p. 3.

⁶⁴⁷ Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, p. 15.

⁶⁴⁸ D. W. Cartwright, 'Elim Pentecostal Church in Burgess', (ed.), *International Dictionary*, pp. 598-99.

⁶⁴⁹ Onyinah, 'The Man James McKeown', pp. 3-4. In an account on the life of James McKeown, Leonard recounted that when the McKeowns moved from Scotland to Tullynahinion near Portglenone in County Antrim, Northern Ireland, their home became 'a centre of Pentecostal activity' and that George Jeffreys and Smith Wigglesworth were among the early Pentecostal ministers who preached there. See Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, pp. 12-14.

⁶⁵⁰ Leonard, A Giant in Ghana, p. 18.

⁶⁵¹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 175.

Apostolic Church⁶⁵² missionary to Gold Coast from 1937 till 1953 when he seceded to form the CoP.

5.2.3.1 The Elim/CoP Accord

With McKeown's Elim background it was not surprising that when the CoP wanted to affiliate with a global Pentecostal movement Elim was chosen. The Council accepted the proposal, and an affiliation process was initiated which was concluded in 1971, presented at March 1971 Church Council meetings and was subsequently ratified by the General Council after a lengthy deliberation. 653 On 7 July 1972, a copy of a working document of the accord which had been presumably prepared by Elim and signed by Tom W. Walker, President, J. D. Bradley, Secretary General, and L. Wigglesworth, Secretary to the Elim Missionary Society on behalf of Elim, was forwarded to the CoP in Accra. 654 The document, which outlined fifteen terms of reference for how CoP would work with Elim, was intended to come into effect from 15th July 1972. The CoP was to incorporate and administer five small assemblies that had been opened by Elim in Ghana as at 1972. It was further directed that all Elim's activities in Ghana would be under the control of the CoP General Council. The accord also stated that ministerial and other personnel from the Elim Missionary Society working with the CoP in Ghana should work under the jurisdiction of and in conjunction with the General Council of the CoP. Similarly, personnel from the CoP when in the UK would also work under the Elim Missionary

⁶⁵² The Apostolic Church and Elim were both indirect offshoots of the Welsh Revival. Their founders Daniel P. Williams and his brother William Jones Williams, and George Jeffreys and his brother Stephen Jeffreys ,respectively were converted during the Welsh Revival of 1904-5. See Robinson, *Pentecostal Origins*, pp. 14-15; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 28.

⁶⁵³ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 194-195.

⁶⁵⁴ 'Basis of Co-operative Fellowship Between Church of Pentecost and Elim Pentecostal Church', Church of Pentecost Archives, Headquarters, Accra.

Council, though this did not include James McKeown when he was in the U.K. 655 Aside from the areas of direction and control, personnel issues, property acquisition and maintenance, cost sharing during exchange of missionaries and council or conference representations, the accord document also highlighted doctrinal considerations. Paragraph 8 of the 1972 accord stated that:

It is understood that there are no fundamental differences between the Doctrinal Statements of the organizations. Where any variation does exist the members of each group will respect the statement of the other but nothing in this provision must be construed to make it necessary for members of either body serving with the other body to sign acceptance of the others statement of Beliefs where such variation does exist. 656

This section of the accord, as explained later in this chapter, was seen as protecting the rights of each church to maintain their identity. The CoP, in reference to this clause, therefore established churches in the UK, though it tried to respect that part of a memorandum of understanding between the two organizations which stated that neither will seek to establish churches where the other was already present.⁶⁵⁷

The working relationship, however, brought mutual benefits to both organizations. Elim's ministry in Ghana became better defined and eased some of the frustrations experienced by some of the early missionaries. David and Margaret Mills, who were pioneers for Elim in Ghana, questioned their own church planting efforts in Ghana when they realized the presence of several African Pentecostal churches evangelizing their own people, ⁶⁵⁸

656 'Basis of Co-operative Fellowship'.

^{655 &#}x27;Basis of Co-Operative Fellowship'.

⁶⁵⁷ Interview, Rev. Kwesi Otoo, National Secretary, Elicop, December 18 2008. London.

concluding that their missionary work was 'a waste of resources'. 659 After the accord, the Mills had a fulfilling ministry within the CoP in the areas of pastoral care, leadership training and children's work. Lionel and Ruth Currie who took over from the Mills in 1984 as principal of the CoP Bible Training Centre for eight years agree that their association and involvement in African Pentecostalism added an extra ministerial experience that prepared them for their current ministry at Bridge Street Church in Leeds. Bridge Street Church has grown to become a multicultural church with about forty nationalities worshipping together since the Curries took over the leadership. 660 The exchange of theological knowledge, style of worship and ministerial experiences that were shared amongst the Elim missionaries and their Ghanaian counterparts gives a clear indication and an answer to Jean-Daniel Plüss's question when commenting on the challenges the indigenous Asian, African and Latin American Pentecostal and Charismatic churches pose to Pentecostal Christians in Europe. Pluss enquired whether the African churches would need help from their European brothers and sisters and vice versa. 661 There is no doubt that as Christian mission moves towards globalization and/or glocalization there will be more integration, cooperation and ecumenicalization amongst the churches of the north and south.

Under the accord's exchange program, where the CoP ministers attend Elim's Conference and Elim ministers attend the General Council in the UK and Ghana respectively, some of the guests to Ghana seemed to have appreciated their exposure to

⁶⁵⁹ Larbi, Pentecostalism, p. 195.

⁶⁶⁰ Interview, Pastor Lionel Currie, Head Pastor, Bridge street Pentecostal Church, Leeds, and former Elim Missionary to CoP, Ghana, 20 December 2008.

⁶⁶¹ Jean-Daniel Pluss, 'Globalization of Pentecostalism or Globalization of Individualism? A European Perspective', in Dempster, Klaus and Petersen (eds.), *Globalization of Pentecostalism*, p. 170.

some African Pentecostal practices. For instance, a rally could be held along the roadside or in any public space without permission or adequate prior proper planning. The August 1995 Church of Pentecost International Missions Newsletter reports that:

In July, the Church of Pentecost hosted 17 members from the Elim Church in Ilford. The group were of mixed nationality from U.K. and West Indies. They took up assignments in the Pentecost schools, mobile clinics and PENTYEM⁶⁶² where they did rural evangelism for one week to get a feel of missions work and to experience Africa at first hand. They were also able to visit places of interest. On their return from Cape Coast the bus broke down. While waiting for it to be repaired they began singing and a large crowd gathered. Just at the moment, the local presiding elder arrived. Some of the group shared their testimonies and Steve Derbyshire, the Pastor, preached the gospel. Twenty-seven people accepted Christ as their Saviour.⁶⁶³

The CoP on the other hand also benefited from the accord. David Mills who served as an Elim missionary to the CoP from 1972 to 1984 for instance did a lot of work towards the commencement of the Pentecost Bible College. After the College was established, Elim supplied the first two principals in the persons of Pastor Lionel Currie who was the principal from 1984 to 1992 and Pastor John Waller, serving from 1992 to 1997 also as principal. From 1997, the College has been headed by Ghanaians and has grown to become a degree awarding University. Other areas of benefit included the setting up of a mechanical training workshop in Accra, supply of medicines for the CoP's mobile clinics, printing machines for Pentecost Press⁶⁶⁵ and books for CoP Schools. The CoP's radio ministry was a result of the work of Pastor G. L. W. Ladlow, an Elim missionary. Various CoP ministries like the Children's Movement, Witness Movement and Women's

⁶⁶² PENTYEM stands for Pentecost Youth and Evangelistic Movement, the Youth and Evangelism wing of the church.

⁶⁶³ Church of Pentecost International Missions Newsletter, August 1995.

⁶⁶⁴ Pentecost University College (Accreditation document, 2002)

⁶⁶⁵ Larbi, Pentecostalism, p. 196.

Movement have all had input from Elim.⁶⁶⁶ Some Ghanaian ministers had the opportunity not only to travel to the UK but also to minister at Elim conferences and train at Elim's Regents Theological College with the assistance of various bursaries.⁶⁶⁷

As the church spread to other parts of West Africa, the Elim support went with it. In a letter to Pastor Kwame Blankson in 1995, Brian G. Edwards, the then International Missions Director of Elim, wrote that:

We are delighted to continue our support for the Mobile Clinics in Ghana. This year we have supplied over £4,000 worth of drugs and are negotiating for a new Mobile Clinic vehicle to be supplied. We are also supporting CoP missionaries in Togo, Liberia, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso and the Gambia. 668

In another letter, Maureen Butcher, the National President of 'Life Link: Women in Support of Elim International Missions', wrote that financial support has been given for the CoP work in West Africa. Butcher also reported in the EWMA (Elim Women's Missionary Auxiliary) News of October/November 1989 that 'I travelled to Tarkwa with the mobile clinic providing ante-natal care, mother care, immunizations and other preventive medicine. Elim supplies drugs and syringes to this project. A building has also been purchased by Elim to be used as health centre'. ⁶⁶⁹ Elim's assistance in this area has aided and continues to aid the Pentecost Social Services of the CoP by providing much needed health care delivery which was lacking in the rural parts of Ghana.

⁶⁶⁶ Larbi, Pentecostalism, pp. 195-96.

⁶⁶⁷ Ministers like Michael Ntumy (former Chairman of CoP), Opoku Onyinah (current Chairman of CoP), J. S. Gyimah, M. M. Kopah (former Principal of Pentecost Bible College), D. K. Noble-Atsu and J. Yirenkyi-Smart, Ben Ali, S. O. Asante, Dela Quampah (all lecturers at the Pentecost University College) all received training at Regents Theological College.

⁶⁶⁸ Letter to Pastor Kwame Blankson dated 8 February 1995, (Church of Pentecost Archives, UK National Office, London).

⁶⁶⁹ EWMA News, Bi-monthly newsletter, October / November 1989.

5.2.4 Pentecost Association of United Kingdom and Eire (PAUKE)

The idea to form an association of the CoP members within the Elim churches was hatched as early as 1985 when the then Chairman of the Church, Apostle Fred S. Safo, visited the UK. His visit brought together some of the leaders of the church, and by July 1986, a meeting was held with Apostles Opoku Onyinah and Daniel Noble-Atsu, who were then students at the Elim Bible College, now Regents Theological College. The meeting was attended by elders Emmanuel Apea, Samuel Obeng Tuuda, Lawrence Doku, Samuel Poku-Boateng, Emmanuel Clottey and Samuel Asamoah. 670 Discussions during the meeting were communicated to the CoP, Accra. Meanwhile some of the Ghanaian members who were attending the Elim Pentecostal Church at Ilford decided to organize themselves as a fellowship with the aim of supporting one another as fellow migrants in the UK. Based on earlier discussions made with the CoP, Accra, the fellowship was formally inaugurated on Saturday 9 April 1988 in London with the name Pentecost Association of UK and Eire (PAUKE). The first official meeting was attended by twentyfive members. 671 During the maiden meeting, Elder Emmanuel Apea was elected chairman/convenor. Membership was open to all members of the CoP who had come from West Africa and were residing in the U.K. and Ireland. To make it easier to contact the CoP members in the UK, a circular was issued in Ghana by the General Secretary informing members to submit to his office addresses of family members and friends who were residing in the UK. 672 Although membership was open to other Christians from Africa, the group was quick to outline from its very beginning that members who joined

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⁶⁷⁰ Boateng, 'The Formation of Elicop'.

⁶⁷¹ Report on PAUKE, April – December 1988 (Church of Pentecost Archives, UK National Office, London).

⁶⁷² Letter (Reference no. COP/GSO/518/88, dated 14 July 1988 and signed by Ato Addison, General Secretary).

from non-CoP tradition would be expected 'to sign a membership card declaring their acceptance of the Association's doctrinal basis (which is the same as that of the CoP)'. They were expected to become members of the CoP, especially on their return to West Africa. 673 According to Pastor Kwesi Otoo, the National Secretary of the CoP in UK who joined PAUKE in February 1990, the objective of the group was not to establish a church but to have fellowship as fellow migrants. ⁶⁷⁴ Rev. Otoo later mentioned that as the group met for fellowship, the African style of Pentecostal worship, and particularly the CoP style of worship, which was lacking in Elim, emerged in their meetings and gradually created the desire to worship independently. 675 For example, in the CoP worship begins with one person leading a time of thanksgiving prayers. This is followed by a time of singing and dancing. Members are then allowed to share their testimonies and give offerings in appreciation of what God had done. There is also always sufficient time to minister healing, deliverance and other spiritual impartation to the people. Worship time at Elim, on the other hand, begins with worship and praise. There is not enough time for everybody to express their thanksgiving and give testimonies in the presence of the congregation because the service had to finish on time. Adogame posits that Africans who migrate to Europe find themselves in a different cultural context and therefore are prompted to 'reconstruct, organize, and identify "their religion" both for themselves and for the non-Africans around them'. 676 For the CoP members in Britain, the cultural context within Elim necessitated the creation of the CoP.

⁶⁷³ Report on PAUKE, April – December 1988. West Africa is mentioned in the document because by 1988 the Church of Pentecost had not been established outside West Africa.

⁶⁷⁴ Interview Rev. Kwesi Otoo, National Secretary, CoP, UK, 17 December 2008, London.

⁶⁷⁵ Interview, Kwesi Otoo, 17 Dec 2008, London.

⁶⁷⁶ Adogame, 'Transnational Migration', p. 4.

5.2.4.1 Leadership and Structure

PAUKE was run by a seven-member executive committee which was made up of the chairman or convenor, secretary, organising secretary, financial secretary, treasurer and two other members. This is a common pattern of leadership structure for the various movements in the CoP as is set out in the church's constitution. 677 The difference was that heads of movements were already recognised as leaders, and chairpersons were also heads of committees in the church. Constitutionally, local CoP congregations are administered by a seven-member executive committee headed by the district pastor as chairman of the committee. 678 Again the similarity is quite strong, suggesting that PAUKE would eventually or was already operating as a branch of the CoP. Within less than a year of its formation the leadership of PAUKE requested the CoP, Accra, to consider sending them a resident pastor. This was immediately accepted by the church executive in Accra. 679 The issue was discussed with Elim. Then it was followed by a letter written by Ato Addison, the General Secretary of the CoP, to Brian Edwards informing him of an executive decision to send Pastor Kwame Blankson to the UK 'to be attached to Elim and see to the affairs of Ghanaians and PAUKE under Elim'. 680 The 'affairs' which were not explained in the letter probably referred to the need for the Ghanaian pastor to help the group fellowship and worship in a Ghanaian Pentecostal way.

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⁶⁷⁷ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution* (Accra: the General Council of the Church of Pentecost, 2005).

⁶⁷⁸ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*.

⁶⁷⁹ Various correspondences between Accra and PAUKE (Church of Pentecost Archives, UK National Office, London).

⁶⁸⁰ R. Ato Addison, Letter to Brian Edwards, dated 9 June 1989 (Church of Pentecost Archives, UK National Office, London).

5.2.4.2 The Amended Elim / CoP Accord

The request for a Ghanaian minister to be attached to Elim to take care of Ghanaian members in the UK triggered the need to amend the CoP/Elim accord. At their 1988 conference, Elim presented a draft of a proposed agreement between the CoP and Elim. The main areas of concern were that Elim ministers could operate not only in Ghana but in West Africa. Even though the CoP presence was heavily visible in West Africa, Elim decided otherwise probably to relax the accord and create the condition not only for intermission but also for intra-mission work since the CoP was sending a resident minister to the UK. The amendment also proposed that the CoP personnel working with Elim in the UK 'shall work under the jurisdiction and discipline of and in conjunction with the Conference of the Elim Pentecostal Church'. 681 Even though this clause was also to apply to Elim personnel working in West Africa it is not clear why the word 'discipline' was introduced into the accord at a time when a Ghanaian minister was being posted to the UK. Whether it was to protect the Ghanaian minister against the hard stance taken by the CoP on disciplinary issues or to subject the minister to Elim's disciplinary measures requires further investigation. Discipline in the CoP is however very important. It is believed that discipline helped the remarkable growth of the church. Article 14 paragraph 1 of the CoP constitution states that:

We believe that the purpose of church discipline is for the glory of God, the purity of The Church, and the spiritual benefit of members. It serves as a warning to the congregation and also averts reproach upon the name of Christ and for the transgressor especially, that he/she may repent and be saved. ⁶⁸²

⁶⁸¹ Proposed Agreement Between the Church of Pentecost and the Elim Pentecostal Church, 1988 (Church of Pentecost Archives, UK National Office, London).

⁶⁸² Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, p. 75.

Paragraph 2 of Article 14 continues:

An officer or member of The Church who commits any of the following offences shall be disciplined in accordance with the principles of The Church.

- (a) Habitually visiting questionable places
- (b) Falling into open sin
- (c) Embracing or spreading false doctrine
- (d) Divorcing wife or husband
- (e) Marrying more than one wife
- (f) A sister getting married to a married man
- (g) Disobeying and showing disrespect to The Church authority at any level (h) Practising immorality. ⁶⁸³

Aside from these, the following which may be considered as 'gross misconduct' could also lead to dismissal and in extreme cases to excommunication. This includes 'misappropriation of Church funds, fornication, adultery, drunkenness, erroneous teaching of Church doctrine, disrespectful behaviour which affects the unity and progress within the church, gross insubordination, non-cooperation with fellow ministers'. 684 When one is disciplined in the CoP, one is not allowed to partake of the Lord's Communion, or to perform any open duty during worship time including giving a testimony, praying aloud on behalf of the congregation, singing a song or sharing a word. One is expected to sit in the back row rather than the front until re-instated into full fellowship. When a suspended member dies, deacons or elders perform the funeral service with no testimonies or tribute given. ⁶⁸⁵

Areas of discipline in Elim, however, are not specifically spelt out. Ministers and members may be disciplined only after written charges have been levelled against them,

⁶⁸³ Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, p. 75.

⁶⁸⁴ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 254.

⁶⁸⁵ The Church of Pentecost, 'Working Conditions for Ministers'.

and these must be properly investigated with the persons concerned given the right to appeal before an Arbitration Board.⁶⁸⁶

The amendment also outlined carefully how the incoming minister would be supported. On 16 September 1989, the first Ghanaian resident missionary of the CoP, Pastor Kwame Blankson, arrived in the UK and was appointed as associate pastor in Elim and attached to Ilford Elim Church. According to Blankson, his ministry time at Elim, Ilford, brought in many more Africans to worship with the church.

5.2.4.3 Meetings and Functions

In order not to be seen to be functioning as a church, PAUKE met once a month on a Saturday and all members attended an Elim church on a Sunday. Between April and December of 1988, membership at PAUKE meetings rose from 25 to about 60.⁶⁸⁹ Meetings normally followed a CoP liturgical pattern. A programme outline in one of PAUKE's meetings⁶⁹⁰ shows the CoP liturgy. A member starts the meeting by leading the group in a time of 'opening prayers' or 'thanksgiving prayers'. This is followed by congregational singing, clapping and dancing. After the time of praise, members are given the opportunity to share a testimony, read a piece of scripture or give a short word of exhortation. An elder, church officer or guest minister then delivers the sermon amidst shouts of 'hallelujahs' and 'amens'. Both the CoP ministers and Elim ministers were

⁶⁸⁶ Elim Pentecostal Church, *The Constitution 2008 Edition* (Cheltenham: The Elim Pentecostal Church, 2008), pp. 29, 39-40.

⁶⁸⁷ Letter from General Secretary, CoP, Accra, (COP/GSO/490/89, dated 14 September 1989), Church of Pentecost Archives, Headquarters, Accra.

⁶⁸⁸ Interview, Rev. Kwame Blankson, 10 December 2008. London

⁶⁸⁹ Report on PAUKE, April – Dec 1988 (Church of Pentecost Archives, London).

⁶⁹⁰ Programme Outline dated 5 November 1988, PAUKE File (Church of Pentecost Archives, London).

invited to speak at PAUKE's meetings, including Rev. Opoku Onyinah and Rev. F. C. Ampiah of the CoP, and Rev. Barry Kellick and Rev. Brian Edwards of Elim.⁶⁹¹ A time of intensive prayer followed the preaching after which an altar call was made for those who would want to accept Jesus as Lord and Saviour. Tithes and offerings were then taken at PAUKE's meetings. Before a closing prayer was said and the benediction given an elaborate announcement was made which sought to give priority to welfare issues, therefore fulfilling one of PAUKE's objectives to give support to fellow migrants.⁶⁹²

One example of PAUKE's social support in its 1988 report was the help given to a woman who had allegedly flouted UK immigration law and was in police custody by attending all court hearings with her. An amount of £500 was also given to support a woman who had lost her husband. Another woman who had to undergo major head surgery was assisted when PAUKE executive members liaised with specialist doctors to perform the operation and then PAUKE members paid regular visits to the hospital until she was released. PAUKE did not limit its welfare assistance to members in the UK only but supported the CoP in Ghana and Africa through its Missions Board thereby developing its transnational networking with the home church. In 1991, the General Secretary of the CoP, in a letter to the Missions Board Chairman of PAUKE, acknowledged a donation of 2 gas cookers, 2 refrigerators, second hand clothing and food

⁶⁹¹ Report on PAUKE April – Dec 1988(Church of Pentecost Archives, London).

⁶⁹² Report on PAUKE April – Dec 1988 (Church of Pentecost Archives, London).

⁶⁹³ Report on PAUKE April – Dec 1988 (Church of Pentecost Archives, London).

⁶⁹⁴ The Missions Board was one of four boards that operated within PAUKE. The others were Finance, Literature and Charity Boards (Information given by the National Secretary, CoP, London).

items to the Gambia; £600 to Burkina Faso; £200 to Liberian refugees; and £200 to Tear Fund for children in Angola.⁶⁹⁵

Later, in 1989 PAUKE increased its meetings to twice a month on Saturdays, but members continued to worship on Sundays with Elim. As the association developed there were frantic efforts to register PAUKE as a charity in order to function efficiently in the area of mission. The Charity Commission, however, raised a series of questions and observations about PAUKE-CoP relationship. The Commission's apprehension was that there seemed to be a 'dominance' of an UK registered charity organization by an outside 'power' which would deprive the Fellowship from performing its obligation as a charity under the UK ordinance. 696 Another concern of the Commission was with the administration set up of PAUKE which they claimed 'has been, and continues to be in favour of one main organization, that is, the Church of Pentecost, which implicitly was the major beneficiary of PAUKE's financial awards'. 697 Another option for PAUKE was to operate under Elim's charity status and thereby submit itself to the finance and administrative scrutiny of Elim. Taking advantage of the existing accord between the CoP and Elim PAUKE agreed to operate under the charity of Elim in 1993 mainly for convenience and identity. 698 In a study of the Christian Church Outreach Mission International (CCOMI), a Ghanaian-led church based in Germany, Adogame maintains that CCOMI's initial affiliation to Elim Gemeinde, a German-speaking Pentecostal

⁶⁹⁵ R. Ato Addison, letter to Missions Board Chairman, PAUKE (Reference COP/GSO/161/91, dated 20 February 1991, CoP Archives, London).

⁶⁹⁶ Letter to the IMD, CoP Ghana (Reference PAUKE/05/93/01 dated 9 January 1993, CoP Archives, London).

⁶⁹⁷ Letter to the IMD, CoP Ghana (9 January 1993).

⁶⁹⁸ Letter to the IMD, CoP Ghana (6 April 1993).

congregation in Hamburg was a way of negotiating their Pentecostal identity within the wider German religious politics. ⁶⁹⁹ The CoP-Germany had to go through a similar process to be registered.

5.3 Elim Church of Pentecost, UK (EliCoP)

The activities and function of PAUKE ended on 31 December 1993. On 1 January 1994 PAUKE declared itself as a church, and during its Annual General Presbytery meeting held on 5 February 1994 the meeting unanimously voted to change its name from Pentecost Association of UK/Eire (PAUKE) to the Elim Church of Pentecost (Elicop), 700 thus becoming an Elim Alliance Church. The combination of the name Elim and Church of Pentecost was probably to acknowledge the input Elim made over the years to PAUKE, especially in the area of the use of their charity status, and also to continue to respect the fellowship that existed between the two organizations. This however was not without difficulty. Under the Elim/CoP accord there had been a memorandum of understanding that both churches will not seek to establish churches in localities where the other was already established. For the CoP to establish churches in the UK was therefore seen as a breach of the arrangement between the two organizations. An executive member of ElicoP later recalled that this was done at the displeasure of Elim. 701 Responding to concerns raised by Elim, the CoP was quick to make reference to section 8 of the 1972 and 1988 accords, subtitled 'Doctrinal Considerations', that where any disagreement does exist in terms of fundamental doctrinal statements each will respect

⁶⁹⁹ Adogame, 'From House Cells', pp. 166-7.

⁷⁰⁰ Letter to the IMD, CoP Ghana (Reference PAUKE/05/94-03/RM, dated 21 February 1994).

⁷⁰¹ Interview, An executive member, CoP 12 December 12, 2008.

the others beliefs. ⁷⁰² Conveying a decision of the Executive Council of the CoP to Elim to change the status of PAUKE to an 'Alliance' church operating under Elim, the International Missions Director of CoP, Accra, referring to the 'Doctrinal Considerations' under the accord, wrote that:

- 1. The office of an Elder is a spiritual calling, and hence Elders will not be "electible" (as in Elim) but "called" according to present Church of Pentecost working practice. Accordingly, each individual elder can exercise his role and function except dismissed on disciplinary grounds.
- 2. That the "one-to-one principle" (one minister to one church) should not be applicable to PAUKE, for obvious reasons finance. That should be an internal arrangement, left to PAUKE and Church of Pentecost to consider at the appropriate time, and when necessary.
- 3. That PAUKE until the Church of Pentecost General Council decides would not accept women ministers. ⁷⁰³

These 'Doctrinal Considerations' which the CoP saw as different from Elim's practices allowed for PAUKE to be established as an independent church in order to maintain CoP's practices. The CoP holds strongly to its doctrines and practices and guards them jealously against any change that is seen as foreign to the church. During a review of the CoP/Elim accord in 1997, Elim noted that 'one of the concerns of the Executive Council (of Elim) was that the Church of Pentecost churches did not lose the distinctiveness of the church and its ministry'. ⁷⁰⁴ Although there seemed to have been a breach of the Elim/CoP accord by the CoP, the latter's missionary work through Elicop has greatly complemented the work of Elim in reaching a fraction of the black community in the UK with the gospel. Elim continues to work with Elicop as an 'alliance' church.

⁷⁰³ Letter to the IMD, Elim UK Reference COP/IMO/UK-EL-007/93, dated 9 September 1993(CoP Archives, London).

Report on 'Heads of Agreement' to the Chairman, CoP, from Elim (Reference BGE/kjc/Ghana, dated 15 April 1997). CoP Archives, Headquarters, Accra.

⁷⁰² Basis of Co-operative Fellowship, 1972; Proposed Agreement, 1988 (CoP Archives, London).

As at the end of December 2008, more than 46% or 39 out of the 84 Elicop churches in the UK were located in the London Metropolitan area. The London churches were also bigger in terms of number of members than those outside London. For instance, the 39 churches in the London metropolitan area contained 5,950 out of the total church membership of 8,386,⁷⁰⁵ thus constituting 71% of the total church membership. Outside London, there were two Elicop churches in Birmingham with a membership of 130; two churches in Manchester with membership of 233 and two churches in Glasgow with membership of 144. The other churches were scattered in cities and towns where there were normally Ghanaian settlers. There were no Elicop churches in Wales and Northern Ireland.

5.3.1 Building a Ghanaian Community Based Church

Elicop in the UK is patterned after the mother church, the CoP in Ghana, in terms of size and distribution. Unlike Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC) in Hackney, London, where over 12,000 attend on a Sunday or the Redeemed Church of God in Brent which draws about 2,500,⁷⁰⁶ Elicop does not focus on building mega churches. The average Elicop church has a membership of about 70 adults. In fact only 46% of Elicop churches have an adult membership of over 100, with the largest church, Pentecost International Worship Centre (PIWC), Fountain Gate Tabernacle at Dagenham, Essex, where the national headquarters of the church is located, having a membership of less than 300. In 2008, 49 out of the 64 churches studied had a membership of less than 100,

⁷⁰⁵ Elicop, 2008 Annual Statistical Reports.

⁷⁰⁶ Eddie Gibbs, *ChurchMorph: How Megatrends are Reshaping Christian Communities* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2009), p. 104.

while only 3 churches had an adult church membership of more than 200.⁷⁰⁷ In these churches, women formed over 60% of the congregation and were very active in the life of the church. This was also the case with the non-Ghanaian membership where women constituted 56% of the adult membership.

Most Elicop churches were located in cities and towns where there were significant numbers of Ghanaian migrant residents. Since Elicop churches targeted Ghanaian migrants it was important that churches were situated in communities where Ghanaian communities thrived. A study of these Ghanaian dominant communities in terms of spread of Ghanaians within the Elicop churches in the UK revealed that Ghanaians were found mainly in black communities in the Greater London area and other ethnically diverse communities like Birmingham and Manchester. 708 The tendency was for settlers to invite new arrivals to share an apartment or a house or to join family and friends as the case may be. 709 This trend gives rise to Ghanaian populations in particular communities and gradually creates geographical enclaves in the UK spatial environment. Ghanaians also congregate in areas where they can readily get semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. For instance Telford, a small town in Shropshire County in the north-west of England, attracted a number of Ghanaians because of several factories that were located there. This gave rise to the establishment of three Elicop churches with a combined membership of 250, which was larger than the Elicop church in Birmingham. 710 A few Ghanaian

⁷⁰⁷ Calculations were made based on 2008 annual church statistics comprising 62 churches out of the total 84 Elicop churches in the UK, representing about 74% of all Elicop churches. Information on the other churches was not made available to the researcher. All other computations are based on the 62 Elicop churches which include those in England and Scotland.

⁷⁰⁸ A survey of Elicop congregations conducted in May 2008.

⁷⁰⁹ A survey of Elicop congregations in Telford conducted in October 2008

⁷¹⁰ Elicop Annual Church Statistics, 2008.

communities have grown up around tertiary educational institutions. In such areas, Elicop has taken the opportunity to establish churches. These patterns of community formation have a direct effect on Elicop churches. For instance, churches in areas where jobs were readily available resulted in an increase in membership. In the event where there was economic downturn with subsequent ripple effect on jobs in the area, members moved to other areas where jobs were more readily available and therefore reduced the size of membership. 711 There were other Elicop churches in towns like Wigan, Rugby and Doncaster which could not be easily explained by Ghanaian migratory patterns. In fact, the migratory process involves 'complex sets of factors and interactions and affects every dimension of social existence'. 712

With only 3% of adult membership attending Elicop churches being non-Ghanaians, one could describe these churches as not only Ghanaian-led churches but Ghanaian based churches because nearly all members were Ghanaians. Church culture in terms of language of expression, songs, sermon illustrations, child dedication, funeral celebrations, and weddings tend to be Ghanaian in character, whilst church planting strategies are initially centred around Ghanaians.

5.3.2 Finance and Administration

Elicop is run by a seven-member Executive Council that is headed by a Resident Missionary who is normally posted by the CoP, Accra, through the International Missions Directorate. Before the arrival of the missionary, Elim plays a major role by processing

A Survey of Elicop congregations in Telford conducted in October 2008
 Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, p. 21.

the missionary's invitation to the UK and assisting with his or her work and residence status in the UK.

The Resident Missionary (RM) is accountable to the International Missions Director in Accra and sends periodic administrative, finance and demographic reports on the church to Accra. He may take directives and where necessary obtain permission from Accra to implement sensitive and major decisions. Elicop delegates attend conferences in Ghana and therefore maintain a strong transnational link with the CoP, Accra. There is, however, a National Council that acts as liaison between the International Missions Board, Accra, and the local church, and has the power to ratify decisions of the Executive Council. There are also transnational networks among the CoP churches in Europe and the USA. Annual European and Euro-American conferences are held, whilst national heads invite one another to minister in their churches.

Within Elim, Elicop churches have been categorized as a Region. The RM of Elicop, therefore, acts as a Regional Superintendent within the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance which grants him the privilege to join the Regional Superintendents' Council as well as meeting with the Executive Council of the Elim Alliance alongside other Regional Superintendents. All other ministers are also granted the right to attend Elim's Ministers' Conference with full voting rights. It must be noted that ministers of Elicop who are called in the UK are trained at Elim's Regents Theological College at Nantwich, ordained by Elim, accredited by Elim and hold Elim's Ministerial Credentials or License

⁷¹³ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, pp. 24-5.

⁷¹⁴ Elim Pentecostal Church, 'Heads of Agreement' (Report on review to the Chairman, CoP, Accra, dated 15 April 1997, Church of Pentecost Archives, Headquarters, Accra)

that permit them to function as religious ministers in the UK. Elicop, however, organizes its own ordination service for its ministers with the CoP ministers in the UK being ordained twice by Elim and Elicop at different times and functions. When it becomes appropriate Elicop ministers are sent to Ghana on a rota basis for a short period of training 715 as a means of 'reorientation' at the Pentecost Bible College in Accra, apparently to learn and keep to the traditions of the church.

In the area of finance, whereas Elicop does the day to day accounting business of the church, Elim processes all pay vouchers of Elicop ministers and other employees. Elicop church accounts are submitted to Elim who provide further administrative support. ⁷¹⁶ The main source of funding for Elicop is through tithe payment by the local churches. 10% of all tithes received are paid to Elim out of which substantial amounts are paid to the CoP-Accra, to support the church's ministry in Africa. 717 Elim also acts as Trustee and guarantor in terms of property acquisition by Elicop. In fact, Elicop benefits considerably from the charitable standing and status the Alliance has with the UK Commissioners and the protection that it offers on all matters relating to administration, finance and property holdings.

5.3.3 Leadership and Administration of the Local Church

The local church is run by the local presbytery which is made up of the district minister, his wife, elders, deacons and deaconesses of the local church. One of the elders is elected by majority vote to preside over the presbytery and the local church for a two-year term

⁷¹⁵ Elicop End of Year Reports, 2001, 2006.

⁷¹⁶ Interview, K. Otoo, 19 March 2009.
717 Elim Pentecostal Church, 'Heads of Agreement'.

which may be reviewed for further terms.⁷¹⁸ The presiding elder acts on behalf of the district minister to officiate during church services and takes responsibility for the general welfare and spiritual well-being of the church. Elders generally are responsible for the effective running of the local church, administering the Lord's Supper, preaching and teaching sound biblical doctrine and any other function as assigned by the district minister. Deacons and deaconesses are supposed to be the custodians of the church, looking after the material things of the local church including tithes and offerings as well as cleaning and maintaining order at church.⁷¹⁹ The district minister, who may be an overseer or a pastor, is responsible for a number of congregations called a district (Elicop has an average of six congregations per pastoral district), may pay regular visits to the local church, and is invited to perform pastoral functions like marriage blessings, child naming and dedication services, water baptism and funeral services.

In Elicop churches, it was discovered that over 98% of leaders were Ghanaians. All pastors and elders were Ghanaians with only 6 non-Ghanaians out of 325 deacons and deaconesses surveyed. Out of the six non-Ghanaians (2 Sierra-Leoneans, 2 Nigerians, 1 Jamaican and 1 British) four of them were married to Ghanaians. Only two out of the total leadership of 487 were Ghanaian-British, that is, Ghanaians born in the UK.

Another trend in the selection of leaders was that 63% of all leaders were CoP members in Ghana before migrating to the U.K. Some CoP apostles who have the mandate to ordain members into leadership may refuse to refuse to do so just because they were not

⁷¹⁸ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, pp. 23, 73-74.

⁷¹⁹ The Church of Pentecost, *Constitution*, pp. 73-74.

⁷²⁰ I have referred to Ghanaians as Ghanaian-born including those who have obtained British citizenship but were born in Ghana.

CoP members in Ghana and therefore may not be very familiar with CoP practices. Similarly, Ghanaians who have been born in the UK may not be readily accepted into leadership because they may not know much about the church in Ghana. Because they are known to belong to the second generation of membership, it is felt that they may pose a threat to the existing practice and ethos of the church. It is anticipated that this trend will change as the church grows in the UK. There is also an unwritten policy amongst ministers that once a member has stayed in an active role in the church for at least five years, and displays evidence of speaking in tongues, they can become church officers. However, ten out of fourteen pastors who responded to a question about bringing the second generation of members into leadership said the second generation members were not mature enough. Eight of them said they were not sure if they could lead a church. 721 In fact, there was a general feeling of suspicion towards the youth among the pastors and elders. Out of 30 presiding elders who responded to the questionnaire, 20 (67%) had been members of the CoP for over 20 years and only 3 (10%) had been members of the church for less than 15 years. This has made it even more difficult for younger elders or those who joined the church in the UK and were not CoP members in Ghana to ascend to the position of presiding elder. Unless such a trend is reversed or revised, the growth of CoP-UK may be retarded because of difficulties over sustaining second generation members, attracting other African-British or other Africans in general.

5.3.4 Worship and Church Practice

The following account of worship and church practice within the Elicop churches is based on participant observation of services attended between 2005 and 2008 in four

⁷²¹ A Survey of Elicop leadership conducted in June 2008.

churches in the London area (Tottenham, Archway, Harlesden and Camberwell).

Observations at Elicop churches in Milton Keynes, Birmingham, Manchester and

Telford, where I have been responsible as resident minister, are also included in the

account. Worship services at most Elicop churches are held on Sundays, Wednesdays and

Fridays or Saturdays. Fridays or Saturdays are mainly used for intercessory prayers

where time is allocated to pray for various needs including healing (physical, emotional

and spiritual) and family needs (broken homes, child delinquencies, childlessness,

singleness). Other prayer needs include career issues (joblessness, promotions, education,

professional training), financial issues (finance for housing projects both in the UK and

Ghana, unpaid debts, adequate finance for daily living) and immigration issues.

Worship time at a typical Elicop church begins with a time of thanksgiving or opening

prayers. Sometimes it is called preparatory prayers. Usually a deacon or deaconess would

lead the congregation for about thirty minutes to thank God for various reasons including

protection, provision and for the privilege of belonging to church. Part of this prayer

session is used to invoke the presence of the Holy Spirit since it is believed that without

the presence and empowerment of the Holy Spirit the service will be unfulfilling, led by

human intelligence and therefore risk missing the blessings of God for the congregation.

This desire to allow the Holy Spirit to preside over the service is expressed in the

following song:

Sunsum Kronkron bra

Sunsum Kronkron bra

Ao, fa dεw bra, Alleluia!

Sunsum Kronkron bra.

Se Ammba a, yeaba no gyan

Holy Spirit Come

Holy Spirit Come

O Bring joy, Hallelujah!

Holy Spirit Come.

If you don't come, we have come in vain

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Yerotweon W' yeaye asor We are waiting for your presence before we

worship

Yerotweon Wo tum' no We are waiting for your power Yerotweon W'ennyimnyam We are waiting for your glory

The thanksgiving prayer session normally ends with committing the rest of the meeting into God's hands in order to avert any evil spirit influence. It is believed that even when people sleep during the church service, especially during the preaching, the devil is at work, and therefore prayers are said against such possible occurrences. During one service I attended in London, the prayer leader directed the congregation to 'pray against any evil spirit that will cause people to sleep and take the Word out of people's heart, create lack of understanding of the Word of God and that the Holy Spirit would speak through the preacher to us'. 722 This initial prayer time is very important if the entire church service is to be rewarding. A dull worship service is usually attributed to the fact that the leader of the opening prayer session did not do well enough. Sometimes, if the presiding officer feels led by the Holy Spirit, he may ask the congregation to continue praying after the prayer leader has finished. This is to make sure that enough prayers have been said to invoke the presence of the Holy Spirit and thwart every activity of the Devil, thus enabling members to celebrate and enjoy the fullness of the Lord, because 'in his presence there is fullness of joy'. 723 One of the early members of Elicop who joined Elim in the 1980s before the formation of Elicop, recalled that one of the reasons members decided to form a branch of the CoP in the UK was that in Elim they missed the opening prayers. 724

⁷²² Sunday morning service at Elicop, Archway Assembly, London, 11 June 2006.

⁷²³ Psalm 16:11 (NKJV). This was also a phrase of a popular CoP hymn.

⁷²⁴ Interview, Pastor Samuel Boateng, Elicop, Tottenham, 14 February 2009. On the other hand, some Elim services start with a time of worship which include thanksgiving prayers instead of a distinct thanksgiving

The opening prayer is followed with a time of praise, characterized by loud, joyful singing accompanied by clapping and dancing. Musical instruments provide the backing for the singing which is led by song leaders or praise teams. After the congregational singing individual members are given opportunity to give testimonies of what the Lord has done for them during the week or in the near past. These could be personal or refer to family members back in Ghana who had been delivered from a problem. Others testified of how they were able to travel to England or how a relative after being refused a British visa for three years acquired one after fasting and prayers. During a Sunday service in Telford, a brother stood up full of joy and exuberance, seized the microphone and shouted "Praise the Lord!" The members responded, "Hallelujah!" Then he continued:

brothers and sisters it is good to trust in the Lord. I have made several attempts to acquire a visa and travel but to no avail. I entered into a time of fasting and prayer and was directed prophetically to try again. This time my interview was so easy to the extent that the consular even helped me answer some of the questions he asked. I had my visa within thirty minutes!⁷²⁵

Others use the opportunity to read a scripture or sing a song. Others come to thank the Lord for a new baby, a new marriage or having organized a successful funeral for a loved one. All these are done amidst shouts of 'Amen' and 'Hallelujahs' from the rest of the congregation in solidarity with the person giving the testimony. Usually a few persons will stand by the person giving the testimony to support them. This is also quite different from how testimonies are conducted at Elim. At Elim, time is not allotted for testimonies

prayer or opening prayer session as in the CoP (Personal observation at Christian Life Centre, a branch of Elim Pentecostal Church in Selly Oak, Birmingham, February – August, 2000).

725 Congregational testimonies at a Church service in Elicop church, Telford, 18 February 2007

as a regular feature. Occasionally a person may give a testimony, but only after discussion with the leadership. Then it is included in the church's programme ahead of time.

A time of worship, a combination of Scripture reading, songs and prayers follows the testimonies. This was usually led by one of the church leaders. In the case of the Pentecost International Worship Centres known as PIWCs, 726 a group of young men and women known as the 'Praise and Worship Team' lead the praise and worship time. This is a time where the congregation pray and acknowledge who God is by reflecting on his attributes. The prayer time is interjected with speaking of tongues and songs that also reflect the attributes of God. The aim of the worship time is to allow members to prostrate themselves before a holy God with the understanding that God has given them the privilege to worship Him together with the heavenly angels. During the worship time a person may rise and give a word of prophecy. Up to three persons may give prophecies in a given service as directed by the Apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians chapter 14.727 During a prophetic utterance members are not supposed to respond with 'amens' since it is believed that when God speaks there should be silence. Prophecy is understood to be a divine utterance where God uses the person delivering the message as an instrument. Since God himself is speaking there is no need to say 'amen' or 'let it be so' because 'the Lord has said it and he will do it'. Prophetic rituals are quite different in Elim churches. At the Christian Life Centre, an Elim church in Birmingham which I attended for one

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⁷²⁶ The PIWCs which are discussed later in this chapter are congregations of the CoP that use English as the main medium of expression for worship.

⁷²⁷ 1 Cor 14:29, 30 ³Two or three prophets should speak, and the others should weigh carefully what is said. And if a revelation comes to someone who is sitting down, the first speaker should stop.

year in 2000, prophecies were not restricted to three persons. The person delivering the prophetic message always added the phrase 'thus says the Lord' or 'the Lord says', whereas in the CoP the speaker speaks, as it were, with the voice of God using phrases like 'I am the Lord' or 'I, the Lord say'. One person then stands up to pray in order to bring the worship time at the Elicop churches to a conclusion. Such a prayer often depicts a particular understanding of God. In a Sunday service in Birmingham, for example, part of a prayer by a deaconess was like this: 'there is no one like you God. What you have purposed to do no one can stop it, you are the Great I am, you are a thumb that cannot be neglected in tying a knot, you are a wall that can be leaned on without falling, Almighty God, we worship you'. 728

The entire congregation takes an active part in the prayer and worship as it is meant to be a time for members to enjoy themselves. In the survey of 30 Elicop churches, 87% of the leadership described their worship style as being highly exuberant and lively or very charismatic and spiritual. However, about 57% said they agree or strongly agree that their worship style should change to accommodate second generation Ghanaians and to be sensitive to the post-Christian British context. 40% indicated that their worship style was not very attractive to the youth. Only 37% felt that the Elicop worship style should change to accommodate other nationals, 13% were not sure whether this was necessary, and 50% thought that their worship style should remain unchanged in order to attract other nationals. This suggests that most of the churches wished to maintain the Ghanaian character of the church whilst in Britain. When asked to assess whether their churches were patterned after the CoP in Ghana, 60% were absolutely certain that Elicop was the

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⁷²⁸ Prayers at a Sunday service, Elicop church, Birmingham, Sunday 24 August 2008.

same as the CoP in Ghana in the way they worship and do church, whilst 40% admitted that Elicop was only to some extent the same as the CoP in Ghana. Probably this explains why only 3% of church members are non-Ghanaian. One wonders where the many CoP members in other African countries worship whilst in Europe. This may need further investigation but lies beyond the scope of this research.

An essential part of the service at Elicop churches is ministering to the soul and body. It is believed that the soul feeds on the word of God, and that administering the word of God should not be neglected in favour of other activities during church services. An elder conducting a service in Manchester cautioned, 'We have reached a very important part of our service that is listening to the Word of God. Everyone should take their notebooks and pens and the deacons are to ensure that no one walks around'. The ministry of the word of God follows immediately after the worship time. The word is mostly delivered by the pastor, an elder or a deacon, deaconess or member who is believed to have the ability to deliver the word of God. Usually the pastor decides who should preach on a Sunday. This is arranged by a monthly speakers' rota drawn up by the pastor in charge. Elicop churches do not follow any systematic theological teaching or preaching plan except during Christmas and Easter conventions or district programmes where a theme is given for the event. Preachers may then speak on the theme or as they are directed by the Holy Spirit. As regards Sunday worship services, since a particular preacher seldom gets consecutive preaching slots within a period it becomes difficult to follow through a particular teaching topic or theme. There is invariably a different preacher each Sunday, and preachers have the prerogative to choose any biblical subject as they feel led by the

⁷²⁹ Sunday service at an Elicop church, Manchester, 21 May 2006.

Holy Spirit. Messages tend to be experiential and charismatic in focus, as is characteristic of African Pentecostalism generally. It is very common to hear preachers say at the beginning of their sermons how in response to their prayer, God through the Holy Spirit gave them a message for that day. This gives the congregants the assurance that what they are receiving through the preacher is really from God. Occasionally a member may even confirm how the same word was given to them the previous night through a dream or vision.

In Elicop churches as in the CoP, Ghana, the various gifts of the Holy Spirit are allowed to function during service. Sometimes the leader may request those who received a revelation during the service to share it with the congregation. These spiritual gifts encourage worshippers to believe that they serve a living God who through the Holy Spirit reveals himself through various means.

Sufficient time is allocated for the preacher or another elder to minister to the members in prayer after the word has been preached. This is the time where members believe God visits them by giving them breakthroughs in their lives. Usually the prayer ministration will reflect what has been preached. The prayer leader gives a brief summary of the word God has spoken to them through the preacher, outlines what he thinks is God's word for them to act on, sings a devotional song that reinforces what has been said, and gradually encourages the entire congregation to engage in spontaneous prayer. It is believed that the louder they shout during such prayers, the quicker deliverance will come. Although Elicop members believe that God is not deaf and that he hears even silent prayers, when

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⁷³⁰ Kalu, African Pentecostalism, p. 254.

and forceful. This is partly based on Matthew 11:12 which says 'The things of the kingdom suffers violence, and the violent takes it by force'. From this it is believed that the more serious one is, the sooner God will show mercy. The prayer leader will therefore normally urge the worshippers not to be quiet or sit down unconcerned but to persevere in prayer. Sometimes deacons and deaconesses go around urging members to stand and participate in the prayer session. After prayer in response to the word, intercessory prayers are made for people with various needs, and this may include anything from healing to immigration issues. This part of the service is popular especially when there is evidence of supernatural 'signs' and 'wonders' following the prayer ministration. According to Kalu, for African Pentecostals 'healing is the heartbeat of the liturgy and the entire religious life. It brings the community of suffering together; it ushers supernatural power into the gathered community and enables all to bask in its warmth. It releases the energy for participatory worship that integrates the body, spirit and soul'. 731

The CoP's emphasis on divine healing and deliverance seemed to appeal to Africans. When the CoP started its missionary activities in Europe, for instance, the services of faith healing evangelists from the church were employed particularly in Holland and France.⁷³² It was reported that most converts were won during several healing crusades, and this helped to establish the church in these European countries.⁷³³ The growth of the church in Amsterdam for instance was quite phenomenal. Even though there were other African churches operating in the city in early 1990 the church quickly grew from its

⁷³¹ Kalu, African Pentecostalism, p. 262.

⁷³² Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 388 – 389.

⁷³³ Church of Pentecost, International Missions Annual Reports, 1994, 1995, 1996.

modest beginning of 6 in 1990 to about 200 in 1992. One of the pastors who joined the church a month after its inception in September 1990 explained the speedy growth in terms of the manifestation of the power of the Holy Spirit during prayer meetings. 734 An elder of the church added that the presence of the Holy Spirit resulted in several healings and deliverances from the snare of the Devil to the extent that some prostitutes in the infamous 'Red Light' district abandoned their trade and surrendered their lives to the Lord. 735 According to Anderson, 'Pentecostals believe that the coming of the Spirit brings an ability to do "signs and wonders" particularly that of healing and miracles, in the name of Jesus Christ to accompany and authenticate the gospel message', 736 Prayers for healings were emphasized during the initial formation of the church. Amongst those who were invited to the church in Europe were Evangelist Owusu Tabiri⁷³⁷ and Evangelist Vaglas Kanko, an Assemblies of God minister. The CoP in Europe and the USA continues to invite Prayer and Healing Centre leaders from Ghana to their revival meetings with the hope of receiving spiritual and physical healing through their Holy Spirit empowered ministrations.

⁷³⁴ Interview with Rev. Charles Amoah, District pastor of Den Haag CoP, The Netherlands , 18 November 2008

⁷³⁵ Interview with Elder Ohene Asiedu, CoP Dagenham Assembly, Essex, 18 November 2008. Elder Asiedu was a presbyter at the Amsterdam assembly until 1994 when he relocated to the UK. ⁷³⁶ Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 35.

Figure 1937 Evangelist Owusu Tabiri was a CoP prayer leader at the Bethel Prayer Camp in Sunyani Ghana. It is reported that several healings took place under his ministration at the Prayer Camp. Larbi reports that Owusu Tabiri claimed to have been called by God whilst on a business trip to the USA. Immediately after the call during his ministration back in Ghana a blind woman received her sight and also a deaf and dumb woman spoke and could hear perfectly. See Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 388-89. He later defected from the CoP to establish his own church, the Bethel Prayer Ministry, due to misunderstanding of some healing and deliverance practices and theology that was inconsistent with CoP practices and theological teachings.

5.3.5 Church Financing and Procedures

Every Elicop church in the UK is supposed to be self-financing. For this reason a time is set aside after the ministry of the word and prayer for the congregation to give their tithes to the Lord. An offering bowl is placed at the front of the church, and members amidst singing and dancing placed their tithes and offerings into the bowl as they move in files from the back until those at the front and on the platform have placed in their offerings. According to Elicop practice, as is also the case with the CoP, Ghana, tithes are paid directly into the church's national account after deducting 7.5%, known as Local Development Fund (LDF), which is the national church's contribution to the local church for its local development and administration.⁷³⁸ Aside from this the national church pays for the local church's chapel rent and all other utility bills. Generally, the national church is responsible for the acquisition of chapels and mission houses and is also responsible for the payment of pastors' salaries and all other allowances for the pastors. However since the LDF seemed to be inadequate for the local church's needs, and at times might even be frozen when there is an urgent national need, a second free-will offering is always taken known as the Local Fund to help run the local church. 90% of the churches surveyed revealed that they were unable to raise up to £100 as Local Fund on a weekly basis. Out of this, 37% raised less than £50 as Local Fund. Even some of the larger churches were unable to raise up to £200 per week. Furthermore, most of the churches noted that they were unable to collect their local funds every week since some Sundays were celebrated as international, national, area, district and movement days. During such celebrations, special funds are taken for the occasion after the usual tithe offerings. Most

⁷³⁸ Information collected from Local Accounts Sheets that are prepared at the end of every month by Elicop congregations.

of the presiding elders, therefore, indicated that running the local church was tedious since they always had to find extra money for welfare issues like visiting the sick, the bereaved, mothers who have given birth and the provision of other types of social support. In all these visitations monetary donations are given. The result is the multiplication of offerings taken on Sundays. The church leadership has tried to solve this problem by restricting the number of offerings to a maximum of two each Sunday, but to no avail because of the need to generate money to run the local assemblies.

Elicop churches in the UK operate within the rules of conduct of the CoP as outlined in the Ministers' Manual of the church which every pastor and presiding elder is supposed to possess and study so that they are familiar with how to conduct church services rather than just rely on their experience. Some of these rules of conduct, as outlined in the Ministers' Manual are as follows:

The Church is the household of God, redeemed and sanctified by the blood of Jesus Christ.

Thus the Church is not a mere social institution but a family of saints being trained and equipped until we all attain unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.

The following guidelines are therefore intended to help you walk worthy of your calling as a child of God:-

- (a) Set aside some period daily for personal quiet time in prayer and meditation on the Word.
- (b) Always endeavour to adequately prepare yourself through prayer and meditation before coming to the house of God.
- (c) Be in your seat in good time before the commencement of the service, and participate fully in every aspect of the worship service.
- (d) Make the Church your spiritual home. Love the brethren with brotherly affection and, if you are able, contribute to the needs of the saints.
- (e) Endeavour to study the Bible diligently on your own and take it with you anytime you go to the house of God.
- (f) Enter reverently; pray fervently; listen attentively; give praise from a grateful heart, and worship God in the beauty of Holiness. "Enter into His

gates with thanksgiving, and into His courts with praise; be thankful unto Him and bless His name" (Ps. 100:4). 739

These and other rules of conduct are supposed to be practised by all church members. For instance, it is believed that if members have adequately prepared themselves in prayer at home before coming to church, the Holy Spirit will manifest himself quickly during service time. Sometimes a dull service is attributed to the fact that members, including those who are leading the various sessions of the service, have not prepared themselves adequately before coming to church.⁷⁴⁰

One area of conduct where members have been unable to adhere to is to be in their seat before the commencement of service. This has a cultural background where attendance at an event is more important than the time one arrives. Members may therefore walk in at any time during Elicop church services without feeling guilty. Even though they live in Britain and, are on time at their place of work, the church is still regarded as a cultural centre, an association of Ghanaians worshipping together in Britain where lateness is tolerated. John Arthur is of the view that when people migrate the 'multidimensional processes involved in learning the expectations of a new culture are challenging. Adaptation requires that immigrants undergo a socialization process to learn the values, norms, and culture of the dominant society'. But since members are able to report to work on time, it is difficult to determine whether it is because they wish to enjoy

⁷³⁹ The Church of Pentecost, *Ministers Manual*, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁴⁰ Some church elders' perspectives concerning dull services from the church survey. Conducted in August 2008

⁷⁴¹ At almost all the churches I attended during the survey period, less than 50% of members attending were seated before the start of service. About 85% of the churches had 30% members present at start of service. ⁷⁴² Arthur, *The African Diaspora*, p. 65.

'freedom in Christ' at church or whether they encounter similar cultural tensions at their place of work.

As they walk into church, members are also careful to follow another rule where men are expected to sit separately from women. The rule requires that the pastor and elders sit on a platform facing the men seated on their right and the women on their left. This has been an old CoP practice from the early days of the church and had been followed without questioning. This aspect of church practice was, however, relaxed in the Elicop churches, especially in the Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWCs). 743 In the PIWC men and women may sit together. The platform was only used as a stage for leading an activity. This remained so until 2007 when the new missionary to the UK, realizing that this was a violation of the CoP practice, issued an ultimatum, under a 'Divine Reform in the UK Church' for all platforms in the Elicop churches to be used to seat pastors and elders. 744 All Elicop churches in the UK have since complied with this and other reforms, though it has created problems for the PIWC congregations since they have never used the platform to seat ministers. The separation of men and women is still strong in the non-PIWCs. In trying to investigate the reasoning behind this segregation, some of the first leaders of the church revealed that the early days of Pentecostalism in the Gold Coast were characterized by a strong desire to live holy lives. This influenced the seating arrangements in church. They wished to avoid situations which would encourage sinful behaviour between sexes or allow husbands and wives to be discussing family issues

The PIWC is an English-speaking version of the local CoP and was created to cater for non-Ghanaians and other Ghanaians who were not comfortable with the Twi-speaking local churches. The PIWC concept is explained further below.

⁷⁴⁴ Church Reforms document, June 2007. (Elicop National Office files, London).

rather than concentrating on church matters. In a sense they wanted members to be in the right frame of mind to listen to the word of God without any distraction. 745 Others, however, believed that Pentecostalism in its early formation in the Gold Coast was viewed with suspicion to the extent that partners of members who had not joined the church would spy on their spouses while attending church. The fear was that this could lead to marital abuse where the member is falsely accused if found sitting by a member of the opposite sex. It therefore became necessary for the men and women to separate in order to maintain the purity of the church and also to save members from various accusations. This also affected the way members danced at church. Dancing was done along gender lines where men were not allowed to dance at the same time as women.⁷⁴⁶ In both explanations the bottom line was for the church to keep its name pure with members living above reproach, thus ensuring holiness among church members. As to why men always sat on the right and women on the left, some of the early leaders of the church explained that this was mainly traditional. It is believed that the woman should always be on the left of the man so that in case the woman was attacked the man may use his right hand to defend her. 747 But this gender segregation went beyond just seating in the church. During the communion service, the leaders and the men take communion first followed by the women. Also at marriage ceremonies, the woman may stand on the right of the husband-to-be to go through the vows. After pronouncing them man and wife the woman is asked to move to the left side of the man. 748

⁷⁴⁵ Interview with some retired ministers and wives who worshipped with the church from the 1930s. Accra, 20 July 2007.

⁷⁴⁶ Interview, CoP Pastors, 22 July 2007, Accra.

⁷⁴⁷ Interview, Retired Ministers, 28 June 2007, Accra.

⁷⁴⁸ Personal observations in CoP services and ceremonies (2006 – 2008).

Dress codes in church were also important to Elicop members. Generally, modesty was encouraged. For instance, in 2008 the resident missionary of Elicop issued a circular advising all would-be brides to dress at the pastor's mission house. Those who for genuine reasons could not go to the mission house were expected to invite the pastor's wife and other women leaders to be present where the bride was dressing for them to inspect the gown and other make-ups.

The issue of women's head covering is not strongly emphasised in the Elicop churches, as it is in the CoP, Ghana. In the CoP, head covering is important for all women. It is believed that women in prayer must cover their head in order to honour God and show respect to their husbands. The CoP women do not adhere to total head covering, and it was not regarded as improper if a woman allowed some of her hair to remain uncovered. While jewellery was not prohibited, excessive face and nail make-up was frowned upon. Elicop women, on the other hand, do not regard it as violating church rules to use make-up or dress as they wished. Both in the CoP and Elicop churches, women do not adhere to a specific dress code but are allowed freedom to chose except during women celebration days where they are encouraged to wear specially designed clothing for the Women's Movement with the inscription 'Holiness, Unto the Lord'.

5.3.6 Church Ceremonies

Child naming and dedication ceremonies in Elicop follow a similar pattern to the CoP, Ghana. These ceremonies play an important aspect in the life of the church. Child birth is

⁷⁴⁹ Circular letter dated 5 June 2008 to Elicop churches (Church files, CoP Telford).

⁷⁵⁰ Such teachings and admonishments are given mainly during women's movement meetings.

seen as a blessing from the Lord by Ghanaians. After marriage the woman is expected to give birth soon. If there is a delay, fervent prayers are offered on behalf of the woman for the Lord to show kindness and give them children. Therefore when a baby is born it is seen as a sign of victory for the church, the extended family and the couple for having overcome any adverse plan of the devil. Probably this is the reason so much importance is attached to the naming and dedication ceremonies. In Ghanaian communities the naming ceremony is a big occasion, and amongst the Akans the celebration may involve an entire village. Usually elders of the village or clan will give their input. Most Ghanaian names will reveal something of the identity of the person, that is, where they come from, their tribe, extended family, clan, the day they were born, circumstances surrounding their birth and even their supposed destiny.⁷⁵¹

In the church, the naming ceremony is usually held on a Saturday morning. Some prefer holding it on the 8th day after the child's birth but Saturday is more convenient for some workers who may wish to attend. Some couples may even invite parents from Ghana and friends from other parts of Europe to attend the ceremony. The ceremony begins with prayer and singing followed by a word of exhortation usually focusing on child training and discipline, and ends again with prayer. The officiating minister then invites the parents who are seated at the front to the altar. As they stand facing the minister, he ensures that the woman stands to the left of the man and hands over the baby to the man. The minister always collects the baby from the father's hand signifying the fact that the father as the head of the family has the first responsibility to make sure the child is

⁷⁵¹ Ifeoma Onyefulu, *Welcome Dede, An African Naming Ceremony* (London: Frances Lincoln Children's Books, 2004), pp. 5-8.

brought up in the fear of the Lord. As the child lies in the arms of the minister he then asks the father to call out the name they wish to give to the child. The name is repeated three times by the congregation, after which the minister, in the midst of prayers, confers the name and pronounces blessings on the child. When the minister is finished he hands over the child to the father who in turn hands over to the mother.⁷⁵²

Once the child is named and prayed for there is joyful singing as those present proceed to give gifts to the child. This is followed by feasting which sometimes continues till late evening. In the event where the officiating officer is not a minister, the baby is taken to church on the Sunday after the naming ceremony to be dedicated to the Lord, which is the reserved duty of the minister. The minister then reads a few portions of scripture and prayerfully dedicates the child to the Lord. A dedication certificate is given to the parent afterwards.

Weddings form an integral part of the life of the church. According to CoP and Elicop practice, marriages are only recognized and approved by the church if due process is followed involving the church. Couples who live together without marriage blessings are sometimes disciplined depending on their membership status. The only time the state of a couple is accepted without marriage blessing is when the couple lived together before joining the church. At that instance, they are counselled to regularize their marriage before accepting them into full fellowship and allowing them to partake of the eucharist. Recently, there has been a debate as to whether the church should accept customary marriage without church wedding as valid. There has not been any official position on

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⁷⁵² Personal observations during several Elicop ceremonies, 2006 – 2009.

this as yet and members are therefore required to perform some sort of a marriage blessing as part of marriage procedures in the church.

When a couple desire to marry they are supposed to inform their local presbytery who, after interrogation and sometimes investigations to the background of the couple, prays with them to ensure it is the will of the Lord before handing them over to a marriage committee for counselling. After the committee is convinced the couple can marry they are allowed to perform the customary rites. The customary rites are performed after seeking both parents' consent with both families, church elders and other presbytery members in attendance. The ceremony is held at the home of the bride's parents. In most cases, when the bride's parents live in Ghana the ceremony is held in Ghana. The Elicop presbytery informs the local CoP in Ghana to witness the occasion and inform Elicop accordingly. Sometimes the ceremony is videoed and sent to Elicop as evidence. It is only if there is confirmation from Ghana that successful customary rites or engagement has taken place that the marriage is accepted for blessing. The wedding day itself follows more of a western format except that Elicop weddings are characterized by large attendance and long officiating services that can last over three hours (this does not include the wedding reception). The groom is also not permitted to kiss the bride in public as part of new reforms that were introduced into the Elicop churches in 2007.

Funeral services are very important in Elicop. Perhaps this is embedded in the Ghanaian concept of the dead. It is believed that the ancesters are constantly looking after the affairs of the dead and that the propriety of social conduct is measured in terms of how

such behaviour would please or hurt them.⁷⁵³ It is therefore common in the CoP to recount how an action would please or hurt the early fathers like James McKeown, Egyir Paintsil or Fred Safo. Leaders will sometimes lament the future of the church if they suspected some church practices or activities were not going in the way of the former leaders. For this reason, funeral celebrations were always a time of reflection of life in the past and also of the future.

When a member dies it becomes the responsibility of the entire church to ensure that an appropriate funeral rite is accorded the dead. This is where both family members and church members are willing to donate large sums of money for the purpose of the funeral. Celebrations are held for three days usually starting on Friday night. The body is laid in state on Friday and is followed with a funeral and burial service on Saturday and rounded off on Sunday with a thanksgiving service. However, with about ten recorded funerals that were held over a period of five years (2004-2009), only two were buried in the UK. The rest were taken to Ghana for burial. Even though with the Christian belief of the resurrection of the dead which is part of the central teachings of the CoP, Elicop members held the general Ghanaian view that the geographical location of the dead was equally important as the destination of the dead. Both clergy and laity were always taken to their hometowns to rest with their ancesters until recently when it was ruled by the church leadership that all pastors who died at post will be buried at their duty station. Members however still have the right to decide where their dead should be buried.

⁷⁵³ M. Assimeng, *Social Structure*, p. 49.

Funeral celebrations are not only restricted to the death of church members. When members are bereaved, especially of their parents in Ghana, the church organizes a funeral service in a rented place and mourns with the bereaved member. This is one aspect of a migrant church where members need the most support since some of them are not able to travel to Ghana to be with the family.

5.3.7 The Role of Women in the Local Church

Women constitute over 60% of the congregations in Elicop churches and play an important role. Even though women are not ordained as ministers they are involved in several leadership positions. 38% of the members of the local presbyteries studied were women. These women who were ordained as deaconesses were responsible for leading the women's ministry. The women's ministry, aside from praying for the growth of the church and organizing teaching programmes on family life issues, home management, women emancipation and evangelism for the women in the church, were also involved in social activities like caring for widows, orphans, the needy, nursing mothers, the sick and the physically disabled. In fact, deaconesses fulfilled an important role in the life of women in the church. They assisted in providing support for mothers during naming ceremonies, helped in bridal costumes and dressing during weddings, prepared refreshment during funeral services, and educated and provided help for women baptismal candidates during water baptisms. Deaconesses, like their male deacon counterparts, serve as custodians of church property and finance. For this reason most local churches used deaconesses as their treasurers. It was noted that most Elicop local churches preferred using deaconesses as treasurers to deacons since they thought the deaconesses were more reliable and readily available to dispense funds for urgent use.

Deaconesses were also responsible for cleaning the chapels before and after church services, setting the platform and decorating the altar, leading members to their seats when they come to church, washing up and storing communion articles, and giving support to mothers with babies whilst in church. Their services may even extend to the pastor's residence where they assist in hosting invited guests to the church. Deaconesses and women in general have always been used to lead thanksgiving prayer sessions, songs of praise and worship sessions. In fact, they contribute to the Pentecostal elements of church worship. Whilst some of the men may tend to act quietly in church, Elicop women are more likely to utter loud and emotional prayers. They speak in tongues, fall under the anointing of the Holy Spirit, deliver prophetic utterances, lead the praise time with singing, clapping, playing of tambourines, and dance at the front in files waving handkerchiefs or the cover cloth of their African *kaba* clothing amidst shouts of 'hallelujah'. In fact, most of the Elicop pastors believe that the church will be lifeless without the participation of women during service time.

Although Elicop pastors accept and recognize the important role played by the women in their churches they are hesitant about women's ordination. Whilst some believe the stand of Elicop concerning women's ordination is biblical (citing Jesus' choice of twelve male apostles, and men being the head of the family) others feel it is cultural, a practice which they believe has helped the growth and discipline of the church. Comparing women in the

PIWCs were more prepared to accept leading roles in ministry. Some of the women in the PIWCs were already leading the bible study sessions and were regular Sunday preachers at their local churches. Some of the women also complained that their gifts in ministry were not being used to the maximum as compared to the men. Women in the Akan speaking congregations however seemed to accept their role as women leaders in the local churches and were not too keen to be offered preaching assignments and other ministerial functions in their churches.

5.3.8 Evangelism and Church Planting

Evangelism is a prime activity in Elicop. From its very beginnings in 1994, and even from the time of PAUKE in 1988, there was a conscientious effort to win souls for Christ. However, the initial aim was to look for the CoP as well as Ghana Pentecostal Council (GPC) church members who had travelled to the UK but had not found a place of worship as yet. Circular letters were issued from the CoP headquarters in Accra to all assemblies soliciting for addresses of relatives and friends who were CoP members and had travelled to the UK and other parts of Europe. These addresses were then forwarded to Elicop leaders who in turn contacted the members concerned to persuade them to join them for worship. Currently, Elicop relies heavily on the CoP and GPC members who have travelled to UK from Ghana. For instance, between 1992 and 1996 membership increased from 270 to 1000. Among those added to the church, 318 or 44%

⁷⁵⁴ Chairman's letter to CoP churches (Reference COP/CO/099/88 dated 29 September 1988, Church of Pentecost Archives, Headquarters, Accra).

were converts that were then baptized into the church. The number, be noted that not all of those baptized were new converts that joined the church. The number of those baptized included children in the church who had reached the church's prescribed baptismal age of 13 as well as those who church members but had not as yet received water baptism. For example, in the year 2007, out of the 247 converts who were baptised in Elicop, an estimated 69% were those who had already been in the church as children of existing members and other Christians who had been affiliates of other non-Pentecostal/Charismatic churches.

Aside from tracking down the CoP members in the UK, members were also encouraged to bring friends and relatives to church. Gospel tract distribution in shopping areas was also common among Elicop members. This activity was normally led by the evangelistic wing of the church known as the Witness Movement. Sometimes they embarked on one-to-one personal evangelism. In Elicop, every church activity is aimed at reaching others with the gospel message of Christ. Worship services normally end with an appeal for visiting members to accept Jesus as saviour. This is performed especially during naming ceremonies, funeral services and weddings where it is expected that several newcomers were in attendance. Pastor Osei Owusu Afriyie, the first Elicop pastor to be ordained in the UK, noted that several of the new converts were won through such services.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁵ Elicop Statistical Report, 1996.

These figures were difficult to quantify as details of baptismal records were not available.

⁷⁵⁷ CoP Missions, Summary Statistics, 2007.

⁷⁵⁸ Interview, Pastor Osei Owusu Afriyie, 25 February 2009, Manchester.

Another method of evangelism that became popular with Elicop was beach evangelism also known as 'Summer Outing' or 'Summer Convention'. This was held every year from 1992. After the 1996 summer event, it was reported that '26 coaches carrying one thousand, three hundred men and women assemble at Littlehampton seaside ... the message is preached powerfully and 25 souls surrender their lives to the Lord'. During the summer event, members were encouraged to invite friends who were not members of the church. Part of the day's event was used to socialize by playing games like beach football and various athletics events. The day ends with a picnic style event with food that has been prepared by individual members.

Church planting in Elicop does not follow any specific pattern or method. Out of the thirty churches that were surveyed, five started as a home prayer and bible study groups with an average attendance of about six. Usually the leader is a CoP member who invites a few neighbours or friends to study the bible together and pray. As the group grows it is turned into a church by informing a nearby Elicop pastor who comes to officially inaugurate it as a church. Almost half of the churches surveyed were started by the CoP members who gathered together in their various communities and decided to start a branch of the CoP. When this is done an Elicop pastor is again informed who goes to inaugurate the church. Five out of the thirty churches were created out of existing churches. Usually, if ten or more members have to travel a long distance from the same area to a particular church, a branch of the church is established for them in their locality to help ease transport difficulties and to emphasize the fact Elicop churches are community based, providing worship facilities for specific localities. Leaders from four

⁷⁵⁹ Elicop report on Summer Convention, Saturday 20 July 1996 (CoP Archives, London).

of the churches also claimed their churches were started through a divine revelation where God instructed the leader to start a church. One church was started by the resident Elicop missionary who claimed he was directed by God to begin a church in Oxford. None of the churches was started as a direct result of a church organized evangelistic campaign or missionary enterprise. This was also the case with the early phase of CoP expansion in Ghana where men and women went everywhere to preach the gospel and gather new converts, and then invited the church leadership to provide support, eventually leading to the establishment of churches. This mission from below approach to church planting is therefore prevalent among both CoP and Elicop churches.

5.4 The PIWCs

As Elicop embarked on its church planting endeavours it soon realized that the desire to worship in its Ghanaian CoP style was not especially appealing to its non-Ghanaian and non-CoP members. It struggled with interpreters who could not explain everything that was said in *Twi*, the main Ghanaian language that was used at church. In September 1994, the first English church was established at Hackney in London. Later, in March 1997 a second one was opened at Camberwell in London with the aim of meeting the needs of other nationalities. These two English assemblies, however, struggled to grow. Even though the medium of communication during worship service was English everything else seemed to be Ghanaian in character. The leadership was mainly Ghanaian, and therefore sermons were full of Ghanaian stories and experiences; the songs were *Twi* songs translated into English; *Twi* was spoken immediately after church

 $^{^{760}}$ Apostle Nene Amegatcher (resident missionary of Elicop, 1999 – 2007) claimed he was directed by God to go to Oxford to begin a branch of the church in March 2005. The church which started with 8, by the end of 2008 had grown to 36 adult members.

since majority of those in the English churches were Ghanaians. All these factors, and the Ghanaian character of the worship, did not encourage the inclusion of outsiders. A Nigerian woman explained how she had to pray fervently to be able to love the Ghanaian members in spite of all the discrimination she experienced. She also added that a few non-Ghanaian members had left because they could not tolerate such insensitivity towards them.⁷⁶¹

In the year 2000, the two English assemblies were brought together to form the Pentecost International Worship Centre (PIWC), which moved to 746 Green Lane Dagenham in Essex. By the end of December 2008, there were 24 PIWCs out of the 84 Elicop churches in the UK. The mission of the PIWC is to give a recognizable identity to non-Ghanaian members of Elicop. Among the distinctives of the PIWC were the non-requirement of head covering for women and the removal of seating restrictions which separated men and women. Other distinctives are that songs include those composed in English rather than those translated from Ghanaian languages; the employment of more rhythmic music and clapping styles; the removal of gender divisions in dancing; and the use of praise and worship teams. Time for worship is normally shorter than in the non-PIWCs and the order of service is slightly different as time for testimonies is not allocated except by special request. These measures were taken to encourage non-Ghanaians to fellowship with Elicop. However, by the end of 2008 only 3% of the total adult membership of the CoP in the UK were non-Ghanaians. These non-Ghanaians worshipped mainly with the PIWCs.

⁷⁶¹ Interview, a Nigerian member of Elicop, Sunday 1 March 2009.

Another vision of the PIWCs was to create a user-friendly church for the second generation or Ghanaian-British members. As this group is still under 30 years old, it is not very clear how this will work out. It is hoped that this generation, if encouraged to take up leadership positions in the church, will ensure the future sustenance of the church. One of the youths interviewed lamented that church programmes were not youth centred. Another suggested that the youth should be given positions like elders, deacons and deaconesses so that their voices can be heard during presbytery meetings. CoP-Ghana at the moment is encouraging young persons under thirty years of age to enter into full time ministry. The official qualifying age to be accepted into pastoral ministry in the CoP is forty-two years or less. If the youth, both male and female, are given the freedom to shape the mission of the CoP according to their contemporary perspectives, for instance by using facebook or twitter to evangelize, CoP mission could be sustained through the twenty-first century.

5.5 Summary of the Migrational Mission Model

Table 4: Stages and Activity of the MMM

Stage	Activity
Stage 1	Push and Pull factors cause some church members to migrate to mainly Europe and USA
Stage 2	Migrants settle in familiar communities and look for jobs
Stage 3	Religious associations are formed which gradually develop into churches
Stage 4	Home church is informed
Stage 5	Home church sends administrative support
Stage 6	Migrants form the nucleus of the new church

The stages in the migrational mission model as described in Table 4 above has involved the movement of people from one nation to the other due to hard economic conditions, the search for higher education or professional attainment, joining family members already settled overseas and even for short-term visits. This movement and settlement has given rise to ethnic and minority communities who have desired to worship in their known culture rather than their acquired culture. Through their religious activities churches have been established that have provided various kinds of mission activities to their communities. These unique mission activities have responded to the spiritual, social and cultural needs of the migrant. Migration issues should therefore become an important aspect of Christian mission since migration challenges do not only affect developing countries but also the developed countries. Whereas the developed economies experience peoples' movement across nations, the developing nations are faced with rural to urban migration as well as migration to the developed world. This results in diverse migrational effects and challenges. In Europe, 'migration contributes to a more diverse Christian presence as well as to a more diverse religious landscape in many countries'. 762 The life and activities of migrants are directly linked to the establishment, growth and development of migrant churches in Europe and the USA, and therefore the spiritual wellbeing of the migrant should be given attention by the church. Bishop Aboagye-Mensah has indicated that 'for us as Christians the destiny of immigrants is essential because it is at the heart of Christian experience'. 763 The CoP in Europe and North America has been established as a result of mass migration from Ghana due to severe economic conditions in the 1970s and 1980s. The presence of the CoP in Europe and

⁷⁶² Doris Peschke, 'Churches Commission for Migrants in Europe', p. 1.

⁷⁶³ Aboagye-Mensah, 'Dealing With Migration Means Giving a Human Face to the Church', WCC Press Release 24 November 2008.

North America has also contributed to the welfare of the CoP-Ghana through several transnational activities benefiting not only the church but family members, communities and the nation as a whole.

A critical examination of CoP-UK has shown how Ghanaian migrants have contributed to the development of the church as well as the shape of migrant religious culture. The question to ask is whether these migrant churches are making an impact on their host societies. The reverse and reflex mission models, that follow, may provide an answer to this question.

CHAPTER SIX

SHARING THE PENTECOST FIRE: THE COP MISSION ACTIVITIES IV

Having succeeded in building a mission model through members who had migrated to Europe and North America, the CoP was somehow in a position to enter into its fourth phase of mission activities. In the previous phase, the MMM, a distinctive feature was that mission was built around familiar people. These were people who had been members of the CoP-Ghana and had settled in Europe or North America. One of these members or a few of them initiate the mission process and invite others to join. Sooner or later a church or mission is established. Members of the CoP-Ghana therefore seemed to have transported themselves together with their church to Europe to form the nucleus of the MMM. The next phase however was to involve the practice of mission amongst indigenous peoples outside Africa. The first attempt was to enter into the indigenous people of those who first brought Christianity to Africa, that is, the nations of the early European missionaries to Africa. The second mission was to reach those nations in Asia and Latin America where interactions amongst its peoples have been quite remote except for international or bilateral trading which usually occur at governmental levels. The first mission attempt is generally described as reverse mission and I have referred to the second which is also a type of reverse mission as reflex mission because of its formation. This chapter discusses these two mission practices and how the CoP has developed this mission model.

6.1 The Reverse Mission Model (RevMM)

Table 5: Stages and Activity of the Reverse Mission Model

Stage	Activity
Stage 1	The International Missions Office or a National Missions Board identifies a nation to plant a church
Stage 2	Investigations, Surveys and Feasibility studies are made
Stage 3	A missionary is sent to do some scouting work
Stage 4	A resident missionary is posted
Stage 5	Evangelism and church services begin
Stage 6	Church develops under the direct supervision and support of the International Missions Office or the National Missions Board

In the Reverse Mission Model (RevMM) the planning of mission activity is basically initiated from the top unlike the MMM which is mainly initiated from below. Usually the activity emanates from the vision of the missions director or the national head of the church. When a nation is identified for evangelization, normally in Europe or North America, there are several investigations and feasibility studies made to ascertain the viability of the envisaged foreign mission. The theoretical investigations are followed by the sending of a missionary to carry out mission scouting work on a short term basis. During this time a hall for church meetings is rented, accommodation and other logistics for a resident missionary are put in place, and efforts are made to register the church. When this is done, a resident missionary is posted who initiates or continues with evangelism and church services, and works to establish the Church. Mission work is normally coordinated and supported by the Missions Board.

There are however exceptions to this when an individual has solely embarked on mission among Europeans for the church. The CoP-Ukraine is a type of reverse mission model.

The CoP-Ukraine had its beginnings when an elder of the CoP in Tema, Ghana, William Wilberforce Adranyi, went to study mining engineering at the Russian People's Friendship University in Moscow in 1989. According to Adranyi, he had the burden to preach to fellow Russian students when he saw his ministry to the Russians being manifested with baptism of the Holy Spirit and several students speaking in tongues.⁷⁶⁴ Unfortunately for him his activities were hindered by the operations of the Russian intelligence, KGB who targeted him as a dissident. Adranyi recounts that even though at the collapse of communism in 1991, he had the freedom to preach, he decided to move to Ukraine after completing his masters degree in 1996. According to Adranyi, who was fluent in the Russian language, the Ukrainians were more receptive to the Christian gospel. 765 By 1998 Adranyi was already leading a group of about 100 Ukrainians with his wife, Iris and two daughters as the only blacks. Adranyi claims that members experienced the power of the Holy Spirit with most of them speaking in tongues during worship times. In 1998, Adranyi was ordained a pastor of the CoP and was officially commissioned to continue the mission in Ukraine on behalf of the CoP.

In September 1998 when the CoP was officially registered in Ukraine, membership had grown to over 300. However Adranyi experienced a major set back when two of his leaders who were in charge of two congregations broke away with about a hundred members. This happened as a result of the arrival of the Toronto Airport Ministry in Ukraine in 2004. Adranyi recollects that their 'catch the fire' 'receive the fire' campaigns attracted some of the leaders of the CoP. After their services with the Toronto group, they

⁷⁶⁴ Telephone interview, Pastor William Wilberforce Adranyi, 29 March 2010.

⁷⁶⁵ Telephone interview, Adranyi, 29 March 2010.

⁷⁶⁶ Telephone interview, Adranyi, 29 March 2010.

went back to the CoP to demonstrate some of their experiences like 'laughing in the Holy Spirit' to the congregation. As much as Adranyi tried to explain that that was not the CoP practice, members had already been attracted to the experience and decided to follow their leaders. Two of the CoP congregations eventually became part of the 'Toronto Blessing' leaving the CoP with two other congregations. The Toronto Blessing that occurred in Ukraine belonged to an earlier revival that broke out in early 1994. According to Martin Davie, the 'Blessing' did not start in Toronto but only gained prominence at the Airport Vineyard Church in Toronto and thereby became known as the 'Toronto Blessing'. 767 Some of the experiences of the 'Blessing' were prophecy, dancing in the Spirit, words of wisdom and knowledge, answered prayer, being led to perform an action, being slain in the Spirit, hearing God through dreams and visions, miracle testimony and laughing in the Spirit. 768 Even though the CoP believes in the manifestations and experiences of the Holy Spirit, laughing in the Spirit is not an acceptable practice. Stephen Sizer believes that this has no biblical foundation and that laughter in Scripture is associated with scorn, derision or evil. 769 Other writers have also disputed the authenticity of some of the manifestations of the 'Blessing'. 770 It is therefore not surprising that the leadership of the CoP would not accept the effects of the 'Blessing' in their congregations. When Adranyi was asked why the activities of the Toronto Blessing did not affect Sunday Adelaja's church, Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God for All Nations in Kiev, he responded that the Embassy was well

⁷⁶⁷ Martin Davie, 'A Real But Limited Renewal', in David Hilborn (ed.), 'Toronto' in Perspective: Papers on the New Charismatic Wave of the mid-1990s (Carlisle: Paternoster Publishing, 2001), p 36.

⁷⁶⁸ Mark Cartledge, 'A Spur to Holistic Discipleship', in Hilborn (ed.), *Toronto in Perspective*, p. 69.

⁷⁶⁹ Stephen Sizer, 'A Sub-Christian Movement', in Hilborn (ed.), *Toronto in Perspective*, p. 50.

⁷⁷⁰ David Pawson, 'A Mixed Blessing', in Hilborn (ed.), *Toronto in Perspective*, p. 77; Patrick Dixon, 'An Altered Christian Consciousness', in Hilborn (ed.), *Toronto in Perspective*, p. 90.

established in Kiev. Adranyi added that he had been in school with Adelaja in Moscow. While Adranyi studied mining engineering, Adelaja had read journalism and that he was privileged to have employment with the Ukrainian TV after school. According to Adranyi, Adelaja used his TV broadcasting to his advantage and was able to attract a large following. Meanwhile Adranyi had started his ministry at Donetsk where economic conditions were not favourable as Kiev. It was therefore also possible for the leaders of the Toronto Blessing to persuade the CoP elders with payment of salaries since CoP does not pay their elders. Adranyi believes that was also a motivating factor that diverted the allegiance of the elders to the 'Blessing'. 771

CoP-Ukraine however did not close down altogether. At the end of 2008, CoP-Ukraine had about 200 members who were mostly Africans with three elders and two deacons who were all Ghanaians. 772 The Ukrainians in the church were in the minority. The international missions board continues to grant support to its mission in Ukraine. It must be noted that there are a few white Europeans and North Americans in the CoP in Europe and the USA. These have been classified under the MMM due to their formation process. CoP-Ukraine however fits into the RevMM since its formation was centred around Ukrainians who formed the nucleus of the church during its formation. It is therefore possible that aspects of RevMM can be identified within the MMM and is not treated as remotely from each other but has been differentiated for classification purposes in order to properly understand the mission process within the CoP.

⁷⁷¹ Telephone interview, Adranyi, 29 March 2010⁷⁷² CoP International Missions Report, 2008.

Nigerian Pentecostal pastor Sunday Adelaja's church, Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God for All Nations in Kiev, Ukraine, which is 'possibly the largest and fastest growing congregation in Europe' with about twenty thousand members, 773 is a good example of a reverse mission model. According to Asamoah-Gyadu, Sunday Adelaja went to Soviet Belarussia in 1986 to study journalism but later in 1993 claimed he received a specific word from God that God was going to use 'the people of the former Soviet Union to gather the end-time harvest before the coming of the Son'. Adelaja added that though he was a foreigner 'God has given me the ability to go and minister beyond race, culture, and denominational barriers'. 774 With this conviction he established the Embassy of God in 1994. Like Adranyi, Adelaja was also not sent by any particular mission board to establish the church. Adelaja could be regarded as a head of a mission himself, receiving a vision from God and establishing a church not made up of mainly migrant congregants. Asamoah-Gyadu cautions that a distinction should be made between 'African-led' churches and 'African churches' in the Diaspora. 775 He stresses that the Embassy of God church 'with its 25,000 strong membership being almost entirely white Eastern European does not belong to the same category as the many African immigrant churches that have burgeoned within the African Diaspora in Western Europe and North America since the 1990s'. 776 It is therefore important that these churches are placed in their proper categories to better understand their Christian mission. Adogame goes further to contend that two streams of African-led

⁷⁷³ Anderson, 'African Independent Churches', pp. 65–6.

⁷⁷⁴ Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Spirit, Mission and Transnational Influence: Nigerian-Led Pentecostalism in Eastern Europe', Paper presented at the European Research Network on Global Pentecostalism Conference on Transnational Pentecostalism in Europe, Harborne Hall, Birmingham, 6-7 February 2009.

⁷⁷⁵ Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Spirit, Mission and Transnational Influence'.

Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Spirit, Mission and Transnational Influence'.

Charistmatic/Pentecostal churches should be identified. Those churches that have been established in the diaspora but have their mother churches and headquarters based in Africa like the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) and those churches like the Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God (EBKGC) and Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC) which were founded by African immigrants in Europe with headquarters in the diaspora from where they are reaching Africa and other nations of the world. 777 Elicop or CoP-UK and most of the CoP in Europe and USA seem to develop a third stream of African-led churches, particularly focusing on its formation. Most of the CoP in the diaspora were established by African, mainly Ghanaian immigrants who later sought to identify the church with the CoP-Ghana and accepted the latter as their headquarters. The third stream of African-led churches are therefore those churches founded by African immigrants in Europe and USA who later affiliates with a church in Africa that becomes its headquarters. This goes to buttress Adogame's assertion that there is a complex demonstration of religious transnationalization of new African churches in the diaspora.⁷⁷⁸

With this distinction made, the reverse mission model may provide answers to the criticism that African-led churches are doing little to win white Europeans. An African-led church like the Embassy of God is winning white Europeans. According to Adogame,

The 'reverse mission process' is of significant religious, socio-political and missiological import as the non-Western world, particularly Africa, Asia and Latin America, were at the receiving end of Catholic and Protestant missions as mission fields till the late twentieth century. In concrete terms, the traditional

⁷⁷⁷ Adogame, 'Transnational Migration and Pentecostalism in Europe'.

Adogame, 'Transnational Migration and Pentecostalism in Europe'.

'missions fields' have now become the mission bases of renewed efforts to reevangelize the fast secularizing societies of Europe and North America. ⁷⁷⁹

6.1.1 Reverse Mission or Chaplaincy Mission?

We have referred to mission in the CoP to be a reverse mission if earlier understandings of mission as 'foreign' mission, or from the West to the rest, or from the 'centre' to 'periphery', were to be inverted in the case of the CoP. According to Francis Anekwe Oborji, the term 'reverse mission' was used by authors reflecting on the outcome of the 1963 World Missionary Conference held in Mexico. 780 The message of the Conference was that 'everywhere the church is to be concerned with overcoming disbelief and awakening faith, with overcoming enmity with love, with transforming social despair with hope. Everywhere the whole church is responsible for bringing the whole message to the whole world'. 781 The Ecumenical Assembly on Word and Evangelism at the Conference also reported that the message of the gospel had been preached in almost the entire world with churches being established everywhere. It was also noted that these churches were in developmental stages with some at the stage of 'growth', others at the stage of 'maturity' whilst others were at the stage of 'recession'. Those at the 'recession' stage were identified with the lack of vitality in some North Atlantic churches. These churches were to receive missionaries from the young churches of the developing world since all countries were 'in the state of mission'. This sending of missionaries from the developing world became known as 'reverse mission' or 'mission as a two-way street'. 782

⁷⁷⁹ Adogame, 'Transnational Migration and Pentecostalism in Europe'.

⁷⁸⁰ Francis Anekwe Oborji, *Concepts of Mission: The Evolution of Contemporary Missiology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006), p. 7.

⁷⁸¹ Oborji, Concepts of Mission, p. 7.

⁷⁸² Oborji, Concepts of Mission, pp. 7 - 8.

In a review of Catholic missionary activity in Latin America, Samuel Escobar used the term 'mission in reverse' to refer to the transforming effect that 'shaped a new theological vision for missionaries and U.S. Catholics in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s'. Escobar writes that 'missionary experience in Latin America set the tone for the theological agenda in the United States, brought new emphasis to ecclesiology that was to be reflected in Vatican II, and prepared the Catholic Church for the wave of Hispanic immigration that would come to the United States'. ⁷⁸⁴

Based on the Latin American experience, one could therefore speak of 'reverse mission' and 'mission in reverse' as not only the sending of missionaries from the developing south to the developed north but also the theological contribution made by the developing world, resulting in a departure from a strict 'systematic' theology to a 'contextual' theology shaped by Latin American, Asian and African theology. Dana Robert also refers to the sending of non-western Christians on a speaking tour to the West as a form of 'reverse mission'. She cites ambassadors of internationalism like Japanese social worker Toyohiko Kagawa, Chinese YMCA leader T. Z. Koo and South African teacher Mina T. Soga as proclaiming a 'universal, trans-national, multi-racial version of the kingdom of God as the guiding norm for global Christianity'. 785 Anthony Gittins, however, does not agree that 'reverse mission' is synonymous to 'mission in reverse'. For him 'mission in reverse' describes 'the impact made on a person by other people and other cultures', whereas 'reverse mission' describes 'the riches brought back by those who have worked

⁷⁸³ Samuel Escobar, Changing Tides: Latin America and World Mission Today: The American Society of Missiology Series, No. 31 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), p. 30.

⁷⁸⁴ Escobar, Changing Tides, p. 30.

⁷⁸⁵ Robert, *Christian Mission*, p. 66.

in the vineyard of another culture'. ⁷⁸⁶ Gittins therefore sees mission as a one-way-directional activity where the missionary receives new insight from the receiving culture and brings the experience back to benefit the host or sending nation. This becomes problematic and reflects an element of bias since the missionized culture is expected to have only an indirect, rather than a direct influence on the missionary's culture. In this sense, mission is not actually reversed at all.

From the above, it could be argued that the CoP-UK has been engaged in a form of 'reverse mission'. With the partnership that has existed between CoP-Ghana and the Elim Pentecostal Church of UK since 1971/1972 there is the possibility of a shared mission theology during annual CoP conferences in Ghana and Elim conferences in the UK. Five out of the six lecturers at the Pentecost University College, who are responsible for training CoP ministers, received their theological education from Elim's Regents College. Pastor Kwame Blankson became an associate pastor in the Elim church, Ilford, for five years before starting Elicop. These theological exchanges may have shaped the theological understanding of both organizations. In this sense, both organizations have been engaged in mutual missionary enterprise which can be described as 'reverse mission'. The situation, however, becomes different when the churches established by the CoP in the UK are assessed in terms of their congregational composition. With 3% non-Ghanaian membership and less than 1% white indigenous membership, one wonders if the CoP's mission practice can be justifiably described as 'reverse mission'. From the survey, as explained in Chapter 5 above, CoP-UK churches were mainly Ghanaians who

⁷⁸⁶ Anthony J. Gittins, *Ministry at the Margins: Strategy and Spirituality for Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), pp. 162 – 63.

had migrated and settled in the UK. However, according to Acts 1:8, the church was commissioned to reach out to its 'Jerusalem', then to its 'Judea', 'Samaria' and to 'the ends of the earth'. Based on this, it could be said that the responsibility of the migrant churches in the UK is to reach out to its minority groupings, even as the apostles preached to Jews and Gentiles in communities they found themselves in. If so, then the mission of the migrant churches could be regarded as a form of 'reverse mission' whereby missionaries are sent from the developing world to the developed world to work amongst their own people. However, if the understanding of mission is deduced from earlier Western mission practice where mission was from the 'whites' to the 'other', then should the practice of mission of these migrant churches rather be referred to in terms of 'migratory mission' or possibly 'chaplaincy mission'? Stephen Spencer has described church network initiatives to those who have lost interest in attending the traditional churches as 'chaplaincy' rather than 'mission'. 787 It was assumed that new strategies were being employed to bring back those who had previously been in the church. Since most members of CoP-UK were members of the church back in Ghana it might also be assumed that 'chaplaincy' services were being rendered rather than 'reverse mission'.

But as mission becomes global 'from everywhere' 'to everywhere', strategies become more diverse developing into different shapes and models. Whether one agrees or not that migrant churches are actively engaged in 'reverse mission', the fact remains that these churches have shaped and continue to shape the religious landscape of the Western world by at least providing a contextualized form of worship for Africans in the Diaspora.

⁷⁸⁷ Stephen Spencer, SCM Study Guide: Christian Mission (London: SCM Press, 2007), p. 5.

6.2 The Reflex Mission Model (RefMM)

Table 6: Stages and Activity of the Reflex Mission Model

Stage	Activity
Stage 1	Introduction to the gospel in a host context
Stage 2	Acceptance of the gospel in the new context
Stage 3	The learning process begins: New ways of worship, church practice and philosophy are learned in the new context
Stage 4	Return to own home context and introduce acquired worship, church practice and philosophy
Stage 5	Church is started, acquired worship and church practice is contextualized
Stage 6	Mission in the home context is informed. Administrative support is given by the host context. A home church develops, autonomy is granted over time but maintains relationship with the host mission

The Reflex Mission Model (RefMM), which could appropriately be referred to as Indigenous Mission Model because of its development by indigenes and for their own people, is a fairly recent practice in the CoP. I have classified this form of mission practice as reflex because of how a member becomes stimulated by a mission event and appropriately respond by duplicating the stimulant. The RefMM is therefore that mission practice where for instance an Asian immigrant in Africa becomes attracted or converted to a Pentecostal/Charismatic worship in Africa. After fully identifying with the Pentecostal worship, the Asian immigrant goes back to his home country and establishes a church that is affiliated to the church in Africa and also makes its headquarters with the church in Africa. Unlike the MMM where migrants settle and found churches in their host countries with their mother church and headquarters in their home country, the immigrant in the RefMM on the other hand leaves the host country and goes back to

found a church in their home country whilst maintaining the church in the host country as their headquarters and mother church.

In a study of the Christian Church Outreach Mission International (CCOMI), Adogame revealed that 'CCOMI represents one example of African-led churches in diaspora (Europe and the US), that are establishing new "mission-frontiers" back in Africa'. Recoming the CCOMI, which started in 1978 in Germany under a Ghanaian immigrant, Bishop Abraham Bediako, later founded branches in Africa. Whereas the mission trend in CCOMI shows an African-led church in Germany establishing churches in Africa through African immigrants, the RefMM shows an African church in Africa establishing churches in Asia through Asian immigrants.

6.2.1 Formation of the Reflex Mission Model

At the moment the CoP has been successful in developing the reflex mission model. As at the end of 2008, the CoP had been established in the Dominican Republic, El-Salvador, Belize, Brazil and Argentina. All these churches are led by Latin Americans with all members being Latin Americans. All these churches also recognized CoP-Ghana as their headquarters and to a large extent follow the CoP doctrinal and mission practice. Other places that have been successful with the reflex model were Pakistan and Romania which were all fully indigenous. At some instance the initiators of this reflex mission action may have already started their own churches but exposure to other missions in Africa convinces them to merge, recognizing the African church as its headquarters. CoP-

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⁷⁸⁸ Adogame, 'From House Cells', p. 165

Pakistan is an example of already established church that was merged with the CoP-Ghana. CoP-Pakistan therefore reports to CoP-Ghana through the international missions office and receives administrative, financial and other doctrinal support from CoP-Ghana. Aside from this the CoP had been established using the reflex model in India and Nepal.

The CoP in India for example had its beginnings in the activities of an Indian bussinessman S. James Raj. Raj went to West Africa to help establish trade links in the African sub-region for his multinational company based in India. Choosing Ghana as his regional capital, he arrived in Accra in June 1993 to begin his business networking. Barely a week after his arrival he met and interacted with an elder of the CoP who introduced him to the church. For three years Raj became a member of the Pentecost International Worship Centre (PIWC), an English speaking version of the CoP in Accra, before he resigned his post as a business executive and returned to India to establish a branch of the CoP. It is alleged that in 1994 Prophet Martinson Yeboah, a former chairman of the CoP, met Raj at the Accra International Airport and prophesied over him whilst laying his hand on Raj's head that 'Brother James Raj, the fire that is burning in you shall not keep you idle. You are going to spread the fire in your nation. Through you God will establish churches in India'. According to Raj this was a fulfilment of a vision the Lord had earlier given to him.

⁷⁸⁹ CoP Missions, 'Into the World'.

⁷⁹⁰ CoP Missions, 'Into the World'.

⁷⁹¹ Email, James Raj, June 2009.

With the support of the International Missions Directorate of CoP, Accra, Raj started his missionary activity in Delhi in 1997 by gathering the youth for prayer and bible study. From there he planted a church in Coonoor, Nilgiris District of Tamilnadu State in South India. By the end of December 2008, CoP-India had a membership of 4,708 distributed over 67 churches spread across 15 districts in India with headquarters in Accra, Ghana.⁷⁹²

CoP-India is administered by James Raj who exercises ministerial oversight as the national head together with 18 other full time ministers who are supported by 80 elders, 96 deacons and 140 deaconesses.⁷⁹³ The entire leadership and membership is Indian and the church is administered by the use of a national constitution that focuses on mission as social work. Raj believes this approach gives CoP-India a good basis for propagating the gospel amongst non-Christians in India.⁷⁹⁴

CoP-India, however, maintains strong links with the CoP International Missions in Accra. All church activities are reported to Accra through half-year and annual reports. The International Missions Director (IMD) in Accra is consulted concerning major decisions affecting CoP-India. Directives are received from Accra, and the national head and two delegates are expected to attend bi-annual general council meetings in Accra. Regular visits are also received from Accra, and apostles from Accra and other nations are invited to ordain newly appointed officers and ministers. ⁷⁹⁵ CoP-India is funded mainly through

⁷⁹² CoP Missions, Summary Statistics, 2008.

⁷⁹³ CoP, India, Statistical report, 2008.

⁷⁹⁴ Email, J. Raj, June, 2008.

⁷⁹⁵ In CoP only apostles and prophets have the ministerial mandate to ordain elders, deacons, deaconesses and newly called ministers (overseers) and pastors into office. Newly called apostles, prophets and

tithes and offerings which are generated locally, as well as overseas donations from friends and family members. CoP-Ghana sends funds for infrastructural development.

CoP-India adheres to certain church practices that are similar to CoP-Ghana. For instance, in both churches men and women do not sit together but sit in different rows with the men sitting on the right. The pastor and elders sit in the very first row in front of the men. Women wear head covering during worship with some also wearing white dresses. This is not necessarily an import of CoP-Ghana practice since the headgear forms an essential part of the 'saree' of the Indian woman. In India, most women 'generally use the "dupatta" or the "pallav" of the "saree" to cover their heads'. 796

Praise and worship in CoP-India is quite exuberant and has some resemblances to CoP-Ghana. Members clap in a high tempo and dance to local Pentecostal songs that are accompanied by local Indian drums together with instruments like keyboards, drums and tambourines. Services are conducted in regional languages rather than in English. Church services starts with prayers followed by praise and worship. Members are then given the opportunity to share their testimonies after which tithes and offerings are taken. Announcements are given next before the word of God is preached which lasts up to an hour. There is always time allotted for intercessory prayers after the word. 797 The role of the Holy Spirit is emphasised, maintaining the fundamental doctrines or the ten tenets of

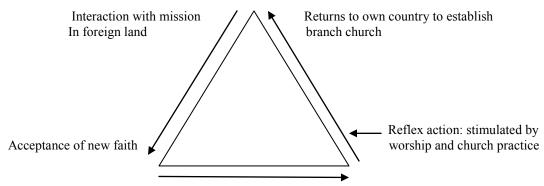
evangelists are ordained by senior ministers, usually the International Executive Council members during General Council meetings.

 ⁷⁹⁶ India Directory (New Delhi: Compare InfoBase Limited).
 ⁷⁹⁷ Email, James Raj, June 2008.

the CoP-Ghana. In CoP-India, it is believed that the Holy Spirit leads and directs the church service. He is also believed to help worshippers in their prayer, praise and worship and therefore take them into the presence of God. It is the Holy Spirit who gives the grace and power to prophesy, preach and to speak in tongues. ⁷⁹⁸ Tongues-speaking is paramount in the life of CoP-India because it is perceived as the sign of Spirit baptism, a means to communicate to God in the spirit and a heavenly language needed in order to get to heaven. ⁷⁹⁹ The general mission activities of CoP-India follow that of CoP-Ghana. This constitutes a reflex action (see Fig 3), where certain factors like worship style, church practice, administration and philosophy, doctrine and evangelistic strategies become so appealing to an adherent that they go back to their home country to establish a branch of the church that they discovered in their host country.

Figure 3: The Reflex Mission Model

Mission church gives support but an indigenous church is built With a contextualized form of the learned process



The learning process – new way of worship and church practices

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⁷⁹⁸ Email, James Raj, June 2008.

⁷⁹⁹ Email, James Raj, June 2008.

The Reflex Mission Model follows the pattern of the Philip-Eunuch encounter as recorded by Luke in Acts. 800 In Luke's account the treasury secretary of Candace, the queen of Ethiopia, had gone to Jerusalem for an assignment and to worship God. He was probably considering conversion to Judaism, and had acquired some material to study further. The Holy Spirit then directs Philip to the Ethiopian official to take him through the learning process. The official later gains an understanding of the Christian faith, subjects himself to the practice of the new faith by accepting baptism and goes to his own people, probably to share the gospel and establish a church since he 'went on his way rejoicing'. 801 Unfortunately there is no further account of the Ethiopian church recorded in Scripture. It is therefore important that mission endeavours initiated through the reflex model are followed, supported and given all the necessary resources at their initial stages of formation for them to be successful.

Summary of the Reflex Mission Model 6.2.2

The RefMM as seen in Latin America and India has aided the CoP to be established amongst indigenous people that would have been difficult with other mission models that are used within the CoP. It is also a model that supports the contextualization model. People who accept the mission of the CoP are given the flexibility to establish the CoP amongst their own people, using their language and mission approaches that are readily understood by their people. The CoP-Pakistan for instance uses supply of groceries to the needy, support for orphans and widows as a mission strategy. Church functions are also organized sometimes with the involvement of an entire community. The 2009 Christmas

⁸⁰⁰ Acts 8: 26-40. 801 Acts 8:39 (NIV).

convention in Lahore organized by CoP-Pakistan for example attracted about 4,000 people from all religious circles including Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. In a convention report to the international missions office, Pastor Jamil Nasir reported that the CoP-Pakistan Christmas convention was crowned with a cake cutting ceremony followed by a Christmas dinner and the distribution of gifts to children by Santa Claus. 802 This is entirely different from how Christmas conventions are conducted in Ghana. The mission strategy in Pakistan has however not attracted any criticism from the leadership in Accra. There is an unwritten ministerial code of ethics amongst CoP ministers that, one can employ any strategy in ministry as long as it works to promote the mission of the CoP. A minister is only queried if the self-employed strategy fails. Perhaps the leadership in Accra is silent so long as the strategy in Pakistan seems to be successful. Also since the mission in Paksitan is fairly new, it has to be given time to see how it is developed. Nonetheless if the mission of the church is to be global then different cultures are to be allowed to translate the Christian mission into their own context. The RefMM therefore has the advantage of involving nationals in foreign mission and allowing for mission to be contextualized. If this is done then it is my conviction that the RefMM can be used in places where the RevMM has proved difficult. Another challenge that may be faced at the mission field is how to determine the appropriate mission model to be employed in a particular context. To be able to do this I have suggested a mission evaluation tool which is introduced in the next chapter.

⁸⁰² CoP-Pakistan, Christmas Convention report, 2009.

CHAPTER SEVEN

KEEPING THE PENTECOST FIRE: EVALUATING THE COP MISSION ACTIVITIES

Recounting the mission activities of the CoP from the formation of its first phase where mission was done at the local level through to its final phase where mission was seen in a reverse or reflex form it can be inferred that the CoP mission has experienced both successes and challenges. If these models will be developed further and be sustained then it becomes important to evaluate the parameters or factors of these models. It is also important to have a tool that can be used to evaluate these models. In this chapter an evaluation mission model has been developed which is referred to as the 'Economission model'. The chapter briefly reviews the five models that have been discussed and introduces the new model.

7.1 An Overview of CoP Mission Models

This research has attempted to describe and evaluate mission practice in the CoP by using various mission models. These models as described in previous chapters sum up the way mission has been practised in the CoP. The LMM was the first model to be used in the CoP. Due to the multifaceted approach of the LMM it became a useful tool in the development of mission in the CoP. The LMM employed several Pentecostal mission characteristics. Themes such as eschatology, healing, 'signs and wonders' and Holy Spirit baptism that have been emphasized in Pentecostal missions and provided the impetus for the growth of the Pentecostal movement⁸⁰³ were also evident in the LMM.

⁸⁰³ William K. Kay and Anne E. Dyer, *Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies: A Reader* (London: SCM Press, 2004), pp. 26, 47, 83, 211-212.

In Africa, particularly, it is asserted that the phenomenal Pentecostal growth has been associated with the Pentecostal response to the African cultural heritage, ⁸⁰⁴ a transformation of African spirituality⁸⁰⁵ and the black roots of Pentecostalism. ⁸⁰⁶ It has been suggested that in the case of the LMM the social context that existed in Ghana from the Anim era through to the Ntumy era made the Pentecostal gospel relevant to members of the CoP. Whether it was the occurrence of 'signs and wonders', visions and revelations, prophetic utterances, speaking in tongues, women's head covering or water baptism and child dedication, members could easily relate these religious practices to their cultural milieu. The LMM thus became an effective mission tool that enabled the CoP to become the largest Protestant church in Ghana.

Although the LMM is still useful in CoP mission praxis, it has become a less effective mission tool in Ghana, especially with the growing economic instability. In contrast to the beginnings of the church, when members spent time in bush prayers to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues as a sign of empowerment to preach the gospel, most members have now turned to 'Prayer Centres'

to seek God in order to turn their economic plight into prosperity. 807 Incidentally, the

⁸⁰⁴ Kalu, African Pentecostalism, pp. 169-170.

⁸⁰⁵ Cox, Fire From Heaven, pp. 100-101.

⁸⁰⁶ Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, pp. 18-19.

⁸⁰⁷ Girish Daswani, 'Ghanaian Pentecostal Prophets: Transnational Travel and (Im-)Mobility', in Gertrud Huwelmeier and Kristine Krause, *Traveling Spirits: Migrants, Markets and Mobilities* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), p. 69.

'Prayer Centres' are now becoming avenues for winning new converts to the church. 808 But since the 'Prayer Centres' emphasize miracles and divine healing, or Jesus the healer at the expense of Jesus the saviour or baptizer in the Holy Spirit, 809 one wonders if most of the present day members of the CoP are not gradually drifting to the 'health and wealth' gospel with all its promises of comfort. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 2007, the leadership of the CoP set up a committee to review the relevance of the Witness Movement in the church since its activities were no longer being patronized by most church members. In their report, the committee outlined some of the reasons for the low patronage compared to the Youth and Men's ministries in the church whose activities were more holistic than the Witness Movement. Ministries for the youth, men and women in the church offered more incentives in the area of a defined identity and a group responsive mission which caused the various groups to shift allegiance from the Witness Movement. The movement also faced the competitive impact of post-modernity and the electronic media. 810 The review of the Witness Movement, which has been the evangelistic wing of the church since the early 1940s, 811 could be an indicator that the zeal for evangelism had reduced drastically in the CoP. Although positive annual growth is still being recorded, methods used may not necessarily be a result of the LMM. For instance, in 2008 biological growth was responsible for at least 28% of the church

⁸⁰⁸ Statistics show that CoP districts and areas with prayer centres were more successful at winning converts than those without them (CoP Annual Statistics, End of Year 2008); Daswani, 'Ghanaian Pentecostal Prophets', p. 71.

⁸⁰⁹ An observation made at three prayer centres in Ghana revealed that in the four hour service, more than two hours was devoted to the prayer leader or 'prophet' ministering healing and deliverance to the congregation. The message which often focused on 'health and wealth' themes did not last for more than forty minutes. See also Daswani, 'Ghanaian Pentecostal Prophets', p. 72.

Youth/Witness Merger Committee Report, 30th October, 2007.

⁸¹¹ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 183.

membership. 812 Current membership trends also show that children's membership is growing faster than adult membership. In CoP-UK, children's membership grew at 10.5% from 2008 to 2009, whilst adult membership grew by 7.8% in the same period. 813 Membership in CoP-Ghana also showed a similar growth pattern for the same period.

Moreover, the composition of the CoP membership is becoming more diverse with a mix of middle class members with increasing education levels and professionalism, as well as members with low-income levels and less education. From 1991, the mission focus of the CoP concentrated on dealing with specific groups in the church by endorsing the creation of the Pentecost Men's Fellowship (PEMEF). PEMEF, which was inaugurated in March 1997 to cater for the interest of all men in the church by organizing seminars in the areas of leadership and responsibility, business management and techniques, and principles of domestic law, amongst other issues. 814 In a recent address given by Elder Professor A. K. Addae, the deputy director of PEMEF, part of the vision of PEMEF for 2013 was to include the professional growth and development of men in the church through counselling, mentoring, networking and partnerships, breakfast meetings, dinner meetings, conferences, trade fairs and capital accumulation. 815 This shows that the main feature of the LMM, which was to receive the power of Holy Spirit baptism for preaching and church planting, does not reflect current mission endeavours as identified in the mission practice of, for instance, the PEMEF. It must also be noted that even before the

⁸¹² Calculated from statistical report of thirty congregations. Although this sample size might not be very representative of CoP trends in evangelism it however gives indications of a decline in evangelism.

813 CoP-UK, Comparative Statistics 2008 & 2009.

⁸¹⁴ CoP. Constitution, p. 56.

Address given by the Deputy Director, PEMEF, at the Impartation Programme for 2009 ministerial students held at the Pentecost University College in Accra, 10 June 2009.

establishment of the PEMEF, the LMM had not been able to address earlier situations with the second generation members or the educated youth of the church which eventually led to the creation of the Pentecost Students and Associates (PENSA) in the late 1970s. The establishment of the 'English Assemblies' that later became known as PIWCs in the late 1980s also offers its own mission challenges. Larbi claims that most of the younger generation in the church who have developed a taste for western values do not find some of the ethos, liturgy and the media of communication in the church appealing. 816 To be able to keep the Pentecostal fire burning within the CoP, the LMM, therefore, needs to be re-modelled. Even though the propagation of the gospel should not be relented, emphasis on proclamation through open air campaigns for instance should give way to other effective forms of mission practice. The re-modelled LMM should therefore emphasize developing specific group ministries like children, youth, men and women ministries. It is anticipated that these specific groups will be able to attract other members to their groups through associations and interactions on various social, educational and professional levels. The new LMM should also emphasize social services and build a political identity whilst responding to socio-economic and environmental issues.

The RegMM continues to be an effective tool in the mission practice of the CoP. Just as members from CoP-Ghana propagated the gospel and planted churches in neighbouring countries like Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Nigeria, other CoP-African nations are also planting branches of the CoP in their neighbouring countries. For instance, CoP-Sierra Leone was planted by CoP members from Liberia; CoP-Guinea by CoP-Sierra

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⁸¹⁶ Larbi, Pentecostalism, p. 201.

Leone; CoP-Mozambique by CoP-Malawi; CoP-Lesotho by CoP-South Africa; and CoP-Tanzania by CoP-Zambia. The advantage of the RegMM is that the rate of mission expansion is high as it becomes easier for people in an economic region like ECOWAS, SADC or the EU to easily cross borders to propagate the gospel. Its limitation though is that it does not take into account the development of the church after it has been established. Since mission does not end with preaching and establishing of churches, the RegMM becomes inadequate for addressing the holistic nature of God's mission as well as taking into consideration contemporary issues, and therefore needs to be re-modelled.

One probable area where the CoP is making progress is the MMM. As people migrate all over the world for economic, educational and social reasons, the church continues to take advantage to expand its mission work. The CoP members who travel from Ghana to Europe and the USA usually start fellowships that later grow into churches. The migrant churches cater for both the spiritual and socio-cultural needs of the migrant members and offer a useful mission model for migrants generally. The MMM, however, does not include features that will address the needs of a multi-national and a multi-cultural church. In CoP-UK, for instance, members are made up of mainly Ghanaian migrants, that is, those who have travelled from Ghana and settled in the UK. This has become a major deficiency in the CoP migration mission, and new ways are needed to attract other migrants into the CoP in the Diaspora. Again, migrant churches develop with time to include second generation members who are not migrants but children of migrants who most of the time have little or no transnational connection with the original home of their migrant parents. A new mission approach is therefore needed that will make up this

deficit in the MMM. The MMM should therefore emphasize on establishing more of the PIWCs where English speaking or the language of the host country becomes the main medium of worship. Songs of praise and worship should not be just Ghanaian Twi songs translated into English but songs with original English composition. Sermon illustrations should be relevant to the host context and the general style of worship should be accomadating to a wider group of people allowing for the use of media and other forms of technology that is available in the host context. Worship style should therefore not be an imposition but a contextualized form that is acceptable by all worshippers. Church practice should be negotiated to the host context so long as it does not lead to doctrinal syncretism. Also the MMM has been classified based on its formation and as such other parameters must be built into the model to allow for change after its second or third generation of members. This means that with time it is possible the MMM will become an entity with the majority of its worshippers not being migrants but children of migrants and members of the host country. In such a case the MMM should be able to adapt to the corresponding change.

Perhaps an area where more work needs to be done is with the RevMM. Developing the RevMM within the CoP mission praxis has been rather difficult. In CoP-UK, for example, most of the few Europeans who are members of the church are married to Ghanaians. This is the trend in most of the CoP congregations in Europe and the USA. An attempt has been made to explain the difficulty of attracting non-Ghanaians to the church by using the economic mission model below. Meanwhile there have been other areas where ministerial exchanges have occurred between CoP-Ghana and mission

organizations in the West that can be referred to as reverse mission. The accord between CoP-Ghana and Elim for instance has fostered several mission programmes involving exchange of knowledge between the two churches. Also with the current trend of globalization, people are becoming citizens of their host countries and therefore there are several other members in the CoP who are either black-Europeans or black-Americans. Reaching these people could be referred to as reverse mission.

The RefMM, where indigenous people, who have been attracted to and accepted to be part of the CoP mission process are empowered and given the resources to begin mission work among their own people, is an untapped area and could be used effectively to expand the CoP mission. Examples of where the RefMM has been used successfully are CoP-India and CoP-El Salvador. The RefMM could also be used to establish churches in Europe and North America since there seem to be a strong national identity between a leader and members of a church. This model however could be expensive in terms of finance when compared with the previous models. It is also a slight deviation from the mission from below approach that has characterized mission practice in the CoP. Unlike the previous models where members took the initiative to establish churches, the RefMM identifies people who are willing to engage in mission on behalf of the CoP. Such persons are then sponsored for much of the life of the mission project. There is the possibility that the new mission could be totally different in ethos, worship style and even doctrinal understanding from the sending mission. The RefMM, therefore, should be revised to address the long-term effects of the model. With these deficiencies in the above models,

it is imperative that a model is developed that will be able to address some of the problems and assess their viability or appropriateness in specific mission environments.

7.2 Identifying the CoP Mission Theory

To be able to develop a model that will take cognizance of contemporary issues as well as address mission practice as it existed in the early life of the CoP, we need to deduce the mission theory behind CoP mission practice in order to make the new model applicable to the CoP and the global church. According to Christopher Smith, 'Mission theory identifies principles which are held to be essential to the successful practice of mission'. 817 Such principles which may include the goals, policies, strategies and procedures of mission practice, have been described in various forms. From the 'Day of Pentecost' when the Apostle Peter preached after he and some 120 disciples had received the power of the Holy Spirit with glossolalic and xenolalia experiences, 818 through to the end of the Apostolic Age (about AD 95 - 100), to the end of the second and third century, mission work had basically followed the Pauline model.⁸¹⁹ Allen describes the Pauline model as a Spirit-led mission with no deliberate planned mission tour, where however, strategic locations of commercial, educational and civilization centres were selected for church planting. 820 He further asserts that the Apostle Paul's method was diversified amongst different social classes, but he taught and preached the word with the demonstration of miracles to those with or without religious knowledge, using established synagogues or otherwise. The Apostle Paul incorporated training into his mission

⁸¹⁷ A. Christopher Smith, 'Mission Theory', in Moreau (ed.), Evangelical Dictionary, p. 642.

⁸¹⁸ Acts 2.

⁸¹⁹ John Mark Terry, 'The History of Missions in the Early Church', in Terry, Smith, and Anderson (eds.), *Missiology*, pp. 166-71.

⁸²⁰ Allen, *Missionary Method*, pp. 10-17.

strategy, exercising control and authority and yet allowing for independency in terms of finance and administration of the established church, ⁸²¹ leading probably to what Rufus Anderson later called 'self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating'. ⁸²²

In the CoP, the theory behind mission practice is that the church has a mandate according to the 'Great Commission' of Jesus to preach the gospel to everyone in the world and establish churches where members will receive spiritual empowerment that will positively affect their communities. The first mission statement of the CoP stated that the purpose of the church was to proclaim the salvation message of Jesus to all people everywhere. It also added that churches will be built and members will be equipped for every God-glorifying service. The revised version of the statement incorporated the same idea of establishing churches and equipping spirit-filled Christians who will impact their communities for Christ. 823 This mandate was believed to have been confirmed by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit who is a missionary Spirit empowering people to do mission. Those who obeyed this command were to be greatly rewarded in the new heaven and earth since this present heaven and earth will quickly pass away with the second coming of Jesus. This has been expressed in different ways in the activity, worship and practical living of both leaders and members in the church. With this understanding, the gospel should have no boundary but be preached everywhere there is the opportunity and be followed up with the establishing of churches. In most cases, economic factors were not considered since it was believed that the Lord of the harvest will always make the needed provision. Other ministries that will equip members to have an impact on their

⁸²¹ Allen, *Missionary Methods*, pp. 20 -21; 41; 51; 155-61.

⁸²² Jim Reapsome, 'Rufus Anderson (1796 – 1880)' in Moreau (ed.), *Evangelical Dictionary*, p. 60.

⁸²³ CoP, 'Missions Handbook', 2008, p. 12.

communities only followed after churches had been established. Since the process of mission continues beyond the establishment of churches, I have proposed a model that will deal with most aspects of mission in the CoP and also address some of the deficiencies of the earlier models.

7.3 Theorization of the Economic Mission Model: 'Economission'

In the economic world, firms or organizations operate with the aim to maximize profits. However, there are several market forces that determine the profitability of individual firms. The idea of profit maximization is not absent from Scripture. According to Luke, Jesus told a story about an incident that occurred between a business man or a king and his workers or servants. 824 The story involved an entrepreneur who planned to have further investments in a different environment. Before embarking on the new venture, he was particularly careful that his existing business will continue to thrive and yield the expected dividends. He therefore assigned various departments of his business to some of his trusted staff with adequate capital for further investments. The entrepreneur returned after successfully establishing a new business in the midst of hostile market forces. He then called his staff to give an account of their departments and investments. Those who made profits were promoted with new and better conditions of service in accordance with the percentage rate of profits made. One staff refused to invest with the allocated capital and was immediately dismissed with severe consequences. The entrepreneur made it clear to him that he was more interested in profit making than breaking even in business.

824 Luke 19:11-27.

Several interpretations have been given to this biblical text but almost all emphasize the profit motive of the master. For instance, the story has been explained as the reward of the faithful where the master expects that the gospel is shared so that it multiplies and fills the earth, ⁸²⁵ as stewardship of responsibilities, ⁸²⁶ or as the activities of working staff, non-working staff and saboteurs. ⁸²⁷

One can therefore conclude that there is a strong correlation between economics and mission. Whilst the business entrepreneur risks investments to make profit, expand his business and survive in the market environment, the mission of God has involved activities that have included risking the life of His only Son to redeem men and women from the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of God. Mission continues to involve investment risks with the objective of converting, liberating, discipling and empowering men and women to expand the business of God that will lead to the glory of God. According to Victor Claar and Robin Klay, 'it is hard to think of any Christian principle or value that is irrelevant to economic activity'. 828 I have termed such perception of mission where mission is performed based on economic factors as 'Economission'. I will use some economic theories to further explain the 'Economission' concept.

⁸²⁵ Warren W. Wiersbe, *The Bible Exposition Commentary: New Testament Vol 1*(NY: Word Search Corp, 2007), p. 253.

⁸²⁶ John L. Walvoord and Roy B. Zuck, *The Bible Knowledge Commentary: New Testament Edition* (Database: Word Search Corp, 2003), p. 252.

⁸²⁷ Lawrence O. Richards, *The Teachers Commentary* (Database: Word Search Corp, 2007), p. 694. Victor V. Claar and Robin J. Klay, *Economics in Christian Perspective: Theory, Policy and Life Choices* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity Press, 2007), p. 21.

7.3.1 Competition, Monopoly and Oligopoly

The level of competition in a business environment will to a large extent have an impact on businesses located in the environment. According to Paul Ferguson et al, the viability of an organization will largely depend on the competitive environment in which it is located. 829 Features of the competitive environment are identified as the market structure. behaviour and performance. The structure of the market is defined as the number and size of firms that operate within the environment, the variety of products that are available and how access is gained to the market. Behaviour refers to the ability of firms to determine prices by how much investments they make, and their activities regarding advertising, promotions and means to exclude other competitors from joining the market. Performance of the firm is measured by how much profit is made and to what extent the profit margin is maintained and sustained over a period. 'The underlying assumption is that market structure determines the behaviour of firms, while behaviour in turn determines their performance'. 830 From the market structure, Ferguson et al posit that economists have identified four main features, which are 'perfect competition, monopoly, monopolistic competition and oligopoly'. 831

7.3.1.1 Market Competition

Approximately three types of competition exist in the business environment. One type is the perfect competition model. A market structure with perfect competition is identified

⁸²⁹ Paul R. Ferguson, Glenys J. Ferguson and R. Rothschild, *Business Economics: The Application of Economic Theory* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1993), p. 171.

⁸³⁰ Ferguson et al., Business Economics, p. 172.

Ferguson et al., Business Economics, p. 172.

with a large number of buyers and sellers dealing with a homogeneous product. 832 In such a market both buyer and seller has a high mobility to respond to small price differences. Because the number of firms is high and the product on the market is the same, firms do not have much influence on prevailing market prices and therefore lack market power. The assumptions of the perfect competition model are therefore the availability of many buyers and sellers, freedom of entry and exit in the market, perfect mobility of factors of production, perfect knowledge and the presence of a homogeneous product. 833 Church growth expert, Donald McGavran, has used the concept of homogeneity to explain the existence of cultural church clusters. According to McGavran, the homogeneous unit represents part of the society in which all members have some common characteristics that may be their culture or language. Congregations are then formed along these cultural lines giving rise to homogeneous unit churches. 834 The understanding and use of the homogenous product in economics is however different from the homogeneous unit principle. The concept in economics refers to production whereas McGavran uses the term to refer to people who become the cluster of a church or consumers, to use an economic term. The second type of competition occurs in a situation where the production of goods is undertaken by only a few firms. In such a market it becomes more flexible to alter prices or production levels to the advantage of the firms. Such market structure, in which prices and production are influenced by firms, is described as

⁸³² Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1920), pp. 1-13; Jonathan R. Macey, 'Market for Corporate Control', in David R. Henderson (ed.), *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund Inc., 2008); Steven L. Jones and Jeffry M. Netter, 'Efficient Capital Markets', in Henderson (ed.), *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*; Morgan Rose, 'Shedding Light on Market Power', Library of Economics and Liberty, 2nd December 2002.

⁸³³ Philip Hardwick, Bahadur Khan and John Langmead, *An Introduction to Modern Economics*, 4th Edition (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1994), p. 156.

⁸³⁴ Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 3rd Edition (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990), pp. 69-71.

imperfect competition.⁸³⁵ Thirdly, it is also possible for firms to be in a monopolistic competition where even though several firms may exist in the market each firm behaves as if it were a monopoly based on its product speciality.⁸³⁶

Applying the concept of competition in 'Economission', it may be inferred that faith seekers or religious consumers exist in the mission field or mission environment. As the global church or mission organizations adhere to the mission mandate 'Go and make disciples of all nations', 837 strategies are put in place to reach these religious consumers. In Britain, for instance, as at 2007 there were 47,000 congregations. 838 There were also 548,200 congregations in the USA and 31,000 congregations in Ghana in 2004. 839 Because of the existence of several congregations, all of them preaching the same gospel, those who wish to associate with any of these congregational churches have many options to choose where to worship. Besides the several congregations, there are also numerous religious providers or mission programmes that are held amongst various communities. The CoP mission, for instance, encompasses programmes in health and education, support for HIV/AIDS victims, women, youth and children ministry, and chaplaincy support for prisons and military units. These and many more programmes that exist in the mission environment are open to the public as much as they are open to the mission organizations. In such an environment where no one seems to have absolute control over which mission programme a particular individual should subscribe to, the

⁸³⁵ Paul R. Krugman and Maurice Obstfeld, *International Economics: Theory and Policy* 8th Edition (Boston, MA: Pearson Education Inc and Addison Wesley, 2009), p. 117.

⁸³⁶ Krugman and Obstfeld, *International Economics*, p. 120-21.

⁸³⁷ Matthew 28:19.

⁸³⁸ Ruth Gledhill, 'Thousands of Churches Face Closure in Ten Years', *The Times*, February 10, 2007.

environment can be described as being in 'perfect competition'. This creates freedom in the mission environment. Freedom itself is an important element in economics, and any developed or developing economies seeks to protect the freedom of individuals and communities so that they can have a choice amongst a vast array of possibilities regarding their consumption, production and distribution. R40 Claar and Klay have argued that 'without freedom there is no responsibility' and that 'without freedom, human beings are not accorded their essential status as creatures made in God's image'. Perfect competition that will generate freedom in 'Economission' will therefore enhance the activities of individual mission organizations, create equal opportunities and reduce the possibility of extinction amongst mission organizations.

In a perfect competitive environment, it is assumed, therefore, that the mission environment is quite large with high population densities and that several mission organizations exist in the environment. This situation is more applicable in urban mission areas. In rural areas, where population densities are low, the few mission organizations in existence may decide the kind of mission services that will be provided. In such situations, where people do not have much freedom to choose from a large range of services, mission in the environment is described as being in 'imperfect competition'.

As much as the perfect and imperfect competitive theories deal with the performance of firms or mission organizations, there is also the deductive assumption of choice in the theories. For instance, with the perfect competitive theory, consumers or faith seekers

⁸⁴⁰ Claar and Klay, Economics in Christian Perspective, p. 24.

⁸⁴¹ Claar and Klay, Economics in Christian Perspective, p. 24.

have a choice to select from a range of mission organizations, whilst with the imperfect competitive theory consumers or faith seekers have little or no choice. When it comes to the issue of choice, the religious sociologist, Rodney Stark, and several other American sociologists have proposed the rational choice theory and religion. Stark begins his argument with an exchange theory or a rational choice axiom that 'humans seek what they perceive to be rewards and avoid what they perceive to be costs'. He puts forward another axiom that 'some desired rewards are limited in supply, including some that simply do not exist (in the physical world)'. 842 Stark, and his colleague William Bainbridge, then explain that 'rewards are anything humans will incur costs to obtain' whilst 'costs are whatever humans attempt to avoid'. 843 People therefore make rational choices about life's opportunities, choosing what will benefit them and offer absolute happiness whilst avoiding those things that will bring loss to them. Humans therefore will generally weigh the costs and benefits of potential actions, choose good over evil and those actions that will maximize their net benefits. 844 For example a person under demonic oppression encountering the delivering power of the Holy Spirit will choose the activities of the Holy Spirit. The benefit of the person will be the deliverance they have received through the power of the Holy Spirit as against the oppression they were under before the encounter. In the CoP it is believed that the benfits of the ministry of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer are enourmous including power to witness, power to speak in tongues and prophesy, ability to demonstrate the gifts of the Holy Spirit,

⁸⁴² Rodney Stark, 'Bringing Theory Back In', in Lawrence A. Young (ed.), *Rational Choice Theory and Religion: Summary and Assessment* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1997), pp. 6-7.

⁸⁴³ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), p. 27.

⁸⁴⁴ Laurence R. Iannaccone, 'Rational Choice: Framework for the Scientific Study of Religion', in Young (ed.), *Rational Choice Theory*, p. 26.

guidance, power to pray and power to drive out demons among others (Acts 1:8; Acts 19:6; 1 Cor 12; John 14:6; Romans 8:26-27; Luke 10:18-19). The availability of choice then results in competition that creates a healthy producer-consumer relationship in the environment. Stark proposes that 'to the degree that a religious economy is competitive and pluralistic, overall level of religious participation will tend to be high'. However, the rational choice theory focuses more on human behaviour towards decision-making in the environment and does not necessarily describe activities in the environment. Roger Finke, reviewing the rational choice theory, concluded that even though the theory has attempted to explain questions about the sect-church cycle, the persistence of religion, patterns of religious switching and explanations for the commitment and growth of the more demanding religions, there are still many more questions that are unanswered by the theory. Also In 'Economission', both human and organizational attitudes are taken into consideration and therefore offers a better model to mission than the rational choice theory.

The third type of competition that may exist in the mission environment is monopolistic competition. This is where the different Christian traditions like the Catholics, Protestants, Anglicans, Pentecostals and Charismatics see themselves as offering a distinct service to the religious consumer. Most of the Christian revivals that took place across the globe exhibited traits of monopolistic competition. The Anabaptists, for example, believed they had been selected to restore the original Christian church of the

⁸⁴⁵ Stark, 'Bringing Theory Back', p. 18.

⁸⁴⁶ Roger Finke, 'The Consequences of Religious Competition: Supply-Side Explanations for Religious Change', in Young (ed.), *Rational Choice Theory*, p. 58.

New Testament, ⁸⁴⁷ whilst the early Pentecostals perceived their experience of Spirit baptism to be a fire that would spread all over the world. ⁸⁴⁸ Even though mission organizations have worked towards ecumenicism with the internationalization of the missionary movement, ⁸⁴⁹ there are still distinct characteristics of Christian movements in the mission environment that would need to be addressed by the 'Economission' model.

7.3.1.2 Monopoly and Oligopoly

Monopoly, which is the production of a good or service that has effectively no substitute, 850 rarely exists in 'Economission'. This is because no one church has the ability to control where one should worship. When one assesses the RevMM it may to a large extent be regarded as a closed mission environment where the host nation usually enjoys some sort of monopoly especially in a black to white reverse mission. There are, however, exceptions to this rule where a few mission organizations from Africa have succeeded in establishing white churches in Europe. 851 Moreover, there have been several African theologians, 852 for example, who have shared theological and missiological information to churches and Christian organizations and conferences in Europe and the USA that can effectively be described as reverse mission. Very small rural communities who may have only one mission operating in the community may also seem to be enjoying some amount of monopoly. However, in some instances, faith seekers or religious consumers will be willing to travel to nearby communities to be able to identify

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⁸⁴⁷ Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing: A Study in Sociology of Religion* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), p. 59.

⁸⁴⁸ Anderson, Spreading Fires, p. 3.

Paul E. Pierson, 'The Ecumenical Movement', in Moreau (ed.), *Evangelical Dictionary*, p. 303.

⁸⁵⁰ Ferguson et al., Business Economics, pp. 175-76.

⁸⁵¹ An example is Sunday Adelaja's church in the Ukraine.

⁸⁵² Some notable conference speakers from Africa include J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, Opoku Onyinah, Tokunboh Adeyemo, Afe Adogame, and until their demise Kwame Bediako and Ogbu Kalu.

with their preferred mission. It will therefore be difficult to assess the level of productivity of a supposed monopolistic mission in a mission environment using the 'Economission' model.

There are, however, oligopolistic tendencies in 'Economission'. Oligopoly is a market structure where firms enjoy a substantial market share but to a large extent are interdependent ⁸⁵³ or mutually dependent. ⁸⁵⁴ This means that firms normally are influenced by the actions of their competitors. For instance, the decision of one firm to cut the price of a particular product will influence other firms in the market environment to adjust their prices as well. In 'Economission', churches are to some degree influenced by the activities of other churches in their mission environment and are likely to respond to the behaviour of the environment. The LMM and RegMM respond to oligopolistic behaviours. To be oligopolistically competitive, some traditional churches in, for example, Ghana have become pentecostalized. ⁸⁵⁵ Hollenweger has also referred to the remergence of the baptism in the Spirit in the traditional churches of America as Pentecost outside 'Pentecost'. He enumerates that activities of the van Nuys revival and the Full Gospel Business Men, for example, influenced the traditional churches. ⁸⁵⁶

Another area of influence in recent times has been the competition for the use of the media in mission work. Recently, as has been shown, the mission environment has experienced the proliferation of migrant churches especially in Western Europe and the

⁸⁵³ Ferguson et al., Business Economics, p. 196.

⁸⁵⁴ Hardwick et al., Modern Economics, p. 177.

⁸⁵⁵ In his book *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, Cephas Omenyo explains how the traditional churches of Ghana have adopted the Pentecostal style of worship.

⁸⁵⁶ Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, pp. 4-6.

USA. In the UK, African churches are becoming more popular. It has been reported that black church-goers constitute more than two-thirds of worshippers in London area and about 7% of worshippers nationwide. 857 In Telford and Wrekin, for instance, a relatively small borough with a population of 166,000 and with an ethnic minority of 5.2% and fewer than 2% of black population⁸⁵⁸ there are at least six Ghanaian churches besides CoP and other African and Caribbean churches in the Telford Township alone. 859 All these churches compete for those who want to identify with a church. Information is also readily available as to where to find a church since most of these churches are taking advantage of the media. According to the Voice, some black Pentecostal churches, which are among some of the largest congregations in Britain, are 'particularly innovative in their use of communication and media technology, TV and the internet – and are actively involved in their community'. 860 The extensive use of media also serves as an advertising agent to bring people to these churches. Although the CoP on the other hand does not use the media extensively, it is gradually being influenced by other black ministries to do so. A few programmes are now aired on OBE TV but these are mostly recorded in Ghana and do not always reflect the quality of the European media. In a study by Marleen de Witte on the religious media in Ghana, it was discovered that not only were the charismatic churches influencing mission practice by the use of the media but that non-Christian organizations were also competing to enter the public sphere and acquire public presence. 861 A careful observation of the religious broadcasts on SKY TV, UK, revealed

⁸⁵⁷ Cindy John, BBC News, Community Affairs report, Monday 1 August 2005.

⁸⁵⁸ Telford and Wrekin Council, Facts and Figures – October 2008.

⁸⁵⁹ Survey of Ghanaian churches in Telford, conducted in August 2009.

⁸⁶⁰ The Voice, March 21 2005, p. 14.

Marleen de Witte, 'Religious Media, Mobile Spirits: Publicity and Secrecy in African Pentecostalism and Traditional Religion', in Huwelmeir and Krause (eds.), *Travelling Spirits*, p. 83.

that between 2007 and 2009 over ten new black churches used the media to propagate the gospel. ⁸⁶² Many more churches are being influenced to use the media with the expectation of not only sharing the gospel but also to attract new-comers. It will therefore be relevant to evaluate mission activity using the 'Economission' model.

7.3.2 Comparative Advantage

The reason why Pentecostalism is growing faster than other church traditions and the fact that the choice of churches by would-be members are skewed towards church tradition, race, culture and leadership style can also be explained by the economic theory of 'comparative advantage'. A country or firm is classed as being in a comparatively advantageous position if it faces a relatively lower cost in achieving a given objective relative to that faced by its counterparts. 863 According to David Heathfield and Mark Russell, if countries or firms will concentrate on those things over which they have comparative advantage, the overall output is likely to rise and the overall average cost of production will fall. 864 Insights from this theory can be used to strengthen the 'Economission' model. For instance, the CoP would have comparative advantage over African immigrants in Europe and the USA who have been members of the CoP back in Africa. Similarly Elim for example would have comparative advantage over the CoP in attracting white British Pentecostals in the UK. Mission organizations therefore that are able to easily set up mission programmes in a faith community using its church tradition or culture or leadership to its advantage is said to have comparative advantage. Generally,

 $^{^{862}}$ The number was recorded by watching SKY TV religious programme in England between 2007 and 2009

⁸⁶³ Hardwick et al, Modern Economics, p. 554.

⁸⁶⁴ David Heathfield and Mark Russell, *Modern Economics* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), pp. 339, 398.

African-led Pentecostal churches would have comparative advantage in winning African Pentecostals over White-led Pentecostal churches and vice versa. Claar and Klay, however, use the 'cost-benefit analysis' to explain why a project would be preferred over another or whether or not a particular project would be undertaken. They explained that goods and services providers will normally consider whether the benefit that will accrue to society is higher than the cost of providing the service. 865 Using cost-benefit analysis to evaluate mission and mission activities will however be problematic. Explaining the cost-benefit analysis from a Christian perspective, Claar and Klay discovered that there were several pitfalls with the economic theory. Some of the pitfalls include ignoring distributional consequences, failing to consider correctly who has standing and incorrectly valuing human life. 866 Expatiating further on this they realized there were problems with for example contingent valuation, the traditional method of using costbenefit analysis to assess the benefit of a project in terms of dollars and cents. The reason being that demographic distribution of societies is varied, and therefore the cost or benefit of a project will depend on how rich or poor the beneficiary is. Christian mission however should involve activities that will offer total accessibility and benefit to both the rich and the disadvantaged in society and as Claar and Klay put it 'we must all remember the poor and, moreover, speak for the poor'. 867 It is also almost impossible to use economic variables to assess the value of human life in a social project. Cost-benefit analysis has tried to value human life by calculating the value of earnings beneficiaries are expected to make over the remainder of their natural life. This places some humans at a higher value than others in terms of their earnings and also assumes that younger

⁸⁶⁵ Claar and Klay, *Economics in Christian Perspective*, pp.54-5.

⁸⁶⁶ Claar and Klay, Economics in Christian Perspective, pp. 58 – 66.

⁸⁶⁷ Claar and Klay, Economics in Christian Perspective, pp. 59 – 60.

employees are more valuable because they will have longer natural life. No matter how much this is modified, it is difficult to quantify a life created 'in the image of God', and therefore mission should assess benefit in terms of how much it fulfils the 'Missio Dei' and brings glory to God.

Applying the theory of comparative advantage to the 'Economission' model we will consider the UK mission environment. It is common to find a high proportion of Ghanaians attending Ghanaian-led churches like CoP, Worldwide Miracle Outreach Centre, Vineyard International Church, Trinity Baptist Church, Calvary Charismatic Baptist Church or Christian Hope Church. Similarly, a high proportion of Nigerians attend Nigerian-led churches like Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG). 868 and Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC). These black or black-led churches continue to grow in the UK. According to the Christian Research Association, black churches membership in Britain grew by 18% between 2000 and 2005 compared with a drop of 5% membership in churches nationally. 869 The Office for National Statistics also revealed that black population represented 2.3% of the total population in UK in 2001 and increased to 2.8% in 2007. Although these statistics included blacks of West Indian origin, further statistics revealed that the population of blacks of African origin also increased from 0.97% to 1.4% in the same period. 870 This means that population growth as a result of immigration has contributed to church growth amongst black Christians.

⁸⁶⁸ Stephen Hunt, 'The "New" Black Pentecostal Churches', in Britain Paper presented at Center for Studies on New Religions 14th International Conference, Riga, Latvia, August 29-31, 2000.

⁸⁶⁹ Christian Research Association Statistics. See also *UK Christian Handbook, Religious Trends 4 (2003 – 2004)*.

⁸⁷⁰ Office for National Statistics, Census 2001, Key Statistics for Local Authorities, updated 13 February 2003; Resident Population Estimates by Ethnic Groups, updated 14 September 2009.

The in-built incentive socio-cultural structure amongst the black churches readily attracts black immigrants to identify with their mission. The CoP-UK for instance has also grown by planting churches in areas where there are high black populations. Other mission programmes by the CoP in the area of community support services, counselling and training have all been most successful amongst the ethnic minority or specifically amongst the African community. This is where perhaps the CoP-UK seems to have comparative advantage over others. In a broader perspective this trend of congregational mapping seems to be global even though there might be some exceptions. In Telford, for example, out of about 650 Ghanaian churchgoers less than 50 attend non-Ghanaian-led churches whilst over 600 attend Ghanaian-led and Ghanaian majority churches. 871 In the United States, scholars have discovered similar trends of ethno-religious mappings which have been described by McGavran as 'mosaics', 872 by Peter Wagner as 'ethclasses', 873 and by Martin Marty as 'ethnoreligion'. 874 This situation is also evident in the developing world where nationals have taken responsibility to offer various mission programmes to their own people. Before the 1960s, however, mission to the developing world was mainly delivered and managed by the West. By 1960, most countries had gained independence from their colonial masters and no longer depended solely on foreign leadership in their national issues as well as religious activities. According to Marty, 'a white or Western-based secular ecumenical ideal began to fade' with the change in colonial rule which resulted in a 'reassertion of racial, ethnic, national and

⁸⁷¹ Information was gathered from the Association of Ghanaian Churches in Telford where the researcher happens to be the chairman.

⁸⁷² McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, pp. 45-6.

⁸⁷³ C. Peter Wagner, Our Kind of People: The Ethical Dimensions of Church Growth in America (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1979), p.82.

Martin E. Marty, *A Nation of Behavers* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 158 – 61.

denominational loyalties'. 875 In the CoP, since McKeown retired in 1982, Ghanaians have led the mission of the church but maintaining links with Elim Church, UK.

With the globalization and diversification in modern Christian mission, it is becoming more possible for 'ethno-mission' enclaves to be created. As people move across the globe, there is the tendency for fewer minority groups to identify with the readily available mission of the host nation, but as the minority group grows, there is always the desire to seek cultural identity, religious identity and probably mission identity. The CoP members fellowshipped with Elim in UK until they had the numbers to identify themselves as the CoP. As the 'ethno-mission' enclave grows from its primary to its maturity stage, its functionality may be altered with the presence of second and third generation members in terms of composition and even style of worship. The structure of the enclave will however be maintained over several generations. The CoP Côte d'Ivoire, for example, after fifty years of its establishment has second generation leaders and enjoys autonomy status from CoP-Ghana but continues to maintain the CoP structure. In Pentecostal mission, the rate of creation of ethno-mission enclaves could even be higher since men and women continue to claim that they have been directed by the Holy Spirit to start a new church which often centres around their own people.

Stephen Hunt, on the other hand, comments that black churches have failed to win white members, referring to one of the biggest black churches in the UK, RCCG.⁸⁷⁶ Likewise, CoP-UK has about 1% white membership. As much as this trend might be worrying, the

⁸⁷⁵ Marty, A Nation of Behavers, p. 159.

⁸⁷⁶ Hunt, 'The New Black Pentecostal Churches'.

other side of the argument is that a greater percentage of whites also attend white churches like Elim even though there might be one or two exceptions. In the USA, mega churches led by black Americans like T. D. Jakes' Potter's House and Creflo Dollar's World Changers Church International both have mainly black members whilst mega churches led by white Americans like John Hagee's Cornerstone Church and Joel Osteen's Lakewood Church have mostly white members. 877 The prevailing trend where membership is skewed towards the ethnic identity of the leaders in the mission environment can be explained largely by the 'Economission' model. Churches that are led by whites have a comparative advantage in winning white members over black-led churches, whilst those that are led by blacks have a comparative advantage in winning black members. Again, black-led churches have the advantage of providing other mission programmes like counselling, dealing with concepts of African spirituality, and sociocultural support to African members, whilst white-led churches have the advantage of providing mission programmes in the areas of stress, depression and anxiety to white members. Black churches therefore face lower transaction costs in connecting to people of their own culture, all things being equal, and vice versa. The cost becomes relatively higher when mission endeavours have to connect with people of other races. It involves, for example, learning unfamiliar cultures, adjusting programmes to accommodate other cultures, and learning to respond to the social and spiritual need of other cultures. When the comparative advantage theory is applied, the process of specialization is achieved where black churches are able to efficiently respond to the spiritual, social, cultural and immigrational needs of black members at relatively lower costs, and vice versa. In fact,

⁸⁷⁷ T. D. Jakes, Creflo Dollar, John Hagee and Joel Osteen all feature prominently on SKY TV religious broadcasts, and membership attendance show the ethnic composition of the churches.

this was one of the reasons why PAUKE, which later became ElicoP or CoP-UK, was formed out of Elim. The MMM can then be assessed and implemented by considering its comparative advantage in a semi-closed mission environment where migrants from a particular country are likely to fellowship with a migrant church that is linked to their own home country. Mission then becomes transnational. The question of failure to win whites or blacks in the mission environment therefore becomes less of an issue in the 'Economission' model. As much as it is important for every mission to extend its programmes to all peoples, failure or success should not necessarily be measured in terms of the ethnic identity of the people it attracts. Black-led churches may use the various mission programmes that they are involved in to measure their success or failure. If 'Economission' therefore is perceived in the larger framework of the missionary Spirit who is the Holy Spirit, we must agree that it is the Holy Spirit who causes growth and gives the ability and empowerment to effect various mission programmes. It is the Sovereign Lord who, through the ministry of the Holy Spirit, gives empowerment for mission work and influences the direction of mission. Smith has made a profound statement that 'our use of the most effective type of methods does not and cannot force God to give growth⁸⁷⁸ and success in our mission endeavours. Escobar has also added that 'the growth of the church in numbers and depth is the work of the Holy Spirit'. 879

7.4 Constructing the 'Economission' Model

We have described the various Pentecostal mission models that were used from the early formation of the CoP to the present. We have also seen that some of these models have

⁸⁷⁸ Smith, 'Introduction to the Strategy and Methods of Missions', p. 443.

Escobar, *The New Global Mission*, pp. 124 – 25.

resemblances to existing models like the early church model and contemporary models like the reverse mission model. Due to the transforming nature of mission, new ways or rather new models will always be developed to deal with the contemporary and seculardriven world. Risto Ahonen has remarked that 'mission is intimately bound up with history. It began at a particular point in history and will end with the end of history'. 880 As we wait for the end of history, we should pray for the Holy Spirit to teach us new ways of doing effective mission that are also efficient. This does not mean that earlier and contemporary mission models have not been effective. The problem is that past and existing mission models have all described the nature of mission and how mission operates within the various Christian traditions without offering an assessment model for mission. Mission has been modelled or described by various missiologists and scholars as conversion, church planting, church growth, adaptation, inculturation contextualization. It has also been described in terms of 'Missio Dei', dialogue, care of the environment, partnership, justice for the poor, action in hope, worship, transforming service, the act of the Holy Spirit and many more.⁸⁸¹ As we engage in various forms of mission there is the need for an assessment or evaluation model to determine the viability of mission programmes.

The 'Economission' model is a proposed mission model that can be used to analyze, assess and evaluate other mission models. The objective is to determine the appropriate

Ahonen, Mission in the New Millennium, p. 263.

⁸⁸¹ See Andrew Walls and Cathy Ross (eds.), *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008); Oborji, *Concepts of Mission;* Escobar, *The New Global Mission;* J. Andrew Kirk, *Mission Under Scrutiny: Confronting Contemporary Challenges* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006); Bosch, *Transforming Mission;* Kirk, *What is Mission?;* Terry, Smith, Anderson (eds.), *Missiology;* Anderson, *Spreading Fires*.

cost-effective mission model to be applied in the mission environment that will maximize effectiveness. Cost in 'Economission' refers to all resources (human, physical, financial, time, spiritual, and emotional) that can be quantitatively or qualitatively accounted for as being needed before a mission programme can succeed. For instance, in Pentecostal mission the cost of accepting and implementing a directive prophecy to begin mission in Somalia or Afghanistan will be the level of risk and challenges that the mission organization is willing to undertake. The maximization of results or profit is the rate of success a mission programme enjoys after factoring in its comparative advantage over others, (im)perfect competitive nature and its monopoly or oligopoly status. The table below has been developed to describe the stages of the model.

Table 7: Stages of the 'Economission' Model

Stage	Activity
Stage 1	 The Identification Stage Identify the mission blocs – LMM, RegMM, MMM, RevMM, RefMM. Identify the mission parameters of mission blocs – evangelism, church planting, discipleship training, pastoral training, education and medical mission, children, youth, men and women ministries, publishing, counselling, community work, support and care. Identify resources to be used – Human, Physical, Financial.
Stage 2	 The Assessment Stage Identify and assess the mission environment. Assess the cultural values Assess the government policy on religious institutions and immigration. Find out the presence of other Christian mission in the environment.
Stage 3	 The Strategic Stage Identify the appropriate mission model to be applied. Identify the model to be applied by considering the following: Discover your comparative advantage area. Find and use indigenes to be in perfect competition. Consider other areas for oligopoly, monopoly and imperfect competition. Use local personnel for familiar environment.
Stage 4	 The Evaluation Stage Record successes and failures, costs and benefits. Measure the overall results by finding the net benefit: successes recorded less failures recorded equals net benefit. Identify weaknesses and strengths of mission models.
Stage 5	The Revision Stage • Use, change or modify the model. • Measure results.

The 'Economission' model begins with the identification stage. The model identifies the mission model that is to be used in a particular mission environment. For example, in the

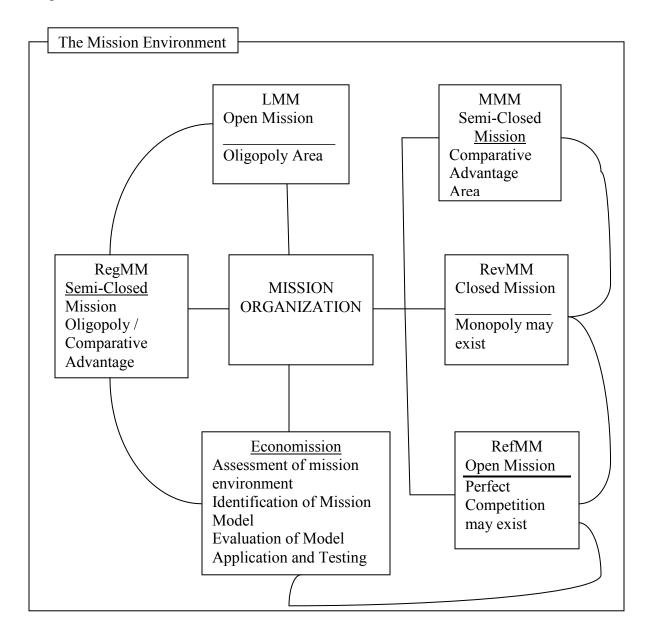
CoP mission praxis, it identifies one or more of the five mission models being used in the mission environment, lists all the mission parameters and compiles all the resources that have to be used. The mission organization therefore does not only act on the mission mandate or its mission objective but also makes conscientious effort to prepare its resources. Smith has proposed that for an effective missionary strategy to take place, decisions have to be taken concerning the nature and skills of the missionary force. 882 This is because the spiritual and physical preparation of the mission personnel can have a positive or negative impact on the overall mission. At the assessment stage, understanding of the culture, worldview and government policies concerning religion in the mission environment will help in selecting the appropriate mission model and also to be contextually appropriate. According to Thomas Wright, it is important to identify and deal with sociocultural changes in the mission environment. He suggests that evangelization should be contextualized so that the uncompromised gospel can be preached in the sociocultural, ethnic, and linguistic context of the respondents that will result in their conversion. 883 At this stage, knowing the presence and capability of other Christian missions in the mission environment is also essential for understanding the level of competition that exists. For instance, churches that cannot afford the cost of TV broadcasts will not be effective in using the TV as a tool for competition. Similarly, any mission that cannot easily change its culture to accommodate those of other cultures faces a relatively higher cost in attracting people from other cultures. The strategic stage uses the in-built economic theories like comparative advantage, competition and oligopoly in the 'Economission' model to derive total costs and benefits or successes and failures of

⁸⁸² Smith, 'Introduction to the Strategy and Methods of Missions', p. 441.

⁸⁸³ C. Thomas Wright, 'Contextual Evangelism Strategies', in Terry *et al.* (eds.), *Missiology*, pp. 452-453.

the adopted mission model. The next stage is the evaluation stage where the derived costs and benefits are calculated by finding the net benefit of the mission programme. When this is done, the advantages and disadvantages of the mission model applied are evaluated. If the transaction costs, that is, the financial, human, physical and emotional costs exceeds the benefits, that is all the success stories recorded, positive impact on the environment and society plus the quantitative and qualitative results, then the model needs to be revised or changed. Qualitative results can be measured by calculating the set objectives over time, that is, how many objectives were achieved over a given period of time.

Figure 4: The 'Economission' Model



7.4.1 Advantages and Disadvantages of the 'Economission' Model

There have been several models of mission that have been used by missiologists to explain the mission of God. Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder in an almost

comprehensive list discuss the various mission models from the early church to the contemporary church. Themes of baptism and evangelism in the early church as well as themes of prophetic dialogue, justice, peace and integrity of creation have all been discussed. 884 This was written several years after David Bosch's Transforming Mission which dealt with issues from New Testament models of mission to mission in many modes. 885 Anderson, Cartledge, Cox, Dayton, Dempster, Hollenweger, Kalu, Kay, Larbi, Robeck and others have also dealt with Pentecostal models of mission. 886 As much as these models explain the theology and practice of mission, none seems to provide an assessment or evaluation tool for mission. The advantage of the 'Economission' model is that it draws from economic theories to identify the strengths and weaknesses of existing mission models. By so doing, it helps the mission organization to calculate costs against benefits, review existing mission programmes and decide whether to modify, strengthen or change the model being used. The 'Economission' model is also not bounded and can be used in all mission areas. Its flexibility helps to deal with all parameters of mission from evangelism to care of the environment.

Using the 'Economission' model to determine the costs and benefits of other mission models can, however, be tedious. For instance, it will be difficult to calculate the cost of spiritual input in a particular mission as well as assess the benefits in terms of spiritual impact on the mission programme. In such instances, net benefits may be derived from

⁸⁸⁴ Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2004).

⁸⁸⁵ Bosch, Transforming Mission.

⁸⁸⁶ Anderson, Spreading Fires; Mark J. Cartledge, Practical Theology: Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003); Cox, Fire From Heaven; Dayton, Theological Roots; Dempster, Klaus, and Petersen (eds.), The Globalization of Pentecostalism; Hollenweger, Pentecostalism; Kalu, African Pentecostalism; William K. Kay, Pentecostalism (London: SCM Press, 2009); Larbi, Pentecostalism; Robeck, Azusa Street.

the cost of lifestyles of beneficiaries before they became recipients of the mission programme less the cost of lifestyle after encountering the mission programme. We may refer to these benfits as the 'blessings' of spirituality which may encompass aspects of spirituality from the peace of God to eternal life whilst costs could involve those aspects of life that a person must leave in other to acquire the intended spiritual blessings. It must therefore be noted that aspects of spirituality like speaking in tongues, faith and prophetic utterances for instance cannot be measured quatitatively no matter how much they help the recipient in their new Pentecostal life. Qualitative measurement however might need more skills to determine which areas of the impact of the mission to be measured. Again, care must be taken not to streetch the elasticity of the model to the extent that its usefulness may be diminished.

7.4.2 The 'Economission' Model: Summary

Models have greatly helped to explain and analyze mission. They have also served as strategies or patterns for current mission work. In the CoP mission practice, five mission models were identified. These models explain how mission work was done in the church from its beginning to the present. Whether these models can be applied or are appropriate for the future mission of the church, it is essential that the models are assessed and evaluated for their efficiency. For instance, the efficiency of the MMM in the European mission environment needs to be evaluated if the CoP is be able to cross over ethnic boundaries to engage in mission to all people. The 'Economission' model thus offers the tool to carry out such an assessment. Even though weaknesses have been identified, the

advantages are great and should provide to a large extent an assessment or evaluation tool for other mission models.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PENTECOST FIRE IS STILL BURNING: CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Summary of CoP Mission Models

The understanding and practice of mission in the Church of Pentecost have gone through several stages from its inception during the Anim era in 1917 through to the era of the Apostolic missionary, James McKeown (1937 to 1982), and to the Ntumy era (1998 to 2008). It has been clearly revealed in this research that whether building indigenous churches in Asia and Latin America, migrant churches in Europe and the USA, neighbourhood churches in Africa, or local churches in Ghana, the practice of mission in the CoP has mainly been one of a bottom-up approach or a mission from below. The practice of mission from below is an effective mission practice because it does not only promote mission from everywhere to everywhere or from everywhere to everyone but also from everyone to everyone. Everyone gets involved in the work of mission without waiting for authorisation, financial support, training and education, or any mission mandate. Mission from everyone to everyone has therefore become identified with CoP mission. The early leadership of the church did not set out a distinct or structured plan for mission; rather ordinary members fashioned the way mission should be undertaken. Members were taught that when they received the baptism of the Holy Spirit they would receive the power to do mission. The practice of mission within the CoP, therefore, emanated mainly from the pneumatological and eschatological understanding of the people. Even though no structured or written plan of mission was set out at the beginning,

five mission models have been identified as followed by the early precursors to Pentecostalism in Ghana through to when the CoP was formed.

Models that have evolved from the mission practice of the CoP include the Local Mission Model or LMM where the quest and desire for Spirit baptism, evangelism through 'signs and wonders,' preaching and living within an eschatological framework, the use of social services, and the recognition and influence of political leaders have marked the practice of mission. The LMM was used from the beginning of the CoP, initially emphasising Spirit baptism and evangelism, but later developed to include the provision of social services and, more recently, political engagement. As it is at present, the LMM is useful as a strategy for Pentecostal mission praxis. It has similar characteristics to the early church mission model, and because it is responsive to changing socio-political and national economic trends, newer mission programmes, especially those in the developing world, may find the model useful.

The second CoP model was the Regional Mission Model or RegMM, which evolved during the McKeown era. With this model, those who had experienced the baptism and power of the Holy Spirit travelled to neighbouring countries to preach the gospel and establish churches. Since most of these people were traders, artisans, fishermen or employees, who were temporarily transferred to work in other countries, they often returned to their own countries after completing their private assignment and initiating mission programmes on behalf of the church. The mission was then left in the hands of the indigenes. As much as this model was effective, some of those responsible for

continuing the mission abandoned it entirely. The RegMM could, however, be useful if monitored and managed by the central mission organization.

Another model that has been practiced by the CoP is the Migrational Mission Model or MMM. This is where unsatisfactory living conditions cause people to migrate and settle in countries in Europe or the USA, where they may eventually initiate mission programmes. Whereas with the RegMM travellers initiated mission programmes and returned to their own countries leaving mission work in the hands of the indigenes, the MMM involved migrants who often settled permanently in their host countries. The CoP mission in Europe and America can generally be referred to as migrational mission. Also some mission programmes in Europe and the USA, established by mission organizations from Africa or Asia and described as examples of reverse mission, are perhaps better understood as examples of migrational mission. I contend that churches or mission organizations whose mission activities centre around migrants should be interpreted within the framework of the MMM rather than reverse mission. In which case, migrational mission would be given fair recognition as an outworking of the Missio Dei. The MMM could then be used more broadly to describe any mission whose activities mainly involve migrants or minority groups.

The Reverse Mission Model or RevMM, where mission has been carried out amongst indigenous Europeans or North Americans, and the Reflex Mission Model or RefMM, where indigenous people who have been introduced to the CoP mission practice have pioneered mission in their own nations' are also models that have been used within the

CoP mission practice. The RefMM in particular has been a recent mission model within the CoP and started during the Yeboah era in the 1990s. Through this model, the CoP was able to establish itself in countries like India, Nepal, Portugal, Romania, Brazil and Argentina. The RefMM, therefore, has the advantage of being effective in areas where the RevMM has been difficult, and it is my contention that for the CoP mission to be effective amongst indigenous Europeans and North Americans, the RefMM should be used. It is also possible that the RevMM will fully develop when the second and third generation of the CoP members in Europe and the USA have assumed leadership in the church. An analysis of this is beyond the scope of this research. However, it is guite possible that in the next twenty years or so foreign mission activities flexible enough to incorporate those who have grown up within and adopted the host nation culture might prove successful examples of the RevMM. Having said this, it remains open to question whether the mission activities of black African Europeans or North Americans can legitimately be called reverse mission. Employing these five mission models, by the end of 2008, the CoP had been established in 72 nations, with about two million members in almost 14,000 congregations, and including numerous ministries in the areas of social services, funding and participating in community work, and several gender and groupspecific programmes.⁸⁸⁷ These achievements, which have resulted from the development of the five mission models, support my contention that the CoP has developed missionary models that can contribute to the shape of world Christian mission provided contemporary factors are incorporated. Hence, while these models of mission within the CoP have so far met with an element of success, certain contemporary issues may threaten their sustainability.

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⁸⁸⁷ CoP, International Missions Report, May 2009.

The 'Economission' model has therefore been developed to attempt to explain away some of these challenges. The underlying assumption of the 'Economission' model was that an established mission programme would become viable where viability could be anything from the mission's ethnography to its spirituality. Spirituality may be measured based on its impact on the adherents. Employing economic market principles like competition, monopoly, oligopoly and comparative advantage, it has been realized that mission organizations could as well face competition in the faith communities. It is therefore not surprising to note that as some of the traditional churches in Europe are closing down the Pentecostal/Charismatic churches are burgeoning. In Ghana for instance the CoP is facing competition with the new Pentecostals or the Charismatics whose style of worship, use of the media and technology and mission programmes have become appealing to the elite of the society. We have also noted that if mission organizations would develop aspects of mission where they have comparative advantage, the net results would promote global mission generally. The 'Economission' model can therefore reveal those models that can compete well in the faith community as well as those with comparative advantage.

8.2 Responding to Postmodernism

In order to evaluate the the CoP models in relation to emerging trends, we must recognize that societies are not static, and as societal ideals and values change so does their religiosity. People everywhere are now making more demands on society than previously, and more radical questions are being raised since the period of the

Enlightenment. 888 We have seen that during the era of the LMM members zealously accepted the teachings and practice of the church without questioning their biblical basis. Their main desire was to receive baptism of the Holy Spirit and participate in the mission of the church since they believed they have received the power to do so. It was also believed that the Spirit's power was a sign of the soon coming King. However, as time has elapsed and changes have occurred in societal values and economic conditions, a new awareness has been created which has caused people to question certain mission practices of the CoP. They have become more subjective in their judgement of church or mission practice. Concerned leaders and members of the CoP are beginning to question whether the mission of the CoP can be sustained during the twenty-first century with its emerging contemporary issues. Koduah raised such a concern when he noted that 'with the rapid socio-economic changes, globalisation, the effects of modernity and the influence of Western culture on the Ghanaian society, the once fascinating and unquestionable Church practices have come under scrutiny'. 889 The dictates of the contemporary world are now posing a great challenge to the mission of the CoP.

Issues relating to postmodernism, therefore, cannot be overlooked in the mission praxis of the CoP. Members of the CoP are gradually moving away from the era where church practice and theory was accepted without questioning to a postmodern era where church issues are being challenged. The influence of postmodernity means that mission in the twenty-first century 'will be global and local rather than national and denominational'. ⁸⁹⁰ Paul Hiebert refers to this trend as post-postmodern or glocal where nations become more

⁸⁸⁸ Newbegin, The Open Secret, p. 6.

⁸⁸⁹ Koduah, 'The Church of Pentecost in a Postmodern Society', p. 107.

⁸⁹⁰ Charles Van Engen, 'Postmodernism', in Moreau (ed.), Evangelical Dictionary, p. 774.

aware of their multi-cultural diversity as people travel around the globe. 891 This is where the mission of the CoP could face its biggest challenge. The main challenge here is not secularism but relativism and pragmatism⁸⁹² as people begin to question the biblical bases of some of its practices. As the CoP therefore expands its mission across the globe, it must seek to adapt its mission praxis to different cultural contexts. This will make it more likely that the CoP will succeed in its mission programmes especially those linked to the reverse and reflex mission models. The emergence of postmodernity also encourages us to 're-examine the world in which we live', 893 while not overlooking its philosophical and theoretical dangers. In examining what he calls the 'treasures of the church of Pentecost', Koduah posits that whether the factors that aided the phenomenal growth of the church and their 'various methodologies can stand the test of time in the postmodern context is a matter for a critical examination'. 894 As discussed previously, the CoP has grown to cherish its practices and beliefs, jealously guarding its 'covenant' with God and thus protecting its denominationalism. But as globalization with its postmodernist tendencies influence the church, it becomes a challenge as to what extent the church can continue to protect the 'treasures'. Pocock, Rheenen and McConnell, however, have cautioned that 'as modernity yields to postmodernity, those working in the field of missions need discernment so that they do not simply exchange one set of problems for another'. 895

⁸⁹¹ Paul G. Hiebert, 'The Missionary as Mediator of Global Theologizing', in Craig Ott and Harold A. Netland (eds.), *Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practice in an Era of World Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), pp. 295-96.

⁸⁹² Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994), p. 73.

⁸⁹³ Van Engen, 'Postmodernism', p. 773.

⁸⁹⁴ Koduah, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 110.

⁸⁹⁵ Pocock et al., The Changing Face of World Missions, p. 12.

8.3 Responding to the Second Generation Church

After more than seventy years of its existence, and after about sixty years of independence from the UK Apostolic Church, the CoP has entered into its second and third generation of members. Most members and some leaders of the contemporary CoP do not understand why men should sit separately from women in church, or why women should cover their hair, or why members should join the Witness Movement or the Women's Movement. In the UK, for instance, most of the youth in the church who were born and raised in Europe do not understand their own parent's cultural identity let alone the culture of the church. Dealing with this generational gap presents a challenge to the mission of the CoP.

In their research of four generations in the contemporary workplace, referred to as 'Radio Babies', 'Baby Boomers', 'Gen Xers' and 'Gen Ys', Linda Gravett and Robin Throckmorton suggest that 'miscommunication and conflict across generations affects productivity, morale, and customer satisfaction'. 896 Communication is not only cross-cultural but also cross-generational. For the first and second generation members of any church to co-exist in a 'worship-friendly' church they must understand themselves, allow each generation to contextualize their understanding of church mission without being syncretic, and seek to mutually promote each other's faith in God within the milieu of their own generational culture. After all, in Acts 13:36, King David was commended by

⁸⁹⁶ Linda Gravett and Robin Throckmorton, *Bridging the Generation Gap: How to Get Radio Babies, Boomers, Gen Xers and Gen Yers to Work Together and Achieve More* (Franklin Lakes, NJ: Career Press, 2007), pp. 10-12.

God for serving his own generation. ⁸⁹⁷ But the CoP has found it difficult allowing the second generation members 'freedom of worship' since the latter are often treated with suspicion by the first generation, who are fearful they will undermine the foundation or the tradition of the church. This tendency is more apparent in the Migration Mission Model where the second generation has adopted the culture of the host nation. In trying to translate their acquired culture into the church, the new generation is faced with a clash of cultures that creates tensions. Such situations may cause some to identify with alternative, more mission-friendly programmes.

8.4 Managing and Sustaining Mission in the Twenty-First Century

The CoP has a repute of maintaining its tradition. It has grown to uphold what have become known as the core values of the mission of the CoP. Some of these core values which include strong emphasis on prayer, emphasis on spontaneous worship, emphasis on holiness and discipline, aggressive evangelism, absolute respect and reverence for the word of God and reliance on the Holy Spirit have been classified as 'non-negotiable' values of the church. ⁸⁹⁸ Other core values that are even described as 'negotiable' are to a large extent being maintained in the church.

Like many long existing mission churches in the West the maintenance of the local tradition often becomes a priority making it a difficult task to move from 'maintenance to

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⁸⁹⁷ Acts 13:36 'For when David had served God's purpose in his own generation, he fell asleep; he was buried with his fathers and his body decayed'.

⁸⁹⁸ Alfred Koduah, 'The Church of Pentecost in Postmodern Society', in Onyinah (ed.), *McKeown Lectures* p. 127.

mission'. 899 This idea of maintaining the status quo in the West was even translated into their practice of mission. Bosch comments that 'since Western culture was implicitly regarded as Christian, it was equally self-evident that this culture had to be exported together with the Christian faith'. 900 The practice whereby receiving or host cultures had to adapt to the sending or missionary culture was variously called 'adaptation' or 'accommodation'. Bosch explains that accommodation did not allow for modification of the Western theology or culture except those that were determined by the West as being good, 'the traffic' according to Bosch 'was decidedly one-way'. 901 Following this trend most of the established CoP congregations in the mission areas were therefore more likely structured after the accommodation or adaptation model. Mission churches were required to adapt to the norms and culture of the church in Ghana and sometimes where there was a deviation from a particular church practice at the mission station, visiting or resident missionaries were quick to redirect the church to accommodate the 'Pentecostal Pattern', a term which is commonly used in CoP to refer to the pattern laid down by the early founders of the CoP. The practice of mission laid down in Ghana was thought to be the norm. In the attempt to transport some of these norms to other nations sometimes destabilized the mission church since 'the Christian faith never exists except as translated into a culture'. 902 These conflicts between the CoP-Ghana and those outside have gradually re-shaped the mission of the CoP. Worship style and church practice are beginning to differ from one nation to another. Missionaries are now required to attend an orientation course before arriving at their new station. International conferences

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⁸⁹⁹ Martin Robinson, *To Win the West* (Crowborough: Monarch Publications, 1996), pp. 201-202.

⁹⁰⁰ Bosch, Transforming Mission, p. 448.

⁹⁰¹Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 448 – 449.

⁹⁰²Bosch, Transforming Mission, p. 447.

organized by the international missions office has fostered better integration and understanding of the need to diversify the CoP mission concept.

In an analysis of congregations by Nancy Eiesland and Stephen Warner their assertion was that 'congregations exist in relation to the environment'. 903 Using 'scope' and 'layers' as two concepts in evaluating the ecology of congregations Eiesland and Warner referred to the character of the congregation's environment as its scope and the varying levels at which the congregation interacts with its environment as layers. 904 Expatiating further on the scope of congregations Eiesland and Warner noted that congregations are 'linked to networks and events across geographic and temporal space' and that the characteristics of communities in terms of its 'shared conversations, common practices and structures' also have connections with particular congregations which often times go beyond the 'religious ecology' to the 'economic, political, and educational contexts'. These according to them occur in three layers which are 'demography', 'culture' and 'organization'. Whilst demography describes the characteristics of the people in the community in terms of numbers, age and sex distribution, culture and organization refers to the systems of meaning, values and practices shared by members of the group and systems of roles and relationships that structure the interactions of peoples in the communities respectively. 905 Since these interactions are likely to influence the behaviour of congregations a replication or establishing the CoP (for instance in the UK) exactly like the CoP in Ghana is likely to cause imbalances in the various levels of interactions

⁹⁰³ Nancy L. Eiesland and R. Stephen Warner, 'Ecology: Seeing the Congregation in Context', in Nancy T. Ammerman, Jackson W. Carroll, Carl S. Dudley and William McKinney (eds.), *Studying Congregations: A Handbook* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), p. 41.

⁹⁰⁴ Eiesland and Warner, 'Ecology', pp. 41-42.

⁹⁰⁵ Eiseland and Warner, 'Ecology', p. 42.

which may reflect in the demographic composition of the congregation. As was seen in Chapter 5 most of the 3% membership that were non-Ghanaians in the CoP-UK had connections through marriage and other interests to Ghanaians. The scope and layers of the UK society therefore does not encourage non-Ghanaians to identify with the CoP-UK. However CoP-India which also has some resemblances to CoP-Ghana but has developed its own contextualized form of worship and mission practice exhibits a congregational demography constituting 100% indigenous membership. Even though with its almost 5,000 membership representing as little as 0.018% of the Christian population in India, ⁹⁰⁶ CoP-India is not yet listed as one of the major Pentecostal churches in India, it could however grow bigger than most CoP churches in Europe if the current trend continues to exist.

Eiseland and Warner noted that 'the only sure way for a congregation to die is for it to close itself off from its context'. 907 The issue of contextualization therefore becomes an important concept in the practice of mission of the church. Anton Wessels asserts that recent missiological discussion has centred on the relationship between gospel and culture. 908 Since no two congregations are the same, as observed by Nancy Ammerman, distinct identities are likely to be created by each congregation due to the influence of its geographical space even though there may be traits of practices of the larger tradition in which the particular congregation belong. 909 Congregations, therefore, must operate within their socio-religious context to be effective and sustainable. The context of the

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⁹⁰⁶ Johnstone and Mandryk, *Operation World*, pp. 310-11.

⁹⁰⁷ Eiseland and Warner, 'Ecology', p. 76.

⁹⁰⁸ Anton Wessels, Europe: Was it Ever Really Christian? (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1994), p. 14.

⁹⁰⁹ Nancy T. Ammerman, 'Culture and Identity in the Congregation', in Nancy T Ammerman *et al* (eds.), *Studying Congregations*, pp. 78 -9.

church in different geographic space becomes even more apparent within Pentecostalism. According to Douglas Petersen, 'Pentecostalism provides not only new opportunities for expression that are regularly denied the poor and disadvantaged, but also the moral support necessary for standing up to adversity and claiming one's rightful place in society'. 910 Robinson adds that 'the genius of Pentecostalism lies in its ability to thrive in an intercultural context, but also quickly to assume an indigenous expression'. 911 Emphasis on Spirit baptism within Pentecostalism therefore results in empowerment where congregations respond to the directives of the charismatic gifts of the Spirit thus creating different contexts as 'the Spirit gives them utterance'. 'Pentecostalism, by its democratization of religious life^{'912} is then likely to create shades of contextualized forms of worship that becomes applicable and appropriate to worshippers of varying geographic space. For 'faith itself is shaped by the context' and 'context is always local'. 913

Stuart Murray has argued that churches should not only be 'sustainable' but they should also be 'sustaining' in the post-Christendom era. 914 Mission practices that are to be sustained should therefore be contextualized to accommodate changing contemporary trends. Larbi observes that the early missionaries in Ghana, the Basel Mission, the Wesleyans, the German Bremen Mission, the Roman Catholics, the African Methodist-Episcopal Zion Mission and the Anglican Church Missionary Society down-played the realities of the 'spirit-force' and power encounters that plagued the African's daily living,

⁹¹⁰ Douglas Petersen, 'Pentecostals: Who Are They?', in Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden (eds.), Mission as Transformation: A Theology of the Whole Gospel (Oxford: Regnum Books Int., 1999), p. 100.

⁹¹¹ Robinson, To Win the West, p. 138.

⁹¹² Petersen, 'Pentecostals: Who Are They?', p. 99.

⁹¹³ Vinay Samuel, 'Mission as Transformation', in Samuel and Sugden (eds.), *Mission as Transformation*, pp. 229-30.
914 Stuart Murray, *Church After Christendom* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004), p. 218.

and for this reason their work of missions was greatly undermined. 915 Gifford is of the view that the mainline churches in Ghana, even though quite significant, were 'eclipsed' by the 'charismatic' sector especially between 1979 and 2002, 916 probably because the latter were able to better relate to the current needs of the people. Between 1913 and 1923, the precursors to Ghanaian Pentecostal revivalism like William Wade Harris, Sampson Oppong and John Swatson were able to attract large followings because they were also able to address the reality of the spirit world which was the dominant need at the time. The AICs, which sprang directly or indirectly from the activities of these revivalists and which were initially so successful in their mission enterprise, also plateaued in the 1970s in the face of the newer Pentecostal/Charismatic churches in Ghana. Gifford, comparing two surveys conducted by the Ghana Evangelism Committee, showed that 'the traditional AICs are losing members' and that growth was rather occurring in churches belonging to the Pentecostal Council and the newly 'missionrelated' churches. He concludes that 'the AICs are in serious difficulty; the mainline churches are static if not decreasing; and substantial growth lies with new Pentecostal and 'mission-related' churches'. 917

As much as Gifford's assertion is true, Koduah cautions that 'the Church of Pentecost has lost a considerable number of young people to the Neo-Pentecostal Churches whose practices seem not to be too rigid and appear to be 'modernised', and therefore more enticing and appealing to the elite of the society and the youth'. This calls for new

⁹¹⁵ Larbi, 'The Church of Pentecost: Sustaining the Growth', pp. 137-38.

⁹¹⁶ Gifford, Ghana's New Christianity, p. 23.

⁹¹⁷ Gifford, African Christianity, pp. 62-63.

⁹¹⁸ Koduah, 'The Church of Pentecost in a Postmodern Society', p. 107.

ways to sustain the mission of the church. In a four-stage organizational growth chart – the infancy stage, the development or growth stage, the maturity stage, and the phase of decline - Larbi places the CoP concurrently at the second and third stages of development and maturity. 919 He claims the church's ability to evangelize new areas and expand its mission frontiers shows development whilst at the same time exhibiting traits of maturity. 920 This oscillating movement between the development and maturity stages keep the church from swinging into the decline stage. There should however be conscientious steps to address this trend. The local and regional mission models, for instance, should consider the changing socio-cultural nature of communities in which they are being applied. Since the RegMM model is often a spill over or a rippling effect of the LMM, changing socio-economic conditions need to be noted as well as ways to deal with leadership and financial constraints. As much as the Migrational Mission Model offers the opportunity to bring mission to people everywhere, there are challenges associated with it which include 'suspicion from the host culture, migration problems, need for places of worship, non-availability of trained workers, cash flow constraints and inability to penetrate into the host culture'. 921 Policy issues relating to contextualization and the interpretation of 'God's covenant with the CoP' must also be dealt with. Also the review of basic church practices and the decision to take the bold step of recruiting indigenous Europeans or North Americans as full time pastors of CoP churches in Europe and the USA must be considered. It is my assertion that the Reflex Mission Model could be an effective mission tool in future, particularly in areas where mission organizations have found it difficult to establish themselves.

⁹¹⁹ Larbi, 'The Church of Pentecost', pp. 145-47.

⁹²⁰ Larbi, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 147. 921 Larbi, 'The Church of Pentecost', p. 147.

For the mission of the church to be sustained during the twenty-first century, there is also the need to have a mission assessment tool. This is because new solutions will always be needed to deal with new problems. It is suggested here that the 'Economission' model discussed in chapter seven is such a mission assessment tool. It is hoped that the 'Economission' model, which draws on economic principles to analyse alternative mission models, will be a viable assessment tool since economic parameters tend to affect human choices. Mission models can therefore be assessed, evaluated and modified over time to advance the *Missio Dei*.

NOTES

Questionnaires

1. Sample Questionnaire for Pastors

THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST IN UK – A CASE STUDY

A	DESCRIPTION (LEADERSHIP)	NUMBER
1.	No. of Assemblies in District	
2.	Total no. of ELDERS	
3.	Number of ELDERS who are NOT GHANAIANS	
4.	What are the Nationalities of ELDERS who are	
	NOT Ghanaians if any?	
	(a)-	
	(b)-	
	(c)-	
5.	No. of ELDERS who are Ghanaians but were born in the UK	
6.	Total No. of DEACONS	
7.	Number of DEACONS who are NOT Ghanaians	
8.	What are the Nationalities of DEACONS who are NOT Ghanaians?	
	(a)	
	(b)-	
	(c)-	
9.	No. of DEACONS who are Ghanaians but were	
	born in the UK	
10.	Total No. of DEACONESSES	
11.	Number of DEACONESSES who are NOT	
10	Ghanaians CDFA GONEGGEG	
12.	What are the Nationalities of DEACONESSES who are NOT Ghanaians?	
	(a)-	
	(a)- (b)-	
	(c)-	
13.	No. of DEACONESSES who are Ghanaians but	
13.	were born in the UK	
14.	How many of the Elders, Deacons and	
	Deaconesses who are NOT Ghanaians are	
	MARRIED?	
15.	How many of the Elders, Deacons and Dnesses	
	who are NOT Ghanaians are MARRIED to	
	Ghanaians?	

16.	How many of your ELDERS attended the Church	
	of Pentecost in Ghana before travelling abroad?	
17.	How many of your DEACONS attended the	
	Church of Pentecost in Ghana before travelling	
	abroad?	
18.	How many of your DEACONESSES attended the	
	Church of Pentecost in Ghana before travelling	
	abroad?	
19.	Do you or your church belong to any Local	
	Christian Association? If so what are they? (Please	
	indicate if you or the church is the member)	

В	DESCRIPTION (GENERAL MEMBERSHIP	NUMBER
	INCLUDING PRESBYTERY)	
1.	Total No. of Adult Membership (Over 19years)	
	(a) No. of Adult Male	
	(b) No. of Adult Female	
2.	Total no. of Adult Members who are NOT	
	Ghanaians	
	(a) Adult Males who are NOT Ghanaians	
	(b) Adult Females who are NOT Ghanaians	
3.	What are the Nationalities of members who are	
	NOT Ghanaians and their numbers?	
	(a)	
	(b)	
	(c)	
	(d)	
	(e)	
4.	How many of Members who are NOT Ghanaians	
	are married to Ghanaian men?	
5.	How many of Members who are NOT Ghanaians	
	are married to Ghanaian Women?	
6.	How many COUPLES of other Nationalities attend	
	your church? (Both Husband and wife NOT	
	Ghanaians attending church)	
7.	Teenage Membership (13 to 19years) (Total)	
	(a) Boys	
	(b) Girls	
8.	Children's Membership (below 13 years)	

2. Sample Questionnaire for Missionaries and National Heads

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MISSION IN THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST

NATION:

A	DESCRIPTION (MEMBERSHIP)	NUMBER
1.	No. of Assemblies in Nation	
2.	Total No. of Adult Membership (Over 19years)	
	(c) No. of Adult Male	
	(d) No. of Adult Female	
3.	Teenage Membership (13 to 19years) (Total)	
	(c) No. of Boys	
	(d) No. of Girls	
4.	Children's Membership (below 13 years)	
5.	How many of your members are not nationals of your country?	
6.	What are their nationalities? And how many are they if	1.
	any?	2.
		3.
		4.
В	DESCRIPTION (LEADERSHIP)	NUMBER
1.	No. of Pastors?	
2.	No. of Elders?	
3.	No. of Deacons?	
4.	No. of Deaconesses?	
5.	How many of your total leaders (Pastors, elders etc) are	
	not nationals of your country?	
6.	What are their nationalities if any?	
C	CHURCH ADMINISTRATION	
1.	What constitution do you use? (tick as applicable)	
a.	The Church of Pentecost Constitution from	
	Headquarters, Ghana	
b.	Own national church constitution	
С	If own constitution what are some of the areas that are different from CoP, Accra constitution?	
2.	What is your Relationship with CoP, Accra? (tick all that applies)	
a.	Reports activities to Accra	
b.	Take ALL directives from IMD, Accra	
c.	Take SOME directives from IMD, Accra	

d.	Attend Council meetings in Accra	
e.	Receives financial support from Accra	
f.	Sends special funds to Accra	
g.	Receives regular visits from Accra	
h.	Officers are ordained by Apostles from Accra or as	
	directed by Accra	
i.	Receives church circulars from Accra	
D.	FINANCE	
1.	How do you finance your church? (tick all that	
	applies)	
a.	Through tithes and offerings	
b.	From funds from Accra	
c.	If you receive funding from Accra for running of your	a. Less than 50%
	church what percentage of your total income come from	b. Over 50%
d.	Accra? (tick a) or b)	
a.	Any Overseas donations? What percentage of total income if any?	
e.	Other source of funding? (What is the source?)	
<u> </u>	other source of funding. (What is the source.)	
E.	CHURCH PRACTICE	
1.	What is your seating arrangement in church? (tick all	
_,	that applies)	
a.	that applies) Men and women sit together	
	Men and women sit together	
a.		
a.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different	
a. b.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of	
a. b. c. d.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of members	
a. b.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of members How do you describe your praise and worship? (tick or	
a. b. c. d.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of members How do you describe your praise and worship? (tick or write all that applies)	
a. b. c. d.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of members How do you describe your praise and worship? (tick or write all that applies) Musical instruments are used for praise and worship?	
a. b. c. d.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of members How do you describe your praise and worship? (tick or write all that applies)	
a. b. c. d.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of members How do you describe your praise and worship? (tick or write all that applies) Musical instruments are used for praise and worship?	
a. b. c. d.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of members How do you describe your praise and worship? (tick or write all that applies) Musical instruments are used for praise and worship?	
a. b. c. d.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of members How do you describe your praise and worship? (tick or write all that applies) Musical instruments are used for praise and worship?	
a. b. c. d.	Men and women sit together Men and women do not sit together but sit on different rows with men on the right The leaders sit on the platform Leaders do not sit on platform but sit at the front row of members How do you describe your praise and worship? (tick or write all that applies) Musical instruments are used for praise and worship? Some of the instruments used are	
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	(yes/no)
b.	If yes what is it?
4.	What types of songs are used during worship and praise? (Pleas tick all that are applicable)
a.	Old traditional church hymns
b.	Classical Pentecostal Gospel songs from well known
	artistes around the world
c.	Songs translated from CoP, Ghana songs
d.	Local Pentecostal songs
e.	If local do they reflect any cultural traits?
f.	If yes what is it?
5.	How would you generally describe your praise and
	worship (tick one)
a.	Very exuberant and charismatic
b.	Not very exuberant but quite Pentecostal
c.	Quiet and solemn atmosphere
6.	Do you use any specific dress code? (yes/no)
a.	If yes please describe style and explain colours
7.	Do you think your praise and worship style is like that of CoP, Ghana
a.	Very similar
b.	Not quite but have some amount of resemblance
c.	We have managed to copy a few because of our relationship
d.	Entirely different from worship in CoP, Ghana
8.	What language do you use during worship?
9.	Please put the following order of service in order of how you do service in your church (please put nos. 1, 2, 3, according to the order you follow) (1) Opening Prayer time (2) Songs of Praises (3) Testimonies by members (4) Worship (5) Preaching of the Word (6) Intensive Prayer time (8) Altar Calling (7) Tithes and Offering (9) Announcements (10) Closing Prayer

	(11) Benediction
10.	How much time do you give to preaching of the word?
11.	How much time do you give to prayer ministration for
	various needs – healings etc
12.	How long does your service last altogether?
13.	What is the role of the Holy Spirit in your church?
	(please tick and add any other)
a.	He leads and directs the service
b.	He takes us to the presence of God
c.	He helps us in our prayer, praise and worship
d.	He gives us the power to preach
e.	It edifies the church
f.	
14.	What is the importance of speaking in tongues in your
	church? (please tick and add any other)
a.	It shows that we have received baptism of the Holy
	Spirit
b	It is a heavenly language and without it we can't get to
	heaven
C.	It gives us power to work in the miraculous
d.	
e.	
F	SOME MISSION PERSPECTIVES
1.	In your own few words what do you think is the mission of the church in your nation?
2.	How do you do evangelism in the church? (tick all
2.	that applies)
a.	Person to person on the streets and public places
b.	Going from house to house
c.	Distribution of tracts
d.	Sharing our testimonies at home, school and the work
	place
e.	By living the gospel so our lives will attract others
f.	Church rally in the open air
g.	Church rally in rented halls
h.	Big time evangelistic crusades
i.	Radio and or TV evangelism
j.	Any other method How do you plant aburehes?
3.	How do you plant churches? Start with home cell
a.	Start with home cen

b.	Start with more than 10 persons
c.	Rent a place
d.	Any time after evangelistic campaign
4.	How many CoP movements do you have in your
	church? (please tick)
a.	Witness Movement
b.	Women's Movement
c.	Youth Ministry
d.	Men's Fellowship
e.	Children's Movement
G	TELLING YOUR STORY
	Please briefly describe the story of your church
	a. When it started
	b. How it started
	c. Where it started
	d. Who started it
	e. How far you have come (any successes)
	f. Any challenges
	g. Any comment you want to add for improvement
	of mission work in CoP
	ANN CHALLENCES
	ANY CHALLENGES

3. Sample questionnaire for Church members

THE PENTECOST FIRE IS BURNING: MODELS OF MISSION ACTIVITIES IN THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST

QUESTIONNAIRE -

- 1. Can you please tell me your name? Male/Female
- 2. What is your age group?
 - a) 13yrs 19yrs
 - b) 20yrs 30yrs
 - c) 31yrs 40yrs
 - d) 41yrs 50yrs
 - e) 51yrs 60yrs
 - f) 61yrs 70yrs
 - g) 71yrs 80yrs
 - h) 81yrs+
- 3. When did you join the Church of Pentecost (CoP)?
- 4. Under what circumstance did you join the CoP?
 - a) Someone preached to me
 - b) I attended a campaign that was held in my community
 - c) I went to church by myself
 - d) I had a revelation that someone was calling me to church
 - e) I was attracted by the Pentecostal worship
 - f) I was born into the church
- 5. What interest you most when you first joined?
 - a) Praise and Worship style
 - b) Speaking in tongues
 - c) Preaching
 - d) Prayer sessions
 - e) Healings and miracles
 - f) Changed lives
 - g) Other

- 6. Was there anything in particular that you wanted when you joined the church?
 - a) Salvation
 - b) Holy Ghost baptism
 - c) Deliverance form demonic oppressions
 - d) Healing
 - e) Fellowship
 - f) Good praise and worship
 - g) Other
- 7. What was your single greatest spiritual desire after you have joined the church?
 - a) Salvation
 - b) Holy Ghost baptism
 - c) Ability to preach to others
 - d) Spiritual gift empowerment
- 8. When did you receive the Holy Ghost baptism?
- 9. Did you ever witnessed to another person when you became a member of CoP?
- 10. Do you remember who that person was?
 - a) Family member
 - b) Friend
 - c) Working colleague
 - d) School mate
 - e) Other
- 11. When did you start witnessing to other people to also join the church?
- 12. Do you operate in any spiritual gift of the Holy Ghost?
- 13. How did this gift helped you in bringing other people to Christ?
- 14. Did you ever start a church for the CoP?
- 15. Do you know of any others in your congregation who started a church for the CoP?
- 16. What other ministries are you engaged in?
 - a) Witness movement
 - b) Women's fellowship
 - c) Youth ministry

- d) Praise and worship team
- e) Men's fellowship
- f) Children ministry
- g) Prison ministry
- h) Counselling
- 17. Were you paid for these activities?
- 18. Who asked you to be involved in these activities?
- 19. Do you think churches that were established during your time were initiated by pastors, leaders or members?
- 20. How do you know?
- 21. What were the role of pastors and the headquarters of the church?
- 22. What is the role of women in your church?
- 23. Do you think women are given their due recognition in the church?
- 24. How would you describe the mission of the CoP?

4. Sample Questionnaire for CoP Social Services

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MISSION IN THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST QUESTIONNAIRE ON PPL

1.	When was PPL established?
2.	What necessitated its establishment?
3.	Which General Council meeting moved for its establishment?
4.	Who was the first director?
5.	What are the functions of PPL?
6.	What are the objectives of PPL?
7.	What are some of the achievements of PPL?
8.	What are some of the challenges of PPL?
0	How is PPL funded?
10.	What church literature does PPL print for CoP?
11.	Does PPL print material for the church outside Ghana? What are the nations if any and what material do you print for them?
12.	Does PPL print for other organizations outside CoP?
13.	In which ways have PPL contributed to the mission of the Church of Pentecost's
14.	Copy of 1998 and 2008 PPL reports if available

5. Sample Questionnaire for Local Congregations in the UK

- 1. Kindly give the name of your assembly and district
- 2. In what year did your assembly start?
- 3. How did your assembly start?
- 4. What role did the national church play in establishing the church?
- 5. What is the present composition of your membership
- 6. What is the present composition of you leadership team (Please give offices and nationalities)
- 7. For how long have you been the presiding elder?
- 8. How long have you been a member of the church?
- 9. Do you speak in tongues?
- 10. Do you think your election as presiding elder is based on your spiritual gifts?
- 11. Were you a member of the CoP before settling in the UK?
- 12. Do you think your appointment was based on your membership in Ghana?
- 13. What is the average weekly offering of your assembly?
- 14. What welfare issues are you engaged in?
- 15. Who is responsible in running the local church?
- 16. Who makes decision for the assembly?
- 17. Do you think your assembly is patterned after the mother church in Ghana?
- 18. How would you describe the mission of your church?
- 19. What two major ways do you follow to attract people to your church?
- 20. What are some of the activities of your local church?
- 21. How would you describe the worship style of your local church?

- 22. Do you think your style of worship is attractive to the youth?
- 23. How do you deal with the youth who were born in the UK?
- 24. If you had your own way what are some of the changes you would like to see in the church?
- 25. Do you think your worship style should change to attract other nationals?
- 26. How would you prioritise the mission of your church in the UK?

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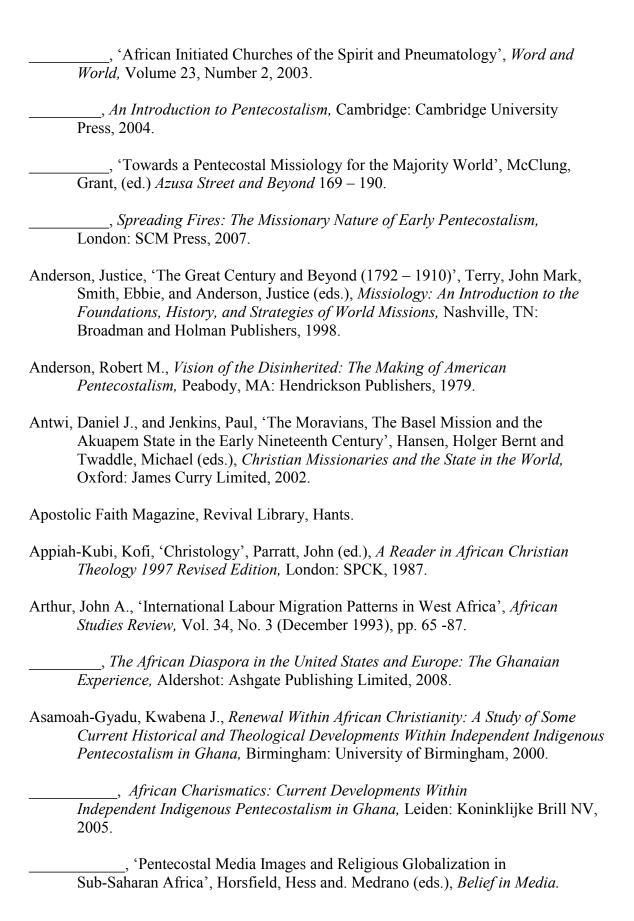
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