

**THE SPIRITS AND TRANSITION:  
THE SECOND GENERATION AND THE  
CHURCH OF PENTECOST-UK**

**by**

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates practices and beliefs of an African diaspora migrant church. The question this thesis seeks to answer is why are some of the second-generation members frustrated while others are leaving the church. The Church of Pentecost is a migrant church with its foundations in Ghana. In the UK, the Church of Pentecost appears to be flourishing, however, there seems to be a growing number of young people who claim to be frustrated whilst others are leaving the church. Subsequently, the focus of this thesis is to trace the contours of transition in the church and, ultimately, to find out why some of the second-generation members are disengaged and why others are leaving the church. As a Pentecostal church, one of the key areas of doctrine and practice is matters concerning spirits and the Holy Spirit. The study therefore used Ghanaian cosmology as well as Pentecostal practices and emphasis on Holy Spirit as a framework in its investigations. The thesis showed that although other significant factors contribute to some of the second-generation members' frustration within the church, the first generation's emphasis on spirits has played a vital role in the second generation's approach to church.

DEDICATED TO  
PAAPA (Prof.) OPOKU ONYINAH AND  
MAMA GRACE ONYINAH

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AF	Term used by the young people to describe a person, belief or practices that has a distinct African/Ghanaian style and twist to it
AIC	African Initiated Churches
BAME	Black Asian and Minority Ethnic Groups
CoP-B	Church of Pentecost Birmingham
BHS	Baptism in the Holy Spirit
BMC	Black Majority Churches
CoP	Church of Pentecost
CoP-UK	Church of Pentecost UK
ELICOP	Elim Church of Pentecost
FG	First Generation
ICGC	International Central Gospel Church
NMG	Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft
P/C	Pentecostal/Charismatic
PAUKE	Pentecost Association of UK and Eire
PIWC	Pentecost International Worship Centres
RCCG	Redeemed Christian Church of God
SG	Second Generation

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Preamble

I came to Birmingham in the United Kingdom (UK) in the 1990s as a second-generation teenage migrant who grew up in the Church of Pentecost (CoP) in Ghana. Initially, I joined the Elim Pentecostal Church as there were no CoP parishes in Birmingham at the time. However, I visited the CoP parishes in London with my family occasionally and eventually formed friendship with some of the folk in London. As the years went by I took on leadership roles in the Elim Church whilst at the same time helping to plant a branch of the Church of Pentecost in Birmingham with my parents.<sup>1</sup> Though currently pastoring an Elim Church in Birmingham I still maintain close relationships and connections with the Church of Pentecost, both socially through friends, and professionally through official church programs and events.

In 2012-13, most of my conversations with some of the CoP members, friends and leaders often turned towards the youth (Second Generation) and their participation, frustrations and in some cases disengagement regarding various aspects of the church.<sup>2</sup> The conversations often focused on the leaders and the parents (mainly first generation migrants) worry and anxiety over what some of them described as the changing attitudes of the youth in church and the challenges of preserving the second generation (SG) in CoP. Some parents and church leaders appeared genuinely concerned about the prospects of losing their youth to other churches. It appeared that

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<sup>1</sup> My father, Rev. Opoku Onyinah eventually became the chairman of the church of Pentecost from 2008 to 2018.

<sup>2</sup>The term Youth in this thesis is used to describe the second-generation members of the church.

some of the youth were becoming frustrated with certain practices and liturgy in the church. Indeed, during these conversations I discovered that some of the youth who used to attend the church had indeed left to join other churches. More worrying was the observation that an increasing number of the SG were becoming frustrated within the church hence prompting the concern of the parents and church leadership.

Undoubtedly, the subject of people leaving church is not unique to the Church of Pentecost UK (CoP-UK). It is a trend that has been highlighted by sociologists, religious leaders and practitioners, as well as church statisticians, among others. However, one of the key issues that grasped my attention was the fact that some of the youths I spoke to pointed to the frequent references to 'spirits', 'evil spirits', 'demons' and 'witchcraft' by their parents and church leaders as frustrating, irrelevant and unnecessary. My understanding initially from some of those conversations with the SG members was that they felt the services were geared and tailored to the needs of their parents (i.e. the first-generation members) and not necessarily for them. Incidentally, in 2015, a group of 16 SG members left one of the parishes of the church in south London. This was followed by another group of about 24 SG members who left another parish of CoP-UK in north London.<sup>3</sup> In both cases, most of the members who left joined other churches whilst two of them started their own fellowships.

To say that I was surprised is an understatement. This is because, on the surface, it appeared that the youth were generally engaged in church and the church data showed

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<sup>3</sup> Both cases were confirmed by their respective pastors during interviews where they showed the author the names on the church membership details. Due to the nature of their departure and the attempts to bring them back in the church, both pastors advised that I maintain their identities and details of the parishes confidential.

that the church is growing.<sup>4</sup> As a long-standing affiliate of the church, as well as one of the founding members of the Birmingham branch, the growth, progress and stability of the church is of personal interest to me. Creswell suggests that a research problem or issue can emanate from experiences from personal lives and work places.<sup>5</sup> The problem or issue that has led me to this study is of a personal nature. It is regarding the apparent disengagement and in some cases, the exodus of some of the SG members of CoP-UK.

In 2014 CoP-UK celebrated its silver jubilee of its inception in the UK. As a Ghanaian-based church CoP-UK started with members and leaders who migrated from Ghana with a socio-cultural and religious background different from the community and society which they joined in the UK. However, after 25 years some of the founding members, as well as first-generation (FG) members, have now fully settled and raised families in the UK. Their children are increasingly asking questions about the relevance of some of the church practices and beliefs of their parents and grandparents. These younger Ghanaians are mostly UK citizens and are caught within the Ghanaian culture, CoP practices and the British or Western culture. Subsequently, they appear to find it difficult to accept without questioning some of the practices and beliefs of their parents and grandparents in the church and at home. The problem is that these young people are becoming increasingly detached from the mainstream practices of the church because they do not see its relevance in the contemporary setting. This results in some

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<sup>4</sup>The church statistics I collected from the period 2013-2017 showed that the Church had grown numerically. A further discussion on the collecting and gathering of the church data will be made in 5.4.4 and 6.1.1.

<sup>5</sup>Creswell, *Research Design*, 98.

leaving the church, whilst others reluctantly remain but often become frustrated in church services.

## 1.2 Background

As the West becomes increasingly multicultural the church has also become more diverse in its membership and attendance. The Christian scene in the UK is changing and, according to the statistics, the church is not only becoming diverse, with the rise of migrant churches and multicultural churches, but there also appears to be a transition among those attending church. This shift has been gradually occurring since the early part of the twentieth century. Surveys have shown a general decline in both church membership and attendance in the UK since 1930. For example, 12% of the English population went to church in 1979. This number dropped to 10% in 1989 and dropped further to 7.5% by 1998.<sup>6</sup> Though the protestant church grew slightly in the early part of the twentieth century, this growth is less in comparison with the growth of the general population.<sup>7</sup> Peter Brierley has been helpful in gathering church membership and attendance figures for over four decades. Brierley has shown that overall church attendance in England dropped from 11.14 million in 1980 to 4.7 million in 2015.<sup>8</sup>

Faith Survey also records that UK church membership has declined from 10.6 million in 1930 to 5.5 million in 2010.<sup>9</sup> A report from Tearfund on church attendance in the UK

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<sup>6</sup>Brierley, *Pulling Out of the Nose Dive*, 1.

<sup>7</sup>Bruce, *God is Dead*, 66.

<sup>8</sup><http://www.brin.ac.uk/figures/>. Accessed 29 May 2017.

<sup>9</sup><https://faithsurvey.co.uk/uk-christianity.html>. Accessed 29 May 2017.

stated that church attendance was more prevalent among older people above 75 years of age than the younger ones between 16 and 24 years; the numbers declining from 26% among the older people to 10% among the younger ones between 16 and 24 years of age.<sup>10</sup> In 2017, British social attitudes published the results of their survey where 53% of British adults described themselves as having no religion. The survey particularly highlighted the decline in church attendance and affiliation by young adults between 18-24 years.<sup>11</sup> Bruce aptly notes that “definitions of membership or attendance change, as do the ways of measuring them.”<sup>12</sup> Arguably any set of data is subject to methodological criticism and generalisation cannot be made, especially in a multicultural and religiously plural nation like the UK. Arguably, most of these surveys are based on mainline churches such as The Church of England and the Catholic Church. However, what appears to be constant though in nearly all the surveys are two things. Firstly, church attendance and membership are declining, though at a lesser rate than was first expected.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, and significantly, the youth or young people are associated with declining church attendance and membership.

Nick Shepherd argues that this trend of young people leaving the church has been occurring since the 1950s and appears to be deepening and continuing.<sup>14</sup> Shepherd continues that “alongside natural decline as members of the older generations die, the

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<sup>10</sup>Church going in the UK: A Research Report from Tearfund on Church Attendance in the UK. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/03\\_04\\_07\\_tearfundchurch.pdf](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/03_04_07_tearfundchurch.pdf), 8. Accessed 29 May 2017.

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/04/half-uk-population-has-no-religion-british-social-attitudes-survey>. Accessed 28 February 2018.

<sup>12</sup>Bruce, *God is Dead*, 73.

<sup>13</sup>In his book on *Pulling out of the Nose Dive*, Brierley observed that the church in UK is still in decline. Although he showed through his data that the Pentecostal and other newer churches were keeping this trend slightly balanced. Brierley, *Pulling out of the Nose Dive* (2006).

<sup>14</sup>Shepherd, *Faith Generation*, 10; also see ‘From Anecdote to Evidence: Findings from the church Growth Research Programme 2011-13’, 17-19. Accessed 29 May 2017.

particular problem we still have is that young people are leaving the Church.”<sup>15</sup> Declining church attendance is not unique to the UK; there are similar statistics and reports of declining church attendance in the USA and Canada. For example, the Pew Research Centre stated that even though American politicians and society generally invoke God in their speeches, the population attending church has decreased.<sup>16</sup> In the UK mainline institutional churches, such as Anglicans, Catholics and Methodists, have seen a consistent decline since the twentieth century. For example, membership of the Anglican Church dropped by 5% between 2008 and 2013, whilst Catholic and Methodist Churches dropped by 13% and 15% respectively in the same period.<sup>17</sup>

Brierley’s research, as well as the Tearfund survey conducted in 2006, reports that although the mainstream Christian organisations, such as Anglican, Catholic and Methodist churches, show a decline in membership and attendance, newer and Pentecostal churches are growing. One of the reasons accounting for this growth of the newer and Pentecostal churches is the dramatic rise in migration, especially since the 1990s.<sup>18</sup> Sommerville and Cooper note that “since 1990s sustained immigration flows have diversified the ethnic, linguistic and religious composition of the British people.”<sup>19</sup> A significant number of these migrants have come from Sub-Saharan Africa and have transported their various religions with them.

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<sup>15</sup>Shepherd, *Faith Generation*, 10.

<sup>16</sup>Bruce, *God is Dead*, 204-228.

<sup>17</sup>Brierley, *UK Church Statistics Number 2: 2010 to 2020*, 2014.

<sup>18</sup>Sommerville and Cooper, ‘United Kingdom: Immigration to the United Kingdom’, 124.

<sup>19</sup>Sommerville and Cooper, ‘United Kingdom: Immigration to the United Kingdom’, 124.

These recent migration trends have also contributed to the explosion of various African Christian churches, some of which are expressions of the mainline Western churches, and others which are newer independent, Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. Subsequently, Pentecostal groups have become part of this process of migration of Africans to the West.<sup>20</sup> Africans are generally known to be religious.<sup>21</sup> As Kwiyani affirms, “their worldview is entirely religious and so is their culture.”<sup>22</sup> Thus, the explosion of Christianity on the African continent is not a surprise, and part of the effects of this explosion is the transfer of that type of Christianity into Europe and the West. Burgess highlights the impact of the explosion of African Pentecostal churches in Britain especially at a time where there seem to be a decline in mainstream Christianity and some of the older Caribbean churches.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, to hear that some of the migrant children of these Ghanaian Pentecostals are becoming frustrated and disengaged in church is a concern. The former Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, aptly notes that people leaving the church is not an unavoidable or new phenomenon.<sup>24</sup> However, when there appears to be growing voices of frustrations from a group of people within the church, then this amounts to a problem and one that warrants an investigation. CoP-UK is in transition and therefore needs to pay attention to the trends and needs of the SG, especially since there is a general decline in the numbers of African or Ghanaian migrants, to be precise, coming to the UK.

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<sup>20</sup> Van Dijk, ‘The Soul is the stranger,’ 49.

<sup>21</sup> Mbiti, *African Religions*, 1970, 1; Kalu, ‘Preserving a Worldview: Pentecostalism in the African Maps of the Universe’, 122.

<sup>22</sup> Kwiyani, *Sent Forth*, 20.

<sup>23</sup> Burgess, ‘African Pentecostal spirituality and civic engagement: the case of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Britain’, 256.

<sup>24</sup> Rowan Williams in <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/10798325/Declining-congregations-do-not-spell-death-of-Christianity-Rowan-Williams-says.html>, Reported by John Bingham, 30 April 2014. Accessed 6 June 2015.

### 1.3 Thesis Focus and Aims

This thesis focuses on the SG members of CoP-UK. The central aim is to investigate why some of the SG members are disengaged from church practices and why others have left or are considering leaving. Essentially, the thesis aims to investigate the nature of the transitioning process of CoP-UK, focusing on convergences and divergences of themes, practices and beliefs among the SG and FG members. CoP-UK did not begin in the UK, it began in Ghana and is now the largest Pentecostal denomination in Ghana and has branches in 90 countries throughout the world.<sup>25</sup> The Church of Pentecost has not only established branches in other parts of the world, but also transported their style of Christianity, doctrine and liturgy along with them to the diaspora. I am curious to find out if the SG's attitude towards church has anything to do with their parents' beliefs and practices and to what extent these beliefs and practices have affected them [the SG members].

According to Babalola, "to understand African Christianity properly, African Christianity must be studied against the backdrop of African religions."<sup>26</sup> Consequently, to understand CoP-UK, their liturgical practices, beliefs and doctrines must be looked at against the backdrop of their socio-cultural and religious beliefs from Ghana. My thesis will therefore be focusing on three key aspects:

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<sup>25</sup>Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana* (Accra: Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1993), 24-5; Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 116; Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 8; <http://thecophq.org/overview.php?id=8&&STATISTICS>. Accessed 18 May 2017.

<sup>26</sup>Babalola, *The Reality of African Traditional Religion*, 50.

1. To understand the Ghanaian socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices, and Christianity's impact on these beliefs,
2. To understand the nature of the first generation's beliefs and practices in the diaspora and its impact on the second generation of the Church of Pentecost in the UK,
3. To understand the second generation's identity, socio-cultural contexts and the factors which may possibly be contributing to their frustrations/disengagement and exodus from the church.

In answering the above key questions, I also focus on the following sub-questions which I will be answering in the various and subsequent chapters of the thesis. For example, chapters 3 and 4 will be answering the questions, how has the Ghanaian socio-cultural and religious beliefs impacted the FG members of CoP-UK and what effects Christianity and Pentecostalism has had on their worldview. Then, to understand the nature of the FG's beliefs on the SG, I ask the question in chapter 5, 'are the SG's practices significantly different from the FG's as far as Holy Spirit and spirit manifestations are concerned?' Then following on in chapter 6, I focus on, who are the SG members? How different are they from their parents in their identity and perceptions of the world and church? How does their identity affect their engagement in the church? Are the SG beliefs in the Holy Spirit and other spirit manifestations significantly different from their parents? And finally, what, in their own words, are the key factors contributing to their frustrations, disengagement and, in some cases, exodus from the Church of Pentecost UK (CoP-UK)?

A thesis of such a nature can incorporate several academic fields and risks derailing its central aims and focus. However, these three areas will subsequently form the basis of my research and shape the methodology, outline and overall structure of this thesis. Since this thesis deals with church practices and beliefs I will be working initially from a theological point, and specifically from a pneumatological framework. My starting point is to look at the background of spirit beliefs and manifestations of the FG church members and the current practices within the church, and how these are affecting the SG members.

#### **1.4 Literature Enquiry**

This study seeks to add valuable contributions to the existing literature on the African diaspora church, especially on the SG and their 'spirit beliefs and practices'. Generally, a literature review focuses on peer-reviewed academic works. However, my initial enquiry showed that there is little work on the SG African migrants in Europe and indeed in North America. This is ironic considering that there is vast literature on the African diaspora church, both in Europe and in North America. This irony is perhaps a contributing factor to my interest in helping to fill and bridge a gap in academic scholarly work. Therefore, I have decided not to take the conventional approach of engaging in extensive literature review for two reasons. Firstly, as mentioned above, there is not a vast pool of academic literature to fish from in terms of earlier works on the SG African migrant children in the West. Secondly, it will be grossly unfair to criticise works which aims were not on the SG African migrants or pneumatology in the diaspora.

For the most part, the second-generation work has been led by sociologists and anthropologists and focussed on identity, education, employment and ethnicity.<sup>27</sup> Modood and a few others have extended the discussion to religious groups focussing on Muslim migrants.<sup>28</sup> Though these discussions have been useful they have not highlighted the influences on the SG migrants in the West as far as Christianity is concerned. Though discussions on second generation African migrant Christianity has been scarce and few, there has been a growing number of works in the USA especially among the Korean church.

These discussions have focused on the growth, assimilation and identity of the Korean migrant church and the SG among them. The conversation generally has been on the one hand, about the SG Koreans identity and struggles in settling with their FG parents' evangelical churches as well as their desire to engage with the Korean culture. Whilst on the other hand there are those who argue that the SG Koreans still maintain their ethnic religious boundaries. Sharon Kim's work on *A Faith of our own*, looks at the forces behind the second-generation Korean's desire to create their own brand of church and liturgy using a blend of Korean style and the American social and religious influences. Kim observes that by harnessing religion and navigating a fluid and hybrid identity, SG Koreans in the church were creating and mapping their own spirituality.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Modood, 'Capitals, ethnic identity and educational qualifications'; 87-105; Borlagdan, 'Inequality and 21-year-olds' negotiation of uncertain transitions to employment: a Bourdieusian approach,' 839-854; Viet-Hai Phung, 'Ethnicity, migration and employment disadvantage under New Labour: reviewing the evidence from the United Kingdom,' 497-513; Turner, 'The role of family members influencing rural Queensland students' higher education decisions,' 1-14.

<sup>28</sup> Khattab and Modood. 'Accounting for British Muslim's educational attainment: gender differences and the impact of expectations,' 242-259.

<sup>29</sup> Kim, *A faith of our own: second generation spirituality in Korean American churches*, 12.

Kim and Pyle also discuss the growing frustrations of SG Korean migrants in the church whilst they maintain that although they are frustrated and, in some cases, lost in establishing their identity, they either remain reluctantly in their parents' congregations or join other American evangelical churches. Kim and Pyle conclude that because the SG Koreans are more acculturated into the American culture, they are less inclined to continue with the internalization factors which helped the FG establish and grow the church initially.<sup>30</sup> Though such internalization factors such as fellowship, culture, doctrinal beliefs help the Koreans establish their churches, they also become in some sense a stumbling block to the SG. In her research, "*We're Not a Korean American Church Any More*" Dhingra shows the challenges the FG are facing with the SG children who want the church to reflect the multicultural society in Dallas Texas.<sup>31</sup>

These works are in contrast to Rebecca Kim's research on SG Koreans in American university institutions.<sup>32</sup> Kim shows the tensions among the SG Korean's who were born in the USA and have lived there all their lives and yet prefer ethnic churches instead of a multi-ethnic church. Kim puts it down to the SG's desire of communicating and engaging with people from the same ethnic backgrounds as well as the quest to empower the ethnic minority status. Anthony Alumkal has also added his voice to the discussion by showing that there are some ambivalences among the SG Korean migrants as far as their religious affiliation, assimilation and practices are concerned. Hence, not all or even most of the SG are prepared to leave their cultural practices to

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<sup>30</sup> Kim and Pyle: *An Exception to the Exception*, 329.

<sup>31</sup> Dhingra, "' We're Not a Korean American Church Any More': Dilemmas in Constructing a Multi-Racial Church Identity', 367-379.

<sup>32</sup> Kim, 'Second-generation Korean American evangelicals: ethnic, multi-ethnic, or white campus ministries?', 19-34.

assimilate with the USA multi-ethnic cultures.<sup>33</sup> All these works on the Korean SG Christians are helpful in shaping the conversation around issues of ethnicity, identity and practices of the SG in UK. Though the two groups (UK-African SG and Korean-American SG) are different in terms of ethnicity, culture and location, there are arguably overlapping issues facing SG migrant children in the diaspora. It still however remains that firstly the works are not based on any African diaspora community and secondly there is little emphasis on the impact of FG beliefs on the SG.

In the UK, Hermoine Harris' work on Yoruba in the diaspora throws some light on the development and growth of the Nigerian Cherubim and Seraphim church in the UK. In the penultimate chapter, Harris notes that though the church has provided a space for the first generation migrants who migrated to London in the 1960s, the changing face of religion and Christianity in Britain along with what she describes as new forms of Christianity hostile to the Aladura style is posing a threat for the emerging generation of the Nigerian based church in the diaspora.<sup>34</sup> Among the issues which Harris noted was that presently there were more British born Nigerians in UK which poses a fresh challenges for the founding members who were all born in Nigeria. Though the membership of the church remains Nigerian, the cultural and social makeup of the emerging members (second generation) is British. This results in a clash of tastes in songs, style of worship and others such as content of sermons. Harris' work is useful in the sense that though it is a small portion of her work dedicated to the future of the

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<sup>33</sup> Alumkal, 'Preserving patriarchy: assimilation, gender norms, and second-generation Korean American evangelicals'

<sup>34</sup> Harris, Yoruba in Diaspora. An African Church in London, 209

Cherubim and Seraphim church, it gives insight into an African church in transition in the UK.

For the most part, discussions surrounding African churches in the diaspora have generally focused on the reasons behind their growth, migration and globalisation, and their influences on the religious landscape in the West, especially in Europe and North America. Allan Anderson, the doyen of Pentecostal and mission studies has contributed immensely towards the history of Pentecostalism, African Pentecostalism and mission. His work stretches over four decades and, although not all directly connected to the African diaspora church, relevant parts are reflected in various sections of this thesis, especially in the Pentecostal and historical sections.<sup>35</sup> Another leading writer of African Christianity, Afeosemime Adogame, has contributed a significant number of works towards the discussions on African Christianity, both in Africa and in the diaspora. His work *African Christian Diaspora* has especially given me a great foundation for my thesis. He deals with the transfer, nature and interlink of African Christianity from Africa to Europe. His emphasis on globalisation, identity and the effects of media has widened the scope of the debate on African Christianity in the diaspora.<sup>36</sup> Adogame has collaborated with other scholars like Cordula Weissköppel,<sup>37</sup> Klaus Hock,<sup>38</sup> Ezra Chitando<sup>39</sup> and Roswith Gerloff,<sup>40</sup> to explore issues on African Christianity, migration and religion.

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<sup>35</sup>Anderson, *Moya*, 1991; Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost*, 2000; Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* 2004; Anderson, Bergunder, Droogers, Cornelis. (eds), *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods* 2010; Anderson, *Spirit-Filled World*, 2018.

<sup>36</sup>Adogame, *African Christian Diaspora*, (2013).

<sup>37</sup>Adogame and Weissköppel eds. *Religion in the context of African Migration*, (2005).

<sup>38</sup>Adogame, Gerloff, and Hock. *Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora*, (2008).

<sup>39</sup>Adogame, Chitando and Bateye, *African Traditions in the Study of Religion in Africa*, (2010).

<sup>40</sup>Adogame, Gerloff, and Hock. *Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora*, (2008).

Although Gerloff focuses more on the Caribbean churches, her contributions made to the African Christian diaspora cannot be underestimated. Her article on the presence of Blacks in Birmingham in 1975 arguably added a significant voice to the emerging presence and influence of black Christianity on the British landscape.<sup>41</sup> Her various works eventually contributed to some major conferences held in the UK in the 1990s to discuss the presence and impact of African Christianity in Europe. It is within this context that sociologists, like Grace Davie, began reflecting on the changing face of religion in a secularised Britain.<sup>42</sup> The works of Gerrie ter Haar,<sup>43</sup> Rijk van Dijk and Stephen Hunt<sup>44</sup>, whose contributions to African Christianity and Pentecostalism have been phenomenal in the conversation in Europe have been consulted and included in this research. They have looked at the impact of African Pentecostalism in Europe and how Africans have made a home away from home through establishing Pentecostal and Charismatic churches.

The discussions and conversations have not been limited to the UK and Europe, there have also been significant voices in North America. Two major works have been particularly helpful in my research. The edited monograph by Frieder Ludwig and Johnson Asamoah-Gyadu on *African Christian Presence in the West*<sup>45</sup>, and Jehu

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<sup>41</sup>Gerloff, 'Black Christian Communities in Birmingham: The Problem of Basic Recognition', in *Religion in the Birmingham Area*, (1975).

<sup>42</sup>Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945*, (1994).

<sup>43</sup>Haar, *Halfway to Paradise*, (1998); Haar, *How God Became African*, (2009).

<sup>44</sup>Hunt, "Neither Here nor There": The Construction of Identities and Boundary Maintenance of West African Pentecostals', 147-69. Van Dijk, 'The Soul is the stranger: Ghanaian Pentecostalism and the Diasporic Contestation of the Flow' and Individuality', (2002).

<sup>45</sup>Ludwig and Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Christian Presence in the West*, (2011). It must be stated that this work does not focus solely on USA.

Hanciles', *Beyond Christendom*.<sup>46</sup> These works do not simply paint a fair picture of African Christianity and Pentecostalism in the West, but they also deal with the issues of globalisation, mission, 'reverse mission' and the African Christian impact on the West. The word 'missions' and the phrase 'reverse missions'<sup>47</sup> has been used to describe the work and nature of African Christianity in the West over recent decades.

In the UK the discussions have carried through similar trajectories as in North America. Olofinjana<sup>48</sup>, Adedibu<sup>49</sup>, Burgess<sup>50</sup> and Kwiyan<sup>51</sup> are among those whose works have contributed greatly towards the discussions on African migrant churches and their missionary agenda in the West. For instance, Adedibu's research, which he later ammended into his book, *Coat of Many Colours*, and Olofinjani's *Reverse Mission*, provide a historiography on the African and Caribbean churches in the UK, their missionary endeavours and their impact on the religious landscape in Britain. Burgess highlights the growing trend of African Pentecostal churches in Britain and their impact on the society with specific emphasis on the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Britain. Harvey Kwiyan has added a significant contribution to the African Christian diaspora work by looking at the diaspora church in North America and Europe. His missionary work in Africa, Europe and North America gives him great leverage to broaden the scope of the discussion. Kwiyan looked at the influence of first generation Africans and their pneumatology on multicultural congregations in North America.

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<sup>46</sup>Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, (2008).

<sup>47</sup> Reverse Mission is generally a concept whereby the rest of the world especially Africa and Asia send missionaries to the West and Europe.

<sup>48</sup>Olofinjana, *Reverse in Ministry and Mission*, (2010).

<sup>49</sup>Adedibu, *Coat of Many Colours*, (2012).

<sup>50</sup> Burgess, *African Pentecostal spirituality and civic engagement*, (2009).

<sup>51</sup> Kwiyan, *Sent Forth*, (2016).

Kwiyani suggests that God's preferred model of mission is an integrated multicultural approach, especially in the multicultural Western society.<sup>52</sup>

Then there is Bernard Appiah, who completed his research in 2014 at the University of Birmingham on "Negotiating integrational strategies and transnational statuses of Ghanaian Led Pentecostal churches in Britain."<sup>53</sup> Appiah places religion at the centre of African migration and argues that many of the Ghanaian Led Pentecostal churches provide continuity of praxis for their members, whilst at the same time offer newer and alternative ways for negotiating their transition to the British community.<sup>54</sup>

Since my initial conversations with the church members highlighted the issue of spirits, my enquiry was focused on the area of African pneumatology. A significant work pertaining to African pneumatology in the diaspora is Chigor Chike's *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity*.<sup>55</sup> Chike's findings are important to any work dealing with African pneumatology in Britain or the Western context. In 2011 Chike conducted research at the University of Birmingham to understand the nature of African pneumatology among Africans in Britain. Using a church, he called Mount Zion African Pentecostal in London, Chike conducted an inductive study of the church before using his findings as theories to compare with other Africans in a number of historic churches like the Church of England, the Roman Catholic, the Methodist, the United Reformed and the Baptist

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<sup>52</sup>Kwiyani, *Sent Forth*, 205.

<sup>53</sup>Appiah, 'Negotiating the integrational strategies,' (2014).

<sup>54</sup>Appiah, 'Negotiating the integrational strategies', 253-266.

<sup>55</sup>Chike's book is the result of his PhD research at University of Birmingham in 2011. Chike, *African Pneumatology in the British Context: A Contemporary Study* (2011); Chike, *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity*, (2016).

churches.<sup>56</sup> His purpose was to find out how Africans in the diaspora view the Holy Spirit. Chike found out that although most of his participants saw the Holy Spirit as a person and a member of the Trinity, they practically viewed him as power. While testing his theories on the other Africans in the other mainline churches, Chike showed that although denominational differences accounted for minor emphasis on their pneumatology, still to a large degree African pneumatology is generally shaped by the African worldview.<sup>57</sup>

Out of the many members he interviewed, only three can be described as 'young people' or youth, thus, most of Chike's participants were FG migrants. Furthermore, out of the three young people, two of them had been in the UK for less than 10 years. Thus, even the young people he engaged with had not been in the UK for a significant number of years to be engrossed with the culture and life in UK. Chike previously argued that it takes about 20 years for a significant change to occur in the worldview from an African to a Western one.<sup>58</sup> This argument means that, theoretically speaking, all his contributors were first generation. Chike concluded however that post-modernity and secularisation had not affected the participants since they had not lived in the UK for longer periods and, significantly, since the adults held on to their African cosmological worldview. Chike's work is important for this research. This is because he deals with a wide range of Africans and focuses on FG migrants' pneumatology. However, Chike concluded that since the young people he included in his research had not been in the UK for long, it was difficult to see any significant difference in their

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<sup>56</sup>Chike, *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity*, 21-23.

<sup>57</sup>Chike, *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity*, 224-225.

<sup>58</sup>Chike, *African Christianity in Britain*, 66. See also Modood, who argues that British socialisation affects migrants the longer they stay in UK. Modood, *Ethnic Minorities in Britain*, 305.

thinking and perception of the Holy Spirit. It is here that this research seeks to find out if the SG African migrants who have lived in UK and Europe all or most of their lives have a different view of the Holy Spirit and spirits in the church.

Since this thesis covers a wide range of fields and areas, I have chosen to deal with the key works that pertain to the specific areas in the ensuing chapters. Essentially, this thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach in the sense that it covers, historical studies, African Christianity, Pentecostal studies, anthropology, diaspora studies, sociology, church liturgy and pneumatology. Without doubt, the works mentioned have not only been instrumental to my own research, but they have added a beautiful array of arguments for African Christianity, both at home and in the diaspora. Even though these works are vital, there has been a gap in the discussion. Firstly, nearly all the discussions have centred on FG African migrants and churches. At best there are passing comments or a section here and there on some of the changing attitudes of the FG and the emerging SG in the diaspora, but not a concerted study on the SG.

Chike and Appiah's research on the African church in Britain have sufficiently highlighted the emerging changes in the doctrine and transnational statuses in the diaspora church. Though both works do not emphatically look at the SG, they devote some sections to discuss the changes being affected by the FG migrants who have stayed for a significant time in the UK and the youth. In his research Appiah dedicated a section to explore issues of continuity and discontinuity between the Ghanaian religious communities and Pentecostal groups in Britain. Furthermore, he examined how the youth are adopting and transforming the existing transnational statuses.

Appiah concluded that the existing diaspora communities adopt flexible lifestyles, which ensure that they can provide continuity in religious forms and practices for migrants from Africa whilst they seek to meet the social demands and realities of the host nation.

Since the African church has been in the diaspora for a sufficient time, it is time for our attention to not necessarily deviate from the first generation, but to critically look at the second and third generations to see how the transitioning process is shaping up. This thesis aims to contribute to that process by highlighting the contours in the beliefs of the emerging generation as a catalyst in a church in transition, as far as church practices and beliefs are concerned. Furthermore, as already seen above, many of the studies focus on mission, migration and transnational statuses of the African diaspora church. Most of the works merely dedicate a chapter or portions to the pneumatology of the African diaspora churches.

Only a handful of works, such as Anderson's *Moya* and Chike's *African Christian Pneumatology* focus specifically on the Pneumatology of Africans and Africans in the diaspora respectively. Towards the end of my thesis, I encountered Anderson's book, *Spirit-filled World*.<sup>59</sup> Arguably this work is an extensive and distinguished work on African pneumatology which provides great depth of understanding into sub-Saharan African Christian pneumatology. Anderson focuses on southern African Christianity and investigates continuity and discontinuity between the African traditional religions and Pentecostalism. He builds on his earlier work *Moya* and discusses the spirits in

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<sup>59</sup> Anderson, *Spirit-Filled World*, (2018).

African traditions its effects on Pentecostalism and its ripple effects on global Pentecostalism. To some degree, my research is similar in parts to Anderson's work in the sense that he traces the spirit entities in the African traditions and the effects of Christianity's encounter with these spirits. Yet as extensive as Anderson's work is, he concentrates mainly on the effects of the spirits within the African continent and not the African diaspora church or SG.

Hence this thesis provides an argument from spirit beliefs and practices which has not been fully and adequately explored in pre-existing research. This thesis adds to the already rich literature on African diaspora church focusing on the second generation and the spirits.

## **1.5 Significance and Limitations of the Study**

Given the rise of Christianity in Africa and the proliferation of African Pentecostalism in the diaspora, there is not just the temptation, but also the danger, of giving the impression that African Christianity in the diaspora is homogeneous. However, there are subtle although sometimes considerable differences among the various African societies and traditions. Gifford explains that a major factor for the differences goes back to the colonisation and partitioning of the African continent into smaller blocks.<sup>60</sup> Incidentally, these differences translate into church practices. For example, one quickly notices the differences between a Ghanaian church and a Nigerian church in London. For example, apart from the language, the Nigerian churches are often known for other

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<sup>60</sup>Gifford, 'The "New" Christianity in Africa: The Charismatic Explosion', 151-153.

physical mannerisms, such as bowing and curtseying before the leaders when one mounts the platform to pray, sing or perform any duty.

With these in mind, studying the African church in the diaspora as a homogenous entity is not only a momentous task but one that is likely to produce significant inept generalisations and conclusions. Therefore, what seems to be lacking so far is an extensive work on the spirit beliefs and manifestations in a specific culture and its impact on the diaspora church. For this reason, I have chosen to study Ghanaian Pentecostalism in the UK and narrowed my research to the Church of Pentecost. This study has also become necessary now because of the growing number of SG members in the African diaspora churches. This paper adds an African Pentecostal contribution to the ongoing discussion about spirit beliefs and practices among SG Pentecostals in the diaspora, and particularly gives a fresh voice on the impact of the FG's beliefs on the SG and third generation Pentecostals in the diaspora. This research is also of anthropological, sociological and theological interest to attempt to understand and differentiate, if required, the differences between the practices of the people groups, their identities, and social influences and how these affect their views on God, the Holy Spirit, evil spirits and the church. It is hoped that such a thesis will help broaden the understanding of African pneumatology and anticipate the trajectory of migrant Christian endeavours in the diaspora.

Though this dissertation is limited culturally to Ghana and Ghanaian Pentecostalism both in Ghana and the UK, much can be reflected on the African and African diaspora

context. I concur with Mbiti, that there are sufficient similarities among Africans to justify that there are some general issues that cut across the continent and, to be precise, Sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>61</sup> Secondly, the focus on pneumatology may be perceived as limiting and narrow. However, given that the African worldview is mainly cosmological in nature, this reflects a need that must be addressed extensively. Therefore, an understanding of perceptions of the spirits will not only help strengthen the Pentecostal belief in the manifestations of the Holy Spirit but will also help Western missionaries and churches better understand African Pentecostals and attend to their needs accordingly. The findings generated by this study will hopefully increase both scholarly and laity knowledge on Ghanaian culture, spirituality, Pentecostalism and the SG. Lessons from the SG will be useful not only to the African diaspora church, but also to the wider sociological debate on the rise and decline of the church in UK.

## **1.6 Definition of Terms**

In a study of this nature it is necessary to clarify the terms and concepts I use in this thesis. I have used several terms and phrases throughout the thesis. In most cases I have sought to explain the terms and abbreviations at the first instance. However, the following terms are used nearly throughout the thesis and therefore need clarification from the outset. Firstly, I need to explain the use of the term first and second generation in this thesis.

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<sup>61</sup>Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 1; see also Parratt, *Reinventing Christianity*, 59; O'Donovan, *Biblical Christianity in African Perspective*, 4; Chike, *African Christianity in Britain*, 5.

### 1.6.1 First Generation (FG) and Second Generation (SG)

Discussions surrounding generations have been on going with different emphasis and focus. Sociologists, anthropologists, theologians and others have all discussed issues surrounding generations within various nuances and in various contexts. Winograd and Hais argue that a new community or cohort of people emerge every eight decades.<sup>62</sup> However, Twenge augments this, writing that generations are not necessarily defined by age, but significantly by the larger socio-cultural environment of different time periods.<sup>63</sup> In this context a group of people living in a particular community at a particular time constitute a generation of people because they have similar socio-cultural entities. Until recently, generations have generally been described and characterised into four groups: Veterans (1922 to 1945), Baby Boomers (1946 to 1964), Generation X (1965 to 1980) and Generation Y or Millennials (1981 to 2000).<sup>64</sup> Then there is Generation Z, which is arguably described as the post-9/11 generation.<sup>65</sup>

The discussion on generations escalates into further confusion with the definitions of first and second generations, especially when it comes to diaspora studies and immigration. This is further complicated by the discussions on 1.5 and 2.5 generations. Previous definitions of second generation, as immigrant children born in the diaspora or brought from the mother country at an early age, has been challenged as being too loose and simplistic. Writing from an American perspective, Rumbaut defined 1.5

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<sup>62</sup> Winograd, and Hais, *Millennial momentum*, (2011).

<sup>63</sup> Twenge, Campbell and Freeman. 'Generational Differences in Young Adults' Life Goals, Concern for Others, and Civic Orientation, 1966–2009', 1045.

<sup>64</sup> Lancaster and Stillman, *When generations collide: Who they are. Why they clash. How to solve the generational puzzle at work*, (2002); Hammill, 'Mixing and managing four generations of employees', (2005).

<sup>65</sup> Gravett and Throckmorton, *Bridging the Generation Gap*, 10-12.

generation as persons born abroad who migrated to the USA as children,<sup>66</sup> whilst Ramakrishnan defines 2.5 generation as children with only one parent born in a foreign country.<sup>67</sup> Ramakrishnan argues that experiences of children with either parent born abroad are different from those with two natives born or two foreign born parents. As far as these definitions are concerned, I fall within the 1.5 generation because, although I am British by nationality, I still consider myself Ghanaian by cultural orientation. Not only was I born in Ghana, but also had my early years of education and social life in Ghana. However, my 20 years' stay in Britain so far has made me socially aware of a different kind of life and ways of living.

Chike suggested that it takes 20 years for Africans to adapt to the Western way of life and philosophies.<sup>68</sup> Though Chike's suggestion is not scientifically proven or tested, the point he makes, is that after about 20 years even some of the FG migrants begin to show little but significant changes in their worldview; suggesting that they are beginning to think and act differently to how they did previously. Indeed, several factors contribute to changes in thinking and behaviour, although the environment in which people live is a great contributing factor. Whilst these definitions help to broaden our understanding of the nature and behaviour of the different people in the society, they also create a complex taxonomy of generations which sometimes appear superficial and superfluous.

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<sup>66</sup>Rumbaut, 'Ties that Bind: Immigration and Immigrant Families in the United States', 3-45.

<sup>67</sup>Ramakrishnan, 'Second-Generation Immigrants? The "2.5 Generation" in the United States,' 380-99.

<sup>68</sup> Chike, *African Christianity in Britain*, 66; Chike, *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity*, 91.

Indeed, the whole idea of generations is nuanced by a cohort of people born around the same time and living within the same communities with similar social and cultural belief systems. However, in the current generation, whatever it is called, the speed of change in culture, coupled with the multiplicity of cultures in any single community, especially in the West, makes it difficult to define generations. Emery White argues that the speed at which change is happening will make speaking of generations and their markings obsolete.<sup>69</sup> Though the above discussions on generations are useful, they do not help me in defining my own criteria for the first and second-generation members of CoP-UK in this thesis. Each generation is influenced by wider forces, for example, family background, friends, colleagues, media, social and cultural events, that create common value systems which distinguish each generation from another.<sup>70</sup>

For clarification and specificity, the second generation in this thesis are those either born in the UK or who came to the UK before the age of 18.<sup>71</sup> This includes those labelled as '1.5 generation' who were born abroad but educated mainly in the UK or Europe. I have adopted this definition for two reasons. Firstly, young people aged over 18 years are treated as adults in the UK<sup>72</sup> therefore, it appears to me that by the age of 18, young people would have formed their cognitive behaviour and would be aware of their socio-cultural environment to a greater depth than those under 18 years. Furthermore, and in connection with my first point, if persons over 18 years are considered adults, then they hopefully would be in the right frame of mind to express

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<sup>69</sup>White, *Meet Generation Z*, 39.

<sup>70</sup> Rajpu, Bali, Kesarwani, *Generational Diversity: A Challenge for Leading Lights*, 24-32.

<sup>71</sup>Some sociologists use the age of 12 as the delineation point. Smith, *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants*, (2006); Kasinitz et al, *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age* (2008).

<sup>72</sup><https://www.gov.uk/age-of-criminal-responsibility>.

their feelings and opinions regarding church and church practices confidently. Subsequently, the first generation in this thesis refers to the parents of the young people, as well as adults who migrated from Ghana when they were 18 years or older. The understanding is that they would have already formed an understanding of the world, their culture, religion and socio-cultural values by the age of 18.

### **1.6.2 Spirit(s)**

Another word that is almost imprinted within this thesis is 'Spirit' or spirits. Due to the ambiguous nature and description of the word spirit, I have chosen to distinguish the use of the word by adding the prefix 'Holy' to refer to the Holy Spirit when referring to the third person of the Trinity. The Church of Pentecost, as a classic Pentecost church, places a high premium on the Holy Spirit and matters of the Holy Spirit. Hence, where I refer to the Holy Spirit, I make clear by stating the Holy Spirit. I also refer to evil spirits, witchcraft and demonic spirits to refer to malevolent spirits. In other words, where I use malevolent spirits, I am referring to all evil spirits or spirits that causes harm and evil to people, as believed in the Ghanaian cosmological worldview. In other parts I use the generic term spirits to refer to all manifestations of the spirit, whether good or bad. In this regard I make clear that the people expect an encounter with the spirits.

### **1.6.3 African Diaspora**

The term 'African Diaspora' was introduced by African American scholars, such as Gayraud S. Wilmore and Albert Raboteau, to describe the global scattering of Africans

outside Africa as a result of the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>73</sup> Although this term has been challenged on several linguistic and historical grounds, I have adopted this term to refer to Africans from mainly Sub-Sahara Africa who live outside the African continent. Specifically, I refer to Africans in Europe and the USA.

#### **1.6.4 African Pentecostalism**

Since this thesis is based on an African diaspora Pentecostal church, it is imperative that I provide a working definition of African Pentecostalism. Droogers warns that the task of defining any religious phenomena is 'necessary, explorative and useful' although it can also be 'superfluous, impossible and ethnocentric'.<sup>74</sup> Attempting to define Pentecostalism has become an increasingly arduous task simply because of the many forms of this movement that have emerged especially in recent decades. There is no doubt that Pentecostalism has grown considerably over the last half century beyond expectation. Barrett's statistics in 2008 showed that there were some 601 million Pentecostals across the globe while Gifford has observed the rise of African Pentecostalism as an unmissable paradigm shift.<sup>75</sup> Arguably, these scholars along with many others regard several other independent churches and denominations as Pentecostals. Subsequently, Anderson suggests that it is probably more appropriate to refer to the plural form pentecostalisms in the contemporary global context.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Gerloff, 'Pentecostals in the African Diaspora', 69.

<sup>74</sup> Droogers, 'Defining Religion: A Social Science Approach,' 263.

<sup>75</sup> Barrett, et al 'Missiometrics 2008: Reality Checks for Christian World Communions,' 30; Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, 23-24.

<sup>76</sup> Anderson, *Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions*, 15.

In its early stages, Pentecostalism was widely defined as a movement that emphasised the power and presence of the Holy Spirit characterized by speaking in tongues. However, recently, the Catholic charismatic movements, neo charismatics, and the many different Charismatic churches with their belief and teachings on spiritual gifts, 'faith and healing' and prosperity gospel have all been described as Pentecostals. Though the various strands of Pentecostals have their unique distinctions, the one element common in most of them is their emphasis on the Holy Spirit. Indeed, Pentecostalism and Pentecostals must be credited for drawing Christianity's attention to the place and centrality of the Holy Spirit in Christian praxis, Christian life and theology.<sup>77</sup> African Pentecostalism is no different when it comes to the emphasis on the Holy Spirit. Clarke asserts that 'African Pentecostalism is a distinct form of Christianity with a particular theology and praxis.'<sup>78</sup> Whilst consensus agrees on the distinctiveness of African Pentecostalism, the crux of the matter is that it is still placed firmly within the spirits and Holy Spirit context.

Whilst Pentecostals in general emphasise the importance and place of the Holy Spirit in their lives and church praxis, African Pentecostals generally turn to present the Holy Spirit within the context of a cosmic battle against other spirit forces in their cultural and religious worldview.<sup>79</sup> Anderson rightly argues that definitions depend on which range of criteria one takes.<sup>80</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, African Pentecostalism is defined as a form of Christianity that embraces the African spirit worldview and sees the Holy Spirit as the most powerful spirit in the world. It is a form of Pentecostalism

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<sup>77</sup> Asamoah-Gyadu, *Sighs and Signs*, 177.

<sup>78</sup> Clarke, 'Introduction: Toward an African Pentecostal Theology,' 1-6.

<sup>79</sup> Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 185-186.

<sup>80</sup> Anderson, *Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions*, 15.

that positively embraces the elasticity of the African spirit world and seeks to offer ways in which the Holy Spirit emerges as the superior spirit force in the universe. For this reason, the African initiated churches, *sunsum sore* (spirit churches), Pentecostal churches and the charismatic churches are all seen as Pentecostal churches because of the high value they place on spirit manifestations both in the world and in the church.

## **1.7 Structure of the Work**

This thesis is presented in seven chapters. Following this introductory section is the second chapter which deals with the methodology. In Chapter 2, I focus on the methods used in achieving the aims of this research. This is followed in Chapter 3 by a detailed look into the Akans in Ghana and their socio-cultural and religious beliefs. Of particular interest is an investigation into their beliefs in the spirit world and how that impacts the physical and the living.

Chapter 4 examines the beginnings of Christianity and Pentecostalism in Ghana. Here the focus will be on discussing Western missionary activities in Ghana, and how the missionaries' message was received and the impact it made on the existing Akan religious and cultural belief systems. I will also explore the emergence of Pentecostalism in Ghana and discuss the rise of CoP, the nature of their liturgy theology and practices. In this chapter I discuss how CoP-Ghana addressed the needs of indigenous Ghanaians and how they have managed to maintain and meet those needs.

Insights from Chapter 4 will help in understanding the nature of Christianity which the FG transported with them to the UK. Chapters 5 to 7 are devoted to my fieldwork, which looks at the SG members of CoP-UK. These chapters contain stories, anecdotes, observational analyses, critical analyses of interviews, questionnaires and focus groups, as well as discussions on identity, social influences, beliefs and practices of the SG and reasons why they are disengaged and leaving the church. Thus, Chapter 5 deals with the beginnings of CoP-UK, the administrative structures and the church liturgy and practices of the first and second-generation members. Here I endeavour to follow the journey of the Ghanaian migrants who came to UK and their belief systems which accompanied them, and how these are affecting the SG and the church practices.

Chapter 6 begins with an inductive study on some of the SG who have left the church. This is followed by the case study of the SG who are still in the church, with the aim of finding out why some are disengaged and wanting to leave the church. Issues such as identity, continuity and beliefs are examined critically in this chapter, looking at areas of similarities and differences, and tracing the continuity and discontinuity of practices and beliefs of the FG and SG in CoP-UK. Chapter 7 examines the existing social and other factors influencing the SG in the contemporary society. In Chapter 7 I also discuss other influences that emerged from my fieldwork which I believe have contributed to some of the SG's disengagement and others leaving the church. Chapter 7 will draw out the emerging trends and themes picked up during Chapters 5 and 6. The chapter will finish with a theological discussion on the emerging theologies

of the SG in CoP-UK before proposing negotiation strategies for CoP-UK. Chapter 8 is a summary of the findings of the research.

## CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 Introduction

Bell asserts that methods are chosen simply because they provide the researcher with a means of having ample information to achieve their aims in research.<sup>81</sup> My research problem – of finding out why some of the second-generation (SG) Church of Pentecost UK (CoP-UK) members are frustrated while others are leaving – led me towards a qualitative research approach. Creswell observes that the variety of definitions and approaches to qualitative research “...has made this seemingly uncomplicated approach become more difficult.”<sup>82</sup> For Denzin and Lincoln, “qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.”<sup>83</sup> In other words, qualitative research explores attitudes, behaviours and experiences of real people.<sup>84</sup>

Since this study is based on a Ghanaian diaspora church, it was imperative to investigate the Ghanaian cultural, religious and social views. This means that I had to undertake a historical investigation into the cultural and religious background of the FG and SG members of Church of Pentecost UK (CoP-UK). I focused on their cosmology because of the word ‘spirits’ that kept recurring in my initial conversations with some of my colleagues.<sup>85</sup> I used existing literature on Ghanaian history, cultural and religious background, as well as personally visiting some places in Ghana during the research.

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<sup>81</sup>Bell, *Doing Research*, 50.

<sup>82</sup>Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design*, 41.

<sup>83</sup>Denzin & Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3.

<sup>84</sup>Dawson, *Research Methods*, 15.

<sup>85</sup>See Introduction, 1.1.

A significant way of gathering data here was using earlier written records, which is known as ethno-historic research.<sup>86</sup> Since the focus was on the pre-missionary era, anthropological, sociological and historical literature was examined to gain understanding into the Ghanaian traditional beliefs and, specifically, matters relating to the belief in spirits.

From the outset I realised that to gain credible answers and responses to my research question, I needed to embark on fieldwork. The fieldwork was set in two phases. In the first phase, I conducted interviews with some of the SG members who have left CoP-UK. After several enquiries, I was able to identify 12 SG members who had left and were willing to speak to me about reasons why they left. This enabled me to hear, feel and understand first-hand and directly from the participants why they left CoP-UK. Responses from this initial investigation on the group that left the church helped me in shaping my main case study on the SG members who are still in CoP-UK. By using a case study approach, I was not only able to test the findings from the inductive study of the 12, but I was also open to other reasons why the SG are disengaged and why some are leaving the church.

## **2.2 Multiple Case Study**

An attempt to survey all the local churches of CoP-UK will take an incredibly lengthy, while a study of a single local church may not result in accurate and comparative data for analysis. I therefore decided to employ a multiple case study, which I believe helped

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<sup>86</sup>Suryani, 'Comparing Case Study and Ethnography as Qualitative Research Approaches', 122.

me to compare and effectively analyse the behaviour patterns and perceptions of the SG in CoP-UK. The multiple case study was on four local churches of CoP-UK, two in London and two in Birmingham. I chose London for two reasons. Firstly, as the capital city of England, London is usually the initial point of call for Ghanaians when they first arrive in the United Kingdom (UK). They join a host of visitors, tourists and other migrants from across the world, entering a vibrant multicultural society. Secondly, as well as being the head office of CoP-UK, the 'London Area'<sup>87</sup> also represents the largest area of CoP membership in the UK. Most of the pastors who come from Ghana, either on business or furlough, end up fellowshipping mainly in the London Area. Again, London depicts a multicultural environment different from any other city in the UK. According to the 2015 mid-year census, London is the largest city in Europe, with over eight million people and is the sixth richest city in the world.<sup>88</sup> While White British remains the majority in London, numbers of Black Caribbean and Africans, as well as Asians, continue to grow rapidly in the city.<sup>89</sup>

My choice of Birmingham is also twofold. Firstly, it is local and gives me access to the churches and the members with less difficulties. Secondly, it gives me a comparative case study analysis and enables me to evaluate if the case in London fits into other areas of the UK. My reason for adopting this study is because my research question, is not directed to one local parish of CoP-UK. Based on my research question: 'why some of the SG members are frustrated and others leaving?' the purpose here is both

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<sup>87</sup>London Area represents a cluster of local churches of CoP within London. This will be explained further in chapter 5.3

<sup>88</sup><http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london> (accessed 8 February 2016).

<sup>89</sup><http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/2014-round-ethnic-group-population-projections>. Accessed 8 February 2016.

explorative and deductive. Thus, using the same questions and approach, I spent a period of 24 months visiting these four churches to observe, understand and investigate their practices, beliefs and, in perceptions.

Three of the four churches are known as Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWC).<sup>90</sup> In practice, PIWC parishes conduct all church liturgy in English and, significantly, they are dominated by SG Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian membership. These PIWCs were my focal point of the fieldwork. The other parish is conventionally known as Akan service, which is designed to function and operate as a 'Ghana church' in the UK. The decision to embark on a multiple case study has not been taken lightly. Among other factors, this involves a substantial amount of work. Yin suggests that in the multiple case study approach, each case must be selected to either (a) predict similar results (a literal replication) or (b) to predict conflicting results but for predictable reasons (a theoretical replication).<sup>91</sup> My decision to use a multiple case study approach fits within both the literary and theoretical framework. In the literary framework I will be looking for clues (contours) that link the reasons together; while in my theoretical framework I will be open for different interpretations and results by using the same questions in all the parishes.

The question here is 'what specifically can be learnt about CoP-UK as a case study to help further our understanding of the nature of SG African Christians in the UK?' This "case studies illuminate the reader's understanding of the phenomenon under study.

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<sup>90</sup>PIWC stands for Pentecost International Worship Centre. A further detailed analysis of PIWC will be made in Chapter 5.3.1 and 5.3.2.

<sup>91</sup>Yin, *Case Study*, 46.

They can bring about the discovery of new meaning, extend the reader's experience, or confirm what is known."<sup>92</sup> The results can subsequently be a foundation for others in the future to test, prove or disprove in other cases.

## 2.3 Data Collection

The data for this research was gathered during fieldwork between January 2015 and January 2017. I employed data triangulation to help me collect and validate my data. By implementing data triangulation method, I used questionnaire survey, participant observation, semi-structured interviews and focus groups in collecting data. I chose this data triangulation from the four types of triangulation described by Patton.<sup>93</sup> By using the data triangulation method, I was able to collect data from multiple sources and yet analyse them under the same fact or phenomenon.<sup>94</sup> My aim was to examine if the phenomenon or case remains the same at the different congregations, or even within the same congregation at various times. Thus, I was looking at general trends through the questionnaires, analysing attitudes and behaviours during services, listening to opinions and perspectives through interviews and focus groups. I chose this tedious method because my main concern was not about producing quantity but rather quality in the fieldwork report.<sup>95</sup> In using the data triangulation method I endeavour to increase trust in the validity and credibility of the conclusions.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Merriam, *Case study research in Education*, 13.

<sup>93</sup>Patton describes the four types of triangulation as; data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. Patton, *how to use qualitative methods in evaluation*, 1987.

<sup>94</sup>Yin, *Case Study*, 99. Cf. Stake, *The Art of Case Study*, 112.

<sup>95</sup>See Punch, *Introduction to Social Research*, 28.

<sup>96</sup>Bell, *Doing Your Research Project*, 6.

## 2.4 Questionnaire and Surveys

I sent out 150 questionnaires to 10 different parishes across six cities in the UK. The questionnaires were designed to help me get a wider view and perception of a wider section of the youth across UK. I sent some of the questionnaires to PIWCs or the SG dominated churches in Manchester, Leicester, Telford, Birmingham, Coventry and London. The aim was to investigate if the youth of CoP-UK have similar perspectives and opinions of the church. The responses from the questionnaires helped me in shaping my focus group discussions and interviews. I also did a survey of both FG and SG participants to ascertain what they described as the presence of the Holy Spirit in the service. This survey was useful in the discussion on continuity and discontinuity of practices and beliefs from the FG to the SG.<sup>97</sup> Towards the end of my research I undertook a short survey of some of the FG and SG members in my cohort regarding how many of them watched the “CoP’s Global Ministers Conference” in Ghana in 2017. This was to help me analyse how both generations keep up to date with events in Ghana.

## 2.5 Participant Observation and Positionality

In addition to the questionnaires, I employed participant observation as a method of collecting data. The emphasis on participant observation was to enable me to have a first-hand look, feel and experience of the churches. Jorgensen asserts that a community can best be reviewed by employing participant observation; that is by being present with them.<sup>98</sup> Payne and Payne describe participant observation as:

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<sup>97</sup> See chapter 5.6

<sup>98</sup> Jorgensen, *Participant Observation*, 1.

Data collection over a sustained period by means of watching, listening to, and asking questions of people as they follow their day to day activities while the researcher adopts a role from their setting and partially becomes a member of the group in question.<sup>99</sup>

Wills asserts that participant observation helps “the researcher to get rich, detailed data in an authentic setting.”<sup>100</sup> Wills’ argument is not supported by sociologists such as Flannagan, who argues that it is impossible to accept participant observation as a method of collecting data, especially in places of worship, because “we can never fully know what people make of worship because we cannot begin to experience or understand the worship as they do themselves.”<sup>101</sup> Stringer makes a similar point to Flannagan’s, in stating that “this highly subjective response is beyond the scope of anthropological investigator.”<sup>102</sup>

While Flannagan and Stringer’s arguments calls for reflection on participant observation in a religious context, the purpose of participant observation is to attempt to experience what individuals in the congregation are going through. Contrary to Flannagan and Stringer who write from an outsiders’ perspective, I had the advantage of conducting the research as an insider, based on my associations and familiarity with the church and Pentecostal practices.

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<sup>99</sup>Payne and Payne, *Key Concepts in Social Research*, 166.

<sup>100</sup>Willis, *Foundations of Qualitative Research*, 240.

<sup>101</sup>Flannagan in Cameron, *Studying Local Churches*, 94.

<sup>102</sup>Stringer, ‘The Worship and Action of the Local Church; Anthropological Strand,’45.

Platvoet asserts that the spiritual world is a world that scholars cannot empirically observe and cannot investigate with scientific tools.<sup>103</sup> Hence, one of the effective ways in conducting a research of this kind is to study the behaviour patterns and practices, and to speak to the people involved to gain an understanding of their beliefs and practices. Against this background I committed to two years of fieldwork, visiting the churches in question. My observations included spending time with the youth in their services, attending youth conferences, seminars, concerts, prayer meetings and Bible discussion forums. In participant observation the issue of insider and outsider becomes crucial in both collecting and analysing data. As a Ghanaian Pentecostal brought up in CoP, my position as a researcher could have been compromised because of my familiarity with the church and its practices. Although I had the advantage of being able to experience what the participants were experiencing, I was also careful to maintain a critical distance to be objective in my analysis of the practices. However, my current role as an Elim church minister also gave me the opportunity to approach the fieldwork as a partial outsider because I do not have indepth insights into what goes on in the ministries or on a weekly basis in the CoP-UK congregations.

Researchers are not outside the world of what they are studying, as Hammersley and Atkinson point out, 'there is no way we can escape the social world to study it'.<sup>104</sup> By positioning ourselves we therefore acknowledge that we are part of an existing reality being rehearsed and played out by those whom we are researching.<sup>105</sup> In this context,

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<sup>103</sup>Platvoet, 'from object to subject: a history of the religions of Africa', 105-129.

<sup>104</sup> Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography Principles in Practice*, 17.

<sup>105</sup> Cohen, Manioin and Morrison, *Research Methods in Education*, 22

both researcher and participant present facets of their 'self' in the research process which are articulated as positions.<sup>106</sup> While this presentation of self is neither good nor bad, it is simply a way of establishing positions in the process of data gathering. Some scholars have observed that the researcher and the researched are simultaneously affected by issues of positionality and a nexus of power which exists between them.<sup>107</sup>

A major concern for me as a researcher therefore was my position during the research process in the UK. The concern was whether I would be able to maintain a critical distance and perspective needed for the objectivity and validation of my findings. This is because most of my participants knew me as a pastor and one of the leaders of the church albeit not in the church of Pentecost. The respect and honor given to church leaders and pastors culturally in the Ghanaian practices meant that several of the members saw me first as a leader before a researcher. This was a potential disadvantage as they could be cautious in their responses and answers especially during the interviews. Again, there was the challenge of maintaining a critical and analytical perspective in the conversations or interviews as some of the SG participants approached the interview process as a friend. Since I grew up with some of the SG members, there was the tendency to treat the interviews as the usual friendly conversations. I decide however not to exclude those friends entirely because firstly

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<sup>106</sup> Rose, *Situating Knowledges: Positionality, reflexivities and other tactics*, 30.

<sup>107</sup> Cotterill, 'Interviewing women: Issues of friendship, vulnerability, and power,' 593–606; Dawson, *Introduction to Research Methods*, (2012); Merriam, et al, 'Power and positionality: negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures,' 405-416; McGarry, 'Repositioning the research encounter: Exploring power dynamics and positionality in youth research,' 339–354; Ozano, et al 'Reflexivity, positionality and power in cross-cultural participatory action research with research assistants in rural Cambodia,' 1-15.

they were a gateway to other participants and secondly, they were helpful as far as access to information and clarification of terms is concerned.

Overall, my position during this research process has been vital in both the questions I was able to ask as well as the responses I received. The underlining question from the participants' perspective was? Who am I talking to? Thus, I had to adopt a flexible and fluid approach at different stages of the process. The challenges of dealing with different generations meant that one generation saw me in a slightly different position to the other. Hence my approach had to change depending on my audience whilst still maintaining the aims and objectives of my research. For some of the first-generation members, I was an insider coming from the outside because although they knew me from a leadership and relational point of view, eventhough I was not a member of the church. This meant that I had to negotiate access to some information just like outsiders would do. For some of the second-generation, I had to convince them of my status as an outsider even though they saw me as an insider. It was essentially about negotiating access and building trust.

## **2.6 Focus Groups**

I began my interviews and discussions by organising focus groups. Focus group discussions help to get more from within a larger group of people. Thomas explains that a focus group is different to group interviews, in the sense that in group interviews the interviewer or researcher leads the conversation, while in focus groups the researcher becomes a facilitator who moderates discussions among the participants

but does not necessarily lead the conversation.<sup>108</sup> This limited role played by the researcher in focus groups enabled me to bring a focal subject, while I allowed the participants to speak with less interruption. Against this background I used the focus group discussions to raise conversations on identity and culture, beliefs and opinions on the church and its practices and how they [the SG] felt about some of these practices.

Initially, I chose a group of 10 people in each of the four churches, thus making 40 altogether.<sup>109</sup> Each group was stratified in the sense that there were a mixture of male and female, those born in the UK and those who came to the UK at a very young age, and where possible members of the congregation who are of non-Ghanaian heritage.<sup>110</sup> An advantage of the focus group was that it enabled open conversations among the group members who helped to raise further relevant questions in the study. Thus, rather than exercising control over the interviews, I allowed them to express their thoughts and feelings.

Ward suggests that the focus group helps members who will otherwise be shy in a one-on-one interview to be open in conversations amongst their friends.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, it gives the researcher an opportunity to hear a broad range of views from the people on the field in one sitting. Though this is an advantage, it could also be a disadvantage, as one member of the group can be dominating and attempt to impose their views on others. Thus, I had to make periodic checks during the discussions to

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<sup>108</sup>Thomas, *How to do your Research*, 203.

<sup>109</sup>Krueger, talks about dealing with sizeable numbers in focus groups. Krueger, *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*, 18.

<sup>110</sup>Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 349.

<sup>111</sup>Ward, *studying local churches*, 31.

ensure that statements made by individuals were either shared by the group whilst I gave others opportunity to voice their different opinions.<sup>112</sup> Again focus group requires the researcher to be aware and in control of the conversation to avoid a complete digression of the subject being discussed. Thus, to ascertain the authenticity and validity of the focus group discussions, I organised a final round of discussions in all the focus groups to run the key points with each group.

## **2.7 Interviews**

In addition to the focus group discussions, I also conducted interviews with some of the members to get a more personal understanding and hear individual stories. As with the focus groups, interviewees were chosen from both sexes and included, where possible, some members from other nationalities. Like the focus groups, I was helped by field assistants in each church in selecting the people for the interviews. To help avoid biases and favouritism, announcements were made in all the local churches about my research and the participants came voluntarily to take part in the research. I interviewed 70 SG and 30 first-generation (FG) members, using semi-structured approaches for the interviews. In addition to these interviews, I also conducted random semi-structured interviews with some SG and FG members of the church during various conferences. These members were first informed about the research and gave their consent before taking part. Unlike my main cohort of participants, these people are named as SGL (Second Generation Leaders),<sup>113</sup> Brother and Sister (First

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<sup>112</sup>Laws, *Research for Development*, 207.

<sup>113</sup> See 5.4.5.

Generation Members)<sup>114</sup> and YC (Youth Conference).<sup>115</sup> Semi-structured interviews allowed me to ask direct questions relating to my main thesis question and problem. This “criterion of specificity means that the interview should bring out the specific elements which determine the impact or meaning of an event for the interviewees to prevent the interview from remaining on the level of general statements.”<sup>116</sup>

However, there are parts of the research where I used the unstructured interviewing method. This is because, in the unstructured approach, I got to hear from the interviewees their version of the explanation of events without my pre-determined questions. Here questions such as “How did you find the service today?” and “What did you think of the prayer meeting or sermon?” enabled me to hear their unguarded responses from the participants without solely focussing on my predetermined questions.<sup>117</sup> The advantage here is that the results and analyses of both types of interview approaches make findings and conclusions stronger, especially if they correlate.

## **2.8 Interpretation and Analysis of Data**

The methods I chose, as well as the multiple case study approach, meant that I had a huge volume of data to decipher and analyse. For example, in conducting unstructured interviews, I left myself open to long interviews to codify and analyse. Furthermore, the large responses from the questionnaires and focus groups discussions, posed a

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<sup>114</sup> See 6.6.1

<sup>115</sup> See 6.6.2

<sup>116</sup>Flick, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 151.

<sup>117</sup>Thomas, *How to do your research Project*, 197.

pleasant challenge in analysis. Pleasant, because I had an exceptionally good amount of data, yet challenging because it was incredibly tedious to collate and analyse. I had the privilege of a research assistant who helped in distributing questionnaires and codifying the responses. I decided from the outset to use manual coding as against computerised data coding. Due to the nature of my research and time constraints, I decided against spending further time in learning a new data coding program. Instead, with the help of the research assistant, I went through all 100 questionnaires, as well as the tapes and transcripts of interviews. Each interview was coded, and the participants' information was noted in terms of age, place of birth, nationality and gender. The key concepts were noted (for example, references to *Af*, evil spirits, culture, leaders, witches, Holy Spirit, etc) and the frequency of these concepts became the main and subsidiary points accordingly. I also developed shorthand methods in writing and coding some of the interviews during the interviewing and focus group sessions.

Towards the end of my study, I used relevant literature to compare my findings and the themes that emerged from my research. I used the etic and emic forms of interpretation to analyse the responses of the participants from their perspective, whilst on the other hand looking at it by using theories and concepts to those unfamiliar with church practices. By using emic interpretation, I sought to interpret the findings from the SG and the FG points of view. This is also known as 'local' interpretation, where I interpret concepts based on their worldview. The etic interpretation is where I approached the

analyses using social theories and models to interpret the findings to those unfamiliar with my case study group and CoP-UK.<sup>118</sup>

In conclusion, I would say that in a research of such nature, it is always difficult to ascertain the validity of what the participants are saying. However, it must be noted that, firstly, all the participants voluntarily participated in the research without any compulsion. There were no incentives offered to any participant. All interviews and focus groups were done in safe and open places where participants could express themselves confidentially without fear. Secondly, by using the triangulation method in collecting data, I could cross check responses from the interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions to draw relevant correlations. By using these combined methods, qualitative case study approach, historical analyses, fieldwork, sociological discussions and a theological analysis, it is hoped that this thesis will provide useful insights into not only African pneumatology but also on the SG Pentecostals of African migrant churches.

## **2.9 Ethics**

All my participants gave formal consent for their participation in this research. As outlined in my Ethics review clearance with the University of Birmingham, there were no persons under 18 years involved in the interviews, surveys or focus groups. On my initial interactions with participants I briefly outlined the aims of the research and the nature of their participation. After explaining these to the participants, those who were

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<sup>118</sup>Cameron et al, *Studying Local Churches*, 29.

happy to continue filled out and signed the consent forms. Where there were no forms, they gave verbal consent for their participation. All the names used in all the interviews are pseudonyms, except where the participant had clearly consented to their real names being given.<sup>119</sup> De Laine argues that it is impossible for any researcher to remain neutral and objective without leaving any imprint on the field or area being researched.<sup>120</sup> Essentially, my aim was to ensure that the contributors are not worse off for participating in the research. Hence, I was concerned that the participants were not left in or exposed to any harm by using their real names as well as conducting interviews and discussions in places where they deemed suitable and safe. This was in compliance with safeguarding both myself as the researcher and the participants.<sup>121</sup>

Arguably, the emotional safeguarding is difficult to assess. Thus, I frequently paused and ensured that the contributors were happy to continue without any fear, anxiety or compulsion. For most of the participants, the church offices and smaller halls were open spaces and seemed adequate. Finally, as a church leader, I was aware that my 'position of power' could be intimidating to certain members within the group. Though most of the SG members frequently told me that they were comfortable and had nothing to hide, I still saw it necessary to outline the aims of the research and endeavoured to keep participants details confidential. For this reason, I assured the members of full confidentiality and my position as a researcher and not a church leader. These points of references were useful and helpful in ensuring the safety, confidence and comfort of the various personel involved in the data gathering during my fieldwork.

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<sup>119</sup>As part of the process of undertaking this research I had to complete the University of Birmingham's Ethic Review Form.

<sup>120</sup> De Laine, *Fieldwork Participation and Practice*, 142.

<sup>121</sup> Wilks, 'Social Work and Narrative Ethics,' 1254.

## **CHAPTER 3: THE SPIRITS AND THE GHANAIAN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES**

### **3.1 Introduction**

To understand the background of the members of the Church of Pentecost in UK (CoP-UK), it is essential that we trace their cultural and religious roots from Ghana. The religious world of Ghanaians and indeed Africans is deeply spiritual. Thus, one cannot study any African religion without looking at their understanding of the spirit world. This chapter therefore, discusses spirit beliefs and practices in the Ghanaian indigenous cultural and religious settings. A study of such nature in Ghana will be well-nigh impossible, given that there are over 100 ethnic groups. Although Ghana has several ethnic groupings, there is a general affinity of their religious beliefs. For this reason, I have chosen to focus on the Akans, who are the largest ethnic group in Ghana and in CoP-UK. The purpose here is to gain an understanding of the important role spirits play among the Akan people. Rather than a replication of Akan history, which has been meticulously covered by others, this chapter focuses on spirit elements among the Akan people, with specific interest in their beliefs, awareness and dependence on the spirit world.<sup>122</sup> My intention here, as per the aims of this thesis, is to understand the Ghanaian socio-cultural and religious beliefs and subsequently investigate how this impacts on Christianity and Pentecostalism in the next chapter.

In this chapter I will be dealing with Akan cosmology which, like other African ethnic groups, is divided into “two inter-penetrating and inseparable, yet distinguishable

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<sup>122</sup>Some of the key works will be seen below in 3.2.

parts.”<sup>123</sup> These are, first, the world of humans, which involves family and community relations, social ceremonies and other cultural practices; and second, the world of the spirits, which includes all spirit entities from The Supreme Being to the lesser gods and ancestors. This chapter will hopefully contribute to understanding the background of the worldview of the first generation (FG) members of CoP-UK.

### 3.2 Key Works on the Akans in Ghana

Though there has been growing literature on Akans in Ghana, I have relied mainly on the works that deal in whole or in most parts on Akan cosmology and their beliefs in spirits. Rattray’s work is pivotal in any studies on Akan religion and society.<sup>124</sup> His large double volume work captures a wide range of Akan culture and sets the tone for works that ensued.<sup>125</sup> However, subsequent works by early Ghanaian sociologists, anthropologists and historians have highlighted differences, omissions and, in some cases, clarified issues that, according to them, were not accurately representative of the Akan ethnic group and the Ashantes<sup>126</sup>, as highlighted by Rattray and some of the early Western Akan scholars.

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<sup>123</sup>Okorochoa, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion in Africa*, 57.

<sup>124</sup>It is widely acknowledged that R.S Rattray’s work marked a pivotal point in laying the foundations for future works on Akans/Ashanti. Though some of his assertions have been disputed, nevertheless his work is referred to by many credible scholars and writers on Akans or Ashantis in Ghana. Rattray, *Ashanti*, (1923); *Ashanti* (1923); Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, (1927).

<sup>125</sup>Some of these works include, Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, (1887), Field, *Akim-Kotoku*, (1948); Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana*, (1958); Lystad, *The Ashanti: a Proud People*, (1958); Field, *Search for security*, (1960).

<sup>126</sup> The Ashantis are the largest sub-ethnic group among the Akans.

Key among such works is Danquah, who himself conducted extensive interviews and thus provided in-depth analysis and descriptions of the Akan culture.<sup>127</sup> On Rattray's work, Danquah concludes that though:

...great as Rattray's discoveries make him in our estimation for the immensity of thought he brought to his quest, his conclusions, however, confirm the view that while he saw shafts of light here and there in the Akan religious dawn, he just missed seeing the whole sunshine.<sup>128</sup>

Although Danquah himself has been criticised for being preoccupied with responding to Western debates and discussions on the Akans, his work provides a great depth on Akan religion and their belief in spirits.<sup>129</sup> Danquah is not alone. Others, including Kwame Gyekye, K. Busia, Appiah-Kubi, Sarpong and Ephrim-Donkor<sup>130</sup>, have all contributed immensely to the discussions on Akan religion and cosmology, with the latter doing a remarkable job in recapitulating the arguments, whilst himself focusing on the Akans' preoccupation in becoming ancestors after their death.

Furthermore, Onyinah,<sup>131</sup> Clarke<sup>132</sup> and Elorm-Donkor<sup>133</sup> in their theses have attempted to recapitulate the general arguments on the various works on Akans focusing on witchcraft, Christology in post-missionary African Christianity and morality

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<sup>127</sup>Danquah, *Akan Doctrine of God*, (1944).

<sup>128</sup>Danquah, *Akan Doctrine of God*, 7.

<sup>129</sup>Cf. for discussion on Danquah's lapses see, Kwesi Dickson, "Introduction to the Second Edition" in Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, vii – xxv.

<sup>130</sup>Gyekye, *An essay on African Philosophical Thought*, (1987), Gyekye, *Tradition and Modernity*, (1997); Busia "The Ashanti of the Gold Coast" *African Worlds*, (1954); Quarcoopome, *West African Traditional Religion*, (1978); Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, (1974); Appiah-Kubi, *Man Cures, God Heals*, (1981); Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, (1997).

<sup>131</sup>Onyinah, *Pentecostal Exorcisms*, (2012)

<sup>132</sup>Clarke, *African Christology: Jesus in Post-Missionary African Christology*, (2011); Clarke, 'Faith in Christ in post-missionary Africa: Christology among Akan African indigenous churches in Ghana,' (2002).

<sup>133</sup>Elorm-Donkor, *Christian Morality*, (2011).

respectively. Though not focusing on Akans, Birgit Meyer provides significant insight into the religious beliefs of the Peki people of Volta Region in Ghana, with specific emphasis on their views on the devil and images of evil, and how the Christian message challenges these views.<sup>134</sup> Meyer is worth noting here, because her work is instrumental in terms of structure to any work on religion and spirituality in Ghana. Onyinah's work, which is primarily on witchcraft and demonology, provides key elements which pertain to Akan cosmology and belief in spirits and the response of the church towards these elements. Furthermore, Clarke investigates Akan indigenous pneumatology and uses that as a basis for arguing for a Christology that meets the indigenous people in post-missionary Africa. Then Elorm-Donkor subsequently brings the various strands of Akan spirituality together whilst focusing on Akan traditional moral schemes. For this part of the thesis I intend to build on these works while focusing primarily on the importance of spirits among the Akan people.

### **3.3 The Akan Conception of the Spirits**

The starting point of the Akan concept of the spirits is from birth. Akan awareness of how human beings are formed is derived from their perception of the spirit world. There is not a consensus on the exact order or composition of human beings in the Akan tradition, though the general elements that make up a person is seen in most of the descriptions.<sup>135</sup> The reasons for the lack of consensus can be summarised in two ways. Firstly, as Rattray rightly observes, the Europeans and, in general, Western

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<sup>134</sup>Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, (1999).

<sup>135</sup>Opoku, 'The Destiny of Man in Akan Traditional Religious Thought,' 15; Rattray and Busia summarises the composition of human being in two principles, namely *ntoro* and *mogya*. Rattray, *Ashanti*, 34, Busia "The Ashanti", 100.

missionaries could not fully grasp the Akan tradition because it did not fit in their worldview.<sup>136</sup> Secondly, there is not a single written document that serves as 'a holy grail' in the Akan traditions. Each researcher adds their own voice, depending on oral tradition passed on, existing literature and their own research and interviews.<sup>137</sup> However, most agree on the four elements, as described by Opoku, namely, *Mogyia* [blood group], *ntoro* [spirit group], *okra* [soul] and *sunsum* [spirit].<sup>138</sup> It will be unnecessary to repeat the descriptions of these elements in this thesis, since Onyinah<sup>139</sup> and Elorm-Donkor<sup>140</sup> have carefully described these elements in detail in their works. Furthermore, it is not within the purpose of this thesis to discuss each element.

The existing works above have sufficiently demonstrated that the Akans have a clear belief that human beings originate from God and have a connection with God through the spirit (*sunsum*) from birth. The child is believed to be from the mother's blood group and influenced by the father's spirit group (*ntoro*). Spirituality is thus assumed from moment of conception, where a child is believed to have a link to the spirit world, making him/her receive blessings from the Supreme Being as well as susceptible to attacks by evil spirits. There is the understanding that even children have access to the spirit world and all Akans endeavour to go back to the spirit world, where they will continue to be revered and make a positive impact on their families and clans. This

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<sup>136</sup>Rattray, *Ashanti*, 45; Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 157-169.

<sup>137</sup>Cf. Busia, *The Ashanti of the Gold Coast*, 190-209.

<sup>138</sup>Opoku, *West African Traditional Religion*, 15-25. Emphasis mine.

<sup>139</sup>Onyinah, *Pentecostal Exorcisms*, (2012)

<sup>140</sup>Elorm-Donkor, *Christian Morality*, (2011).

belief, or rather fear of attack in the spirit world, makes the Akans desire to seek spiritual help and protection from higher and more potent forces right from birth.

### **3.4 The Spirits in the Social Affairs of Akan Communities**

Contrary to Western understanding of community, where individualism permeates almost every sphere from secular to sacred life, in the African and Akan context community is essential.<sup>141</sup> The Ghanaian philosopher Gyekye argues that for most Africans community life is not optional. It is a sense of belonging and identity.<sup>142</sup> This sense of community goes beyond the nuclear family to include the broader community. There is, therefore, a social responsibility, roles to be fulfilled and expectations required of members of the community. Gyekye asserts that these roles and responsibilities make up cultural and social features of the community.<sup>143</sup> The place of the spirits in Akan communities can be seen on two different levels. First, the community comes together and approaches the deities through social functions, such as naming of babies, weddings, funerals, puberty rites and festivals. Many of the early European missionaries to Ghana described the entire culture as one full of ritualistic ceremonies.<sup>144</sup> In the case of the ceremonies Busia writes:

Rituals surround important seasonal community activities as well as the critical periods of an individual life. Planting, harvesting and fishing, birth, puberty, marriage – these are occasions for the community or kin group to come

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<sup>141</sup>Cf. Guder, *Missional Church*, 18.

<sup>142</sup>Gyekye, *Tradition and Modernity*, 41-42.

<sup>143</sup>Gyekye, *Tradition and Modernity*, 42.

<sup>144</sup>Mends, *Rituals in the Social Life of Ghanaian Society*, 3.

together, to join in song and dance or in ritual to give expression to the sense of dependence on the ancestors or on other supernatural powers.<sup>145</sup>

Second, the role of the spirits in the Akan community can be seen in other cultural norms and practices, which although may not necessarily convey a potent message to the onlooker yet has within them very important spiritual implications. Some of these include hospitality, right handshake and respect for the elderly. I will describe the place of the spirits in two of the communal events, as an example of the spirits in the community.

### **3.4.1 Naming and Funeral Rites: The Spiritual Dimension**

At naming ceremonies, a baby is welcomed into the *abusua* or community and not just into the immediate family. This is because to the Akans raising children is not the sole responsibility of the parents. The baby is part of the community even before he/she is born. There is a sense in which, at birth, the child is not only connected to the biological parents, but ultimately that child has a God-given purpose to be fulfilled in the community and to humanity at large. Thus, if left on their own, neither the child nor the parents alone can provide for the spiritual, physical and social resources the child needs to survive.<sup>146</sup> The child is therefore received into the large *abusua* and subsequently the larger community as one of their own. Thus, to the Akans the child's identity is not derived primarily from any aspect of his/her individuality, as early

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<sup>145</sup>Busia, *Akan Doctrine of God*, 37.

<sup>146</sup>Gyekye, *An essay in African Philosophical Thought*, 154-156.

Enlightenment philosopher René Descartes stated, 'I think therefore I am', but from the *Abusua* or ethnic group.<sup>147</sup>

Marthinus Daneel, in *African Earth Keepers*, quotes Ghanaian John Pobee, who contradicted Descartes with the Akan proverb, "I belong through kinship therefore I am."<sup>148</sup> Mbiti puts it succinctly, "The individual can only say: 'I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am.'"<sup>149</sup> This sense of togetherness is not biologically oriented, but a connection based on a common understanding of their origin, purpose and recourse to help from the spiritual realm. The Akans also believe that when a child is named after an ancestor, some of the qualities of that ancestor are transferred to the child through the *sunsum* (spirit). This is because a strong *sunsum* is connected to morality. A person who died having served his or her community well is said to have a good *sunsum*. Therefore, having died and been elevated to the status of an ancestor, the *sunsum* positively influences whoever is named after them.<sup>150</sup>

Thus, at old age the elderly person evaluates their lives to ensure that they have lived a good life to earn them the prestigious status of *nananomsamanfo* (ancestors). For this reason, the Akans believe that death at a good old age in the case of a good person is promotion to a place of immortality and a higher state of being.<sup>151</sup> They take on a guardian spiritual role where they look after the families and communities they have left behind. The finitude of life on earth, coupled with the fear of death and failure

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<sup>147</sup> Descartes, *The Selections from the Principles of Philosophy*, 33. Translation is based on the original Latin edition of the Principles, published in 1644.

<sup>148</sup> Daneel, *African Earth Keepers*, 217.

<sup>149</sup> Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy*, 108.

<sup>150</sup> Minkus, 'The Concept of Spirit in Akwapim Akan Philosophy,' 186.

<sup>151</sup> Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, 130.

to become an ancestor, prompts Akans to live a good life in the community and honour the spirits and spirit world whilst alive.<sup>152</sup>

Thus, during sad occasions such as funerals, belief in the ancestors and their role as bearers of blessings comforts the people. A final point of the funeral rites here is one that is connected to the *okra* or *nkrabea*, mentioned earlier. Akans believe that God gives every living soul coming to earth an *nkrabea*, a purpose for living. At death, the deceased are in turn, given a message back to God and to the entire ancestor world by their grieving loved ones. This means the land of the living and the land of the spirits are intimately connected. The two events discussed so far, naming and funeral, have been chosen because they are natural events that occur in life. However, among the Akans, these events represent a spiritual implication far beyond the natural world. For the Akans life does not begin at birth; neither does it end at death. In all these ceremonies, there is what Lartey calls a corporate spirituality,<sup>153</sup> a spiritual element that brings the community together.

### **3.4.2 The Spirits in Akan Cultural Practices**

The naming ceremony and funeral rites have got both cultural and spiritual elements embedded within. It becomes difficult to distinguish the two entities and separate them. Whilst these events are celebrated communally with spiritual connotations, there are others which are not so rigorously overlaid with spirit emphasis yet have spiritual connotations. For example, shaking hands with the right hand is considered not only

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<sup>152</sup>Elorm-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, 152.

<sup>153</sup>Lartey, *In Living Color*, 112.

cultural but respectful. Culturally, to offer someone a gift or to receive a gift with the left hand is an insult.<sup>154</sup> In an interview with Mr. Ofori, an elderly man in Kumasi,<sup>155</sup> he explained that the concept of 'right handshake' goes beyond simple respect. According to Ofori, *Onyame* (God) uses his right hand in creating and causing things to happen. Furthermore, in Ofori's words, "*nanamom* respond to us when we pour libation with our right hand, petition with our right and offer gifts with our right hand therefore to offer any one your left hand is not honouring the spirit world."<sup>156</sup> Ofori's explanation of this spiritual connotation with the right hand is illustrated by another man Mr. Acheampong. Acheampong told of an incident that happened to him some years back as a young man:

I was travelling when I met a stranger on the road. She asked for directions and I had to explain using hand gestures. I had my bag in my right hand and, so I pointed towards the direction of the suburb she was looking for with my left hand.<sup>157</sup>

According to Acheampong, shortly after the stranger left he got attacked by a strange animal he had not seen before or since. For Acheampong this was an indication that the gods were unhappy with his use of left hand in offering help. This is in line with Pobee's assertion that as much as the gods are revered in the Akan religion, they are also feared. This fear arises when people feel they have disobeyed or displeased the gods in one way or another.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup>Utlely, *Ghana: culture smart*, 65-66.

<sup>155</sup> Kumasi is the capital city of the Ashantis otherwise known as the Ashanti Region in Ghana.

<sup>156</sup>Interview with Ofori, Kumasi, Ghana, 15 February 2015. Pouring of libation is a form of prayer in Ghanaian communities. For further details on pouring of libation see 2.4.6

<sup>157</sup>Interview with Acheampong, Aduman, Ghana, 25 February 2015

<sup>158</sup>Pobee, *Toward an African Theology*, 51.

Finally, as part of Akan cultural spirituality great emphasis is laid on hospitality. At both communal and individual levels Akans believe they are surrounded by spiritual beings. These spirits and spiritual beings sometimes manifest themselves in the physical. Thus, the practise of being hospitable is tantamount to welcoming a possible ancestor in one's home. Even if strangers are not directly ancestors or spirits manifesting in flesh, the possibility that they are being guided by the ancestors to a home is noteworthy enough for them to receive a good welcome. By showing strangers such warm hospitality, they are effectively honouring the ancestors who may have sent them to the house or community.<sup>159</sup> Subsequently, though not all elements in culture and society are religious, the Akan culture is laden with a spiritual enterprise and the spirits are intertwined with the daily and practical lives of the people.<sup>160</sup> There is a relationship not only between individuals and deity, but also between communities and the spirit world.

### **3.5 The Spirit Forces within the Akan Religion**

Having looked at the spirits in human conception, communal and cultural dimensions of the Akans, this final section discusses the Akans concept of God and the spirits, and the key religious practices and beliefs that accompany their belief systems. The Ghanaian philosopher Ackah asserts that “there are many Akans who believe in, and quite a few who worship, *abosom* (*gods*) ...and even some Christians still believe in the power of the *abosom*.”<sup>161</sup> Thus, I shall be using the present continuous tense with

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<sup>159</sup>For fuller discussion on community spirituality see Kwiyani, ‘Pneumatology, mission, and African Christians in multicultural congregations in North America,’ 303.

<sup>160</sup>Kwiyani, *Sent Forth*, 165.

<sup>161</sup>Ackah, *Akan Ethics*, 95.

regards to references to the worship and practices in the Akan religion because it is a religion still practised today.

From the outset Busia asserts that “To the Ashanti the universe is full of spirits. There is a great Spirit, the Supreme Being, who created all things, and who manifests his power through a pantheon of gods.”<sup>162</sup> Instead of listing and giving a description of the pantheon of gods that Busia and others have discussed, my aim here will be twofold. Firstly, to explain the function of the deities and their relationship to the Akan people. Secondly, to investigate and discuss what these deities mean to the people and how the Akans relate to them. I believe that it is through these investigations that a clear understanding of the spirits’ role among the Akans will emerge. By so doing a natural and relevant follow up can be made during the case study to identify whether the CoP-UK FG still maintain a similar view of God and the spirits as their forefathers did.

### **3.5.1 The Supreme Being: Onyankopong**

The Akans believe in a hierarchical structure of the spirit beings with *Onyankopong*, otherwise called *Onyame*, at the apex of this structure – the most used name among the Akans to refer to God, the Supreme Being. From the onset it appears that Akans only know one God.<sup>163</sup> This is not the case only among the Akans, as the Ghanaian sociologist Antubam has shown. In Ghana the name of God is found in the singular form in all the different languages and ethnicities.<sup>164</sup> This is in sharp contrast to the

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<sup>162</sup>Busia, *The Ashanti*, 190.

<sup>163</sup>Danquah, *Akan Doctrine of God*, 39

<sup>164</sup>Abtubam, *Ghana’s Heritage of Culture*, 31.

idea of generalising African religion as a religion known for its pantheon of gods. For Idowu the Nigerian theologian, “African traditional religion cannot be described as polytheistic.”<sup>165</sup> Idowu argues that the presence of other divine entities within African cosmology cannot be compared with the power and supremacy of the one true Supreme Being: namely God.<sup>166</sup> Hence deity should not be confused with divinities. The Bakongo in central Africa describe the self-existence of God when they say that “He is made by no other, no one beyond him is.”<sup>167</sup> This is similar to the Zulu people in Southern Africa, who refer to God as “the Great-Great.”<sup>168</sup>

Among the Akans Danquah has shown that the name *Onyankopon* – which etymologically means ‘The Only Great One’ – is derived from *Onyame*.<sup>169</sup> Though Danquah fails to give a clear meaning of the prefix *Onyanko*, he disagrees with Casely Hayford, who describes *Nyanko* as an equivalent of the *Fante* word for friend.<sup>170</sup> Thus, for Casely Hayford, *Onyankopong* means the only Great friend. Though Danquah and Casely Hayford have both failed to present the same meaning of the title for God, one thing remains constant; they both see the Akan God as one. Like the Yoruba, Ngoma, Abaluyia and other African ethnicities, *Nyame* is seen as all-powerful God.<sup>171</sup> Idowu aptly notes that if the term ‘African traditional religion’ is to have any basis then it will

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<sup>165</sup>Idowu, *African Traditional Religion*, 168.

<sup>166</sup>Idowu, *African Traditional Religion*, 168.

<sup>167</sup>Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa*, 1960.

<sup>168</sup>Thorpe, *African Traditional Religions*, 34.

<sup>169</sup>Danquah explains that Onyakopon is derived from the prefix *onyame* and the suffix *koro* which means one. Danquah, *Akan Doctrine*, 45.

<sup>170</sup>The Fantes are part of the Akans mainly in the South West of Ghana. Casely, *Gold Coast native institutions*, 23.

<sup>171</sup>The Yoruba’s are from Nigeria, Abaluyia’s from Kenya and Ngoma’s from southern Africa. Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa*, 8-9.

be on the concept that all known African religions share the belief in the essence of God as the only God of the universe.<sup>172</sup>

To the Akans *Nyame* or *Odomakoma* is the creator and supplier of grace. For the Akans, God is not glued to the sky, as some of the early Western missionaries claimed;<sup>173</sup> he exists amongst his people and they experience him in their daily lives. For instance, when asked “how are you?” in Ghana the common response is “*nyame adom*,” meaning by “the grace of God”, I am well. When leaving the house for a journey the common good bye is “*wo ne nyame nko*,” meaning “may God go with you”. These, among others, occur in daily conversations of not only those living in Akan land but Ghanaians in general.

Significantly to native Akans God is not a philosophical concept but a living being who is concerned in the daily lives of his children. God is the *odomankoma*, gracious God who gives daily life, protection and wellbeing to his people. The Akan proverb, *obi nnkyrere abofra Nyame*, ‘No one teaches a child to know God’ speaks not only of the idea that God is self-evident<sup>174</sup>, but significantly it clarifies the Akan understanding of the *kra* – the part of a person which interacts with God even before birth.

For the Akans, God is a true father who is involved in the lives of his people. Not only is he a father to humans but also a father to the lesser deities.<sup>175</sup> It is here that Idowu’s argument of *diffused monotheism* comes into focus. In this context Idowu argues that

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<sup>172</sup>Idowu, *African Traditional Religion*, 161.

<sup>173</sup>Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa*, 8.

<sup>174</sup>Pobee, *African Theology*, 46.

<sup>175</sup>Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa*, 91; Danquah, *Akan Doctrine of God*, 23.

“we have a monotheism in which there exist other powers which derive from deity such being and authority that they can be treated, for practical purposes, almost as ends in themselves.”<sup>176</sup> However, these divinities cannot and are not compared to God, the Supreme Being. In this context Ryan argues that the Akans, like the Yorubas in West Africa, are therefore better equipped linguistically, in comparison to Semites, Greeks and Romans, to describe the uniqueness, greatness and incomparable nature of God. Ryan asserts that, unlike the Hebrew Scriptures in Psalm 82, there is no need for God to arise beyond others because God is already above them.<sup>177</sup> To the Akans and many Sub-Saharan African religions, the Supreme Being is simply incomparable in greatness and power. In the end if the Akan believe in the One Supreme Being then Debrunner is right in asserting that, “strictly speaking, all other so-called gods or fetishes are not gods but only tutelary spirits or guardian angels.”<sup>178</sup> It is against this understanding of Akan cosmology that the rest of the description of spirit entities lies.

### **3.5.2 The Abosom: Spirit Children of Onyankopong**

The *abosom* have been generally called lesser gods, for want of a better word or translation.<sup>179</sup> However, they can be described as spirits through whom *Onyame* manifests his power to his people. To the Akan, although God is transcendent and involved in the daily affairs of his people, he does not abide within the heart or spirit of humans; neither does he physically reside in human abode. Yet he is recognised as being present in their daily lives. Due to his supreme nature he cannot be approached

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<sup>176</sup>Idowu, *Olodumare*, 202.

<sup>177</sup>Ryan, ‘*Arise, O God!*’ *The Problem of ‘Gods’ in West Africa*, 169.

<sup>178</sup>Debrunner, *A history of Christianity in Ghana*, 3.

<sup>179</sup>*Obosom* or *bosom* is used to refer to singular god whilst *abosom* refers to plural.

lightly and directly.<sup>180</sup> Due to this respect for *Onyankopong* and recognising his physical absence, he (*Onyankopong*) has delegated his powers to his representatives who act on his behalf.

These spirits are sometimes referred to as children, messengers or agents of God. They receive their powers and authority from God and they act on God's behalf. Opokuwaa explains that they are given the term lesser gods not because they are gods in the sense of the Supreme Being, but rather because they have no power independently beside *Onyankopong*.<sup>181</sup> They are created beings yet are invisible and work within human realms.<sup>182</sup> Onyinah has discussed the work of these 'children of God' in his work, however, a brief description here will show how their impact on the people is relevant to my aims.<sup>183</sup>

### **3.5.3 The Nature and Powers of the *Abosom***

The word *abosom*, used to describe these spirit children of God, is derived from two words *bo* and *som*, meaning stone and worship respectively.<sup>184</sup> Although *bo* means stone, not all the spirit sons of *Onyankopong* are in the form of stones. These spirit children of *Onyankopong* are embodied in rivers, trees, forests, animals, rocks, mountains and other natural objects.<sup>185</sup> McCaskie has highlighted three categories of *abosom*. First, *tano*, which represents all the gods associated with river and water

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<sup>180</sup>Ephirim-Donkor discusses this issue of African respect for the elders and deity in detail. Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, 120-127.

<sup>181</sup>Opokuwaa, *The Quest for Spiritual Transformation*, 20.

<sup>182</sup>Mbiti, *African Religion & Philosophy*, 80.

<sup>183</sup>For a more detailed discussion of the powers of the *abosom*, see Onyinah, *Pentecostal Exorcism*, 22-46.

<sup>184</sup>Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 46.

<sup>185</sup>McCaskie, *State and Society*, 109.

bodies. Second, *ewim*, these are the gods associated with sky.<sup>186</sup> Third, *abo*, which represent stone, rock or mountain gods.<sup>187</sup> It is not the description or habitat of these lesser gods or spirit sons that adds any relevance to our discussion. Significantly, it is the suffix *som* in *abosom*, which denotes worship that captures the focus of the spirits. The suffix *som* suggests that these lesser gods are worshipped.

Each categorisation of the *abosom* has its distinct way of impacting the people. The *tano* gods are known for protection; the *ewim* gods are understood as judgemental and merciless, and their main aim is to bring disaster on those who show disrespect to them. However, they are also recognised for their power in bringing rain and good harvest.<sup>188</sup> The *abo* gods are known for their healing powers.<sup>189</sup> The *abosom* are thought to have power to bless and cause destruction. Through the *abosom*, people receive blessings, good health and prosperity. They turn evil destiny into good and strengthen people spiritually, whilst other *abosom* dispense curses, bad luck, ill health and disasters. Significantly, although collectively these spirit children have power, it appears that their power and influence can be manipulated. They manifest their power through the giving of amulets and charms known as *nsumen*, via a designated priest or prophet. These charms and amulets come in the form of small stones, parts of animals, bracelets and trinkets, which the priest gives to the worshippers according to their various requests.<sup>190</sup> During hardships, sickness and difficulties, family members

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<sup>186</sup>The Akan word *ewim* is derived from *wim* which means sky.

<sup>187</sup>McCaskie, *State and Society*, 109-10.

<sup>188</sup>Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 46-7.

<sup>189</sup>McCaskie, *State and Society*, 109.

<sup>190</sup>This will be explored further in 2.6.

consult their *obosom* to find out the reasons for the difficulty and a possible reprieve from it.

The powers of these *abosom* are instantaneous and feared. Since these *abosom* are unseen spirits, they usually manifest their power through the use of *nsuman*. It is believed that whilst everyone can look after their body, it takes the spirits to look after the spirit and or soul of people.<sup>191</sup> It is here that the *abosom* manifest their powers usually through the prescription of such trinkets. In an interview with Rob, a first-generation CoP-UK migrant in UK, he confirmed that during his childhood they were given waist bands and special pieces of stone that they carried with them throughout their travels. He narrated that if each member of the family had the right *nsuman* on them they were confident of safety and security.<sup>192</sup>

Ralph tells of a story where a lady forgot to wear her waist beads and ended up in a fatal bus accident. Upon investigation of her death, the family were told by the fetish priest that the gods were angry with her for not wearing her waist beads.<sup>193</sup> Such stories instigated fear in the surrounding communities to the point that that people relied heavily on these devices for protection and security. The fear of sickness and death means that most Akan people consulted the mediums to establish the cause of sickness. Significantly, all these meant that people were constantly running to the mediums for preventive *nsuman*, as well as curative powers.

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<sup>191</sup>Tufuo, *Ashantis of Ghana*, 88.

<sup>192</sup>Interview with Rob, Birmingham, 4 Jan 2015.

<sup>193</sup>Interview with Rob, Birmingham, 4 Jan 2015.

### 3.5.4 *Nananom Samanfo*: The Spirits of Ancestors among the Akan

The Akans have a strong belief in life after death. The word *saman* denotes ghosts or spirits of the departed. The ancestors form an integral part in the Akan religious worship and belief systems. To this effect, Pobee asserts that “perhaps the most potent aspect of the Akan religion is the cult of the ancestors.”<sup>194</sup> Rattray observes that, to the Akans, the ancestors are the real owners of the land. He continues that:

The predominant influence in the traditional religion, is neither Saturday Sky God nor Thursday earth goddess, nor is even the hundreds of abosom [gods], with which true the land is filled, but are the *samanfo*, the spirits of the departed.<sup>195</sup>

Not many will disagree with Rattary on the importance and belief in the ancestors. Unlike the *abosom*, the ancestors are thought to have direct interaction with people. Mbiti asserts that:

Because they are still people, the living dead are therefore the best group of intermediaries between humans and the Supreme Being. They know the needs of their people and at the same time they have full access to the channels of communicating with God directly.<sup>196</sup>

Ephirim-Donkor, however, clarifies that not everyone who dies becomes an ancestor. In his work on *African Spirituality*, Ephirim-Donkor goes through a methodical approach to show that from birth the Akan person is preoccupied with moral values and is determined to live right in order to gain access to the world of ancestors.<sup>197</sup> A person

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<sup>194</sup>Pobee, *Toward an African Theology*, 46.

<sup>195</sup>Rattray, *Ashanti*, 216.

<sup>196</sup>Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy*, 83.

<sup>197</sup>Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, 138. Also see Kudadjie who shares a similar belief with the Dangme's in Ghana. Kudadjie, “Moral and Social Development in Contemporary Africa: Insights from Dangme traditional Moral Experience”, in Wiredu and Gyekye, *Person and Community*, 212.

qualifies to be an ancestor after first being an elder in his *abusua* (family) and proving that he has not only looked after his or her family but also the entire matrilineal kin. Opokuwaa further describes the three categories of *samanfo* as:

*Saman-pa*: an ancestor who died a good death of natural courses, such as old age over 70 years.

*Saman-twen-twen*: an ancestor who never left the family or the earth and keeps showing up at different places. As seen earlier, this is mainly because the persons have failed to live out their *nkrabea*: God given purpose. In such cases, special rites are required for such people.

*Saman Tofo*: those who suffered violent deaths and hence their bodies can neither be found nor recognised, due to deaths such as drowning at sea, fire or terrible diseases. Again, for such people, special rites must be performed for them to be at rest.<sup>198</sup>

The title *nana* (plural, *nannom*) is not just given to anyone who dies in the Akan matrilineage, but rather it is given to those who have lived responsibly and morally right. At this point it is crucial to investigate the relationship and importance of the ancestors as spirit beings among the Akans. According to Ephirim-Donkor, “the ancestors, like the Supreme Being, are immortal and bestowed with omniscience and ubiquity.”<sup>199</sup> What Ephirim-Donkor is saying is reminiscent of other African beliefs, that the ancestors attain a high status comparable to God, yet they are not and will never be God.<sup>200</sup> Such descriptions have led Akan scholars, such as Rattray, Sawyer, Pobee and Onyinah, to conclude that ancestors are worshipped. Sawyer mainly points to

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<sup>198</sup>Opokuwaa, *The Quest for Spiritual Transformation*, 30; Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 46.

<sup>199</sup>Ephraim-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, 139.

<sup>200</sup>Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 34; Anderson, *African Pentecostalism*, 27.

Rattray's work as his support for the belief in ancestral worship, whilst Onyinah, writing from a Pentecostal perspective, argues cogently that there is a link between the gods and the ancestors, hence any recognition or worship of gods is tantamount to worship of ancestors.<sup>201</sup> Whilst Onyinah offers a sustainable and convincing argument, his strong Pentecostal bias may obscure the fact that the ancestors are not approached as gods or *abosom*, but as 'living dead' relatives.

Speaking from a practicing Akan traditionalist view point, Opokuwaa asserts that *Nsammanfo* are not worshipped but venerated.<sup>202</sup> Whilst acknowledging that this notion of ancestors not being worshipped is not a general consensus, Sarpong observes that worship of ancestors is not elaborate in Ghana.<sup>203</sup> Perhaps the most convincing explanation put forward is by Ephirim-Donkor, who argues that "a recurring point of discussion in relocation to Black spirituality is the so-called 'worship of the dead' among Africans. But don't all peoples worship – i.e. venerate or show reverence for the dead?"<sup>204</sup> Ephirim-Donkor undoubtedly refers to events like 'Remembrance Day' in the UK, 'Thanksgiving Day' in the USA, and other Western nations where specific days are set aside to remember the dead. Furthermore, family and relatives continue to place flowers at the grave sites of their loved ones long after they are dead. These are not performed as acts of worship, but rather as acts of respect and remembrance.

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<sup>201</sup>Onyinah, *Pentecostal Exorcisms*, 46-47

<sup>202</sup>Opokuwaa, *The Quest for Spiritual Transformation*, 28.

<sup>203</sup>Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 33.

<sup>204</sup>Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, preface.

The substantial difference is that among Akans and other African cultures there is a spiritual dimension to veneration of the dead. This is because for the Akans the dead have achieved a new status among the living, although they remain dead, they transition to spiritual beings who directly influence the lives of people. In this context the ancestors “give children to the living who are barren, give good harvest to farmers, provide sanctions for the moral life of the nation and accordingly punish, exonerate or reward the living.”<sup>205</sup> The ancestors are regarded as higher than the *abosom* or other gods. Like the Supreme Being, the ancestors are held in high esteem. They are regarded as omniscient and omnipresent, yet not as supreme as the Supreme God. The concept of the *samanfo* as omnipresent and omniscient is in their ontological basis as guardians who are high and beyond.<sup>206</sup> As high invisible beings they see all and are everywhere, however they are not supreme because they can neither create nor alter the created order.<sup>207</sup>

### **3.5.5 Pouring of Libation: The Traditional Prayer**

Libation, the process of honouring the ancestors, is an important religious and social practice among the Akans. The act of pouring of libation is a form of Akan prayers offered during most communal gatherings. In pouring libation, one literally throws some drink on the ground whilst praying. It is perhaps the pouring of libation and the way the ancestors are addressed that offer support to the worship theory discussed above. Though the use of water is perfectly acceptable, the sacrificial element in the act of

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<sup>205</sup>Pobee, *African Christianity*, 46.

<sup>206</sup>Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, 139.

<sup>207</sup>Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, 140.

pouring libation involves the use of expensive wine as an act of reverence and respect to the deity. The person who performs the act, usually *abusua panyin* (the head of the family) offers this prayer and sprinkles or pours some of the liquid on the ground and then recites the prayers.

The prayers usually begin with thanksgiving to Almighty God before proceeding to honour the ancestors and then offer their petition. A significant part of the prayers is petitioning the ancestors for blessings and seeking their protection from evil and malevolent spirits.<sup>208</sup> Three things are crucial in this act of prayer. Firstly, in the pouring of libation, the ancestors act as intermediaries to carry the prayers to the Supreme Being. Secondly, in most Akan communities, libation is not poured at night. This is because there is the belief that the ancestors and gods have worked hard enough and hence need their rest. This is in line with Mbiti's assertion that for many Africans, though the 'living dead' are not human they are regarded as human because they are the closest to humans that the people can relate to.<sup>209</sup> Thirdly, the pouring of libation and praying is not done alone. It is poured by one person in the presence of many. The many who gather during this time of prayer, rarely remain silent. They often utter words such as 'Ampaara' (it is true), 'Yoo' (Yes indeed) in support of the prayers being offered. This is not just a social or religious exercise but a show of unity in their corporate prayer and reliance on the spirit world of the ancestors for help.

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<sup>208</sup>Atubnam, *Ghana's Heritage of Culture*, 42.

<sup>209</sup>Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy*, 80.

### 3.6 Witchcraft and Evil Spirits

Unlike the Christian concept of a singular personality, such as Satan, Akans use the term *obonsam* to refer to evil and evil persons.<sup>210</sup> Chief among the *obonsam* spirits is the prince, *Sasabonsam* and *Mmoatia*. *Sasabonsam* is derived from *sasa* (ghost) and *bonsam* (wizard). *Sasabonsam* is believed to be a forest monster whose main aim is to kill and destroy. Whilst *Sasabonsam* is thought of as a singular entity, *Mmoatia* (dwarves) are said to be multiple and equally hostile towards humans.<sup>211</sup> Unlike *Sasabonsam*, *Mmoatia* possess people and they might choose either to be of good help or attack people.<sup>212</sup> However, the most referred category of evil is *bayie* (witchcraft).

*Obonsam* is spirit and this spirit manifests itself through witchcraft with the intention of causing failure, misfortunes, sicknesses, diseases and eventually death. Though *bayie* (witchcraft) is sporadically used to describe exceptional good qualities, it is only a euphemism, because *bayie* is generally seen as evil.<sup>213</sup> For Debrunner “the specific concept of witchcraft is the idea of some supernatural power of which man can also be possessed and which is used exclusively for evil and antisocial purposes.”<sup>214</sup> *Bayie*, as a wicked and evil spirit, possess individuals and uses them to create and cause havoc.<sup>215</sup> For example, Naa Kwaa Dei speaks of an incident when an evil spirit, which

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<sup>210</sup>Meyer recognises 3 ways in which the word *obosam* is used. First as a male wizard, secondly as a singular devil and third, as a singular monster image called *sasabonsam*. Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 77.

<sup>211</sup>*Mmoatia* are described as little creatures who are quick and messengers of the gods. They have feet pointing backwards

<sup>212</sup>McCaskie, *State and Society*, 118

<sup>213</sup>For example, very skilful footballers are said to have *bayie*. Furthermore, a song by A, B Crentsil encapsulates this concept when he sings of the white man using his witchcraft for good things. A, B Crentsil, “Devil” in *You Devil Go away from Me*.

<sup>214</sup>Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 1.

<sup>215</sup>Pobee, *African Christianity*, 48.

she describes as *bayie*, came upon a young lady who followed her and her friends accusing them of a murder which they knew nothing about. The intention here of the *bayefo* (the person possessed by the *bayie* spirit) was to get them lynched.<sup>216</sup>

Again, people believed *bayefo* causes illness, misfortune and in extreme cases kill. The core of *bayie*'s manifestation is to attack the *okra*, souls of people.<sup>217</sup> McCaskey concludes that "fear of witchcraft obviously has deep roots in the socio-historical psyche of the Asante."<sup>218</sup> This is because *bayie* is generally seen as evil. *Bayie*'s evil is not biased as to who to destroy, thus there is a genuine fear among people of these evil spirits. From minor headaches to major family or national disasters, people attribute misfortune to *bayie*. Barrenness, poverty, lack of employment, failure in exams, divorce, financial troubles and basically all forms of misfortune are attributed one way or the other to witchcraft. And given that the witchcraft spirit is no respecter of persons, Onyinah aptly notes that "all classes of society seek protection from *abayifo*."<sup>219</sup>

The antidote to *bayie* and *bayefo* is to possess a strong personality or spirit (*sunsum*) or consult a higher spiritual power. Thus, for the Akan the fear of the malevolent witchcraft activities meant that help was needed to either avoid its dire consequences or overcome its powers. It is within this context that Bediako's assertion that "primal religions generally conceive of religion as a system of power and of living religiously

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<sup>216</sup>Interview with Naa Kwaa Dei, Aduman, 24 February 2015.

<sup>217</sup>Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 88.

<sup>218</sup>McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Culture" Asante, 137.

<sup>219</sup> Onyinah, *Pentecostal Exorcism*, 58.

as being in touch with the source and channels of power in the universe”<sup>220</sup> comes to the conversation. Here a spiritual battle of the deities is ensued. The concept of spirits does not just become a matter of awareness or folktale, but essentially it is real, practical and needs attention. People therefore sought and continue to seek power for protection, vengeance and generally to live a fruitful life.

### **3.7 Akan Religious Service: Akom**

At the heart of the Akan religious practices is *akom*, which is arguably their religious service. Since the Akans see this gathering as a focal point in their connection with the spirit world, it is imperative that a detailed investigation is conducted to ascertain the components of the Akan religious service. This will help to later ascertain any possible continuity or discontinuity, as well as possible influences on the practices of CoP-UK. The *akom* is a loud, energetic and physically demanding service which involves drumming, dancing, singing, the manifestations of healing and prophetic words. It is a time when the people gather to hear from the deity. The *akom* takes place in a shrine house.<sup>221</sup> The service is led by *okomfo panyin*, a senior priest, in the presence of other *akomfo* and the people gathered.

The word *okomfo* (plural, *akomfo*) is usually referred to as a priest. McCaskie argues that this rendering of *okomfo* as priest is misleading because *okomfo* refers to one in whom the spirit dwells or, better still, one whom the spirit possesses.<sup>222</sup> McCaskie

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<sup>220</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 106.

<sup>221</sup>The shrine house is a designated place where the traditional priest performs religious services.

<sup>222</sup>McCaskie, *State and Society*, 290.

follows on from Field<sup>223</sup>, who argues against Rattray's assertion that *okomfo* is a priest.<sup>224</sup> The word *okomfo* is derived from two words, *kom* and *fo*. *Kom* means prophesy and *fo* means a person. Therefore, the correct rendition of *okomfo* is neither priest nor one in whom the spirit resides, but rather one who prophesies.<sup>225</sup> This means that in the Akan religious practices, prophecy or the act of speaking under the inspiration of an external spirit force is recognised.

### 3.7.1 The Shrine House and the Prelude

The shrine house is the designated house where the *okomfo*, who is the mouthpiece of the *obosom*, resides. Below is a description of events that characterise the *akom* service. These are mainly from observations, interviews and a few written records. The *akom* service usually starts with a drum call.<sup>226</sup> At the outset a sacred space is created for the event to take place. Once such a space is created participants are then asked to take off their shoes, socks, hats and glasses as a mark of consecration to begin the service. Nana Poomaa, a former participant of this service, recalls that "we were told to remove these things because they were material things which prevented the spirit of the gods and ancestors from coming into our abode."<sup>227</sup> Thus removing these ornaments and items became a mark of respect and honour for the divine to enter the physical realm. It is after such preparation that the *okomfo panyin* then enters the fold amidst drumming and dancing.

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<sup>223</sup>Field, *Akim Kotoku, an Oman of the Gold Coast*, 172.

<sup>224</sup>Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 32.

<sup>225</sup>Onyinah, *Pentecostal Exorcisms*, 41-43.

<sup>226</sup>Opokuwaa describes the three main drums used for this practice. The *Aprenting*, the *Akorbor* and the *Aprede*. See Opokuwaa, *Spiritual Transformation*, 43-44.

<sup>227</sup>Interview with Nana Poomaa, Kumasi, Ghana, 18 February 2015.

### 3.7.2 Opening Prayer and Singing

To formally open the *akom* the *okomfo panyin* appoints someone to pour libation which, as seen above, is a form of prayer. Naa Kwa Dei asserts that the aim of this pouring of libation is to invite the *abosom* (spirit children of God) and *nananomsamanfo* (spirits of the dead ancestors) to invade and manifest their presence at the *akom* event.<sup>228</sup> As seen above, the pouring of libation typically thanks *Onyankopong*, the spirits and the ancestors for their blessings upon them and then asks for more blessings upon the land. They pray for those who need healing, a good harvest, children and other requests that are presented. Only on a few special occasions will the *okomfopanyin* offer these prayers, otherwise other *akomfo* are asked to perform this opening rite. A significant part of these opening rites is the pouring of powder on the hands and faces of the people. Furthermore, the same powder is used to demarcate boundaries within the sacred place. This act is significant because it serves as an act of consecration and purification for the deities to enter this special service.

This is followed by a prolonged period of singing, drumming and dancing. For Opokuwaa, a Ghanaian chief mother in the USA, this is the most vibrant and energetic part of the *akom* service.<sup>229</sup> Women play a very important role in this part of the service. Asantewaa, a former singer in the *akom* celebrations concurred, “This is sacred singing. We sing not just because we want to sing but we sing because the spirits demand us to sing.”<sup>230</sup> The role the singers play in the *akom* service cannot be

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<sup>228</sup>Interview with Naa Kwa dei, Kumasi, 15 February 2015.

<sup>229</sup>Opokuwaa, *The Quest for Spiritual transformation*, 47.

<sup>230</sup>Akua Asantewaa lives in Amsterdam, I had a Telephone interview with her. Interview Akua Asantewaa, 16 March 2015.

undervalued. Opokuwaa asserts that “It is they who call the deities down through their words of appellation and enthusiasm.”<sup>231</sup> Some of the songs are Akan proverbs and speak of the deities’ works and powers. Attendees are encouraged to join in the singing and dancing although those who are not designated singers are not required to know all the words of the songs.<sup>232</sup> Usually those who have been blessed or received material blessings from that deity jump up to dance and join in the singing. The first few songs generally call for all the deities. Usually the songs that are sung are the songs to appease the *abosom* or deity of that particular shrine. Following that, the singers call for the specific deity or *bosom* of that shrine house because every deity has its own song.<sup>233</sup>

The singing is simultaneously accompanied by drumming and dancing. Drumming and dancing at *akom* service is not an additional entertainment value to the occasion but a significant one. Fisher aptly notes that African dance is not similar to Hindu cosmogonic art performances in any way because, to the African, dance is not just an art but a form of communication.<sup>234</sup> Essentially, the result of the dance here is to create harmony between the physical and the spiritual world. According to Fisher, “the *akom* dance is a series of dances performed to aid the priests at a certain deity’s shrine either to work themselves into a trance or to release them from it.”<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>231</sup>Opokuwaa, *The Quest for Spiritual Transformation*, 47.

<sup>232</sup>Agyekum, *Akan Verbal Taboos*, 17

<sup>233</sup>Ephraim-Donkor, *Akom*, 73.

<sup>234</sup>Fisher, *In the beginning was the dance*, 16.

<sup>235</sup>Fisher, *In the beginning was the dance*, 17.

Opokuwaa and Ephraim-Donkor observe that the purpose of the drumming and dancing is not necessarily to get the priest into a trance, but rather to create an atmosphere for the deity to emerge. In other words, the primary purpose for the practice of drumming and dancing is to invite and entice the spirits to manifest themselves to come. To the Akans, drumming and dancing have their own words.<sup>236</sup> The message is that “We are here. We are ready to receive from you. Come and speak to us.”<sup>237</sup> It is during this highly charged atmosphere and, what Opokuwaa refers to as ‘spiritual energy’ that the *okomfopanyin*, the traditional priest begins to manifest him/herself in the form of a prophet.

### 3.7.3 *Okomfo*: The Prophet/Priest

Due to the enormous responsibilities of the priest as servants of the community and of the divinities, not just anyone is entitled to become a prophet. They usually undertake several months of training and preparation to become traditional prophets. Ephraim-Donkor notes that “the mark of a genuine *okomfo* is her/his ability to carry a deity, literally.”<sup>238</sup> Donkor uses the term “carrying a deity” to explain the moment when the deity’s presence become evident in the *akom* festival, it is the responsibility of the *okomfo* to carry them. In other words, the *akomfo* must be people who can avail themselves for such powerful *abosom* to use them to communicate and transfer messages from the gods, the ancestors and, in general, the spirit world to the living. This is seen in the Akan proverb, “*Obosom na ekyere okomfo ntwaho*” – “it is the

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<sup>236</sup>Cf. Thorpe discusses a similar phenomenon among the San or Bushmen of southern Africa. Thorpe, *African Traditional Religions*, 24.

<sup>237</sup>Interview with Naa Kwa dei, Kumasi, 15 Feb 2015.

<sup>238</sup>Ephirim-Donkor, *Akom*, 73.

tutelary spirits who teach the prophets to whirl.”<sup>239</sup> Such responsibility may mean that the *okomfo* gets into a state of temporal trance, otherwise referred to as spirit possession.

Discussions surrounding spirit possession is complex. From shamanism to voodoo,<sup>240</sup> from religious hysteria to arts of healing<sup>241</sup> as well as witchcraft has been widely debated across the continent. The discussions surrounding spirit possession has been succinctly presented by Boddy in her work on *Spirit possession revisited*.<sup>242</sup> As far as Akan spirituality is concerned, the point I want to establish here is that by using the phrase ‘spirit possession’, the *okomfo* takes the responsibility and role of a mediator. Since the *bosom* are unseen spirits, the *okomfo* must get into a realm of the spirit to hear and perceive what the *bosom* is trying to say to the people. Meyer aptly concludes here that the purpose of spirit possession is the manifestation of power and the conveyance of messages.<sup>243</sup>

Though there have been few instances where possession has taken place without the will of the person, generally, spirit possession happens at the invitation of the *okomfo*. The singing, drumming, dancing and ecstatic noises are all performed to invite the

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<sup>239</sup>Akom and Nkom: *Spirit possession and Spirit communication*, 5, [www.odwirafo.com/nhoma.html](http://www.odwirafo.com/nhoma.html). Accessed 4 April 2015.

<sup>240</sup>Shamanism is a term used to describe spirit possession in Arctic Asia and South America; see Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, 59-62; Voodoo is a term used in South America and other African communities in Benin, Togo and the Ewe’s in Ghana; see, Mulrain, *Theology in Folk Culture*, 62-110; Rosenthal, *Possession, Ecstasy, and Law in Ewe Voodoo*, 1

<sup>241</sup>Some western cultures refer to this practice as hysteria, psychosis or religious emotions, Fink, *Religion and disease*, 202; Behrend & Luig, *Spirit Possession*, xv. For the discussion on witchcraft, see Behrend & Luig, *Spirit Possession*, introduction.

<sup>242</sup>Boddy, ‘Spirit possession revisited: beyond instrumentality,’ 407-34.

<sup>243</sup>Bartels, ‘The Evil comes from outside’, 81.

*gods* to manifest themselves through the *okomfo* to the people. During this state of possession or spiritual influence, more than one spirit can emerge and speak through the *okomfo*. At this point the role of the *okomfo* becomes vital. He/she takes on the role of a prophet, oracle, healer and diviner. The *okomfo*, which when translated in English is best described as a prophet, foretells future events. In most cases the *okomfo* speaks unintelligent words which are then translated by his *okyeame* (assistant).<sup>244</sup> Significantly, spiritual power in *akom* is not dependant on gender of the *okomfo*. Rather the *okomfo* is considered powerful and his/her *bosom* is revered when his/her predictions are accurate or come into fruition.<sup>245</sup> Furthermore, the *okomfo*'s speaking of strange words is vital. They are considered words from and of the spirit that only those in tune with the spirit can understand and decipher.

As a healer the *okomfo* is seen as a doctor and physician. Here Akan words such as *odunsini* and *sumankwani* (herbalists) and *odutofo* (spell breaker) are used to describe the work of the *okomfo*.<sup>246</sup> Though there are specific people whose works are solely those of herbalist and spell breaking, the level of spirituality accorded the *okomfo* is so great that he/she is seen as one who can and should be able to perform such feats. As *odutofo*, the *okomfo* is expected to break spells and heal illnesses that have arisen because of evil powers against people. The role of the *okomfo* is to find out the cause of the illness and suggest appropriate healing methods. For most cases the *okomfo* is not only interested in the physical wellbeing of the person, but also the spiritual aspect

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<sup>244</sup>Krings, 'On History & Language of the 'European' Bori Spirits of Kano, Nigeria', 59-60.

<sup>245</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Drinking from our own wells,' 41.

<sup>246</sup>Ratray describe these as botanists because of their knowledge of trees and plants. Ratray, *Religion and Art*, 39. See also Stinton, *Jesus of Africa*, 88-89.

too. In other cases, people whose illnesses are critical are required to stay at the shrine house until such a time when the *abosom*, through the priest, gives them permission to leave. For the Akans the first port of call at the sign of any illness is the *okomfo* or spiritual healer. Narrating the unfortunate demise of his own sister, Ephirim-Donkor, insists that this practice is still prevalent, especially in some rural areas of Akan communities today.<sup>247</sup>

As a diviner the *okomfo* is practically the mouthpiece of the *abosom* and the deities. In the state of possession or trance, what he or she says is final. The barren come to him/her for a cure for their barrenness, the sick come for healing and those with issues come for advice. All these manifestations are done to impress the people gathered and beyond, that the spiritual powers within the *okomfo* and the *bosom* are great. It is to show that the spirits are active, powerful and working. For the sake of clarity of understanding, the work of the *okomfo* can be likened to the Spirit-Paraclete in the gospel of John where, like Jesus, the Spirit-Paraclete is seen as teacher, comforter, counsellor and helper.<sup>248</sup> Although healing is not necessarily described as one of the works of the Spirit-Paraclete, the idea here is that to the Akans, the *okomfo* is more than one who simply prophesies. The role of the *okomfo* as bearer and conduit of the spirit is central to the *akom* practises.

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<sup>247</sup>Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality*, 50.

<sup>248</sup>John 14-16

### 3.8 The Crux of the Matter: The Spirits at the Centre of Akan

#### Society

The Akan worldview is essentially spiritual or spirit oriented. There is a spiritual force that causes things to happen in the physical. Busia concludes that “to the Ashanti the universe is full of spirits.”<sup>249</sup> As Gyekye observes, “the mystical powers in the world and natural objects are categorically related to deities although they are derived ultimately from *onyame*.”<sup>250</sup> God’s creation has inerrant spirits which help them to deal with their problems. People do not go to the shrines to connect or relate to the gods or the Supreme Being. On the contrary, the Akan traditional religious adherents go where their problems can be solved. This makes their religious beliefs utilitarian, in that they are motivated by their wellbeing and fruitfulness.<sup>251</sup> There are no prophets appointed by God or the Supreme Being in the Akan religion. Neither is there any scripture or sacred book. The people are expected to know God in their hearts, as the Akan adage goes ‘*obi nkyere akwra Nyeme*’, meaning ‘no one teaches a child who God is’.

The Akan world is therefore action-packed with powerful activities of spirits and supernatural forces, which Gyekye calls “metaphysics of potency”.<sup>252</sup> Nothing happens by chance, as the Akan adage shows ‘whenever a palm tree tilts it is because of what the earth has told it.’<sup>253</sup> Practically every occurrence has a spiritual causation and things are explained within the context of the spirits and the supernatural. Thus, there is simply little to no room for any rational or scientific explanation of events and

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<sup>249</sup>Busia, ‘The Ashanti of the Gold Coast’, *African worlds*, 191.

<sup>250</sup>Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought*, 72.

<sup>251</sup>Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought*, 143-145.

<sup>252</sup>Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought*, 79.

<sup>253</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘Drinking from our own wells’, 38; Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, xii.

occurrences. Put simply, there are no clear distinctions between the secular and the sacred.<sup>254</sup>

Essentially, the Akan search for salvation is an existential reality that calls for being saved from evil and terrible forces. Clarke cautions that the Akans acknowledgement of the spirits should not be understood as paranoia, but rather an elevated sense of the work of the spirits.<sup>255</sup> However, it is hard not to associate the word paranoid with the Akans belief in the spirits. Perhaps in addition to Clarke's argument, it can be argued that the Akans are simply 'homo-pneumatized', meaning humans with a deep sense and dependence on spirits. Henceforth, any other form of religion that would appeal to the Akans must provide them with recourse to a spirit or spirits that provide their real-life needs, such as protection from evil and malevolent forces and means to physical blessings.

### **3.9 Summary of Akan Cultural and Religious Practices and Its Impact on the People**

It has been seen that the spirits play an important role in Akan indigenous communities and religious lives. Beginning at conception, Akans have a belief that the unborn baby has a spiritual connection with God and with the parents. These beliefs subsequently inform most of their communal events, cultural practices and day-to-day activities, as they are consciously aware of the involvement of the spirits in their lives. Indeed, to the

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<sup>254</sup>Mbiti, *African Religions*, 3.

<sup>255</sup>Clarke, *African Christology*, 33.

Akans the universe is full of spirits and every natural occurrence has a spiritual causation and connotation. This understanding of the world makes the Akan culture and religion spirit-dominated. The people are naturally dependant on the spirits for guidance and support in their daily routines.

I have also shown that the Akans believe in a hierarchal spirit structure with God as the Supreme Being. However, due to his immanence, God has transferred his powers to his children, who are considered as gods or spirit sons and daughters. Along with the ancestors, these gods act as intermediaries between the living and the powerful spirit world. Through evil manipulation these gods can cause havoc through the work of witchcraft and other malevolent spirits. Hence, Akan religion primarily focuses on seeking a higher and more potent spirit, which will not only protect but also help and bless them in their time of need.

The findings in this chapter are important for three reasons. Firstly, it is imperative to both this research and the CoP that these belief systems are not pre-Christian historical insights but are presently practised in Ghana today. Secondly, the chapter provides a cultural and religious background to the beliefs of the FG migrants who are in the UK. It has given a fair picture of the worldview of the FG migrants. Thirdly, this chapter helps lay the foundation for investigating continuity and discontinuity of practices and beliefs from the Akan religious practices to Pentecostalism in the subsequent chapters.

## **CHAPTER 4: GHANAIAN CHRISTIANITY, PENTECOSTALISM AND AKAN SPIRIT BELIEFS**

### **4.1 Introduction**

From the forgoing discussion, it has been seen that before Christianity arrived in Ghana, the concept of spirits and their impact on humans were already inherent within the Ghanaian communities and indigenous religions. In this chapter, I shall explore the impact and influence of Christianity on Akan traditions, beginning with the Western missionary endeavours. Following that, I shall investigate the rise of African Initiated Churches (AICs), Pentecostalism, the emergence of the Church of Pentecost and the Charismatic scene in Ghana today, and how these churches have dealt with the Akan socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices. Whilst the previous chapter helped in shedding light on the socio-cultural and religious background of the first-generation (FG) migrants of the Church of Pentecost in the UK (CoP-UK), the discussions in this chapter will help in understanding the type of Christianity the FG practice and subsequently transported to the UK. The emphasis will be on their references to spirits and the Holy Spirit.

### **4.2 The Emergence of Christianity in Ghana**

Much has been written on the history of Christianity in Africa and Ghana over the years.<sup>256</sup> My aim here is not to retell history but to examine the implications of the

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<sup>256</sup>Kalu, *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, (1980); Debrunner, *A history of Christianity in Ghana*, (1967); Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, (1983); Agbeti, *West Africa Church History*, (1986); Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, (1986); Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, (1965); Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*,

missionaries' work and its effect on Akan cosmology. It was not until approximately the fifteenth century that Christianity shifted from the north and east to the western part of Africa, including Ghana (Gold Coast).<sup>257</sup> Arguably, the Portuguese missionaries laid the foundations as far as Western missionary enterprise is concerned, however, it is the next phase of Christianity in Africa which saw a sustained missionary endeavour that has grown and evolved in different ways since the nineteenth century.<sup>258</sup>

The nineteenth century saw sustained missionary activities and proliferation of mainline churches established in Ghana and among the Akans. Williamson describes the four main missionary groups and churches that were established as: first, the Basel Mission Society, which was later taken over by the Church of Scotland, and then eventually named the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast in 1926.<sup>259</sup> Second, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, with Thomas Birch Freeman, son of an African freeman and an English lady, at its helm. Freeman's friendly approach earned him the title 'the white fetish priest' and he was well received among the Akans.<sup>260</sup> Third, the Roman Catholic Mission, which had failed at earlier attempts to bring Christianity to the Gold Coast, re-ignited their mission ambition more successfully in 1880.<sup>261</sup> Fourth, is the Church of England, which enjoyed a monopoly along the coast and in mainland Ghana for many years.<sup>262</sup> Other groups, such as the Bremen Mission

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(1966); Sundkler and Steed eds., *A History of the Church in Africa*, (2000), Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 229-132; Kalu, *Black Joseph*, 311-330.

<sup>257</sup> Ghana was previously known as the Gold Coast until 4 March 1957.

<sup>258</sup> For the exploits of the Portuguese mission see, Debrunner, *A history of Christianity in Ghana*, 14; Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 20.

<sup>259</sup>The name Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast was adopted in 1926.

<sup>260</sup>Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, 99.

<sup>261</sup>Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 219-22.

<sup>262</sup>Williamson, *Akan Religion*, 7; Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, 97.

and *Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft* (NMG) from Germany, went to work among the Ewes and the people east of the Volta.<sup>263</sup> By 1918, these churches had taken root in the Gold Coast and by 1935, when classical Pentecostalism emerged in Ghana, Christianity had spread remarkably in the country.<sup>264</sup>

### **4.3 Western Missionaries and Akan Religious Expectations**

Western missionary impact on Ghana has been the subject of many publications and scholarly work. Among them, Clifton Clarke's research on Christology among Akans sheds light on Ghanaian appropriation of the Christian message as received by the Western missionaries.<sup>265</sup> His research discusses the successes and challenges of the Western missionaries in presenting the Christian message to meet Ghanaian indigenous needs. Though Clarke focuses on Christology, his research reflects other works dealing with African prophets and provides useful insights on Ghanaian religious expectations.<sup>266</sup> Arguably, the success of the Western missionaries is measured not only by numbers of converts or missionary schools and churches built, but imperatively by the impact their message had on the religious and social life of the people. Jenkins aptly observes that "while we can more or less measure the numbers declaring themselves Christians, the inner dynamics of religious change do not lend themselves to counting of any kind"<sup>267</sup> and that is essentially the challenge when evaluating the success and impact of the Western missionaries' endeavours among the Akans.

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<sup>263</sup>For a thorough discussion of the work within Ewe, see, Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 5.

<sup>264</sup>Larbi, *Eddies of Pentecostalism in Ghana*, 17.

<sup>265</sup>Clarke, *Faith in Christ in post-missionary Africa*, 2002.

<sup>266</sup>Some of these works include; Turner, *History of an African Independent Church*, 1967; Daneel, *Quest for belonging: introduction to a study of African independent churches*, 1987; Anderson, *African Reformation*, 2001.

<sup>267</sup>Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, 39

Debrunner has summarised the four key things that the 'ordinary man and woman in the bush' expected from religion: social fellowship, emotional experiences, healing and security against real or imagined evil forces.<sup>268</sup> To become Christians, Akans were instructed to cut ties with their social, cultural and religious affiliations in the community.<sup>269</sup> Christian converts were forbidden to participate in some cultural events such as naming, funeral rites, marriages and festivals. However, not all these communal events were attached to the shrines or gods. Therefore, not attending these communal events made some of the Akans feel isolated and removed from the society. In offering alternatives, the mission churches provided different groups, such as church choir, men's group and women's group, to encourage fellowship to the members; however, none of their alternatives were sufficient to meet the spiritual needs of the Akans.<sup>270</sup>

On emotional experiences, Debrunner commented that although the Methodist church and some of the other mission churches provided some form of emotionalism, it could hardly be compared to the highly charged atmosphere of the *akom* service or the Spiritual and Pentecostal churches that emerged later.<sup>271</sup> As far as healing is concerned, the Akan understanding of the causality of sickness and the centrality of the *okomfo* (prophet) or *dusinsi* (medicine healer) in performing healing meant that

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<sup>268</sup>Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, 320.

<sup>269</sup>Opuni-Frimpong, *Indigenous Knowledge*, 82; Magesa, 'Inculturation Theology in Africa,' 114-115.

<sup>270</sup>Williamson, *Akan Religion*, 158.

<sup>271</sup>It has been documented that Freeman encouraged religious emotions in his meetings. Aspects including ecstatic prayers, praying for Holy Spirit baptism and long periods of testimonies. Although Freeman was cautious about some aspects of religious emotional experiences, nevertheless he encouraged some form of it. This will be discussed further below. Debrunner, *History of Christianity*, 320.

they were dissatisfied with the Western missionaries' dependence on hospitals and medications for healing.

The Akan belief and practices were contrary to the missionaries' mostly scientific and rational reasons for explaining illnesses. One shrine therapist, who Field interviewed, concluded that "the primary vulnerability of the patient to the disease is of supernatural origin and until redemptive ritual has been performed, the hospital efforts are futile."<sup>272</sup> Thus, although some people began to attend the hospitals, others still felt the need to go to the shrine therapists for other forms of healing. In their aetiology of sicknesses, Akans generally believe that a malevolent spirit or agent is the ultimate cause. It is within this same context that the Akans perceived the need for protection against real or imaginary evil forces. Thus, for the Akans, it was difficult to separate the spirit world from the community. There was a continuous communication and dependency between the two and although the missionaries attempted to help through education, hospitals and western civilisation, the indigenous people still yearned for practices and beliefs that resonated with their cultural and religious values and practices.

#### **4.4 Ghanaian Appropriation of the Christian Message**

Whilst some Western missionaries were, to a lesser degree, more accommodating to the Akan culture, others sought to impose civilisation through Christianity to the Akans.<sup>273</sup> The Basel Mission described heathenism among the Akans as "fetish

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<sup>272</sup>Field, *Search for Security: An Ethno-Psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana* 1960, 117.

<sup>273</sup>For examples, the Methodists rejected the Salem community model practiced by the Basel Missionaries whereby converts were separated from their communities. Some people were also still allowed to become chiefs after conversion. Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development Up to the 1880's*, 58-61.

worship, polygamy and the power of the chiefs. Funerals are a great hindrance; the worship of idols is a vain deception.”<sup>274</sup> This includes discarding rites of passage, such as naming ceremonies, puberty, marriage, funeral celebrations and the festivals. The missionaries considered these rites as licentiousness and sought to prohibit any convert from attending these ceremonies. The act of pouring libation at these ceremonies was also frowned upon. Pouring of libation, which, as seen in Chapter 3, is an important part of the Akan culture, was considered as idolatrous and worshipping the ancestors.<sup>275</sup> Occasions such as naming, marriage, puberty and funeral rites bring the community together and enhance unity, love and prosperity. By insisting that such rites were heathen, the Western missionaries were effectively denigrating key aspects of the Akan culture and community.

From the discussions in the previous chapter, it has been seen that before Christianity arrived in Ghana, the concepts of spirits and their impact on humans were already ingrained in the Ghanaian people. They had a worldview that conceived the universe as having inherent spirits, and a religion that presupposes the influence of the spirit world on the physical. Furthermore, their religion had a telos of meeting the spiritual needs of the people. Thus, any alternative religion must provide the people with sufficient armour for their spiritual requirements. However, Barrett notes that the Western missions’ narrow approach to missions in African showed a “failure in love” in their attitudes towards the Africans.<sup>276</sup> This “failure in love” was not only exhibited in their insensibility towards the culture, but imperatively, in the “inadequacy of the

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<sup>274</sup>Smith, *The Presbyterian church of Ghana*, 89.

<sup>275</sup>Pobee, *Toward an African Theology*, 64.

<sup>276</sup>Barrett, *Schism and Renewal*, 154-184.

message and its efficacy for an African cosmological outlook.”<sup>277</sup> For example, Western missionaries dismissed the traditional perception of the fear of witchcraft and demonic spirits, as well as spiritual causation for most illnesses. This meant that their message did not entirely meet the salvatory needs of the Akans, for whom witchcraft, spirit oppression and demonic attacks were real and immanent.

Conversely, when Ghanaians welcomed the Christian message of salvation, as mediated to them through the Western missionaries, they did so without abandoning their traditional worldview and cosmological beliefs. Subsequently, some of the early Western missionaries’ failure to embrace or understand the Ghanaian worldview left a gap in the indigenous peoples’ appropriation of the gospel to their everyday needs. Though Anderson rightly cautions against a universalised approach to the causes and rise of the AICs, in the case of Ghana, it can be argued that this desire for a spiritual power within Christianity paved the way for homegrown missions which led to the rise of AICs, African Prophets and, eventually, Pentecostal and Charismatic activities.<sup>278</sup>

Despite the areas where the Western missionaries are said to have missed the mark, their many initiatives – schools, hospitals and clean water – were welcomed by the people. Perhaps a key contributing factor in the rise of the AICs and African led missions in Ghana was the translation of the Bible from English to the local vernacular. This translation enabled the Akans to identify with Bible culture, especially Old Testament practices of polygamy, fertility, sexuality, the place of the ancestors and

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<sup>277</sup>Clarke, *Akan Christology*, 75.

<sup>278</sup>Anderson, *African Reformation*, 23.

other religious practices. Beckmann notes that the influence of Old Testament practices was so great that most African prophets modelled themselves after Old Testament prophet figures.<sup>279</sup>

#### **4.5 African Prophets, African Initiated Churches and the Ghanaian Religious Scene**

Before classical Pentecostalism was recognised in Ghana, there were Charismatic activities seen in the lives of people frequently referred to as ‘prophets’.<sup>280</sup> Asamoah-Gyadu describe these prophets and their ‘sunsum sore’ (spirit churches) as the first wave of Pentecostal Christianity in Ghana.<sup>281</sup> This is because the prophets were often seen as filled with the Holy Spirit and preached the gospel with power, accompanied by signs and miracles. These prophets were different from the ‘traditional priests’ in the sense that they were not representing the lesser gods or were not connected to the shrines. However, they exhibited some of the Akan religious practices such as divination and predicting future events.<sup>282</sup> Kalu argues that these prophets “tilled the soil on which modern Pentecostalism thrives.”<sup>283</sup> Notable among these prophets in

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<sup>279</sup>Beckmann, *Eden Revival*, 24.

<sup>280</sup>The phrase classical Pentecostalism and Pentecostal activities in this paper refer to churches that advocate Spirit manifestations such as speaking in tongues, prophecy, ecstatic prayer, healing, witness and evangelism. Johns, *Pentecostal Formation. Pedagogy among the Oppressed*, 87; Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 18.

<sup>281</sup> Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 19.

<sup>282</sup> Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 6-7.

<sup>283</sup>Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, x. As recognized by many scholars, many of them were catechists, elders, chapel keepers, or ordinary church members. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 144; Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 121.

Africa were, William Wade Harris of Liberia,<sup>284</sup> Simon Kimbangu of Congo,<sup>285</sup> and Joseph Babalola of Nigeria.<sup>286</sup> In Ghana, there were, Samuel Nyankson, Joseph Appiah, Samson Oppong, John Nackabah a former traditional priest, prophetess Grace Tani and John Swatson a convert of Harris who preached mainly among the Akans in the Ashanti Region of Ghana.<sup>287</sup> To many Africans the power of Pentecost was evidenced in the lives and ministries of these prophets to heal the sick, cast out demons and deliver the oppressed from bondage. Instead of seeking power from the fetish and traditional priests these prophets demonstrated the power of God in healing and preaching. In Ghana the visit of William Wade-Harris, notably described as 'the Black Elijah', in 1914 was significant.<sup>288</sup> His ecstatic and Charismatic style of worship was to him, and his followers, evidence of power from the Holy Spirit, which was a welcomed alternative to the perceived dullness of some of the Western mission practices.<sup>289</sup>

The purpose here is not to diverge into the already existing works on individual prophets.<sup>290</sup> However, the focus is on how the ministry of these prophets affected Akan religious practices. Kwame Bediako has demonstrated the different facets of the African responses to Christianity brought by the Western missionaries. In the second

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<sup>284</sup>Wade-Harris started his practices in Liberia and spread across the west coast of Africa. Halliburton, *The Prophet Harris: A Study of an African Prophet and His Mass-Movement in the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast*, 1971.

<sup>285</sup>*Kimbangu: An African Prophet and His Church*, 58-59.

<sup>286</sup>Oshun, 'Apostle Babalola: The Making of a Contemporary Prophet,' 238-55.

<sup>287</sup>The latter two, Grace Tani and John Nackabah became the inspiration behind the formation of the first AIC in Ghana known as the Twelve Apostle Church. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 6-7; Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 20.

<sup>288</sup>Shank, *Prophet Harris: 'The Black Elijah' of West Africa*, 57.

<sup>289</sup> Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, 271.

<sup>290</sup>Baëta has done an extensive work on this subject. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana* (1962); Darkwa Amanor, *Pentecostalism in Ghana*, [http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj13/amanor.html#\\_edn2](http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj13/amanor.html#_edn2). Accessed 21 October 2015.

part of his book, *Theology and Identity*, Bediako concludes that “African Christian experience is not totally discontinuous with pre-Christian heritage.”<sup>291</sup> In his study on the Aladura Churches, Harold Turner argued that these churches place high premium on providing security, fellowship and spiritual guidance in the midst of Western missionary influences and crumbling indigenous religious structures.<sup>292</sup> Baëta observes, “The spiritual churches represent a turning away from these traditional resources of supernatural succour in order that help may be sought, for the same purposes, from the God proclaimed in the Christian evangel.”<sup>293</sup> Though a ‘turning away’ may not be the case entirely, it seems a ‘replacement’ might be a better word to use here. It appears that the Spiritual churches replaced the practices of the *akomfo* (traditional priest/prophets) with the ministry of the prophet.

The prophets managed to safely marry the preaching of the gospel with some Akan indigenous religious practices which they found in the Old Testament of the Bible. For example, in prophet Nackabah and Grace Tani’s Twelve Apostles church, the use of holy water and the dancing gourd rattle are perceived to ward off evil spirits. Furthermore, the use of the crucifix, a rod and the calabash would resonate with observers who were familiar with Akan symbols and elements used by the fetish prophets. These elements reverberated with Akan worldview and cosmology, which perceives power in natural objects. Whilst most of the missionaries perceived the Akan belief in witchcraft as superstitious, the prophets demonstrated through preaching and

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<sup>291</sup>Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, 436.

<sup>292</sup>Turner, *History of an African Independent Church (2)*, 371-372.

<sup>293</sup>Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 135.

exorcisms that the power of God was able to deal successfully with evil powers and witchcraft. Like Harris, the Ghanaian Samson Oppong preached against the practices of the fetish priests while performing healings, miracles and exorcisms in the power of God.<sup>294</sup>

In the case of Joseph Appiah, leader of the MDCC, sickness was linked to sin and benevolent spiritual forces, and holy water acted as purification and antidote to these forces.<sup>295</sup> Singing, dancing, clapping of hands and drumming were all encouraged in the AICs. Women played significant roles in these churches, just like they did in the *akom* services. Essentially there was very little in their services to distinguish them from the *akom* religious service, apart from invoking the name of Jesus, the Holy Spirit and the use of the Bible. Apart from similarities in service and praxis, the Prophetic churches did not discourage other socio-cultural practices, such as polygamy although they strongly discouraged any association with shrine houses and festivals organised by the chiefs and traditional priests.

The work of the Spiritual churches has been widely recognised as pivotal and essential for Ghanaian Pentecostalism. Arguably for the Akan people these prophets displayed acts of power – healing, deliverance, prophecy and effective prayer for protection, wealth and blessings. Nevertheless, it is the subtle references to the Akan religious practices and compromising issues, such as sexual impropriety, that led to their

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<sup>294</sup>Debrunner gives a vivid account of the ministry of Samson Oppong in, Debrunner, *The Story of Samson Oppong*, (1967).

<sup>295</sup>MDCC stands for Mosama Disco Christian Church. Koduah, *Christianity in Ghana*, 33.

decline. Asamoah-Gyadu, Brown and Beckmann are among scholars who have shown that charges levelled against these prophets include false miracles, sexual promiscuity, secret affiliation to *abosom* and false accusations of witchcraft on certain members.<sup>296</sup> Though some allegations against these prophets and Spiritual churches may be weak, Asamoah-Gyadu concludes that “some of the allegations were based on genuine victim stories.”<sup>297</sup> In the end, the emerging Pentecostals generally disassociated themselves from the Spiritual churches.

#### **4.6 Pentecostalism and the Beginning of the Church of Pentecost in Ghana**

Pentecostalism was a late arrival in Christianity in Ghana. At the peak of the sustained Western missionary endeavours in Ghana and the flamboyant Spiritual churches endeavours, the fire of Pentecost ignited in Ghana around the first quarter of the twentieth century.<sup>298</sup> Unlike the many churches that emerged as a direct or indirect result of Azusa Street, CoP was birthed because of one man’s insatiable thirst for the move of the Holy Spirit. Kingsley Larbi has provided an extensive history of Pentecostalism in Ghana, whilst Asamoah-Gyadu has subsequently given the history of the development of Charismatic Pentecostalism in Ghana by mapping their journey from the AICs to the rise of Pentecostalism and Charismatic churches in Ghana.<sup>299</sup> Allan Anderson’s book *Zion and Pentecost*, along with his other numerous works,

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<sup>296</sup>Beckmann, *Eden Revival*, 54-56; Browne, ‘A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana,’ 370; Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘Renewal within African Christianity,’ 50-89.

<sup>297</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘Renewal Within African Christianity,’ 133;

<sup>298</sup>Consensus places the beginnings of classical Pentecostalism as it’s known to William Seymour and the events at Azusa Street revival in 1906. Robeck, Jr., *Azusa Street Revival and Mission*, 239; Irvin, “Drawing All Together in One Bond of Love’, 26; Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*: 18; Synam, *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition*, 187.

<sup>299</sup>Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, 2001; Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 2005.

arguably represents a massive wealth of insights into African Pentecostalism and African churches by any single scholar on African Pentecostalism.<sup>300</sup>

Another key work on Pentecostalism in Africa is Ogbu Kalu's *African Pentecostalism*, which is widely seen as one of the most comprehensive works on the nature and taxonomy of Pentecostalism in Africa.<sup>301</sup> In his work, Kalu repudiates and challenges the *tabula rasa* that African Pentecostalism rides on the heels of events in America following the Azusa street revival. According to Kalu, "African Pentecostalism did not originate from Azusa Street and it is not an extension of the American electronic church. It is one of the ways Africans responded to the missionary structures and appropriated the message."<sup>302</sup> Whilst recognising the impact of Azusa Street Revival, Anderson has argued for a polynucleated origin of Pentecostalism as a multidimensional missionary movement because of the multiple locations of Pentecostal revivals in places such as India (Mukti Revival, 1905-7), Korea ('Korean Pentecost' 1907-08), and Latin America (as far back as 1858), before events at Azusa Street.<sup>303</sup> Though Anderson argues for the importance of recognising multiple origins of Pentecostalism, he acknowledges that several classical Pentecostal denominations trace their beginnings to Azusa Street.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>300</sup>Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost*, (2000); Anderson, *Moya*, 1991; *African Reformation*, 2001.

<sup>301</sup>Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 2001.

<sup>302</sup>Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 29.

<sup>303</sup>Anderson, 'The Emergence of a Multidimensional Global Missionary Movement', 25-33. Anderson reiterates his point from his previous works in Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, 4-13; Anderson, 'Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions,' 13-29.

<sup>304</sup>Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, 50-51; Robeck, Jr asserts that nearly every Pentecostal denomination in the USA traces its roots to Azusa Street. Robeck, Jr. 'Azusa Street Revival', 35.

However, Larbi has shown that Pentecostalism in Ghana had an indigenous root and can be traced to the Ghanaian Peter Anim whose quest and thirst for a spiritual experience led him to seek Holy Spirit Baptism.<sup>305</sup> Peter Anim (1890-1984), founder of the Christ Apostolic Church in Ghana is generally referred to as the father of classical Pentecostalism in Ghana.<sup>306</sup> CoP is one of the three main Pentecostal churches that emerged from Anim's initiative in Ghana.<sup>307</sup>

Arguably, the most significant Pentecostal contribution from Anim to Ghanaian Pentecostalism was the introduction of baptism of the Holy Spirit with evidential tongues. Anim records in his diary (1980-1984):

I was faced with the necessity of contending for a deeper faith and greater spiritual power than what my primary religious experience was able to afford, and I began to seek with such trepidation to know more about the Holy Ghost.<sup>308</sup>

Anim eventually solicited support from the Apostolic Church, UK, who sent the missionary James McKeown and his wife to Ghana in 1937. In an interview with Debrunner, McKeown summed up his theology as follows, "I have only three messages: One, Jesus Christ and him crucified. Two, the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Three, the power of God to change lives and bring holiness in the Church."<sup>309</sup> McKeown's theology has effectively shaped and formed the CoP's theology as it is

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<sup>305</sup>Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, 71; Robeck, Jr. 'Azusa Street Revival', 35; the Assemblies of God UK still has in its doctrinal statement the belief in speaking in tongues as initial evidence of BHS, <http://www.aog.org.uk/about-us/what-we-believe>. Accessed 19<sup>th</sup> October 2015.

<sup>306</sup>Omenyo, *Pentecost outside Pentecostalism*, 22.

<sup>307</sup>Anim initially started the Christ Apostolic Church, which later split into Apostolic Church of Ghana and the Church of Pentecost.

<sup>308</sup>Peter Anim, *The History of How the Full Gospel Church was founded in Ghana*, 3; quoted in Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, 103.

<sup>309</sup>Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 85.

today. McKeown's aim was to bring in the needed examination and character of the Holy Spirit as effecting holiness, to distinguish the Ghanaian Pentecostals from their indigenous religious counterparts. Here Jacobsen's statement rings true with CoP:

There is no doubt that experience was a crucial dimension of the early Pentecostal movement, but it was experience guided by theological truth that really mattered...they needed to be properly labelled and categorised, so believers would know where they stood in their relationship with God and to what they should aspire.<sup>310</sup>

Clarke notes that this was a new era of Christology in Ghanaian Christianity. According to Clarke, "The Christ of Pentecost was in stark contrast to the Christ presented by Western missionaries ... this Christ of 'Pentecost' healed the sick, cast out demons, raised the dead, and gave food to the poor and needy."<sup>311</sup> Furthermore, this Christ was working through the power of the Holy Spirit who is at work within believers and not just the priests. Significantly, this Christ and his spirit, known as the Holy Spirit, resonated with the Akans and their cosmology. Both Christ and the Holy Spirit are unseen, yet they were presented as being sent by the Supreme Being and being concerned about the welfare of the people. Larbi records several examples of McKeown's followers who often, after conversion and baptism of the Holy Spirit, challenged villages and traditional prophets and shrines with the gospel and miracles.<sup>312</sup> Since the 1993 survey of Christians, CoP continues to lead as the largest Pentecostal Church in Ghana<sup>313</sup> and one of the largest in West Africa.<sup>314</sup> At the time of

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<sup>310</sup>Jacobsen, *Thinking in the Spirit*, 3.

<sup>311</sup>Clarke, *Akan Christology*, 100.

<sup>312</sup>Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, 186-188.

<sup>313</sup>Ross, Campbell (ed.), Ghana Evangelism Committee, National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana (Accra: Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1993), 24-5; Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 116.

<sup>314</sup>Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 8; Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 11.

writing, it is estimated that CoP has over two million members in 91 countries across the six continents of the world.<sup>315</sup>

## **4.7 The Church of Pentecost and the Holy Spirit in Ghanaian**

### **Religious setting**

This era of Pentecostal Christianity in Ghana was not only regarded in its new emphasis on Christ, but it also began a new emphasis on the Holy Spirit and the power of God. CoP in Ghana today, in accordance with the teaching of Anim and McKeown, places significant emphasis on Holy Spirit baptism and the role the Holy Spirit plays in ensuring that believers are empowered for witness. For Pentecostals, this experience makes the believer strong and powerful in spirit. The implication here is that when one is powerful in spirit, witchcraft cannot attack that person.<sup>316</sup> Thus the power that the Holy Spirit brings to individuals is more potent than the power that the traditional prophet receives during spirit possession in the *akom* service. Furthermore, the Holy Spirit is given to all people and not just the *okomfo*. The members of CoP therefore believe that they have power from God inside them.

With this power, they are not only full of the Holy Spirit to overcome malevolent spirits but essentially CoP teaches its members that they are empowered for witness. Members are strongly encouraged to seek this Holy Spirit baptism, evidenced with

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<sup>315</sup>Apostle Dr. Opoku Onyinah, chairman's address at the 2015 General Council meeting of the Church of Pentecost, Gomoa Fetteh, Ghana, 2015. The six continents are, Africa, Europe, North America, South America, Australia and Asia.

<sup>316</sup>Refer to Chapter 3 for full explanation.

*glossolalia*, whilst everyone called into leadership must be baptised in the Holy Spirit.

CoP holds that:

The believer is filled with the Holy Spirit and there is a physical sign of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit of God gives utterance. This is accompanied by a burning desire and supernatural power to witness to others about God's salvation and power.<sup>317</sup>

For members of the CoP, this Pentecostal experience of Holy Spirit baptism is real. It empowers them and enables them to be witnesses of Christ. According to Leonard, the most obvious reason for the growth of CoP is that "their top priority has always been evangelism."<sup>318</sup>

#### **4.7.1 The Holy Spirit brings Power for the Supernatural and Miracles**

From its beginnings, African Pentecostalism has sought an encounter with a living God through the power of the Holy Spirit. Onyinah rightly notes that what made the concept of Holy Spirit baptism more attractive to the Akans was that power had become available not only to the traditional prophets, but rather power had become available to all believers.<sup>319</sup> This is vital, because without the power of the Holy Spirit the Ghanaian Christians could easily revert to the traditional indigenous religion.<sup>320</sup> For the Ghanaian Pentecostal the concept of power is vital. The emphasis on the Holy Spirit

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<sup>317</sup>Anim, *Pentecostalism*, 278.

<sup>318</sup>Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 7.

<sup>319</sup>Onyinah, 'Pentecostals in the African Diaspora', 567. See also, White, 'Ghanaian Pentecostal Churches' Mission Approaches', 250.

<sup>320</sup>Anderson makes this point when referring to African Pentecostals and their pneumatology of power. Anderson, 'Pentecostal Pneumatology and African Power,' 73.

in Pentecostalism essentially made this form of Christianity attractive to Ghanaians who already had an awareness of the spirit world and gave them “contextual relevance”.<sup>321</sup>

Referring to the practices of CoP, Onyinah concludes, “The Church’s emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit as a means of protection and of power against evil forces, and its stress on Ghanaian indigenous way of worship made it stand out in Ghanaian society.”<sup>322</sup> Indeed, for some Akan people, Pentecostalism and CoP offered them an alternative to spiritual power that could better meet their spiritual and physical needs than the traditional religions. It is this understanding – that God is not only interested in their souls but also in their fears and insecurities – inherent in their worldview, that makes Pentecostalism attractive to some Ghanaians.<sup>323</sup> Dayton notes “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.”<sup>324</sup> Menzies also asserts that Pentecostals are overwhelmed with the immediate presence of God and they subsequently believe in God to intervene in their lives in healing and deliverance.<sup>325</sup> Put simply, the Holy Spirit is seen as the source of God’s power to meet the needs of the people.

Unlike the Akan religious practices and the Spiritual churches’ traditions, CoP strongly rejects and prohibits the use of rattles, holy water, crucifixes and such elements in

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<sup>321</sup> Anderson, ‘Contextualization in Pentecostalism: A Multicultural Perspective,’ 34.

<sup>322</sup> Onyinah, ‘Pentecostals in the African Diaspora’, 238.

<sup>323</sup> Anderson, ‘Stretching the definitions? Pneumatology and ‘Syncretism’ in African Pentecostalism’, 101.

<sup>324</sup> Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 115.

<sup>325</sup> Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, 23.

healing and deliverance.<sup>326</sup> Furthermore, unlike other Pentecostals and Charismatic churches, CoP discourages the use of 'anointing oil' in healing. Apostle Onyinah explained that due to the reliance on elements such as water, crucifixes and oil in the indigenous religion and practices of the AICs, CoP felt that the use of oil might negatively influence people to believe that the healing is from the oil instead of the Spirit of God. Furthermore, by rejecting elements such as holy water and crucifixes, people would desist from associating CoP with the Spiritual churches and the *akom* services.

Thus, in this case, even though CoP does not deny the New Testament accounts and the importance of the use of oil in healing in scriptures, such as Mark 6:13 and James 5:14, because of the contextual emphasis on healing in the Akan religion the church has opted not to include oil during prayers for healing.<sup>327</sup> For CoP, the name of Jesus Christ and power of the Holy Spirit is sufficient for healing and deliverance. Thus, in meeting the needs of the Akans, it appears that CoP has found ways to present the gospel as a life-giving message relevant to the Ghanaians, without continuing in the practices of the indigenous religions. In this context Anderson aptly notes that "because Pentecostalism is such a heterogeneous movement, methods used to receive deliverance may differ, but generally, Pentecostals believe their message reveals an omnipotent and compassionate God who is concerned with all the troubles of humankind."<sup>328</sup> There is clearly a discontinuity of practices, such as the use of the

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<sup>326</sup>Minutes, Ghana Apostolic church, Pastors Annual Council meetings, Cape Coast, 14<sup>th</sup>- 21<sup>st</sup> October 1957.

<sup>327</sup>Interview with Opoku Onyinah, 15 February 2015.

<sup>328</sup>Anderson, *Pentecostals after a Century*, 215.

elements in prayer, whilst there is continuity in their appreciation of the Akan worldview and its inherent spirit beliefs.

#### **4.7.2 The Holy Spirit as Spirit of Holiness**

One of the key aspects of CoP in Ghana is their teaching on holiness and emphasis on a high moral standard. Whereas the *akom* service had no references to any sacred books or scriptures, the church believes in the inspiration, inerrancy and infallibility of the Bible. Not only does CoP believe in Jesus' instructions to cast out demons, but they also preach the presence of the Holy Spirit to transform lives. The Bible thus becomes their moral guide. Their stands are that when an individual becomes a Christian and is filled with the Holy Spirit, his or her life is completely immersed in the Holy Spirit, hence sin must not reign in the body. Mühlen compares this relationship between a Christian and God with the Holy Spirit in the form of marriage and sexual intercourse. The point Mühlen raises is that the Christian's experience with the Holy Spirit is intimate when the person 'yields' their body to the Holy Spirit.<sup>329</sup>

The implication here for CoP members is that once the Holy Spirit fills or, in CoP terms, 'possesses' the Christian, there is a 'putting off' of the old self and an ushering in of a new union with the Holy Spirit. This results in "renewal of feeling, willing, thinking, of our whole person."<sup>330</sup> Scriptures such as: Ephesians 4:22 'Let the Spirit renew your mind'; 1 Corinthians 6:19 'your body is the Temple of the Holy Spirit'; and Titus 3:5 'new life through the Holy Spirit' are used to encourage members of CoP to seek a holy

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<sup>329</sup>Mühlen, *A Charismatic Theology*, 119

<sup>330</sup>Mühlen, *A Charismatic Theology*, 33.

and moral life pleasing to God. CoP stresses that the Holy Spirit does not only empower believers for healing, deliverance, miracles and prophesy. This is because healing and the miraculous was already present within the indigenous religious practices, as well as the ministries of the prophets in the AICs. However, for CoP, it is the additional emphasis on the Holy Spirit as power to effect holiness in the believers' lives that makes CoP's teachings on the Holy Spirit distinct among Ghanaian Pentecostals. CoP appears to have successfully married the Charismatic practices of the Holy Spirit with the expectation of holiness. This is what Asamoah-Gyadu calls, this "balanced diet Christianity" in Ghanaian Pentecostalism.<sup>331</sup> Asamoah-Gyadu, asserts further that:

The Ghanaian public image of the CoP is that of a Church which is making up for some of the failures and weaknesses—particularly in the area of morality—which have come to be associated with the *Sunsum sorè* [Spiritual churches] and even the traditional mission churches.<sup>332</sup>

In the constitution of the church, actions such as adultery, polygamy, fornication, alcohol drinking and smoking result in suspensions, demotion of leaders and, in worse cases, excommunication from the church. Whilst members are reprimanded for going to questionable places such as bars, clubs, secular parties and other religious places such as shrines and spiritual churches. A significant contrast between the Pentecostal Spirit and the other spirits is that the Pentecostal Spirit desires holiness and intimacy, whilst the Akan religious spirits are only manipulated for human benefits. CoP's

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<sup>331</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Renewal within African Christianity,'126.

<sup>332</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Renewal within African Christianity', 126.

teaching on Holiness continues to ring through the CoP churches, both in Ghana and in the diaspora.

#### **4.7.3 The Holy Spirit at the Centre of Church of Pentecost Services**

As seen above, Ghanaians see culture and religion as inseparable. This understanding of the world means that they seek a type of Christianity which allows them to be culturally expressive, and at the same time deal with their fear of witchcraft and evil spirits. In this quest to find such Christianity, CoP offers Ghanaians continuity of expression of their cultural and, in some cases, religious practices, without compromising their doctrine. Unlike the missionaries' denial of the cultural practices, CoP takes the Akan worldview and cosmology seriously.<sup>333</sup> Max Assimeng asserts that:

Pentecostalism provides important catalyst for Africans, in offering scriptural interpretations which were fully accommodating of the indigenous preoccupations than did any of the mainline churches. They were able to provide a Christian basis for the assimilation of Christian procedures into traditional concerns.<sup>334</sup>

In his 2008 inaugural address as the chairman of CoP, Apostle Onyinah referred to McKeown's vision and exhorted the congregation that he wanted them to know that God was closer to them than they perceived him to be.<sup>335</sup> The caveat here is that Onyinah wanted the people to know that even though evil and malevolent spirits and forces are real, God is closer and able to help them overcome any spiritual attack.

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<sup>333</sup> Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing*, 41; Kalu, 'Preserving a Worldview', 130.

<sup>334</sup> Assimeng, *Saints and Social Structures*, 157-158.

<sup>335</sup> Onyinah, *Key note Speech: Inaugural Address 2008*.

There are frequent references to the Holy Spirit destroying the works of the demonic activities of the *abosom* and the shrine houses. Members of the church are incessantly encouraged not to fear witchcraft spirits, but to trust in the power of the Holy Spirit.

In the CoP services, there is an expectation of the Holy Spirit's power every time the church meets. In the services, people are permitted to sing in their native dialects and use appellations that were initially used to praise and hail the chiefs and ancestors as great and compassionate people for Jesus Christ.<sup>336</sup> The flexibility in allowing the Holy Spirit to 'move and work' in the services means that any service can have the potential of being an outpouring of the Holy Spirit.<sup>337</sup>

Furthermore, like the Akan *akom* services, women play a vital role in CoP services. Women lead prayers, praises and generally take an active part in the services and meetings. As Mercy Oduyoye observes, "women are religion's chief clients."<sup>338</sup> Though presently, CoP does not ordain women as pastors, women continue to play a vital role in the services and ministries of the church. They operate in leadership over Women's Ministries, preach in some services, often lead prayers and praises and function as prophetesses in Prayer Camps.<sup>339</sup> The services are religious experiences where dancing, drumming, singing and clapping are done exuberantly.

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<sup>336</sup>Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 59; Laryea, 'Mother Tongue Theology', 51-53.

<sup>337</sup>Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, 23.

<sup>338</sup>Oduyoye, *Daughters of Anowa*, 109.

<sup>339</sup>For example, Mrs Obo was the women's leader from 1938 to 1974; Grace Mensah is the founder of one of CoP's prayer Centres. Cf. Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing*, 44.

The pastors have replaced the *okomfo* as the lead figure in the services, however, unlike the *okomfo*, the service is not centred on the pastor's craft but rather on what the Holy Spirit can do amongst the people. Speaking in tongues has replaced the unintelligent words of the traditional prophets during spirit possession. Thus, during the worship and prayers, people who are filled with the Holy Spirit are heard and encouraged to pray in tongues. Again, the emphasis on prophecy during services is key to the Pentecostal impact on Akan cosmology. CoP believes and teaches that prophecy under the influence of the Holy Spirit speaks to address contemporary situations.<sup>340</sup> Through prophecy, they can hear wisdom, guidance and direction from God.

Significantly, during CoP services prophecy does not only come from the pastors or leaders, but from any member who feels inspired by the Holy Spirit to give a prophetic word from the Lord. These Holy Spirit gifts or manifestations have replaced the practices of the *akom*, where people went to the priest to enquire of solutions to problems and seek spiritual guidance. The prayers, speaking in tongues and prophecies serve as evidence for the Holy Spirit's presence and power in their midst.

#### **4.7.4 The Holy Spirit as Power against Evil and Witchcraft Spirits**

Pentecostalism does not only provide emotional experiences and assurance of salvation and life after this life, but, significantly to the Akans, it provides security against witchcraft and vindictive spirits which the people notoriously fear. In contrast to

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<sup>340</sup>See references made by Tugwell et al., *New Heaven? New Earth*, 24.

the mainline Western missionaries, Pentecostals believe in the existence of witchcraft and evil spirits, however, through the power of the Holy Spirit they can confront these malevolent spirits. In the Akan religious concepts, spirits are involved in every misfortune or blessing. Spirits are either good or bad, depending on their acts. However, in CoP, all spirits are evil, except the Holy Spirit.

The supremacy of the Holy Spirit means that there cannot be any other good or powerful spirit. This means that in CoP teachings, the ancestors and 'good witchcraft' are all demonic spirits.<sup>341</sup> By branding all other spirits under the demonic banner, the Holy Spirit is presented as the true and only powerful Spirit from God.<sup>342</sup> The caveat here is that CoP does not deny the existence of these other spirits, but rather takes them seriously and encourages their members to seek the Holy Spirit's power as an antidote in their endeavours. Oosthuizen's assertion that there is confusion between the Holy Spirit and other spirits in African Christianity cannot be sustained in Ghanaian Pentecostalism.<sup>343</sup> For Ghanaian Pentecostals, the experience of the Holy Spirit is not mere emotional hype, but an experience of the Spirit of God. In an interview with Sam, an Akan religious convert to CoP, he expressed that there is no comparison with any spirits in Christianity. The Holy Spirit is holy because he is the Spirit of Jesus.<sup>344</sup>

CoP thus provides several prayer meetings in the local parishes from early mornings, throughout the day and all-night services, usually on Friday nights. Furthermore, specific 'Healing Camps' are set up and run by the church to continue to help their

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<sup>341</sup>Most Pentecostals view the ancestors as evil spirits. Cf. Anderson, *Spirit-Filled World*, 103.

<sup>342</sup>Cf. Clark and Lederle et al., *What is Distinctive about Pentecostal Theology?* 43-44.

<sup>343</sup>Oosthuisen, *Post Christianity in Africa*, 120.

<sup>344</sup>Interview with Sam, Kumasi, Ghana.18 February2015.

members deal with their spiritual problems.<sup>345</sup> People go to these prayer meetings with all types of problems for healing and deliverance. According to Macchia, “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.”<sup>346</sup> Africans simply look to the supernatural for every natural occurrence. Hence, CoP provides their members a platform to seek the supernatural intervention through prayer as they incessantly appeal to the power of the Holy Spirit. Ultimately, what CoP and the early Pentecostals did in Ghana was not to dismiss evil and malevolent spirits. On the contrary, they acknowledged their existence and operations, but significantly they present the power of the Holy Spirit as more potent than any other spirit to deal with all problems.<sup>347</sup>

The Akans have embraced this new form of Christianity due to its high religious emotional appeal and demonstrations of power, similar in praxis, yet more potent than the demonstrations offered by traditional prophets and *akom* services. Arguably, it is the Pentecostals’ friendly approach to the Akan culture that enabled Pentecostalism to take root in Ghana. In this regard, Cox’s assertion that Pentecostal Christianity is a recovery of primal spirituality has reminiscence in CoP.<sup>348</sup> This is because CoP acknowledges the Akan belief in God as the Supreme Being, as well as recognising the existence and presence of evil and demonic spirits and offers them an alternative with the teaching of the power of the Holy Spirit as power for life’s effectiveness.

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<sup>345</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu gives further insight into the nature and regulation of the CoP healing camps. Asamoah-Gyadu, *Sighs and Signs*, 133-134.

<sup>346</sup>Macchia, ‘The Struggle for Global Witness: Shifting Paradigms in Pentecostal Theology,’9.

<sup>347</sup> Anderson observes this concept of African Pentecostals appropriation of the Holy Spirits power in dealing with problems inherent within the African worldview. Anderson, *Spirit-Filled World*, 155.

<sup>348</sup>Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, Chapters 4 and 5.

## 4.8 The Holy Spirit and the New Forms of Pentecostalism in Ghana Today

Pentecostalism in Ghana, like Christianity, has not remained static. Though CoP, as an independent Pentecostal movement, is growing at what is arguably a tremendous rate, the emergence of what are known as Newer Pentecostals or Charismatic churches have also had an impact on Akan cosmology and Ghanaian culture. Since the beginnings of the *sunsum* sore, different brands of Pentecostal-type churches have emerged in Ghana.<sup>349</sup> Anderson asserts that “Pentecostals have defined themselves by so many paradigms that diversity itself has become a primary defining characteristic of Pentecostal and Charismatic identity.”<sup>350</sup> In Ghana churches like Duncan Williams’ Action Chapel International, Bishop Dag Heward Mills’ LightHouse Chapel, Bishop Charles Agyin Asare’s Perez Chapel International, Dr Mensa Otabil’s International Central Gospel Church and Eastwood Anaba’s Fountain Gate Chapel have become key players, not only within Christian circles but also in Ghana’s political arena. Their use of national and social media means that their appeal goes far beyond Ghana.

Along with these mega Charismatic-type churches are thousands of freelance ‘newer Prophetic and Spiritual churches’ and ministries scattered across the length and width of Ghana. Some of these freelance ‘newer Prophetic churches’ focus on deliverance from witchcraft, freedom from poverty, as well as an emphasis on prosperity, material blessing and success.<sup>351</sup> In his work on Ghanaian Pentecostalism, Asamoah-Gyadu

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<sup>349</sup>Omenyo, ‘The Charismatic Renewal Movements in Ghana’, 17. Omenyo has attempted a Taxonomy of these churches.

<sup>350</sup>Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 10.

<sup>351</sup>Koduah, *Christianity in Ghana Today*, 67.

argues that contemporary Pentecostals seek the Holy Spirit's power not only as a means for protection against demonic spirits, but also as a recourse to prosperity.<sup>352</sup>

Arguably, these new Pentecostals have nuanced the emphasis on the Holy Spirit's healing and deliverance power with his ability to provide material blessing and prosperity. Furthermore, using CoP as a case-study, Quayesi-Amakye has traced and discussed the theology of CoP and Pentecostal churches in the public place and market places as far as the relationship between evil, suffering and Christology is concerned. He argues that Ghanaian Pentecostals stress not only the need for holiness but also spiritual warfare which enables believers to fight underlying causes of illness and misfortune. Furthermore, Quayesi-Amakye observes that Ghanaian Pentecostals have adopted a Christology of power. This idea of power is associated with a powerful Jesus who enables Christians to have a powerful encounter with the Holy Spirit, who in turn empowers believers to overcome poverty, sickness and witchcraft.<sup>353</sup>

Though some of their individual practices are different, what all these Pentecostal and Charismatic churches have in common is emphasis on the Holy Spirit as power to overcome demonic and satanic spirit forces.<sup>354</sup> Asamoah-Gyadu refers to all these churches as Pentecostal-type churches and concludes that the real message of these contemporary Pentecostals is material blessing and how to prosper in life.<sup>355</sup> These new Pentecostal, Charismatic and Prophetic churches have prayer centres, all night

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<sup>352</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, *Signs and Sighs*, 39-37.

<sup>353</sup> Quayesi-Amakye, *Christology and Evil in Ghana*, 251-252.

<sup>354</sup> Anderson, *Stretching the Definitions*, 101.

<sup>355</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, *Sighs and Signs*, 36-37.

services, fasting events and numerous services, mainly geared towards deliverance. The emphasis of these Prayer centres is what Asamoah-Gyadu calls '*ayaresa ne ogyee*' (healing and deliverance).<sup>356</sup> The stress on demons, deliverance, and consultation has become a prominent feature in these churches. Their practices include prayers over holy water, prayers over different types of oils, bracelets, charms, amulets and '*spiritual baths*'.<sup>357</sup> The point here is that the Pentecostal Charismatic churches in Ghana acknowledge the Akan cosmological beliefs and seek to provide ways to meet their needs. Some of their practices are continuities of the indigenous traditional worship, where the fetish prophet gave charms and amulets as elements to provide healing and protection.

The emphasis on evil and malevolent spirit as the cause of misfortune has not diminished. There is still little to no room for reasoning, science or rationality. Oduyoye concludes that despite modernisation and the Western missionaries' denial of the African spirit beliefs, African Pentecostals still take their cosmology seriously.<sup>358</sup> It appears that the rise of classical Pentecostal and Charismatic churches has not led to complete discontinuity of the Akan spirit beliefs and practices. The youth in Ghana today are attracted to these newer forms of spirit churches, not because they are providing entertainment value, as Gifford<sup>359</sup> suggests, but rather because they appear to be conforming to the perception that the spirit world is the cause of blessing and cursing. Gifford comments further that economic hardships and poverty ensures that

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<sup>356</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Signs, wonders and Ministry', 36.

<sup>357</sup> Degbe, 'Sumsum Akwankyerε: Emerging Modes of Mediation and Appropriation of Spiritual Power in Sections of Ghanaian Christianity', 280-284.

<sup>358</sup>Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing*, 41.

<sup>359</sup>Gifford, *African Christianity*, 89-90.

Ghanaians continue to rely on divine powers to help them in life.<sup>360</sup> However, it has been observed that thriving entrepreneurs, young musicians, sports personalities, politicians, business men and women are attracted to Pentecostalism because of the appeal of the Holy Spirit in protecting them from witchcraft and evil spirits, guiding them and enabling success.<sup>361</sup>

In the end Asamoah-Gyadu rightly concludes that even among Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians today the perception and belief in the malevolent spirits, ancestors and witchcraft still exists under one heading 'demons'.<sup>362</sup> The belief that sicknesses and misfortune are caused by evil spirits has survived the mainline missionary churches, Pentecostalism and Charismatic renewal churches. Indeed, the resurgence of Charismatic renewal churches and newer African prophets have contributed to the prevailing practice of exorcisms, deliverance services and praying against evil and malevolent forces.

#### **4.9 Summary of the Impact of Christianity and Pentecostalism on Akan Cosmology**

It has been seen that mainline Western missionary churches and movements brought the gospel to the then Gold Coast, along with various highlighted successes. However,

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<sup>360</sup>Gifford, *The Changing Face of Christianity*, 83.

<sup>361</sup> For example, the church of Pentecost in Ghana has among its members some of the country's wealthiest businessmen as well as elected members of Parliament within their ranks. These members are often highlighted in the chairman's annual address. Furthermore, churches like Action Chapel, and International Central Gospel Church claim to have similar calibre of people in their membership and leadership. Asamoah-Gyadu refers to some of these Pentecostals in; Asamoah-Gyadu, *Sighs and Signs of the Spirit*, 15-16.

<sup>362</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, *Sighs and Signs*, 155.

consensus is that their success was moderated somehow by their inability to effectively engage with the religious and cultural practices in Ghana. This contributed to the emergence of the prophets and Spiritual churches who primarily offered Prophetic and Charismatic practices of the Holy Spirit that appealed to the indigenous people. These Spiritual churches and their prophets brought a fresh renewal of spirituality among the Akans. However, some of the allegations against them and the emergence of Pentecostalism brought a new wave of Christianity in Ghana.

Under Pentecostalism, the Akans were given the ecstatic religious experiences in their services and significantly, the message of the power of the Holy Spirit. The continuity of the place and power of the spirits in the Akan worldview is accepted in CoP however, the emphasis is on the power of the Holy Spirit as more potent than any other spirit. The baptism of the Holy Spirit is presented as power not just for witnessing, but for protection, healing, miraculous and practically power to do anything that the evil spirits could not do. In summary, the western missionary endeavours, Pentecostalism and the Charismatics have not erased the Akan worldview, or their inherent fears of witchcraft and demonic spirits. On the contrary, the Holy Spirit is presented as the antidote who displaces every other spirit and enables fruitful and sanctified living. It is against this present Pentecostal and Charismatic renewal background that the FG Ghanaians migrate to the UK. The next chapter, therefore, investigates how the FG migrants in the UK are appropriating these beliefs in their lives and in the church services and what impact these beliefs and practices are having on the SG who are born in the UK and who have different perceptions of the world.

# **CHAPTER 5: THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST-UK: RIPPLES OF FIRST-GENERATION BELIEFS AND PRACTICES ON THE SECOND GENERATION**

## **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter traces the type of Christianity that the first generation (FG) transported with them to the United Kingdom (UK) and to what extent it is affecting the second generation (SG). This section is the first of two to present my observational findings and analyses of the SG in the Church of Pentecost UK (CoP-UK). This chapter traces the formation, progression and practices of CoP-UK. I have divided this chapter into four sections. First, I shall discuss the beginnings of CoP-UK and its administrative structures, and its implications for the SG. Second, I shall describe each of the local parishes in my case study. Third, my focus will be on examining the extent to which the Akan socio-cultural and religious practices have influenced CoP-UK. The fourth section will subsequently look at the expectations of the Holy Spirit and spirit manifestations amongst the FG and SG members in the church. My aim here is to investigate the continuity/discontinuity of practices from the Akan and Ghanaian Pentecostal traditions as well as the similarities and differences in liturgical practices between the FG and SG. The question this chapter seeks to answer is 'are the SG's practices significantly different from the FG's as far as Holy Spirit and spirit manifestations are concerned?'

## 5.2 The Beginnings of the Church of Pentecost-UK

The beginning of CoP-UK and its early formation has been well documented in greater detail in the works of Walker,<sup>363</sup> Elorm-Donkor,<sup>364</sup> and Nyanni.<sup>365</sup> I will discuss relevant parts of the beginning of CoP-UK in this section of the thesis. CoP-UK traces its early development to a home cell gathering under the Elim Pentecostal Church in 1985 in North London. According to Apostle Newton, before the cell group, there were other Ghanaian associations and fellowships. However, there were some members who “yearned for a Pentecostal experience similar to the practices back home.”<sup>366</sup> By Pentecostal experience, Apostle Newton was referring to the experiences of manifestations of the Holy Spirit, especially through charismatic practices such as *glossolalia*, prophecy and other observances such as loud singing, exuberant dancing, and long and loud prayers, among others – in their gatherings.<sup>367</sup> Arguably, there were Pentecostal churches such as Elim and Assemblies of God at the time. However, it was the desire to have a feeling of ‘home church’ in a foreign land that prompted this gathering.<sup>368</sup> Subsequently, the cell group gave members the opportunity to express themselves in these Pentecostal practices without feeling “strange and crazy among the non-Pentecostals.”<sup>369</sup>

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<sup>363</sup>Walker, ‘The Pentecost Fire is burning’, (2010).

<sup>364</sup>Elorm-Donkor, *Christian Morality*, (2011).

<sup>365</sup>Nyanni, *Spirit Baptism and Power*, (2014).

<sup>366</sup>Apostle Newton was National Head of CoP-UK (2011-2016), I interviewed him on 16 December 2015.

<sup>367</sup>Interview with Apostle Newton, 16 December 2014. Also Cf. Parker, *Led by the Spirit*, 5; Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 190. Anderson talks about speaking in tongues as one of the distinctive Pentecostal manifestations.

<sup>368</sup> Cf. Burgess, ‘African Pentecostal spirituality and civic engagement: the case of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Britain’, 256-257; Kalilombe, ‘Black Christianity in Britain’, 306–24.

<sup>369</sup>Interview with Apostle Newton, London, 16 December 2015.

In 1986, the arrival of two CoP pastors from Ghana to study at the then Elim Bible College, now Regents Theological College, sparked the desire to extend the cell group from a home group setting to a full-blown fellowship in a church hall.<sup>370</sup> The fellowship adopted the name Pentecost Association of UK and Éire (PAUKE) and later Elim Church of Pentecost (ELICOP). In 2015, ELICOP finally became autonomous and ran its charity independent of the Elim Pentecostal Church, and hitherto assumed the name Church of Pentecost UK, (CoP-UK).

Two significant things are worth noting at this point. First, Church of Pentecost was established in the UK primarily for Ghanaians, and specifically for Ghanaian Pentecostals, who were searching for a type of Christianity practised in Ghana. One significant feature in the early years of CoP-UK was the use of Twi or Akan language in its liturgy.<sup>371</sup> By using the Akan language, CoP-UK had by default excluded other nationals who would have wanted to join the fellowship. Secondly, after its establishment, ministers were sent from Ghana to ensure continuity of practices and doctrine with the mother church. These factors go to show that, from its beginnings, CoP-UK, was designed to be a homogenous church. Essentially, it was established for Ghanaian Pentecostals in the UK to experience Ghana in the UK. The implications of these points are immense for the SG members, for whom the majority were neither born in Ghana nor grew up there. Arguably, their disengagement with some of the church practices can be traced to the beginnings of CoP-UK and the intentions of the

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<sup>370</sup>The two CoP pastors who came to study are Opoku Onyinah who is now an apostle and current chairman of the church of Pentecost (2016) and Daniel Noble Atsu who was an apostle of the church until his retirement in 2008. Regents Theological College is the training college of the Elim Churches.

<sup>371</sup>Henceforth I will refer to the Akan services and Akan language as the language used by most of the First-Generation services.

parents in starting the church in the UK. A detailed analysis of the implications will be discussed in the next chapter.

### **5.3 The Structure and Administration of the Church of Pentecost-UK**

Since its inception, CoP-UK has grown from four members in the cell group to 17,628 in June 2017.<sup>372</sup> A 'National Head', also commonly referred to as 'papa', heads CoP-UK. The National Head is appointed by the Executive Council of CoP in Ghana and is accountable to the International Missions Director of the church. Until 2011, the four previous National Heads were ministers sent from Ghana. This practice, by which CoP-UK received missionaries from Ghana, is an accurate reflection of what Kalu describes as the mother church sending clergy to new branches started by lay members.<sup>373</sup> This process is also seen in other African diaspora churches, such as RCCG, Light House and ICGC.<sup>374</sup> Ojo reflects on this theme in his conversation on 'reverse mission', where churches send missionaries to the Western world, particularly from Africa to Europe.<sup>375</sup> This phenomenon is, however, gradually decreasing due to stringent immigration rules and the proliferation of new independent churches in the diaspora, as well as the growing numbers of SG members taking on leadership roles within some of these churches.

As of June 2017, CoP-UK had 23 full-time pastors who supervised 21 Districts. Out of the 23 pastors, two were under the age of 35 and three were born in the UK. Thus, it

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<sup>372</sup>The Church of Pentecost UK. Mid-Year Statistics 2017. Unpublished report.

<sup>373</sup>Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 258.

<sup>374</sup> RCCG is the Nigerian based Redeemed Christian Church of God. Light House International and International Central Gospel Church (ICGC) are Ghana based churches.

<sup>375</sup>Ojo, 'Reverse Mission', 380.

can be argued that these three pastors are SG Ghanaian Pentecostals in CoP-UK. Most of the other pastors were born in Ghana and a few had been educated to degree-level in Ghana.<sup>376</sup> Except those born in the UK, all the pastors were CoP members in Ghana, while others were in lay leadership before migrating to the UK. The implication here is that most of the CoP-UK pastors are accustomed to the Ghanaian cultural background as well as an understanding of the practices, liturgy and doctrinal beliefs of CoP-Ghana before migrating to the UK. Their Ghanaian background makes them fruitful in making CoP-UK like CoP-Ghana; while at the same time making the SG question the relevance of some of the practices in the UK.

CoP-UK is divided into three administrative areas or zones. London North, London South, and Manchester Areas.<sup>377</sup> These three areas are headed by 'Area Heads' who act as administrators for these large zones and who report to the National Head. Under these Area Heads are the pastors who manage the Districts which comprise approximately five local parishes. Supporting the pastors are the elders, deacons and deaconesses who make up the local parish leadership team. I visited parishes in each of the Areas of the church during my observation. Each District of the church has two types of services: the Akan service, which is primarily attended by the FG; and the English service, which is officially known as Pentecost International Worship Centre (PIWC), which is mainly patronised by SG members.

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<sup>376</sup>This higher education includes up to a degree.

<sup>377</sup> The London Areas covers all the cities and suburbs in and around London as well as Cardiff, Milton Keynes, Northampton, Oxford, Reading, Southampton. The Manchester Area covers Birmingham, Leeds, Leicester, Telford, Manchester and Glasgow Districts

### 5.3.1 Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWCs)

The concept of Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWCs) started in Ghana in 1993, with the aim of reaching a different group of church-goers and the unchurched. The rationale behind this concept was first to provide a well-structured, multicultural church, primarily for people of non-Ghanaian background, as well as for Ghanaians who had returned from long periods of stay in Europe and the Americas (expatriates). Second, it was to offer a different style of a church for indigenous Ghanaians who preferred to worship in the English language.<sup>378</sup> These were mostly students in higher education and those who had visited the West, especially Europe and the USA. According to Apostle Onyinah, one of the masterminds of this concept:

It was observed that there is a new group or generation in Ghana who do not appear to find their place in the traditional way of worship. They enjoyed teaching and worship and seemed to thrive on mixing the Ghanaian culture with the Western traditions. This modern generation came about as a result of the dynamics of civilization and the increased interaction of the peoples of the world through education, travel and commerce. They are the outcome of an aggregation of many transferred cultures. This new generation does not always conform to the known traditional ways of doing things.<sup>379</sup>

As early as 1993, Apostle Onyinah and other leaders of the church recognised the importance of modernising and restructuring church liturgy in Ghana. Their aim was not only to reach the influx of Westerners who were going to Ghana for business

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<sup>378</sup>PIWC was original initiated in Ghana in 1991 by Apostle Dr Opoku Onyinah and other pastors of the church who felt that the church needed to embrace other nationals and foreigners in Ghana who did not know the Akan or other local dialects. The PIWC concept was also designed to reach out and engage students who through awareness of western culture and education wanted to express themselves in English language in church

<sup>379</sup> Onyinah, *Vision 2013*, 32.

ventures, but also indigenous Ghanaians who had exposure to the Western culture. Furthermore, they were keen to avoid losing members to the charismatic ministries that were emerging at the time. The PIWC concept began in Ghana in 1993 and has since been transported to nearly every country where CoP operates. Overall, the critical differences between PIWCs and the Akan speaking services are language, songs and the organisational structure of the service.<sup>380</sup> In PIWCs English is the lingua franca used for conducting services. This is still the case in non-English speaking countries, such as France, Germany and Holland.<sup>381</sup> Furthermore, the majority of PIWCs do not only sing English translated songs, but some also sing contemporary English worship songs, such as Hillsong from Australia, and others mainly from churches in England and United States of America (USA). It must be noted that although most of the songs are in English, there are occasional Akan songs during church services in PIWCs.

### **5.3.2 Pentecost International Worship Centres in the UK**

It was not until under the leadership of the third National Head that CoP-UK started PIWCs in 2002.<sup>382</sup> During those times, children who were born to FG migrants were getting older and becoming conversant with life, language and culture in Britain, to the extent that they were unable to engage with church liturgy in Akan services. Leticia, a 36-year-old SG member, said in an interview:

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<sup>380</sup>The details of the differences will be seen later in the Chapter and in the observational analyses in Chapter 6.

<sup>381</sup>These are from personal observations during visits to these countries as well as talking to other CoP pastors and members from Europe.

<sup>382</sup>This was Apostle Nene Amegatcher (2002).

Much as I loved the Akan services especially the singing and dancing during praises, I just wasn't getting enough out of the services anymore. This was not 'Sunday School', and I had grown out of the youth or teenagers' sessions as it was called those days. I was a young adult in the main adult services but could hardly understand half of the services. The prayer topics were mostly about breaking demonic holds and obtaining legal statuses in the UK. The sermons were too long and full to references of villages and experiences in Ghana. This was becoming a problem for not just me but a few of my friends too. I stayed but some left.<sup>383</sup>

Leticia's story is reminiscent of many of the SG members who grew up in CoP-UK in the early days before PIWCs. Before PIWCs began, some of the Akan services in London translated the sermons from Akan to English. Though the leaders thought this would appease the younger generation, it made the service unnecessarily long, and some of the youth became more detached from the services. Apostle Newton described an incident when a young girl went to him at the end of one of the services and said:

Daddy, I don't think the English interpretation was fair because what the preacher said was longer than what the interpreter translated. And everyone was laughing at the joke. But when he translated to English, it was short, and we didn't laugh, so I think we are missing out on the fun in the English interpretation.<sup>384</sup>

According to Apostle Newton, such responses and feedback from the youth and SG were frequent and necessitated the establishment of PIWCs at the time. Thus, to retain

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<sup>383</sup>Interview with Leticia, 15 December 2015. Leticia had just completed university and started asking questions of the liturgy and language used in CoP-UK in London.

<sup>384</sup>Apostle Newton was a pastor at the time of establishing PIWCs in London. Interview with Apostle Newton, 16 December 2015.

these Ghanaian children and embrace other nationalities, PIWCs were initiated in CoP-UK.<sup>385</sup> PIWCs in CoP-UK are mainly patronised by the SG, a few FG who are mostly leaders, and a handful of indigenous British and other nationals. The Akan services, however, continue to be seen as the 'mainstream church' because they continue to have bigger attendances and produce bigger offerings than PIWCs.<sup>386</sup> They are attended by Ghanaians, both FG and SG members, who like to worship in the Akan language, or those who simply want a taste of Ghanaian Pentecostalism in the UK.<sup>387</sup> Overall, PIWCs are seen as 'the baby church' which exists mainly for the youth and other nationals, while the Akan services are seen as the main church, carrying on the traditions of CoP-Ghana.<sup>388</sup> Most part of this chapter the focus will be on three CoP-UK PIWC churches and one local Akan church. The reason for the three PIWC churches is because this is where most SG members are found.

## 5.4 Observing the Churches

My discussion on the observation of the churches will be in two parts. First, I shall give a brief background to the makeup and structure of each church. This background will help provide the right context of how they organise their services. Following that, I shall give a brief description of how they run their services. These observations helped me

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<sup>385</sup> Interview with Apostle Newton, 16 December 2015.

<sup>386</sup> One of the leaders explained that until the SG members grow to become full time workers and start to produce bigger financial support, the administration would also see the Akan as bigger than the PIWCs. In other words, this leader as well as others saw the PIWCs as young people or youth churches. Interview with Elder Keys. London, 28 March 2015.

<sup>387</sup> The Akan services do not only comprise of FG migrants from CoP but also other non-CoP members who have joined for the sake of having a Pentecostal fellowship as well as some of the SG who simply enjoy the Ghana way of church. Adogame explains these different groups within the African diaspora church. Adogame and Chitando, 'Moving among those Moved by the Spirit: Conducting Fieldwork within the New African Religious Diaspora', *Field Work in Religion* (2005), 253-290.

<sup>388</sup> Many of the adults in Akan services and the FG see the PIWC as a different type of church altogether.

in structuring my interviews and focus group sessions, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

Two of the PIWC churches are based in London, hereafter referred to as LP1 and LP2, and the third is the PIWC in Birmingham, referred to as BP1. The local Akan church in Birmingham will be referred to as CoP-B. LP1 is in north London and has been chosen because, at the time of writing, it was one of the youngest branches of CoP-UK, with the entire focus on using English language and attracting non-Ghanaian members. Along with LP1, I shall also focus on LP2, which is an inner-city church in east London. Like the LP1 branch, LP2 is relatively new at the time of writing and attended by predominantly SG members who were either born in the UK or migrated to Britain from Ghana or other European countries at a young age with their parents. LP2 is particularly interesting because it comprises an overwhelming number of young people, unparalleled in any CoP-UK parish.

LP1 and LP2 will hopefully provide insights into the practices and concepts held by some SG members of the church; while CoP-B will be used as comparison in relation to the Akan churches in the UK. The aim was to investigate the nature of church liturgy between PIWC and the Akan services. It was unnecessary and time-consuming to focus on more Akan churches because firstly, most research done on CoP-UK has been conducted among the Akan churches and secondly, my previous research demonstrated that there were little to no variations among the practices and liturgy of the Akan services in CoP-UK.<sup>389</sup> Although these will be the four main churches used

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<sup>389</sup>Nyanni, *Spirit Baptism and Power*, 2014.

in this study, I travelled extensively to other parishes of CoP-UK, both as a participant and as an observer. My findings, therefore, are drawn from observations of most of these services, conferences and other meetings I attended.

#### **5.4.1 LP1 Church: North London**

LP1 is in the north-western part of London in England. The area is part of the larger district of Brent and is popularly known for the iconic and historic Wembley Stadium. Like many other localities in England, Brent is a growing and ethnically diverse district, and according to the 2011 census, 83% of the population are from BAME group.<sup>390</sup> I first visited LP1 when it was less than a year old as a local church. However, all the members of the parish were already CoP members from other PIWCs and Akan services in London. LP1 comes under the London North Area in the church's administrative structures.

Unlike other parishes of the CoP, for example, Birmingham and other UK cities, LP1 did not start as a church plant or cell group. The church emerged out of other branches, which were a combination of Akan and PIWCs. In 2014, the National Head of CoP-UK decided to carve out a new PIWC solely devoted to members who are only interested in using the English language in the service, with the aim of attracting non-Ghanaians to the church. In an interview with the National Head, one of the main reasons for creating LP1 was the fear that some of the youth were not attending regular services

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<sup>390</sup> Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Group. The black population is 13.9. Wembleycentral.UKcensus, 2011; <https://intelligence.brent.gov.uk/BrentDocuments/Wembley%20Central%20Diversity%20Profile.pdf>. Accessed 13 March 2015.

(Akan services) because they were not gaining much from them. He intimated that some of the pastors and other leaders of the local parishes in the North were genuinely concerned about the youth frequently visiting other churches within the area. Hence the decision “to carve out a PIWC in that part of London to help maintain and retain the next generation of the church.”<sup>391</sup>

The pastor in charge during my period of observation explained that the vision of LP1 is to be a relevant church in the city, meeting the needs of not only Ghanaians, but also the residents.<sup>392</sup> As at December 2016, LP1 had a total adult membership of 281, with a reported average weekly attendance of 180. Four of the members were non-Ghanaian, and 79 were children under 13 years of age.<sup>393</sup> The membership of LP1 is varied and comprised four distinct groups. Firstly, those born in the UK, these are mainly young and generally under 35 years of age; they are the majority. Secondly, and firmly behind this majority are those who were born in Ghana and migrated to the UK. The third group are Ghanaians who have migrated from other European countries, notably France, Italy, Belgium and Holland, within the period 2010-2016. The fourth group and the minority are those of non-Ghanaian parentage or heritage. LP1 has one main service on Sunday mornings. They also have a weekly prayer meeting on Wednesdays and Bible study on Sunday morning before the service.

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<sup>391</sup> Interview with Apostle Newton, 16 December 2015.

<sup>392</sup> Interview with Rev.KP, 18 December 2015.

<sup>393</sup> The church of Pentecost. Wembley District. Statistical Report 2015.

## 5.4.2 LP2 Church: East London

LP2 is situated in east London near the site of the London 2012 Olympics stadium. Due to the Olympic Games that took place, the area has undergone improvement and modernisation. The church meets on Sunday afternoons in one of the halls of a newly built school in east London. Like LP1, the LP2 vision was impelled by what was described as a 'mass exodus' by some of the youth from another PIWC, and other CoP parishes within the vicinity.<sup>394</sup>

According to Mr.H, some of the young people were unhappy with church liturgy in the bigger PIWC which they claimed was too similar to the Akan services and geared towards their parents more than the young people. He mentioned the youth were unhappy with worship style (too many Twi songs), liturgy (references to Ghana during preaching as well as too much emphasis on evil spirits during prayers). Mr.H also pointed to poor musical equipment and sound quality, lack of planning and organisation by some church leaders, and what others merely described as the neglect of young people in the church.<sup>395</sup> This unrest subsequently led to an exodus of some SG members and thus prompted the National Head of CoP-UK to take swift action by ushering in a new leadership of that local church.<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> Interview with Mr.H. Mr. H. London, 28 January 2016. Mr.H was one of the founding members and leaders of LP2.

<sup>395</sup> Due to the nature of the severity of the rift, the identity of the interviewees cannot be disclosed. Most of the SG who expressed their views on this issue are still with the church and wanted to remain anonymous. LP2, London, January 2016.

<sup>396</sup> Interview with Ben. LP2 London, 29 January 2016. Interview with Mr.H. Mr. H. London, 28 January 2016; Interview with Apostle Newton, 15 December 2015.

On Sunday 7 June 2015, LP2 was formally inaugurated as a 'youth church' of CoP in London. Though it is no longer called a youth church, it is by nature and attendance exclusively youth, in the sense that 99% of the members are under 35 years of age. The nature of the membership makes LP2, at the time of writing, the most youth-oriented parish in CoP-UK, hence my decision to observe this church. Within less than a year of its inception, LP2 had doubled its membership and Sunday attendances rose to 192 members. Apart from the main service on a Sunday, LP2 have no other meetings. There were no cell groups, weekly prayer or Bible study groups at the time of writing. They occasionally joined the bigger PIWCs for quarterly prayer meetings. Thus, in both London churches, it appears that the anxiety over losing some members of the second generation was a critical factor in starting those churches.

### **5.4.3 Church of Pentecost-UK: Birmingham**

The Birmingham branch or District of CoP-UK (CoP-B) started in the year 2000.<sup>397</sup> CoP-B started initially as a gathering of Christian students from Birmingham University. Like the CoP-UK in London, CoP-B started as a cell group and was founded by Apostle Opoku Onyinah, who was then a student at the University of Birmingham.<sup>398</sup> Significantly, Apostle Onyinah did not initially set out the fellowship as a CoP branch. Though he was a minister of the church from Ghana, he set out to meet other students who were not CoP members but who were Christians and desired to have a church or

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<sup>397</sup>For a full history and background of the Birmingham District of CoP see, Nyanni, *Spirit and Power*, 2014.

<sup>398</sup>The Birmingham branch of CoP was started by Apostle Opoku Onyinah who was studying his doctoral degree at the time at the University of Birmingham and his family including the author of this thesis. Initially, the house group was attended by Opoku Onyinah's family, Dr. Amponsah's family and two ladies, Juliana Osei and sister Yaa.

fellowship with an African or Ghanaian taste and format.<sup>399</sup> Thus the meetings were conducted in the English language, although there was the flexibility of speaking Akan. Mrs Juliana Frempong, one of the founding members of CoP-B, comments that “even though the services were conducted in English, there remained the important Ghanaian style of serious prayers, Bible studies and Spirit-filled praise and worship.”<sup>400</sup>

One of the advantages of the initial stages of the Birmingham District was the input of its founder, Apostle Onyinah, who was already a seasoned minister from CoP-Ghana and one of the founders of the PIWC concept in Ghana. Hence Onyinah could integrate elements of CoP into the church from its infancy, while maintaining a concept open to other nationals and cultures. One of the early members who joined the church commented, “I was particularly touched by the presence of God, the anointing of the Holy Spirit and the power of prayer that was present in the church.”<sup>401</sup> Sister Yaa adds that “there was a strong emphasis on holiness, the power of the Spirit to transform lives and prayer.”<sup>402</sup> The parishioners were mainly Ghanaian but had frequent visits from other nationals.

By 2002, when Apostle Onyinah completed his doctoral studies and returned to Ghana, the church had an adult membership of about 60 and various church structures, such as elders and deacons, were established. New members who were not students of the universities had joined, and they soon became the majority. Most of them were migrants who had moved to Birmingham from London and Ghana for economic

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<sup>399</sup>Interview with Opoku Onyinah, Birmingham, 2 July 2016.

<sup>400</sup>Interview with Mrs Juliana Frempong, Birmingham, 19 May 2013.

<sup>401</sup>Telephone Interview with Mr F. Baah, 21 May 2013.

<sup>402</sup>Interview with sister Yaa, 21 October 2015.

reasons. Apostle Onyinah's successor, an FG pastor from London, subsequently introduced Akan services and other CoP practices, to meet the growing demands of these non-student membership group, who were also mostly FG migrants. Thus from 2002, CoP-B had both Akan and PIWC services. The PIWC in Birmingham has become more intergenerational, with some FG founding members still in the church as well as younger SG members.

#### **5.4.4 The Anatomy of the Congregations**

As with other PIWCs in CoP-UK, and CoP in general, the two London churches in this study were made up of mainly young adults and teenagers. By young adults and teenagers, I refer to people under 35 years of age. CoP defines its youth members as those between 13 and 35 years.<sup>403</sup> For example, as at March 2016, LP2 recorded a total membership of 192 of which only one was above 35 years of age. The remaining 191, including the leaders (not the pastor) in charge, were between the ages of 13 and 35 years.<sup>404</sup> I observed a similar situation in LP1, where more than half the church membership (242 of the 422 members) were within the 13 to 35 years bracket.<sup>405</sup> In the same 2016 report, there were 251 members in the Birmingham Akan service, of which 60 were between 13 and 35 years of age. These statistics are in sharp contrast to the PIWC in Birmingham where 52% of its 212 members were within the 13 to 35 years category. The contrast is mainly because the younger members of the church,

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<sup>403</sup>This is the standard practice in CoP UK and data is collected for the church's end of year reports based on the Youth category being 13-35 years.

<sup>404</sup>Church of Pentecost UK LP2 End of year Report, January 2016.

<sup>405</sup>Church of Pentecost UK. LP1 End of year Report, 2016.

including the SG, prefer to go to PIWC where the English language is used in conducting the service.<sup>406</sup>

Though LP1 and BP1 have significant numbers of FG members, the SG remain the majority. However, both LP2 and BP1 have significant numbers of children under 13 years of age who are third generation members. These are mostly the children of the second-generation members who have started raising their own families in the UK. The trend here is that as the SG are patronising PIWCs, they are bringing up a new generation (third generation) with their new liturgical practices. The caveat here is that most of the people I interviewed felt that the issues they were raising were not just about them, but for the coming generations of CoP-UK. Though not all the members or attendees of PIWCs are youth or teenagers, the crux of the matter is that PIWCs have, and are by description, 'youthful' in their make-up. The consensus among pastors and church leaders, and my personal visits to other PIWCs that I have visited over the years, in CoP-UK give the impression that PIWCs are mainly, though not exclusively, patronised by 'the youth'.

A further crucial point to note about the people who make up the churches is the demographics. According to the 2016 reports, out of the 422 members in LP1, four were non-Ghanaian, while LP2 recorded seven out of the 192 as being non-Ghanaian. The PIWC in Birmingham recorded the highest number of non-Ghanaian members, 16 out of the total 212. Birmingham's highest recording of non-Ghanaians can be attributed to the influence of the university students, as well as interracial marriages

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<sup>406</sup> Church of Pentecost, UK. Birmingham End of Year Report, 2016.

within the church (as the result of some of the students who settled in Birmingham and met non-Ghanaian spouses in the universities).

Arguably, the demographical categorisation in the recorded statistics in CoP-UK is somehow befuddling. This is because the demographics report all the SG members of the church as Ghanaians. The CoP has a missional goal in reaching the indigenes of local communities wherever the church is established. In the context of CoP-UK, their goal is to reach the British people of non-Ghanaian parentage or heritage. Thus, the intentional categorisation of the SG members as Ghanaians is intended to evaluate the effectiveness and fruitfulness of the church's missional efforts. This form of data reporting and recording poses severe challenges for the church.<sup>407</sup> The implication of such statistical misrepresentation is that it fails to recognise the cultural influences and differences of the SG members who are born in the UK. In the case where most of the youth were born and raised in the UK and Europe, the leadership perhaps needs to re-evaluate the categorisation, especially in the light of the SG's dis/engagement with the church and its practices. Further implications of this lack of appreciation of the young people as being British will be explored further in Chapter 6.

#### **5.4.5 Leadership Structure and its Influences on the Second Generation**

Another important aspect of the observational analysis is the leadership structure of CoP-UK. The CoP, in general, operates a centralised *modus operandi* like the British

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<sup>407</sup> Some of these challenges will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Apostolic Church, from which its founder James McKeown emerged. Like the Apostolic Church, the governance of CoP depends on the Executive Council which is made up of apostles and prophets; some key decisions are trickled down from the Executive Council to the local churches without the local churches' involvement.<sup>408</sup> In other words, it is 'top-heavy' governance. In this context, the National Head of the UK is accountable to the Executive Council in Ghana. The National Head receives directives from Ghana and, together with his vision, directs the pastors in their overall plans for the local churches. Thus, although the local parishes in CoP-UK have the freedom to organise conferences and other events, it must be in sync with the National Head's vision and ultimately with the theme and vision of the Executive Council in Ghana.

The local church is vital in the CoP's structure, and they are granted autonomy in organising their services, mission activities, appointing local leaders and church building projects.<sup>409</sup> It is the local church that recognises an individual's gifting and gives them an opportunity to develop into those gifts. As seen above, this leadership and administrative style of CoP-UK is not derived from the Akan socio-cultural settings, but from the British Apostolic Church and other Pentecostals in general. However, Onyinah has pointed out that although this administrative structure may have its roots elsewhere, it fits into the Akan culture, where there is a demand for respect for the elderly and those in leadership and authority.<sup>410</sup> This leadership style means that most of the SG, who are younger members, are not in senior leadership and are unable to voice their opinions in certain leadership decisions affecting them. This eventually

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<sup>408</sup>Worsfold, *The Origin of the Apostolic Church* 1280 -1281.

<sup>409</sup>Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology*, 133.

<sup>410</sup>Onyinah, 'Pentecostalism and the African Diaspora', 223.

leads to some of them being frustrated, especially those who are in managerial positions in their workplaces. In other words, they feel they are trusted and capable of managing affairs in the workplace but not in the church because of the cultural influences underpinning leadership in the church praxis.

Another significant trend in the leadership structure is the makeup and background of the leaders.<sup>411</sup> In both BP1 and LP1, there is a mixture of FG and SG leaders, whilst LP2 has no leader who is FG.<sup>412</sup> Some of the leaders in Birmingham and LP1 were leaders in Ghana before coming to the UK. CoP's policy of retaining leaders, regardless of location, means an elder in Ghana automatically becomes an elder in Birmingham once they migrate to the diaspora. The implication here is that some of these leaders come with the practices and style of services from Ghana to the UK, without considering the contemporary socio-cultural environment. Some pastors I spoke to appeared unconvinced about appointing SG members as leaders because in their words, "they are not experienced enough", whilst others said, "they are not yet used to the practices and ways of CoP".<sup>413</sup> In the interview with Apostle Newton, he intimated his desire and vision to change this trend. Hence, he appointed two pastors in 2015 who are SG and under 30 years of age.<sup>414</sup> It is the beginning of a trend that is criticised by some quarters of the FG yet lauded by some of the SG members.

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<sup>411</sup> By leaders, I refer to the elders, deacons and other ministry leaders who are not necessarily pastors.

<sup>412</sup>By leader, I refer to Elders, deacons and deaconesses in the local church set up in CoP. Excluding the pastors.

<sup>413</sup>These phrases were common responses by the pastors in their response to questions and conversations about leadership.

<sup>414</sup>Interview with Apostle Newton, 16 December 2015.

The implications of the leadership structure in the four churches are that, firstly, although the elders oversee the weekly running of the services, the pastors continue to make decisions at a level which does not always include the elders and membership. For example, LP2 has an overwhelmingly young SG population, yet decisions affecting them come from the pastor who is not always present in that local church. The pastor reports to the Area Head, who in turn submits the reports to the National Head. Secondly, although the local elders are responsible for the running of the church, they are accountable to the pastor, whose aim is to ensure that the church is following CoP practices. Practically, this means that the SG elders are not allowed to make significant changes to church liturgy and practices without the pastor's consent. For example, in an interview with an SG elder, I asked: "Why are the church services and structures like the Akan services?" He responded, "We are being told what to do so we just follow orders from above".<sup>415</sup>

Thirdly and notably, this has led to the frustration of some of the SG leaders who feel they have been appointed superficially to please some sections of the congregation, without having real influence and impact on church practices and decision making. I asked some SG leaders "Do you feel you are making a real impact and difference in the church?" These were some of the responses:

SGL1: Yes, I feel I am making an impact in individual lives but not the church. I have a good relationship with the young people here but not the church because we are not allowed to do as much as we want to.

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<sup>415</sup>Interview with PK, London, 17 November 2015.

SGL2: I don't feel I'm making a great deal of difference to be honest. The older generation don't really understand some of the changes we need to get things moving on.

SGL3: To be honest I feel frustrated because they appointed us as deacons, but we can't really do much. It seems it's all about pleasing the big guys.

SGL4: Yes, I feel I'm making a real difference because the pastor here is trying to do things differently and giving us a chance to change things.<sup>416</sup>

As in the case of SGL4 above, a few of the leaders lauded their pastor for allowing them to initiate and bring real change to the services and practices. However, in some of the other churches, there was a feeling of suspicion amongst the FG members regarding the SG members in leadership roles. Some of these younger leaders were criticised for not knowing enough about the church in Ghana, others were simply regarded as being too young and others were criticised for 'watering down' the Pentecostal practices of the church. In my interviews with some of the FG members, the consensus is that they are happy for the young people to be leaders in the churches, which are dominated by youth and the SG, but not the Akan churches.<sup>417</sup> My observations have so far shown that CoP-UK is very much dominated by FG leadership and influenced by a centralised administration. Though this centralised system of administration is seen in other Pentecostal denominations, the Akan Ghanaian culture makes it easy for the FG to comply to this system, whilst the SG struggle to adapt.

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<sup>416</sup> Group interview with SG leaders in London. 29 January 2016.

<sup>417</sup> I arrived at this conclusion based on interviews and conversations I had with over 15 FG adult members and leaders of the churches in London and Birmingham.

## **5.5 Observing the Services**

This section focuses on church liturgy within the FG and SG services. My intention here is to investigate areas of dis/continuity between the generations and examine the engagement of the SG in the services their reflections on the spirit manifestations. Being fully aware that the observations alone are not enough to produce ample evidence for my findings in answering my research questions, I intend to use the next chapter to investigate further the reasons why some SG are disengaged and leaving the church. For the rest of this chapter the question is: 'to what extent does the expectation of the Holy Spirit's manifestations vary between the FG and the SG services, and how are these expectations influenced by the Akan socio-cultural and religious practices'.

## **5.6 The Holy Spirit and Pentecostal Services**

One of the distinctions between Pentecostalism and other Christian denominations is Pentecostalism's strong emphasis on the baptism and manifestations of the Holy Spirit. In other words, Pentecostals "stress the power and presence of the Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit directed towards the proclamation that Jesus Christ is our Lord to the glory of God."<sup>418</sup> Thus, against this Pentecostal understanding of the Holy Spirit and the FG's understanding of spirit manifestations, I needed to ascertain the primary sources of experiences of the Holy Spirit and his manifestations in the church services from the FG and SG perspectives. I asked the participants, both FG and SG members,

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<sup>418</sup>Kilian McDonnell and Arnold Bittlinger, *The Baptism in the Holy Spirit as an Ecumenical Problem* (south Bend, IN: Charismatic Renewal Services, 1972), cited in Vinson Synam, 'Pentecostalism: Varieties and Contributions', *Pnuema* 8 (Fall 1986), 31-49 (32).

this question, “When do you experience the power of the Holy Spirit the most during church service?” By ‘experiencing the Holy Spirit’, I was referring to the moment in the service where they felt a difference because of the power of the Holy Spirit. For most Pentecostals, the entire service is Holy Spirit-filled and Holy Spirit-led. The Holy Spirit causes people to worship, sing, pray, prophesy, speak in tongues, preach and basically take part in every aspect of the service.<sup>419</sup> However, there are specific momentary encounters where the members do not only make room for the divine encounters, but they also expect supernatural encounters with the Holy Spirit. After observing samples of program sheets from both Akan and PIWC services, I came up with the following sections:

- Opening Prayer
- Praises
- Testimony
- Worship
- Sermon
- Intensive Prayers
- Altar Call
- Offering
- Announcement
- Closing Prayer
- Benediction

The purpose of this survey was to investigate whether the SG had similar perceptions regarding the times and expectations of the Holy Spirit as their FG parents and leaders.

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<sup>419</sup> Anderson, “Contextualization in Pentecostalism: A Multicultural Perspective,” 34.

The survey showed the following results:

**Table 1: The Holy Spirit Encounters during the service**

First-Generation Participants		Second-Generation Participants	
Opening Prayer	85%	Opening Prayer	80%
Praises	86%	Praise	85%
Testimony	40%	Testimony	30%
Worship	90%	worship	93%
Sermon	85%	Sermon	80%
Intensive Prayers	98%	Intensive Prayers	98%
Altar Call	50%	Altar Call	30%
Offering	60%	Offering	50%
Announcement	30%	Announcement	10%
Closing Prayer	50%	Closing Prayer	40%
Benediction	50%	Benediction	45%

From the outset, the survey showed that there is a coincidental similarity between the FG and SG in areas where they see the manifestation of the Holy Spirit significantly in the service. There is a sense of positive correlation between the practices and beliefs between the SG and FG within CoP-UK. Albrecht aptly notes that even though there are differences in emphasis in various Pentecostal spiritualities, there is “an underlying or core spirituality” that binds them together.<sup>420</sup> In this case, the FG and SG participants have shown similar areas where they particularly felt the power and presence of the Holy Spirit the most during church services. These are during the prayers, praise and

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<sup>420</sup>Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit*, 28.

worship and the sermon. As a Pentecostal church, CoP has certain elements, which can be perceived as 'Pentecostal praxis'. The diversity of Pentecostalism means that it has become difficult to place all Pentecostals under one umbrella. However, Larbi aptly describes all Pentecostals as "drinking from the same theological melting pot."<sup>421</sup>

## **5.7 Observational Analyses: Continuity and Discontinuity**

My aim here is not to concentrate on the 'normal'<sup>422</sup> Pentecostal praxis, but those elements which have been influenced by the Akan socio-cultural and religious beliefs and practices. My initial query was to find out what practices are a continuation of the Akan socio-cultural and religious praxis, especially among the SG. In investigating the Akan cultural and religious influences on the CoP-UK services, it is necessary for me to revisit some of the key cosmological elements in the Akan religious practices. Since the Akan indigenous religious services do not have a structured outline like the Pentecostal church service, I have chosen to look at the ecclesial encounter with the Holy Spirit in three main areas: 1. praise and worship; 2. prayer; and 3. sermon.

### **5.7.1 The spirits in Akan Religious Services**

In the Akan religious practices, people go to offer sacrifices of worship because they perceive the *abosom* to be powerful enough to take care of their needs.<sup>423</sup> The Akan religious forms of worship are often characterised by expressive forms, such as loud

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<sup>421</sup>Larbi, 'African Pentecostalism', 79. See also, Johns, *Pentecostal Formation*, 87; Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology*, 19-21

<sup>422</sup>By 'normal' practices I refer to practices such as speaking in tongues, healing, ecstatic praises and praying.

<sup>423</sup>See Chapter 3.7 for more in-depth analysis on the *Akom* service.

singing, clapping and movements of the whole body, usually done in sync with the rhythm and with others in the service. The music and dancing are not only meant for pleasure, but they are a declaration of war and declaration of trust and belief in their powerful gods.<sup>424</sup> Again, in the Akan religious contexts, music and dancing are used as a means of invoking the presence of the spirits. In the Akan religious celebrations and services, the spirits are aroused by repetitive drumming, singing and dancing.<sup>425</sup> Mostly, during their worship practices, they expect to hear from and receive favours from the *abosom* (gods).<sup>426</sup>

The way in which the deities grant them their requests is to speak through the *okomfo*, which, in its literal translation, means one who prophesies. The process where the *okomfo* is possessed by the spirit of the deity is what is known as *akom* (prophesy). In the *akom* service, the *okomfo* is notorious for speaking unintelligible words which are only translated by the spokesperson who is equally in the spirit. I have argued that this practice in the *akom* service is akin to the Pentecostal form of tongues and interpretation.<sup>427</sup> The people go to these *akom* events believing that once they offer a sacrifice in worship, they will most likely hear from the deities via the *okomfo*.

Onyinah has shown that this cultural and spiritual impetus to worship has continued, even with the inception of Christianity in Ghana. With the growth of Pentecostalism, people still go where their prayers can be answered, and different songs are sung in

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<sup>424</sup>Appiah, 'Christianity in Indigenous Cultures,' 24.

<sup>425</sup>Appiah, 'Christianity in Indigenous Religions,' 24.

<sup>426</sup>Appiah, 'Christianity in Indigenous Religions,' 24.

<sup>427</sup>See Nyanni, *Spirit and Power: Luke's Reflection on CoP UK*.

the services to invite the presence of the Holy Spirit.<sup>428</sup> Appiah has also shown that the practices and beliefs described above are the same in the UK.<sup>429</sup> Appiah argues that the Ghanaian community in Britain still consult pastors to help them find solutions to their problems, just as the Akan indigenous community consults the fetish priests.<sup>430</sup> Though Appiah has helped in evaluating elements of continuity with the Ghanaian religious worship practices, his aim was not on spirit practices and beliefs. Hence it is vital to discuss continuity and discontinuity within the worship service, in relation to Holy Spirit manifestations, during the worship service in CoP-UK.

### **5.7.2 Worship in the Church of Pentecost UK: The Akan Religious Influences**

The expressive form of worship in the SG services is not dissimilar to that of the Akan religious practices or the FG services. It is not surprising when Ross asserts that singing and worshipping God is one of the central expressions of the Christian faith in Africa.<sup>431</sup> The reality is that singing and worshipping God is not just a central expression of the Christian faith in Africa, but basically a Christian liturgy practised in most churches across the globe.<sup>432</sup> The point here is that, for Pentecostals, it is one of the practices where they claim to experience the presence and power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>428</sup>Onyinah, *Pentecostal Exorcism*, 138.

<sup>429</sup>Appiah, 'Negotiating the integration strategies and the transnational statuses of Ghanaian-led Pentecostal Churches in Britain', 216.

<sup>430</sup>Appiah, 'Negotiating the integration strategies and the transnational statuses of Ghanaian-led Pentecostal Churches in Britain', 180-182.

<sup>431</sup>Ross, 'Current Christological Trends in Northern Malawi,' 163.

<sup>432</sup>White, *Introduction to Christian Worship*, Worship, 49, no.5, May 1975; Barrett, *The Twentieth Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal on the Holy Spirit with its goal of World Evangelisation*, 3.

<sup>433</sup>Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit*, 5.

By worship, I refer to the time in a service which is designated for praises, prayers and adoration of God. In most services, praises often precede worship. The time of praises is distinguished from worship by the tempo and style of songs and singing.

The praises begin with up-tempo songs, which naturally stimulate dancing, clapping and swaying, which are thought to be prompted by the Holy Spirit, whilst worship is often perceived by the members as the time for slow tempo and quieter songs, to allow for meditation and reflection on the goodness of God. One of the outcomes of the inter-generational membership in LP1 and BP1 is the choice of songs. Although I did not hear any Akan songs in BP1 and LP1, they sang songs which they had directly translated from Akan to English. LP2, which was predominantly SG youth, was different. To a large degree, the American Gospel culture<sup>434</sup>, contemporary English songs<sup>435</sup> and others, such as Hillsong Australia, influence their song choices and worship styles. Most of their praise and worship songs are considered international and can be heard in most English-speaking Pentecostal/Charismatic churches. The only significant difference is that they occasionally changed the rhythm, beat and tempo to African style or rhythm.

The point here is that the presence of the FG members in LP1 and BP1 encourages the SG involvement and participation in the Ghanaian translated songs. However, since LP2 is exclusively an SG youthful church, they have little Ghanaian cultural

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<sup>434</sup>Gifford, 'The "New" Christianity in Africa: The Charismatic Explosion', *Exploring the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism*, 151-178; Gifford, 'Some Recent Developments in African Christianity' *African Affairs*, 515.

<sup>435</sup>Some of the contemporary English songs are from Matt Redman, Tim Hughs, Noel Robinson, and Bethel Music.

influences. Hence, they only sang Western-style songs during all the services and meetings I observed. LP2's engagement with predominantly Western songs did not, however, mean they had abandoned songs from Ghana or Africa; they sang English songs by some African worship artists.<sup>436</sup> There is evidence of continuity of style in singing and rhythm from the Akan socio-cultural and FG religious practices. However, as a predominantly young church with young adults and teenagers, LP2 has taken on a style of worship that is multicultural. This is what Adedibu describes as "their ability to contextualise their worship styles with affection for transatlantic features prevalent in American and British Gospel Songs."<sup>437</sup> Significantly, although the SG youth in LP2 sing English songs, they have maintained the Ghanaian cultural influence by reverting to African rhythms and beats in most of their songs. This type of continuity is not seen as negative amongst most SG members of the church. Considerably, most of the SG members celebrate their Ghanaian identity through praises and worship.

The common element in all four services was energetic, loud, vibrant singing and dancing – this is a standard feature in most Pentecostal services.<sup>438</sup> However, as Edwards aptly observes that "Black Pentecostals have always enjoyed a greater degree of liberty and expressiveness in their songs and singing styles, partly related to their culture but also due to their readiness and desire to allow experience to be the filter through which their worship is offered."<sup>439</sup> In this context, the element of celebration and jubilation, singing and dancing, and the expression of emotion during

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<sup>436</sup>I observed English songs from the likes of Nigerian born but British based Muyiwa Olarewaju and River Songz, Joyous celebrations from South Africa and Sonnie Badu from Ghana.

<sup>437</sup>Adedibu, *Coat of Many Colours*, 148.

<sup>438</sup>Clarke, *Pentecostal Theology*, 23.

<sup>439</sup> Edwards, *Let's Praise Him Again*, 68-70, 90-3.

praise and worship time is synonymous with the *akom* service in the Akan religious practices.<sup>440</sup> This type of worship appeals to Ghanaian Pentecostals and, in this case, both FG and SG members of CoP-UK, as it resonates with their cultural orientation. Onyinah concludes that “an important aspect of the promotion of Ghanaian worship is that through it the CoP uses the members overseas as its facilitators for evangelisation of those parts of the world and the expansion of the CoP there.”<sup>441</sup>

The worship style of the SG members is not dissimilar to that of other Pentecostals.<sup>442</sup> The SG’s adoption of Western songs and style does not necessarily express a discontinuity of expressive forms of worship but somewhat underscores their innovations as young African-British Pentecostals in the diaspora, who have adopted other contemporary forms of praise and worship and synchronised it with their Ghanaian style.

### **5.7.3 The Holy Spirit in CoP Praise and Worship: Continuity and Discontinuity**

The role of the Holy Spirit in directing worship is vital for both generations. One of the deacons in the SG churches said to me “even though we come with an agenda, we allow the Holy Spirit to direct the affairs of the service.”<sup>443</sup> This statement was in response to a question I asked about a PIWC service where the opening prayer fused

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<sup>440</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu makes a similar reflection and comparison in, Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 241.

<sup>441</sup>Onyinah, ‘Pentecostalism and the African Diaspora: an examination of the missions’ activities of the church of Pentecost’, 218.

<sup>442</sup>Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 130-149

<sup>443</sup>Pastor K, London, 19 December 2015.

into a time of worship. Here the SG members, like their parents in the FG services, are not reluctant to abandon the structure of the service for the move of the Holy Spirit.<sup>444</sup> They did not seem concerned about the structure of the programme but carried on engaging with the singing. One of the SG worship leaders put it this way, “the Spirit leads the worship session as well as the entire service as he wills.”<sup>445</sup> This understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit is what Alvarado describes as ‘spiritual transcendence’. According to Alvarado, Holy Spirit transcendence is a characteristic of Pentecostal Spirit-filled worship, whereby the members acknowledged the vivid presence of the Holy Spirit in their lives and their praxis.<sup>446</sup>

In most of the SG services, I observed that the praises followed the time of worship. The service began with opening prayers, which often led to worship without a break. This format is in sharp contrast to the FG services, where there was a visible break between praises and worship. The period between praise and worship was usually set aside for testimonies, where members periodically went to give accounts of miracles, deliverance and any such incidents where they felt the power of God in their lives. For the FG members, the testimonies before worship instigate a natural sense of thanksgiving and adoration because testimonies, by the definition of one of the Apostle’s, “make one stand in awe of God.”<sup>447</sup> Testimonies are a prominent feature in most African Pentecostal services, as it gives the members an opportunity to tell others of the mighty works of God.<sup>448</sup>

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<sup>444</sup>Cf. Alvarado, ‘Worship in the Spirit: Pentecostal Perspective on Liturgical Theology and Praxis,’ 135-136.

<sup>445</sup>Conversation with Jude. 22 November, London, 2015.

<sup>446</sup>Alvarado, ‘Worship in the Spirit: Pentecostal Perspective on Liturgical Theology and Praxis,’ 146.

<sup>447</sup>Interview with Apostle M.S Appiah, 6 June 2015.

<sup>448</sup>Kerridge, *The Storm is Passing over: A Look at the Black Churches in Britain*, 134.

During testimonies, one often hears stories of how the Holy Spirit intervened in people's lives and situations to cause miracles and 'breakthroughs'.<sup>449</sup> The implication is that God must be experienced at work through the power of the Holy Spirit before they can worship in 'Spirit and Truth'.<sup>450</sup> The caveat here is that the members continue to attend church service and offer worship God because he [God] has heard their prayers through the mighty workings of the Holy Spirit. Again, this is evidence of continuity of the Akan *akom* service, where the adherents go to the gods because they believe the gods to be powerful and responsive to their request. Thus, by the time, praises and testimonies are completed, the atmosphere is ripe for worship – "the time to enter the throne room of God."<sup>451</sup>

The SG services, by contrast, did not appear to take a long journey into worship. The opening prayer often merged into a time of worship without any break. The worship time subsequently led into a time of praises before any significant break in the service. The impression here is that God's people are to declare his praises continuously (Psalm 34:1). There is a sense in which the SG members see worship as a way of life and not just a portion of specific time given to God on Sundays.<sup>452</sup> Hence their fast approach to the time of worship. As one young member said, "I am already in the Spirit before I get to church."<sup>453</sup> Thus, they appear to believe that the Holy Spirit is already

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<sup>449</sup>Pentecostals often use testimonies to share their experiences of God's intervention in their circumstances. Omenyo, 'Seymour and African Pentecostal Historiography', *AJPS* 9:2 (2006), 255; 244-258.

<sup>450</sup>Clarke, *Pentecostal Theology*, 23.

<sup>451</sup>I heard this phrase several times in many CoP services. Clarke describes this as a spiritual atmosphere of worship. Clarke, *Pentecostal Theology*, 69.

<sup>452</sup>Albrecht, 'An Anatomy of Worship: A Pentecostal Analysis', 5.

<sup>453</sup>Observation during a service in London OCP, 29 May 2016.

working in them, so they do not need specific triggers like testimonies to instigate an atmosphere of worship. Although they did not denigrate the importance of testimonies, they often chose to sing when given the opportunity to give testimonies.<sup>454</sup> Their option of frequently singing could be arguably due to the Western cultural influences, where people find other expressive forms such as singing to share their testimonies.<sup>455</sup>

The SG's awareness of the presence of the Holy Spirit is not expressively different from their parents' or Akan religious practices.<sup>456</sup> For example, in one of the services the praise and worship leader said, "Today we are going to dance and shake our bodies just as [King] David danced when the Spirit of the Lord came upon him."<sup>457</sup> Sandra, an SG worship leader in one of the services, said, "When I lead it's not me leading. I give myself to the Spirit and ask him to take control."<sup>458</sup> The SG members find themselves already in a place of praise and worship without needing a longer process to stimulate praise and worship. The SG members, like the FG, stand, clap and dance in the pews and at the front of the church during praises. Their Charismatic praises and dancing are often chaotic but well-co-ordinated. There is a real sense of 'worship as play', where there is a tremendous amount of gesturing, laughter, crying and shouting.<sup>459</sup> Both FG and SG members attribute the joy, and emotional exuberance demonstrated during the time of praise and worship to the Holy Spirit. In

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<sup>454</sup>This was often the case in most services I visited where most of the Youth opted to sing instead of speaking about what God had done whilst their parents often gave lengthy testimonies and, in some cases,, sang afterwards.

<sup>455</sup>This will be explored further in Chapter 6.

<sup>456</sup>Cf. Banks, "Spirit-Possession Rituals in Southern Ghana: Priests, Musicians, and Ritual Efficacy," 45.

<sup>457</sup>Personal observation. Birmingham, 26 March 2016. The idea that the Holy Spirit inspires the dancing and jubilation during the service is common in most of the churches and services that I visited.

<sup>458</sup>Conversation with Sandra, 24 October 2016.

<sup>459</sup>For more on Worship as Play see, Wilkinson, *Catch the Fire*, 78.

this context, although some of the SG are not particularly engaged with the testimonies, the element of singing and dancing becomes the means of inviting the Holy Spirit into their worship services.

Both FG and SG members engage in active and vibrant praises, dancing and singing in the name of the Holy Spirit. On a superficial level, the structure of the CoP-UK services is not entirely different from other Pentecostal services. Most Pentecostal services have time for praise and worship, and during this time they expect to encounter the Holy Spirit. Speaking of Pentecostals, Albrecht asserts that “In a real sense all worship is responsive.”<sup>460</sup> Similarly, Bruner suggests Pentecostals’ expectation of “divine invasion,”<sup>461</sup> whilst Warrington speaks of Pentecostals’ expectation of an “experience with the divine”.<sup>462</sup> All these suggest that the practices of CoP-UK are not unique.

However, there is an element in their expectation of the Holy Spirit which seems to be a nuanced form of expectation rooted in the Akan religious practices. This is when they actively speak of ‘activating the Spirit’. This activation of the Holy Spirit is somehow in contrast to the expectation of the Holy Spirit. It is tantamount to the Akan *akom* practice, where there are sustained singing and dancing to evoke the spirits. It is the perception that the longer the prayers, the more likely the Holy Spirit will show up. It is the perception as though the Holy Spirit is asleep or away and needs to be stimulated.

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<sup>460</sup> Albrecht, ‘An Anatomy of Worship’, 71.

<sup>461</sup> Bruner, *A theology of the Holy Spirit*, 137

<sup>462</sup> Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology*, 220.

It is a war cry. This is seen especially in the opening prayers of the FG where they keep praying until somehow, they feel the Holy Spirit is awake and active.

#### **5.7.4 Worship Time: First and Second-Generation Similarities and Differences**

There are some ambivalences in the level of expectation of the Holy Spirit in the services between the SG and FG. During worship time, when they sing slower songs, the tempo and atmosphere is quieter in the FG services than in the SG services. Unlike the SG services, where the choir usually leads worship, the worship in FG churches is led by a designated person, such as an elder, deacon or deaconess. The leader usually commences with a scripture reading and a short exhortation. The readings and exhortations are characterised by God's omnipotence and God's intervention in their lives. For example, at the start of one worship time the deacon leading read Psalm 40:1-3 and gave an exhortation reminding the congregation of God's deliverance and intervention in their lives. He said, "Remember the God who brought you out of the snare of the devil and witches. Remember the God who has destroyed all your enemies and let us worship him."<sup>463</sup>

On another occasion, a deaconess leading worship read Revelation 4:1-11 and after a brief explanation commented, "let us join with the angels and the heavenly creatures in the throne room and worship our God."<sup>464</sup> The sense of worship time being a sacred and awesome moment is not only emphasised but also felt in the worship time. For

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<sup>463</sup>Observation, Birmingham, 21 February 2016

<sup>464</sup>Easter Convention, Birmingham Central, 24 March 2016.

most of the FG, worship is a time when they thank God for specific deliverance and interventions in their lives. The worship leader on the day usually refers to a time when they were in difficulties in Ghana and how God delivered them. Such exhortations prompted shouts of 'hallelujah' and 'amen' in agreement from the congregation.

There is the expectation that after 'ascending the throne room of God', God has something to give or say to his church. As Albrecht notes, "in worship, the believers minister to God and then God in turn ministers in and through the believers to others."<sup>465</sup> At this point, the leader often says, "let us be silent as we wait on God."<sup>466</sup> There is shift from celebratory singing to a receptive atmosphere in the FG services. There is a sense that the Holy Spirit, who brings the people to a place of expectation and reception, orchestrates this shift in the service.<sup>467</sup> Thus by the time the worship service gets to the expectation stage, the singing stops, the music stops, and the church is silently waiting for the Holy Spirit to speak to them.

The worship time in the SG services appeared to take a slightly different format. The SG appeared to be more singing-oriented than either reading the Bible or praying in worship. They did not make many references to deliverance stories or scriptures. Their appellations to God were mainly through songs declaring 'the Love of God' and 'the cross of Jesus'. In one of the SG services, the lady leading worship frequently exclaimed "this is your time to thank God for the cross. This is your time to express your love to him."<sup>468</sup> Thus, whilst in the FG worship there were frequent references to

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<sup>465</sup>Albrecht, *Led by the Spirit*, 73.

<sup>466</sup>Easter Convention, Birmingham Central, 25 October 2015.

<sup>467</sup>Boone, *Community and worship*, 1996, 139.

<sup>468</sup> Personal observation, London, 29 May 2016.

deliverance, 'throne room', 'holiness of God' and 'the power and majesty of God', the SG worship services, especially in LP2, were geared towards the cross.<sup>469</sup>

On another occasion, the SG young man leading the worship in LP2 shouted repeatedly, "this is love. This is how much God loves us. We are singing because of his love."<sup>470</sup> They did not appear to be necessarily waiting on the Holy Spirit during worship. The understanding is that worship is a time specifically for giving adoration to God, without necessarily anticipating a direct or immediate response from him. In LP1 and BP1 the SG members followed a similar trend like LP2, where they indulged in more singing. However, the influence of the FG members and leaders in LP1 and BP1 meant that they still had more moments of prayers and occasional exhortations, especially when the worship was being led by an FG leader. For most of the SG churches the move did not shift from celebratory to expectation, but from celebratory to adoration.

Arguably the Akan socio-cultural and religious perceptions have influenced the worship services of CoP-UK. The FG members see God as king, and they approach the king's palace – 'throne room' – in awe and with high expectations. Similarly, the Ghanaian indigenous *akom* worshippers approach the deities with expectation. Furthermore, in the Akan religious practices, the adherents expected to hear from and receive favours from the *abosom*. The FG members approach worship with similar expectations from the Spirit of God. In worship, the FG members approach God as omnipotent and,

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<sup>469</sup>The theological implications of the differences will be explored in Chapter 7.

<sup>470</sup>Personal Observation, 21 February 2016.

through honouring him, expect God to intervene in their situations. In this case, their worship is teleological. Similarly, the SG congregations had an expectation of a divine encounter with God in the worship services. However, their approach appeared to be nuanced with adoration and expectation. In their worship services, they did not necessarily approach God as a mighty God whom they were expecting favours from, although they do believe in the omnipotence of God. In worship, they see God as a father who loves them and continues to lavish his love towards them. They base most of their songs on love and the cross. Ultimately, they focus their worship on adoration more than expectation.

### **5.7.5 Charismata<sup>471</sup> within Worship: First and Second-Generation**

#### **Services**

In the time of worship when the members perceived the Holy Spirit as vividly present, there were significant results. For the adults in FG services, there were several occasions when the singing stopped, and the members burst out into spontaneous loud prayers and *glossolalia*. They were neither prompted nor encouraged, however, as soon as the leader signalled for the singing or musical instruments to stop or quieten, the members spontaneously burst out speaking in tongues and prayers. However, the SG services appeared to be different. It was quite evident in the services I visited, especially in LP2, that their worship was characterised mainly by singing. There were very few occasions where the young people stopped to be silent nevertheless they often burst out in spontaneous prayers and *glossolalia* like their

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<sup>471</sup>I use this term to refer to the list of gifts described in 1 Corinthians 12:1-11.

parents. In the moment of experiencing the Holy Spirit, some knelt, others wept profusely, while others lay prostrate. Wilkinson describes this as ritual play in Charismatic worship.<sup>472</sup> In the FG services speaking in tongues was very noticeable during worship, whilst in the SG congregations speaking in tongues was observed but on a lower scale.

Closely linked to the speaking in tongues in worship is the role and place of other *charismata*. In the FG churches when the worship gets to the final stages and members of the congregation are told to be silent, there is usually an expectation of a word of prophecy. Albrecht defines this as ‘contemplation’ in his description of ritual sensibility within Pentecostal services. In the mode of contemplation, members are open to the work of the Holy Spirit and approach the divine in a reverent interrogative mood.<sup>473</sup> The mode of contemplation is not only a conduit of modes of sensibility whereby Pentecostals express their liturgical rites.<sup>474</sup> During my field observations, I came to realise that the members are sensitive to the Holy Spirit and it is within this sensitivity that they remain quiet and wait on the Holy Spirit to speak. The belief in the active presence of the Holy Spirit during worship means that there is an expectation from the members to hear from the Holy Spirit.

It is here that in the FG services the one leading the worship session calls for silence so that God will speak through his Holy Spirit to the church. It is within these silent moments that the leaders utter the words “the Spirit of the Lord is here. Let us be silent

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<sup>472</sup>Wilkinson, *Catch the Fire*, 78.

<sup>473</sup>Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit*, 183-184; see also Albrecht, *An anatomy of worship*, 79.

<sup>474</sup>Albrecht distinguished nine different modes of ritual sensibility during his research. Some of these include celebration, purgation, ecstasy, improvisation (ritualization) and ceremony. Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit*, 179.

before him.”<sup>475</sup> On several occasions people prophesied. These prophecies were usually in the form of exhortation, edification and encouragement to the members of the church. Occasionally the prophecy predicted future events.<sup>476</sup> At this point, anyone from the congregation brings a prophetic word from God while others speak in tongues and have someone else interpret. Albrecht notes that “whilst worship is intended directly toward the divine, the role of the prophet directs itself to the congregation.”<sup>477</sup> Such prophecies were frequent in the FG services.<sup>478</sup> This is evident of the spirit possession moments in the *akom* services, where the spirit of the deities possesses the *okomfo* and speaks through them.

The practice of prophesying during worship is not necessarily an Akan religious influence on CoP. However, the way in which the prophecy is presented has shades of the Akan *akom* practices. Some other Pentecostal services do not necessarily practice quiet times in anticipation of prophecy. The Akan *akom* service does not practice silent time either. However, the participants sing and play musical instruments at high intensity to invoke the spirits to possess them and speak through them. The point here is that there is intentionality in the desire to hear from God. In contemporary Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, members of the congregation hardly stand and prophesy during worship. However, in the FG services of CoP, prophecies often came from members of the congregation. Though this practice is described by Stronstad in his “prophethood of all believers” discourse, not many Pentecostals practice this.<sup>479</sup>

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<sup>475</sup>Personal observation. I heard this sentence on numerous occasions during the services.

<sup>476</sup>Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, 19.

<sup>477</sup>Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit*, 137.

<sup>478</sup>Personal observation, Birmingham, 24 April 2015.

<sup>479</sup>Stronstad, *The Prophethood of all Believers*, 114-115.

Unlike the *akom* practice, where the spirit possesses the fetish priest, CoP members are mostly open to what they perceive as ‘possession of the Holy Spirit’ to enable prophecy through any member of the congregation. Indeed, it is this possession by the Holy Spirit that attracts some people to the church.<sup>480</sup>

Furthermore, often the prophecies that come in some of the Pentecostal services are spoken from a third person’s perspective. For example, “The Lord would have you to know that” or “I believe the Lord is saying”. However, in the CoP services the one prophesying often speaks in the first person – “I the Lord”, “my children”.<sup>481</sup> The understanding is that since the Holy Spirit has empowered the individual, God is inherently now speaking through that person to the church. This understanding is what encourages the members of CoP to regard prophecies seriously, just as the participants in the *akom* services took the words of the priests seriously.

These practices were also visible in the SG congregations and worship services. Whilst there were occasional prophecies, especially during the youth conferences I witnessed, the SG congregations I visited were not as loud during the speaking of tongues. The silent moments were rare and sporadic in the SG services. To the outside observer, the worship style of the SG may appear contemporary and lively, however, to some CoP members, including some FG members in PIWCs, the style of worship, especially in some PIWCs, has been described as “festival concert-style

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<sup>480</sup>See Chapter 3 for a fuller description of the attraction of the Holy Spirit to the Ghanaians during the introduction of Pentecostalism.

<sup>481</sup> This practice originates from the practice of the Apostolic church where James McKweon, the founder of CoP came from. Personal observations in both Church of Pentecost churches and other Pentecostal churches such as Elim, Assemblies of God and Charismatic churches such as Light House International, Kingsway International Gospel Church.

worship”.<sup>482</sup> By this one of the leaders explained that, although the Holy Spirit was present, the style and type of worship was not the CoP brand. It did not have the same feel, atmosphere and nuances to it as the FG churches had. For example, though the SG expected to hear from the Holy Spirit in the services, they did not necessarily practice those silent moments in some of their services like the Akan FG services. Cartledge is right when he asserts that “The charismata signal the presence of the [Holy] Spirit and therefore have a theophanic quality.”<sup>483</sup> Nevertheless, not only is *charismata* evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit, but Yong, Houston, Albrecht, Warrington and Boone have all argued that songs also contribute to this Pentecostal encounter with God.<sup>484</sup> The SG’s encounter with the Holy Spirit did not appear to be in many Charismatic manifestations but songs. Overall, the SG, like the FG, continue to foster an attitude of openness to the Holy Spirit during worship, although they expressed these attitudes in different ways.

## 5.8 Praying in the Akan Religious Gatherings

As seen in Chapter 3, one of the key features in the Akan religious practices is the belief in the intervention of the spirit world and the supernatural through prayers. There is the *akom*, which is invoking of the spirits, and there are also the libation prayers which are often performed by leaders of the families or communities on behalf of the people.<sup>485</sup> Both prayers are performed by leaders and both prayers also involve, and

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<sup>482</sup>This was the view of some of the parents and leaders I spoke to during my visits.

<sup>483</sup>Cartledge, *Testimony in the Spirit*, 45

<sup>484</sup>Yong, ‘Academic Glossolalia? Academic Glossolalia? Pentecostal Scholarship, Multidisciplinarity, and the Science–Religion Conversation’, 73; Houston, *Worship: A God Encounter*, 226, 238-39; Boone, ‘Community and Worship’, 139; Albrecht, ‘An Anatomy of Worship’, 71; Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology*, 224.

<sup>485</sup>See Chapter 3.5.6 and 3.7.2.

acknowledge the presence of the spirits' influences in their lives. Whilst the *akom* is mainly to do with inviting the spirits to intervene in people's problems, the libation includes elements of thanksgiving and petition to the spirit world. Arguably, one of the most distinctive features in their prayers is the use of libation.

In libation, adherents of the religious practices pour out expensive alcoholic drinks and, in some cases, water on the ground in appreciation, as well as petitioning the gods and the spirits to intervene in their situations. For the followers of this religious practice, this offering of libation is a means of recognising and acknowledging the spirits' continued participation and presence in the lives of the living.<sup>486</sup> Among the leading spirits are the ancestors, who are the living dead relatives of the family and community. It is not uncommon for some African Christians to see Jesus as their ancestor since he is living even though he died.<sup>487</sup> However, African Pentecostals and CoP regard all such spirits as demonic and discourage prayers to any other spirit except the Holy Spirit.

Another element worth noting in the Akan religious prayers is the content and way they are performed.<sup>488</sup> The prayers always start by acknowledging God the Supreme Being by pouring some of the drink on the ground, before proceeding to make their requests. In most of the prayers, there is a request for protection against evil spirits and a petition for prosperity and fruitfulness. The mannerisms are picturesque. Those gathered around the main person leading the prayers are heard shouting affirmative words,

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<sup>486</sup>Elizabeth Graveling, 'That is not religion, that is the gods': Ways of conceiving religious practices in rural Ghana', *Culture and Religion* 11, no.1 (2010): 31–50.

<sup>487</sup>Beyers and Mphahlele, 'Jesus Christ as Ancestor: An African Christian Understanding,' 5.

<sup>488</sup>For full content see Chapter 3.

clapping their hands, and gesturing as though they are spurring on the one praying to carry on and invoke the spirits to come and listen to their prayers.<sup>489</sup>

In contrast, there has been a discontinuation of the use of libation in church prayers since the missionaries' influence in Ghana. CoP and Ghanaian Pentecostalism continues to discourage and abhor such practices as they see it as idolatry. However, it must be noted that though this practice of pouring libation in prayer is no longer practised in the churches, it is still practised in both social gatherings in indigenous Ghanaian communities and in the Ghanaian diaspora communities.<sup>490</sup> The point here is not about the practice or form of pouring libation in prayer, but the language used and its meaning in the Ghanaian religious context. Appiah has shown that though the use of libation is discontinued in the churches, there is enough evidence to suggest that the language and context of the prayers are still similar among Pentecostals in Britain.<sup>491</sup>

### **5.8.1 Praying in the Church of Pentecost UK and the Akan Religious Influences**

I shall suggest three key points which are essential in our understanding of the role of Holy Spirit and prayer in CoP practices. The first point is that the Pentecostals' prayers are akin to the Akan religious prayers in some physical mannerisms, yet significantly different in emphasis. As seen above, libation is a way of acknowledging the spirit

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<sup>489</sup>Pobee, 'Aspects of African Traditional Religion,' 11; Appiah, 'Christianity in Indigenous Religions,' 48.

<sup>490</sup>Opokuwaa, *The Quest for Spiritual Transformation*, 44-47.

<sup>491</sup>Appiah, *Negotiating the integration strategies*, 194.

world and petitioning them for more favours.<sup>492</sup> The key question is 'how the spirits are involved?' Firstly, like the clapping of hands in the *akom* traditional prayers, the members of CoP-UK, both SG and FG often clap their hands during prayers. This practice is similar in many CoP churches in Ghana and across the globe. It is essentially a Pentecostal practice. Appiah has shown that this practice mimics the clapping of hands during the prayers in the Akan traditional religious service.<sup>493</sup> Though Appiah highlighted this act as a continuity of rites from the Akan religious traditions among African Pentecostals, he did not mention its significance.

The clapping of hands during Akan prayers shows appreciation to the spirits of the ancestors, as well as an expectation of their involvement in the lives of the living.<sup>494</sup> In the same way, during prayers in the CoP-UK services, I observed that the members clapped louder and more frequently when the leader said something to either acknowledge God or when the leader shouted an authoritative command. For example, "In the name of Jesus", "I command any spirit of infirmity to go in Jesus name!", "Holy Ghost fire", "Holy Ghost power." Such proclamations encouraged louder clapping and shouts of amen.

This leads to the second point. Whilst the libation is being poured there are shouts of '*ampa*,' '*aane*,' '*bo ho biem*', all references from the gathered people to show their uniformity in the petitions being offered. In the same way, in the services I observed, I realised that both SG and FG members shouted out affirmative words like "Yes Lord!",

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<sup>492</sup>Appiah, 'Christianity in Indigenous Cultures,' 56.

<sup>493</sup>Appiah, *Negotiating the integration strategies*, 211.

<sup>494</sup>Interview with Nana Bonsu, Aduman, Ghana, 18 February 2015. Nana Bonsu is a practicing *Akom* worshipper.

“Jesus!”, “Amen” and “Holy Ghost” to affirm the prayers that are being said. This was often the case when the leader was saying the final prayers. Thirdly, as seen above, though the contents of the prayers differ, the structure of the prayer appeared to be the same.<sup>495</sup> Like the Akan prayers, all prayers in CoP begin with thanksgiving and appreciation of God before the petitioning begins. The understanding here is that unless one first acknowledges what God has already done, one cannot and will not receive anything from him.<sup>496</sup>

One of the main physical differences between the prayers in the Akan culture involving libation and the CoP Pentecostal prayers is that whilst only one person prays on behalf of the community, in CoP prayers everyone prays. Again, in CoP all prayers are said to God with references through Jesus and the power of the Holy Spirit, whilst the Akan cultural prayers are usually directed to the ancestors. Again, as far as the spirits are concerned, whilst the *okomfo* is the only one designated and trained to invite the spirits in the Akan religious service, CoP practices and believes in the prophethood of all believers.<sup>497</sup> In this context, any member or leader can pray to invite the presence of the Holy Spirit in the service. Thus, though some of the outward mannerisms may be similar, the form and meaning are different.

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<sup>495</sup>I will explain more of the implications of the contents in the next chapter.

<sup>496</sup>An example of such prayers is in Chapter 2 and above under the observation Prayers section.

<sup>497</sup>Onyinah, ‘Pentecostals in the African Diaspora’, 567.

## 5.8.2 The Holy Spirit and the Opening Prayer

Lengthy prayers in CoP-UK usually occur on two different occasions during the service. The first is opening prayer right at the start, as the name implies, and the second is intensive prayers which usually occur after the sermons. The opening prayer is the first activity of any service in the CoP. Though the opening prayer remains an important introductory session of the services, the role given to the Holy Spirit is interpreted slightly differently between the generations. In the FG services, this opening prayer is said with high intensity. The focus is not merely to thank God for bringing them together again but, significantly, to ask the Holy Spirit to nullify the works of any other malevolent spirits that might interfere with the work of God during the service. For example, in an Akan service, the elder who was leading the prayer said, “let us pray and ask the presence and power of the Holy Spirit to be activated so that any power that will bring tiredness and sleep will disappear in Jesus name!”<sup>498</sup> It is believed that when people sleep during the service, it is because there may be potential evil spirits causing the spirit of sleep to disrupt the service. On several occasions, the various leaders of the Akan service spoke along these lines, “Let us pray and ask God to demolish any strongholds and the work of any spirits that may hinder us from participating and receiving from him today.”<sup>499</sup>

Similarly, the SG PIWCs emphasize thanking God and inviting the Holy Spirit to take control of the service. However, in contrast to the FG Akan speaking services, the PIWCs that I visited directed the opening prayer on the Holy Spirit’s role in helping

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<sup>498</sup>Personal observation, Akan service in London CoP-UK, 25 October 2015.

<sup>499</sup>Personal observation at various Akan services.

them to grasp the content of the service. In the PIWCs, where most of the members are SG, their focus was not on the Holy Spirit nullifying the work of any other spirit, but essentially on helping them to worship, praise and understand the sermon. For example, one of the SG members who led the opening prayers said “Let us pray and ask the Holy Spirit to saturate our minds so that we fully grasp what he wants us to take home today. Let us pray that the worries of life and the enemy will not snatch the words from our hearts.”<sup>500</sup>

The words of this SG young lady reflect Jesus’ parable in Luke 8 where he [Jesus] described the parable of the Farmer Scattering Seed as the word of God and how it is received. Here there is mention and awareness of the devil or enemy being Satan and the need for the members to be aware of his ploy in attempting to take the word from their hearts.<sup>501</sup> However, there was not a concentrated effort to pray directly and repeatedly against the evil spirits. For most of the services that were led by the SG members, the tone was different, in the sense that the emphasis was on worship and submission to the Holy Spirit, as opposed to the Spirit’s power in breaking strongholds at the start of the service.

The SG members are not dull to the fire of the Holy Spirit during the opening prayer. They believe the fire is activated, not by invoking the Holy Spirit’s power to destroy the work of the enemy, but by inviting his presence to rekindle their hearts in worship, praise and prayer. One of the pastors in PIWC with a considerable number of SG

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<sup>500</sup>Personal observation, BP1, Birmingham, 25 September 2015.

<sup>501</sup>Luke 8:11-12

members said, “These young people are not ignorant of satanic powers and evil spirits; they just express themselves in different ways”.<sup>502</sup> Thus, as far as the opening prayer is concerned, there is continuity of theme in the sense that both FG and SG invite the Holy Spirit in the service; however, there is a change in emphasis. The emphasis for most of the SG is not about breaking strongholds but about how the Holy Spirit can help them engage in the services.

### **5.8.3 The Holy Spirit and Intensive Prayers: FG and SG Concepts**

The second part of the prayer sessions happens after the sermon. It is essentially a norm, and it is anticipated that there are long prayers after every sermon. After a sermon in LP2, a young woman who led one of those prayers said, “It’s time for the usual intensive prayer after the word so rise up as we start to sing and get ready for the Spirit to do his work.”<sup>503</sup> This young woman’s comment typified the sense of the expectancy that surrounds prayer immediately after preaching. I observed that during these prayer sessions most of the SG were actively involved lifting their hands and praying out loud, and occasionally some jumped up and down whilst others laid prostrate and wept, depending on the topic of prayer.

During a conference organised by LP2, the pastor who led the prayer after the sermon kept encouraging the members to sing or pray.<sup>504</sup> The pastor regularly said, “Sing or pray ...do not just stand there! Do something! Sing or pray.”<sup>505</sup> Thus, everyone was

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<sup>502</sup>Interview with Pastor M. London, 21 December 2015.

<sup>503</sup>Personal Observation, London LP1, 29 January 2016.

<sup>504</sup>Personal observation. Take Over Conference. 30 January 2016.

<sup>505</sup>Personal observation at LP2 conference. London, 29 January 2016.

motivated to take part during this time of prayer. Some of the young people in LP2 were very expressive in their prayers. Some knelt, whilst others wept loudly and openly during prayer time. This type of impassioned prayers, with the shaking, tears, screaming, jumping and other ecstatic mannerisms, is like the manifestations during prayers in the Akan religious practices. The affirmative language in the Akan religious prayers is heard by shouts of 'Amen' and 'Yes Lord' in the CoP churches. Significantly, the SG members are not entirely different in their expressions to the FG members or the Akan practices in general. Arguably, the SG's central point of diversion is in their beliefs, which they express in the contents of their prayers. This is what Appiah refers to as "libation language".<sup>506</sup> In the libation language, the ancestors are invoked by the offering of libation and food and they invited as advocates between the gods and the living.<sup>507</sup> Appiah goes on to describe the language used by the Pentecostals in Britain as a continuation of the rich cultural heritage of the Ghanaian community in the diaspora.<sup>508</sup>

Conversely, I observed that some of the SG see the rich language that is prevalent in the Akan religious prayers and among the FG as *Af*. In context, most of the SG do not want to be associated with the word or concept *Af*. The concept of one being *Af* denotes a person whose behaviour and practices are archaic and not relevant in the contemporary society. I will discuss this further in detail in Chapter 6. The prayers of some SG members were not directed on demolishing strongholds. Instead, they were petitions for things like wisdom, guidance and help in achieving excellence in life. In

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<sup>506</sup>Appiah, *Negotiating the integration strategies*, 192

<sup>507</sup>Appiah, *Negotiating the integration strategies*, 192

<sup>508</sup>Appiah, *Negotiating the integration strategies*, 193.

contrast, some of the FG members' prayers were not just a request but also a demonstration of spiritual authority over evil and evil spirits. An extract of an SG and FG prayer in services at the end of intensive prayer provides an example for my point. Below was a closing prayer by an SG who led one of the intensive prayers after a sermon on 'cultivating an excellent Spirit' from the story of Daniel:

Father in Heaven we bless you! Jesus, we give you the glory, honour and praise for your faithfulness and goodness. We thank you for hearing our prayers today. You have spoken your living and powerful words to us. Your word is a double-edged sword and has cut through our hearts this day. We pray for spiritual understanding and favour. We pray that you open the heavens and give us the grace to understand your unadulterated word. Please help us to be doers of your word. Help us to cultivate excellent spirits just like Daniel. Help us to live lives that will glorify your name. Holy Spirit please help us! We need wisdom, we need understanding. Please forgive us for going our own way and help us to walk in your ways as Daniel did who had the excellent Spirit. Make us strong in your word and may we become victorious, successful and fruitful like Daniel. We ask this in the mighty name of Jesus. Amen.<sup>509</sup>

On a different occasion in the Akan service, the message was also on Daniel and below is the summative prayer of an FG elder:

Our omnipotent, creator and everlasting God! We bless you! We honour you! We lift you high and exalt you! Your name is the great I am, and you alone are God. We thank you for this wonderful opportunity to come before your presence and to hear your word. Your word brings power! Your word brings life! As we stand in your presence, boldly approaching your throne we pray against any oppressive and destructive in the mighty name of Jesus! Daniel did not bow to any god. We will not bow to any god. Therefore, we take authority and demolish principalities, evil forces, and demonic spirits rising against us in the name of

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<sup>509</sup>Prayer by Ernest, LP1, 4 December. 2015.

Jesus! Like Daniel may we be overcomers, and may we walk through the lion's den without any trouble. If there are any persons here walking in the lion's den, we break them free in the name of Jesus. We destroy any demonic dens that your people may find themselves in this evening in the name of Jesus! The den of oppression. The den of depression, the den of immigration, the den of unemployment, the den of sickness, we break free in the name of Jesus! You died so that we will be free. You are God! You are king! You are great! We trust you and we receive it in Jesus mighty name. Amen!<sup>510</sup>

These two prayers are by no means exhaustive and representative of all the prayers said by the different generations in the church. Nevertheless, they highlight the emphasis on content of the different generations and cultures within the church, as far as prayers are concerned. They reveal that both prayers begin with acknowledgment, just as the Akan prayers. Both prayers have biblical jargons. In many ways, these biblical jargons are not distinctive CoP practices but seen in other Pentecostal and Christian prayers. They are reflective of the Jesus prayer, 'our Father in heaven, hallowed be thy name',<sup>511</sup> and the Psalmist prayer 'Let God arise, and his enemies be scattered.'<sup>512</sup> However, the SG prayers do not have the emphasis of the libation prayer, especially when it comes to awareness of the gods, evil spirits and demolishing strongholds. This is the significant point of discontinuation of beliefs and practices among the SG members. Even among the SG members in LP1 and BP1, where there were significant FG influences, most of their prayer focused on practical requests, rather than a display of power over evil spirits. As seen above, there was not a single mention of evil spirits in the SG's prayer. However, the FG elder repeatedly

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<sup>510</sup> Prayer by elder Joe, BP1, 15 June. 2015.

<sup>511</sup>This is from Matthew 6:9. Commonly known as the Lord's Prayer.

<sup>512</sup>Psalm 62.

emphasised breaking and demolishing demonic strongholds. This emphasis on the presence of malevolent spirits stems from the Akan socio-cultural and religious practices, where every physical manifestation apparently has spiritual causation.<sup>513</sup>

Though the PIWCs did not have 'Prayer Clinics', as other Akan services, the importance they give to prayer was evident during my observations.<sup>514</sup> They did not appear to be less prayerful than the FG or Akan services. Neither did they seem to be inconspicuous of the move of the Holy Spirit during prayer time. On the contrary, it is during the prayer sessions that most verbal references were addressed to the Holy Spirit in the SG services of CoP-UK. Some members merely repeat the words "Holy Ghost" several times during the prayers, whilst others shout "Fire! Fire, Holy Ghost Fire."<sup>515</sup> The SG congregations sang songs that invited the Holy Spirit to come and do his work, whilst the FG services sang the Akan songs that invited the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. In observing the SG members, I could not see a significant difference between the SG and their parents, as far as practices and mannerisms are concerned. They pray as loud, sing as loud and appear to be engaged in high levels of emotions and energy. For Pentecostals this is a genuine move of the Holy Spirit;<sup>516</sup> for the Akan religious adherents, this is a clear manifestation of the spirits of the gods at work. The significant difference between the Akan religious prayers and CoP

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<sup>513</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Christ is the Answer': what is the Question?' 93-117.

<sup>514</sup>Prayer Clinics are essentially prayer meetings or services. They were given the special name Prayer Clinics by one of the former National Heads Apostle Seth Appiah in 2013. The concept represents the motif behind the prayer meetings. They are to be like a clinic where people go for healing and wellbeing.

<sup>515</sup>These were personal observations during the prayer times at the services I attended.

<sup>516</sup>Parker, *Led by the Spirit*, 103.

prayers, as seen above, is to do mainly with cessation of libation and, significantly, the content of the prayers.<sup>517</sup>

There is, unquestionably, dependence on the spirits and the Holy Spirit in the *Akan* traditional prayers and the CoP prayers respectively. Though pouring of libation does not accompany Pentecostal prayers, the offering that usually follows the prayer sessions in the church is arguably a Pentecostal response to the pouring of libation: an offering of gifts to God. In recent months, the influx of the Charismatic churches has seen a phrase ‘sow a seed of faith’ that has perpetuated in Pentecostal circles. Thus, often in the services immediately after the intensive prayers, the pastors or one of the elders lead a time for offering, where they encourage the members to sow a seed in expectation of what God is about to do for them.<sup>518</sup> In my observations, both SG and FG members gave ‘seeds of faith’ as an act of appreciation and a show of expectation of the manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

Overall, the expressions in prayer are similar, yet the emphasis and content are somehow different in analyses. Both FG and the SG are influenced by the rich Akan cultural heritage that follows them from Ghana. However, there is a sharp discontinuity of emphasis on evil spirits and their manifestations among the SG members in CoP-UK. Cartledge rightly concludes that people’s prayers are often connected to their beliefs. In other words, “people pray what they believe.”<sup>519</sup> In this context, the SG do not believe in the overemphasis of the manifestations of evil and malevolent spirits.

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<sup>517</sup>See Chapters 4.7 and 4.7.1

<sup>518</sup> ‘Sowing a seed’ is a phrase which usually refers to an offering of some kind in the church.

<sup>519</sup>Cartledge, *Testimony in the Spirit*, 29

Though they acknowledge the existence and powers of evil spirits, most of them simply did not believe in their perceived influences over Christians to the extent of focusing their prayers on them.

## **5.9 The Holy Spirit and the Sermon**

Though the Akan religious services do not have a homiletical aspect to them, I found it useful to discuss the preaching style of the churches I visited, since the SG frequently made mention of the preaching in the church. Preaching styles in the churches I observed were similar. The point is that, whether the preacher had memorised their sermons or not, they gave the impression that the Holy Spirit inspired and directed them to preach their sermon.<sup>520</sup> This perception of Holy Spirit-inspired sermons keeps the congregation engaged with the understanding that the Holy Spirit is speaking to them through the preacher. In the PIWCs there were very few references to the Holy Spirit's power or activity in healing, protection or deliverance from witchcraft in the sermons preached by the SG members or leaders. The fragmented utterances relating to the Holy Spirit were mainly to do with his ability to transform lives and help the young people achieve their potential in life. For example, in a sermon by one of the SG leaders, the preacher mentioned that "if anyone here is struggling with sin and finding it hard to maintain a pure life then earnestly ask the Holy Spirit to help you. He is our friend and guide."<sup>521</sup> On another occasion, an SG leader talked about young people being sold out for Christ and allowing the Holy Spirit to lead them to great things.<sup>522</sup>

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<sup>521</sup>Personal observation. Sermon preached by an SG leader. LP2, April 2016

<sup>522</sup>Personal observation. Sermon preached by an SG leader. LP2, May 2016

The main differences I observed in the preaching, as far as the Holy Spirit is concerned, were the sermon themes. Concerning the themes, most of the FG sermons focused on holiness, the power of God and deliverance. Like CoP in Ghana, the understanding is that holiness is a gateway to the Holy Spirit's presence in one's life. Moreover, once the Holy Spirit is present in one's life, he brings about the miraculous and supernatural manifestations.<sup>523</sup> Thus, holiness is highlighted as a prerequisite for experiencing the power of the Holy Spirit. The emphasis on holiness is a continuation of the theology and teachings of the founding fathers of CoP.<sup>524</sup> Apart from individual conferences and events where specific themes were given, the preachers could preach on any sermon topic, thus, during my time I observed topics such as 'hearing God's voice', 'living the steadfast life' and 'breaking strongholds'. Most of the sermons in the FG church continued to use references and anecdotes from Ghana and spoke of God's power to deliver people from bondage. On occasions where FG preachers were preaching in the SG dominated PIWCs, I realised that most of the illustrations were still connected to Ghana and times when they were in Ghana. For example, one FG elder preaching in LP1 said:

...remember how far God has brought you. He has delivered you from the powers of *antoa*<sup>525</sup> and the witchcraft in the village and so today, you need to live your life for him. Remember how poor you were when you had to walk to school sometimes with no shoes but thank God for his grace today. Praise the Lord!<sup>526</sup>

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<sup>523</sup>Onyinah, *'Life together in Jesus Christ, empowered by the Holy Spirit'* 11.

<sup>524</sup>See Chapter 3.6.3 for clarification.

<sup>525</sup>*Antoa* is the name of one of the river gods in the Ashanti Region in Ghana.

<sup>526</sup>Personal observation. Sermon preached by elder C. London, 26 June 2015.

Though such expressions resonate with some FG members present, most of the SG scarcely know the names of any of the gods in Ghana, and furthermore, they had never walked to school without shoes in Britain.

In contrast, the SG members chose a different emphasis in their sermon themes. Although they also touched on holiness, the main emphasis was on practical living. Their references to the Holy Spirit were specified in his wisdom and direction in their daily lives in making right decisions and helping them live Christ-centred lives. In his TV documentary, Robert Beckford highlighted practical preaching as one of the reasons for the explosive growth of Hillsong Church in London.<sup>527</sup> I observed this trend among the young preachers in CoP-UK. When given the opportunity the SG members and leaders preached sermons that touched on practical life issues and the SG members appeared to engage with the preachers by frequently shouting “Amen!” and “Yes, preach on”. Sermon topics such as ‘becoming like Christ’, ‘achieving excellence’, ‘achieving your potential in life’, ‘making right choices’ and ‘vision’ are examples of some of the sermons that I heard in the SG services.

It is difficult to see a direct link between the preaching at church and the Akan religious service since there is no preaching in the *akom* service. However, what is significant here is the variations in themes and content of FG and SG sermons. The SG indicated that some of the sermons were simply not meeting their needs, hence their disengagement in the services during such times.

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<sup>527</sup>The Battle for Britain aired on BBC One at 10:45pm, 22 March 2016.

## **5.10 Summary and Findings**

This chapter started by discussing the formation, administrative and leadership structures of CoP-UK. It was observed that CoP-UK started primarily as a church to meet the needs of the Ghanaian Pentecostal migrants in London. This meant that the practices and liturgy were shaped to suit the needs of the FG Ghanaian migrants at the time. I also discovered that the church runs a centralised administrative structure, which means most decisions come from the top leaders and hierarchy. Thus, even though the local SG churches have the freedom to organise events and make individual decisions, the overall influences come from the top leaders – who are mainly FG leaders. I also observed the services in CoP-UK, focusing on the SG dominated PIWCs and the Akan services using four churches as a case study. I discovered that although the practices of CoP-UK are like the wider Pentecostal practices across the globe, there are specific echoes of Ghanaian Akan socio-cultural influences in the church in the UK. Some of these influences are seen in their approach to worship, praises and prayers. There are clear awareness and dependence on the presence of the Holy Spirit in both FG and SG services. Members of CoP-UK, both FG and SG, appeared to depend on the Holy Spirit in the services and placed a high premium on the manifestations of the Holy Spirit. There were several areas of continuity in practices from the Akan socio-cultural and religious settings in CoP-UK services.

The observations point to more similarities and positives than to differences between the FG and SG. There were only a few areas where there appeared to be some variations, such as the emphasis on the spirits and demonic spirits in prayers. These observations were beginning to make analyses of the frustrations of the SG somehow

tricky. This is because, the answer to the question, “are the SG’s practices significantly different from the FG’s as far as Holy Spirit and spirit manifestations are concerned?” is arguably No! It does appear however though that some of the PIWCs and SG services take a different form and do not necessarily follow the structure of the Akan service. However, are these variations enough to contribute or prompt the SG from leaving the church? To get a better understanding, it was necessary to have conversations and discussions with the participants in the churches, the subject of the next chapter.

# **CHAPTER 6: THROUGH THE LENS OF THE SECOND- GENERATION MEMBERS**

## **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter is the second of two to present my observational analyses and findings from my case study. In the previous chapter, I focused primarily on my observations of the services and analysed them within the framework of the Akan socio-cultural and religious setting. My aim in this chapter is to present an analysis from the questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions from my fieldwork findings and how they translate into reasons why some of the second generation (SG) have left and why others are disengaged within the church. My aim here is to answer the following questions: who are the SG members? How different are they from their parents in their identity and perceptions of the world and church? How does their identity affect their engagement in the church? Are the SG beliefs in the Holy Spirit and other spirit manifestations significantly different from their parents? And finally, what, in their own words, are the key factors contributing to their frustrations, disengagement and, in some cases, exodus from the Church of Pentecost UK (CoP-UK)?

### **6.1.1 Why Did Some Second-Generation Leave?**

To get a head start in this process of understanding why some of the SG may be disengaged and leaving the church, I first conducted an inductive study to find out why some of the SG members had already left CoP-UK. Though from conversations, most SG members I spoke to knew people who had left the church, it was difficult getting to

grips with numbers of SG members who had left. This is because there is no official record of members who have left CoP-UK. Furthermore, it was also difficult to ascertain whether most of the SG were referring to the same people who had left when I asked if they knew anyone who had left. The church data records transfers of members from one church or region to another usually within UK. The data also shows backsliders won and backsliders followed but not members who have left. From a conversation with one of the pastors it appears that those who leave CoP-UK without joining another CoP church are considered backsliders.<sup>528</sup> Pastor Q stressed his point by showing me a list of SG members who had left but were still on the church register as backsliders being followed.<sup>529</sup> Incidentally, most of those who had left joined other churches whilst two had started their own fellowship churches. This appeared to be the case for those who I interviewed who had left CoP-UK. All of them were attending different churches and had not backslidden or left the Christian faith. They had simply left CoP-UK.

The ambiguity is that even though this pastor and other pastors I spoke to confirmed that some of the SG had left, the cumulative data of the church continues to show increase even among the youth. One possible reason is that each year, there are several children who graduate from 'Sunday school' to youth through natural growth. Furthermore, even though some of the youth may have left, their parents are still in the church and so their names are still kept on the register with the hope of winning them back.<sup>530</sup> Then there is the migration impact where there has been several hundreds of

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<sup>528</sup> Conversation with Pastor Q, 4 January 2017.

<sup>529</sup> Conversation with Pastor Q, 4 January 2017.

<sup>530</sup> Conversation with Pastor Q, 4 January 2017.

migrant families from Europe to UK in the years (2013-2018) according to both UK statistics as well as the conversations with pastors of COP-UK.<sup>531</sup>

Thus, it is not statistically certain how many SG youth have left CoP-UK, however, after several enquiries I was able to identify 23 SG members who had left but only 12 were willing to speak to me about the reasons why they left. Most of the interviews with this group of people were semi-structured. I called them conversations. This method allowed the participants to talk freely without restricting them to already set questions. I took the semi-structured approach because most of the people I contacted were unwilling to give formal interviews. Thus, the semi-structured approach was informal and less structured. Furthermore, the semi-structured approach gave me room to hear their perceptions freely, with only little prompts to stay about why they left the church.

For example, Sandra said “I don’t like the word interview because I feel as though am being interrogated or investigated. However, I can have a chat with you.”<sup>532</sup> Sandra, like most of the other SG participants I contacted, gave similar responses but was happy and willing to have a conversation. These conversations were therefore informal, useful and helped me to frame my questions for the interviews with those who are still in the church. As discussed in Chapter 2, pseudonyms are used to protect the

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<sup>531</sup> Various pastors in CoP-UK confirmed that their numbers have been boosted by families from Europe especially Italy, Holland, Belgium and Spain. Unfortunately, their data recording sheet does not have any allocation for those who have joined the church from outside UK. It simply records increase and where applicable decrease. See also <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/feb/22/net-migration-of-eu-nationals-to-britain-falls-by-75000>. Accessed on 26 February 2018.

<sup>532</sup>This was Sandra’s initial response during a phone conversation to set up a possible meeting. Telephone conversation with Sandra, 5 July 2015.

identity of all the people I interviewed. Below is a summary of the main themes or reasons from those who had left the church.

### **6.1.2 Disengagement with Practices and Church Culture**

One of the themes that came up in most of the conversations with the SG who left was culture. Gavin said, “I don’t mind being called a Ghana church, but the point is that they literally did everything like we are in Ghana.”<sup>533</sup> John explained further by pointing to various elements of the church – such as the leaders sitting on the platform, the repetitive structure of the liturgy and emphasis on things like clothes and hairstyles – as examples of the church being influenced by the Ghanaian culture. John explained that the leaders expected the youth to wear certain types of clothes and have certain hairstyles which they deemed as appropriate for church.<sup>534</sup> In another conversation with Lucy, she said that she did not like the fact that CoP-UK was called or known as a Ghana church:

For me, church is church. Jesus did not say he is building a Ghana church or UK church. So why do we have a Ghana church? I couldn’t understand half the service because it was in Akan, and the other half that I could understand, I couldn’t really relate because it was still about Ghana.<sup>535</sup>

Sandra also commented, “Most of the services were the same. We knew how it was going to start, the songs they were going to sing and when they were going to sing them. It was just the same every week.”<sup>536</sup> Joyce expressed her frustrations this way:

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<sup>533</sup>For details of participants, see Appendix 1. Interview with Gavin, London, 30 July 2015.

<sup>534</sup>Telephone interview with John, 25 September 2015.

<sup>535</sup>Interview with Lucy, London, 5 September 2015.

<sup>536</sup>Interview with Sandra, London, 25 September 2015.

They introduced the elders and deacons to us every Sunday as though we didn't know them. I mean come on, I know we must respect our leaders and elders but that's a bit over the top. These things were time consuming and unnecessary.<sup>537</sup>

Gideon added "it seemed the services were for our parents and not for us because even though we were in PIWC they kept singing Twi songs and the preachers were still speaking in Twi."<sup>538</sup> Charles described his frustrations in these words:

There was a leader who constantly referred to the chairman of the church in Ghana in his speeches and sermons ...what frustrated me the most was that, none of us really knew the chairman and the elder would refer to him as though he was in our local church.<sup>539</sup>

Charles did not see a link between his local church in London and the chairman in Ghana. For some of the 12 participants who had left the church, one of their major challenges was that they felt the services were structured and organised for their parents. They expressed their frustrations in terms of wanting to have a change in the way the services were conducted.

There were practices like 'opening prayer', 'announcements' and 'offering' which to most of the participants were excessively long. For some of these SG participants the services were unnecessarily long, due to what they perceived as "unnecessary liturgy in the service". Thus, one of the factors that quickly surfaced in my conversation with

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<sup>537</sup>Interview with Joyce, Birmingham, 3 September 2015.

<sup>538</sup>Telephone interview with Gideon, 24 September 2015.

<sup>539</sup>Interview with Charles, London, 27 January 2016.

the participants who had left CoP-UK was that to them the service and the structure were not meeting their needs or those of the contemporary young people.

### **6.1.3 Disengagement with First-Generation Leadership**

Another theme that emerged from my conversations with those who had left CoP-UK was their frustration with some of the first generation (FG) leaders. John said, “the leadership is too Af”.<sup>540</sup> By Af, John explained that the leadership was too African. When pressed further to explain what he meant, John described the leaders as having little to no understanding of the British culture and as such were constantly making references to Ghana in their sermons and behaving as though they were in Ghana. These behaviours range from how they speak, to how they pray and perform other church liturgy.<sup>541</sup> According to Gavin:

The thing is, I don't mind the fact that most of our leaders were from Ghana, but it is the fact that they did nothing wrong. What they said was final and we could not really get in a word or give our opinion on anything. I mean what's the point? What's the point of going to a place where your voice can't be heard?<sup>542</sup>

Charlotte also spoke of several incidents where she felt the FG elders and deacons did not understand the SG and were not giving them opportunity to grow. Charlotte explained, “We told them [leaders] we wanted more time for praise and worship but they told us we are too young and gave more time for the adults who already had more time in the service to pray.”<sup>543</sup> Obed explained in our conversation that “the leaders

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<sup>540</sup>Telephone Conversation with John, 25 June 2015.

<sup>541</sup>Telephone Conversation with John, 25 September 2015.

<sup>542</sup>Interview with Gavin, London, 30 July 2015.

<sup>543</sup>Interview with Charlotte, Birmingham, 3 September 2015.

simply wanted to clone us ...they did not understand that we had to be us and we do things slightly differently.”<sup>544</sup> John added that “I was told off for giving a suggestion to the elder.”<sup>545</sup>

John’s remarks were echoed by others among the 12 who I spoke to. From different experiences, and with different illustrations, they spoke of the fact that firstly, the leaders did not listen to their suggestions concerning what they thought might work for the youth and the SG. Secondly, they spoke of feeling as though their voices were neither acknowledged nor heard, as far as decision making and organisation of the church and services were concerned. For the SG who had already left it appeared that they were frustrated with some of the FG leaders who were unwilling to listen to them.

#### **6.1.4 Disengagement with the ‘Spirit Factor’**

Aside from leadership, cultural and liturgical reasons, the other reason that came up in all 12 conversations was the subject of the Holy Spirit, evil spirits and the over-emphasis on witchcraft and evil manifestations. For those who had left the church, some of them bemoaned the fact that most prayers, sermons and utterances had to do with ‘breaking and binding’ evil spiritual forces. Mark said, “don’t get me wrong yeah ...I believe demons exist and that ...but you can’t waste too much time praying for these demons. I need a job. I need to know how to handle my finances and stuff not demons.”<sup>546</sup> Ella adds:

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<sup>544</sup>Interview with Obed, London, 29 January 2016.

<sup>545</sup>Telephone interview with John, 25 September 2015.

<sup>546</sup>Interview with Mark, Manchester, 28 November 2015.

I didn't like how most of the sermons and prayers concentrated too much on demons and evil spirits. Most of the time our parents drag us to all night services and Friday night prayers only for them to be shouting, clapping and destroying the satanic forces.<sup>547</sup>

Sandra went further by saying that "if these spirits could be destroyed I think they would have been destroyed before we were born."<sup>548</sup>

These extracts from some of the former CoP-UK SG members suggest that for them, the church liturgy was heavily directed towards praying against evil spirits. An interview with Mary, who left the church for a year but re-joined in 2015, highlighted the discomfort that some of them feel when it comes to these matters of the spirits. According to Mary, the prayers and emphasis on demons did not only scare her away but, in her own words, "scared some of my friends away too." Mary said, "when I went to university, I saw that as an opportunity to 'escape CoP-UK' for a bit." Mary's interview highlighted the emphasis on spirits by the FG leaders, as well as the social theories engulfing the SG in United Kingdom (UK) today. Mary was very expressive and continued:

I was made to believe that my friend who had learning difficulties was being tormented by evil spirits and demons. My parents asked me not to play with her or even talk to her until she was healed. Since then, my friend became a subject and target of our family devotions where we constantly bombarded the evil spirits tormenting her.<sup>549</sup>

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<sup>547</sup>Telephone interview with Ella, 24 October 2015.

<sup>548</sup>Interview with Sandra, London, 25 September 2015.

<sup>549</sup>Interview with Mary, London, 9 January 2016.

Gideon shared a similar experience where he felt uncomfortable praying in the church because his parents attributed the slightest occurrences, such as a persistent headache, flu or a wasp entering the house, to demonic influences.<sup>550</sup> Significantly for Gideon and the few others who narrated such stories, it was not only their parents who believed and prayed against such things, but also some of the church leaders. Obed added that:

...instead of praying against the evil spirits we wanted to see the power of the Holy Spirit in healing, miracles and the other things like people getting jobs, spouses and mortgages. We know Satan exists, right, but we don't really care too much about him.<sup>551</sup>

For all 12 participants, the belief, over-emphasis on and manifestations of spirit entities, both at church and home, played a significant role in their disengagement and eventual exodus from the church. In the words of Mary, "I was tired of praying against the evil spirits, I wanted more of Christ and the opportunity to grow in him."<sup>552</sup>

### **6.1.5 The Next Steps**

From these initial interviews, it was clear that the pre-Christian traditional view of spirits which has influenced the FG's understanding of the Holy Spirit keeps them committed to the church through the working of the Holy Spirit in their lives and in church praxis. However, because the SG members do not have the same traditional views of spirits, their understanding of the Holy Spirit and evil spirits are different from that of their parents/grandparents, and that this understanding makes it difficult for them to engage

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<sup>550</sup>Telephone interview with Gideon, 21 January 2016.

<sup>551</sup>Interview with Obed, London, 29 January 2016.

<sup>552</sup>Interview with Mary, London, 9 January 2016.

in certain practices and hence become prone to leaving the church. Indeed, the issues they raised were more than just evil spirits. Challenges of leadership and the influences of the Ghanaian culture was crucial. Thus, using the responses from the inductive study as a background, I developed my questionnaires, focus group and interview questions. The test was therefore to find out if those who are still in the church are facing similar challenges to those who had already left.

### **6.1.6 Setting the Scene**

In collating and analysing the data, I have been careful to acknowledge that not all responses can be generalised or taken as absolutes for all SG members. For example, during one of the interviews, an SG lady indicated that “all the youth preferred English songs during the services.”<sup>553</sup> This was inaccurate, as both my observations and some of the other interviews showed that not all the youth preferred English songs. Thus, in analysing the interviews and focus group discussions, I took into consideration the participants’ observations as well as the questionnaires and other interviews. The discussions and analyses, are therefore, are themes that continued in the observations, questionnaires, focus groups and interviews. My data gathering was structured around ‘identity and culture’ and ‘beliefs and opinions’.

To set the ball rolling I sent out 150 questionnaires to SG members across CoP-UK, of which 100 were returned. The questionnaires were structured in three parts. The first part was designed to find out from the SG how they identified themselves. I looked

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<sup>553</sup>Interview with Rose, Birmingham, 15 April 2016

at the cultural identity of the SG as being crucial to their perceptions of the church. This is because identity is crucial to understanding behaviours and experiences of individuals and communities.<sup>554</sup> The second part was designed to find out their understandings of church practices and what elements of church practices they enjoyed and which parts they disliked. The third and final part specifically focused on their perceptions of spirit beliefs and manifestations, and how that affected their engagement in church. I also sent the same questionnaires to some FG churches and had 50 responses. The lower response rate from the FG is not surprising. This is partly because most FGs prefer to engage in conversations rather than writing and filling out questionnaires.<sup>555</sup> Following the surveys, I spoke to a focus group from each of the three PIWCs that I observed; and from the focus groups I had one-on-one interviews with 70 SG participants and 30 FG members in London and Birmingham.<sup>556</sup>

## 6.2 The Identity of the Second-Generation Members

I wanted to know how the SG individuals identified themselves and what values influenced their identity and beliefs. Global and economic changes have contributed significantly to questions of identity, nationality and ethnicity. The cultural and national pointers of identities are now contested by the social, political and economic structures in the post-modern world.<sup>557</sup> For example, one can be born and raised in Africa yet possess a British passport. Conversely, one can be born in Britain by African parents and yet profess to be African whilst living in Britain. Should such persons describe

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<sup>554</sup> Gilroy, 'Diaspora and the Detours of Identity', *Identity and Difference*, 301.

<sup>555</sup> I encountered a similar challenge with the FG members during my fieldwork in my MPhil studies. See also Chike, *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity*, 18.

<sup>556</sup> See Chapter 2.5 and the sub sections for details of the methodology and participants.

<sup>557</sup> Woodward, 'Concepts of Identity and difference', *Identity and difference*, 18.

themselves as British or African or both? And does such identity have any bearing on their beliefs, practices and behaviours? Though identity is central to political, academic and theoretical debates, it is difficult to describe and define the concept of identity. Identity is the outcome of a combination of processes, both conscious and unconscious, which produce the makeup of an individual or community.<sup>558</sup>

In anthropology, the concept of identity is mainly explored within the context of ethnicity.<sup>559</sup> Though this concept is changing and is being challenged, my initial enquiry was to investigate how the SG identified themselves within the context of ethnicity. The first question I asked was “How do you identify yourself?” Out of the 100 participants in the questionnaire, 70% identified themselves as Ghanaian-British. These included some who were born in the UK and other parts of Europe, and those who migrated from Ghana to the UK at a very young age. 25% identified themselves as British-Ghanaian, whilst 5% identified themselves as Ghanaian, British or other European nationals. The results of this questionnaire show that most SG members in CoP-UK see themselves first as Ghanaians, before British or any other. By choosing Ghanaian-British, instead of say British-Ghanaian, the SG acknowledged their Ghanaian heritage, even though they were born and raised in the UK or Europe.

I asked them the same question during interviews: “How would you describe yourself/identity?” Some responded as follows:

Morgan: “Of course I’m a true Ghanaian man.”<sup>560</sup>

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<sup>558</sup>Adopted from Paul Gilroy in, Gilroy, ‘Diaspora and the Detours of Identity, *Identity and difference* ,304

<sup>559</sup>Brettell and Sargent, *Introduction, Migration, Identity and Citizenship*, 3-8.

<sup>560</sup>Interview with Morgan, London, 12 February 2016.

Eva: “Yea definitely Ghanaian.”<sup>561</sup>

Monica: “Of course I’m Ghanaian.”<sup>562</sup>

Luke: “Yea I’m Ghanaian but of course when I fill out forms I tick British or Black-British.”<sup>563</sup>

The responses above were from SG respondents born in UK, yet they did not hesitate to say they were Ghanaians. Indeed, for some of them the impression I got was that the question was a ‘non-starter’. In other words, they seemed surprised that I even asked them how they see or identify themselves. This was the case especially during the focus group discussions. When I brought the issue of identity into the focus group discussions, nearly all the participants in all three focus groups affirmed that they were Ghanaian. On the surface, the SG members did not appear to have any doubts regarding their identity as Ghanaians.<sup>564</sup> As one of them said later in a conversation, “I was quite surprised why you asked how we see or identify ourselves. I’m not being funny, but I thought you clearly knew we were Ghanaians.”<sup>565</sup>

The question of identity amongst the SG young people was intended to ascertain how these young people see themselves with regards to the communities they live in. Carol Alexander makes a similar observation in her study on African Caribbean youth in London, where nearly all the participants identified themselves as Caribbean-British.<sup>566</sup>

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<sup>561</sup>Interview with Eva, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>562</sup>Interview with Monica, London, 29 November 2015.

<sup>563</sup>Interview with Luke, London, 13 February 2016.

<sup>564</sup>Cf. Amoah, ‘The Identity Question for African Youth: Developing the New While Maintaining the Old’ 127-133.

<sup>565</sup>Telephone interview with Aaron, 27 May 2016.

<sup>566</sup>Alexander, *The Art of Being Black*, 1996.

Alexander's participants were second-generation African-Caribbeans, born in Britain and based in London, yet they identified themselves as Caribbean-British. They still maintained by definition, their identity as Caribbean. Garrison argues that it is a way of acknowledging their 'sameness' in terms of colour yet accepting their difference from other black people who may not be British.<sup>567</sup> From his own research in London, Garrison deduced that "the black youth no longer feels apologetic for being black."<sup>568</sup> Garrison was making a comparison with the SG youth and their parents regarding their identities. Similarly, the SG in CoP-UK did not seem to have lost or wanted to lose their association or identity as Ghanaians, even though they were born in the UK or Europe. They identified themselves as Ghanaians first because their parents were Ghanaian.

### **6.2.1 Identity Re-defined: Analysing the Second-Generation's Perceptions on Identity**

Though the SG members spoke of their identity in terms of being Ghanaian, there were some ambivalences in their descriptions of their identity. The SG participants did not think of themselves as migrants, but rather as citizens. They believe they belong in Britain because they were born or grew up there. Gloria said in an interview, "England is my home. This is where I was born and live. But my parents take me to Ghana to see my roots from time to time."<sup>569</sup> Paula stated, "I know I'm Ghanaian in blood, but Birmingham is home. I cannot call Ghana home because I don't know much about the place apart from some songs and some church friends."<sup>570</sup> Eva said, "I have not been

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<sup>567</sup>Garrison, *Black Youth, Rastafarianism, and the Identity crises in Britain*, 7

<sup>568</sup>Garrison, *Black Youth, Rastafarianism, and the Identity crises in Britain*, 7

<sup>569</sup>Interview with Gloria, London, 12 February 2016.

<sup>570</sup>Interview with Paula, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

to Ghana yet, but my parents tell me lots of stories about Ghana.”<sup>571</sup> They did not think of themselves as Ghanaians living in Britain, but rather as British people with Ghanaian heritage. This is in sharp contrast to their parents who thought of themselves as Ghanaians living in Britain. In my conversations with the FG participants, most of them called Ghana home, regardless of how long they had been in UK. Thus, although the SG claim to be Ghanaian-British, their perception about Ghana is significantly different from their parents.

The question, therefore, is what makes these SG members identify themselves as Ghanaian-British? On what basis do they acknowledge their Ghanaian heritage? The answer is seen through three features. First, they are Ghanaian because of their parents and their appreciation of certain Ghanaian cultural values; second, they identified themselves with Ghana through music and arts; and third, they identified themselves as Ghanaians through the various multimedia outlets. In the first instance, their Ghanaian identity is seen in the fact that they have Ghanaian parents, speak or understand the Ghanaian language at home, eat certain Ghanaian dishes, and wear Ghanaian clothes on certain occasions. James’ response is representative of some of the responses I heard from my participants – “I’m Ghanaian because my parents are Ghanaian and, so we are all Ghanaian.”<sup>572</sup> Although some of the SG members admitted to not being able to speak the Ghanaian language fluently, they took pride in understanding some of the Ghanaian vernacular such as Twi (Akan), Ga and Ewe.

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<sup>571</sup>Interview with Eva, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>572</sup>Interview with James, London, 30 January 2016.

For example, Pat in London said, “I love having conversations with my mum even though I don’t speak the language fluently, we still have an understanding.”<sup>573</sup>

The SG born in other parts of Europe were more fluent in speaking the various Ghanaian languages because of their parents’ inability to speak the other European languages fluently. Those SG from Europe therefore learned English as a third language. Eva, who was born in Italy and migrated to UK with her parents in 2015 said:

English is actually my third language. I speak Twi because that is what my parents speak at home all the time and, so I grew up with it. Then I speak Italian because that is where I was born and grew up speaking Italian at school and with my friends. However, English is my third language because I’ve had to learn it in school as a second language to Italian.<sup>574</sup>

Eva’s story is like other SG members who were born in other European countries before migrating to England. However, Eva identified herself as Ghanaian because her parents are from Ghana. Apart from the language, the SG members spoke of their interest in Ghanaian dishes and in wearing Ghanaian clothes on occasions. They spoke of showing respect to the elderly by shaking hands with their right hand, calling older people ‘uncle and aunty’ instead of their first names and greeting with the right hand.<sup>575</sup> These elements, in their eyes, defined their Ghanaian identity.

The second point of reference to the Ghanaian culture and identity is music and arts. By this I refer to Ghanaian or Afro-beat songs, dance and films. The SG participants

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<sup>573</sup>Pat, Focus Group Interview, London, 30 January 2016.

<sup>574</sup>Interview with Eva, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>575</sup>For significance of some of these gestures, see Chapter 3.4.2

expressed their connection with Africa within the context of music – especially Ghanaian, Nigerian and South African songs. In the focus groups in London, the youth discussed some of the recent Ghanaian and African musicians, whose music they enjoyed and listened to regularly. Paul in LP1 said, “Yea we like the Ghana hip-life songs and RnB music. Everybody knows ‘Sarkodie’, ‘Davido’, ‘Akon’ and some of these top guys out there doing it in Africa and on the international stage.”<sup>576</sup> The others in the group nodded in response and some of them added more names and artists in Ghana and Nigeria who they regarded as top musicians and who they listened to regularly.

In LP2, Ruth said, “I actually love the Ghanaian hip-life music you know. I think everyone here loves it too. I hear hip-life and RnB music in nearly all the parties I go to and we all sing along and dance to the tunes.”<sup>577</sup> The other participants smiled and nodded in agreement to Ruth’s comments. In the group in Birmingham, Jake commented, “we love to listen to the latest music from Ghana and dance. Most of the guys learn the latest dance moves from Ghana all the time.”<sup>578</sup> Again there was laughter and signs of agreement, whilst others gave further examples. Their interest in the Ghanaian hip-life and RnB music is significant. Unlike their parents, who prefer the traditional Ghanaian highlife music, most of the youth on the contrary dislike the highlife music which is rooted in Ghanaian indigenous folk music style and format.

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<sup>576</sup>Interview with Paul, London, 30 January 2016. Paul mentioned some of the artists that he and his friends enjoy listening to.

<sup>577</sup>Interview with Monica, London, 29 November 2015.

<sup>578</sup>Interview with Jake, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

The difference is that the hip-life and African RnB music and songs are widely accepted internationally. They are not all necessarily sung in English, but the rhythm, production, lyrics and style of the songs, and the subsequent dance moves, reach global audiences. For example, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, Prince William and Kate, danced to the Ghanaian hip-life music popularly known as *Azonto* during a visit to a homeless centre in London.<sup>579</sup> UK RnB songs 'Man's not Hot' and 'Blinded by your grace' released by SG UK born Ghanaians Big Shack and stormzy respectively inspired the SG members to celebrate their Ghanaian identities.<sup>580</sup> These events, along with other UK radio and MTV Hits presentations of the African hip-life and RnB songs, keep some of the SG engaged with the music and arts industry from Ghana and Africa. The SG youth did not only cite secular music from Ghana and Africa, but also gospel music. Like the secular songs, they mentioned contemporary African gospel artists, such as 'Sonnie Badu', 'Uche' and 'Muyiwa', among their favourites. They appeared to adopt and apply the Ghanaian dance routines in some of the church services I observed.

Though many of the SG respondents admitted to not watching or enjoying Ghanaian movies, a small number of them, especially the ladies, said they enjoyed watching Ghanaian and Nigerian movies as a way of relaxing and having a laugh with their mothers. Significantly, it is through these movies that some of the SG members,

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<sup>579</sup>Story published by the telegraph at [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/prince-william/8971827/Dukeand-Duchess-of-Cambridge-visit-homeless.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/prince-william/8971827/Dukeand-Duchess-of-Cambridge-visit-homeless.html). Accessed 25 August 2013; <http://www.mjemagazine.com/photos-prince-william-dancing-azonto>. Accessed 14 June 2017.

<sup>580</sup> These two artists released their songs in 2017 and attracted a wide following on social media. Stormzy subsequently performed at the 2018 Brit Awards ceremony in London attended by the Duke and Dutchess of Cambridge.cf. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/22/the-guardian-view-on-stormzy-at-the-brits-he-set-trends>. Accessed 26 February 2018.

especially the women, witness manifestations of evil spirits and witchcraft. Suzy in London said, “These movies make me laugh but occasionally they scare me because they show some evil things regarding witchcraft and *juju*.”<sup>581</sup>

Hannah, in Birmingham added:

I did not really know how these juju people and witchcraft work until I started watching some of these Ghanaian films ...I saw people using some charms to kill people and others were putting stuff in people’s food to make them fall in love with them.<sup>582</sup>

Suzy and Hannah were part of a minority of SG members who watch these movies and, subsequently, follow the footsteps of their parents in praying against evil spirits and demonic manifestations in their lives.<sup>583</sup> I shall explore the implications of this further in the analyses below.

Closely related to music and arts is the third point which I deduced from the discussions with the SG youth as significant in their identity – their knowledge of Ghana through the media. In this context the SG pride themselves on their Ghanaian heritage during events like the World Cup, the Olympics and TV programmes, such as ‘X Factor’ and ‘The Apprentice’, when Ghanaians appear to excel. During such events and on other occasions, the SG, like their parents, wear their Ghanaian clothes and display the colours of the Ghana flag and engage on social media apps showcasing their Ghanaian heritage. Some of these SG, along with the younger third generation people,

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<sup>581</sup>Interview with Suzy, 31 January, London 2016. Juju is a form of Ghanaian witchcraft.

<sup>582</sup>Interview with Hannah, 18 June, Birmingham, 2016.

<sup>583</sup>This will be discussed in more detail below.

proudly exhibit their Ghanaian colours and heritage during such events. They do not always listen to Ghana radio or watch Ghana TV via any of the media apps. Instead, as James said, “when one of our own make us proud on the international or national stage we also make them proud by letting them know that we are here.”<sup>584</sup> These three key areas summarise the discussions and interviews I had with the SG members regarding how they identify themselves. It shows, from their point of view, what makes them feel Ghanaian, even though they were born and have lived in the UK and Europe most of their lives.

## **6.2.2 The Church and the Second Generation’s Identity**

Incidentally, none of the participants hinted or mentioned their association with CoP-UK in describing their identity. The church was not even mentioned or defined as a mark of identity. This contrasts with some sociologists who argue that religion provides identity. King argues that “religious beliefs, values and morals enable youth to make sense of the world and understand their place in it.”<sup>585</sup> King asserts that young people find a profound sense of belonging through their association with a congregation.<sup>586</sup> Furthermore, Markstrom-Adams, Hofstra and Dougher, have shown that religious attendance is associated with identity commitments and foreclosure.<sup>587</sup> In other words, young people who are connected with high attendance in religious institutions, such as church, are more likely to define their self-worth through the lens of their religion.

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<sup>584</sup>Interview with James, London, 30 January 2016.

<sup>585</sup>King, ‘Religion and Identity: The Role of Ideological, Social, and Spiritual Context,’ 198.

<sup>586</sup>King, ‘Religion and Identity: The Role of Ideological, Social, and Spiritual Contexts,’ 200.

<sup>587</sup>Markstrom-Adams, and Dougher, ‘The ego-virtue of fidelity: A case for the study of religion and identity formation in adolescence,’ 453–469.

Whilst this is true of the FG migrants, the same cannot be said for the SG participants in my research. Most of the FG see themselves as members of a historical tradition and pride themselves on ‘the Church of Pentecost (CoP) way’ of organising church services. They will often say “this is CoP, and this is what makes us unique.”<sup>588</sup> The CoP is part of their DNA. This phenomenon of identity and church or religious affiliation is seen in other migrant congregations. Often church leaders and some FG members encourage practices of their home churches to remind the members of their roots.<sup>589</sup> However, my SG respondents did not see themselves in the ‘CoP way’. One respondent noted, “We are Christians and church is for everyone”.<sup>590</sup> For Michael and some of his friends, the church does not necessarily contribute to their identity or values.<sup>591</sup> Though it gives them a platform for some exuberant dancing, singing and praying, which they acknowledge is not always the case in other churches, they do not feel rooted to the church traditions.

The former National Head of CoP-UK observed that “the youth do not have their identity in the church’s traditions like their parents.”<sup>592</sup> Another SG leader commented, “The youth are simply not buying into the CoP ways of doing things.”<sup>593</sup> These views are nuanced by certain individuals of the SG. Indeed, there are some youths who appeared to follow the ways of their parents regarding church practices. However,

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<sup>588</sup> Personal observation during some church services.

<sup>589</sup> Berhó, Martí and Mulder, ‘Global Pentecostalism and Ethnic Identity Maintenance among Latino Immigrants,’ 9, 23.

<sup>590</sup> Interview with Michael, London, 15 May 2016.

<sup>591</sup> Interview with Michael, London, 15 May 2016.

<sup>592</sup> Interview with Apostle Newton, London, 16 December 2015.

<sup>593</sup> Interview with Harry. London, 28 January 2016.

perhaps the majority did not 'buy into' the CoP ways of church liturgy. As seen in Chapter 3, there is a sense in which the FG feel a togetherness and connection which is rooted in their origins from Ghana and their perception of seeking spiritual protection, power and favour. However, though the SG appeared to embrace their Ghanaian culture, they do not necessarily feel connected to the roots and, significantly, to the spiritual elements of the Ghanaian indigenous beliefs.<sup>594</sup>

Thus, while some SG members appear to be engaged in the worship sessions, praises and prayers, they do not define their identity in relation to the church. They are not grounded in the church like their parents, who define themselves as Ghanaian CoP members. Modood suggests that this is mainly to do with the effect of British socialisation and the decline in religious commitments in the society today.<sup>595</sup> Even though the FG migrated to the UK with a more religious orientation than the indigenous people, religion was to a large degree influential in the society at the time. However, the SG is now living in a society of 'non-religions' where some people do not identify themselves by their religious backgrounds.<sup>596</sup> Nevertheless, religion or the church is still important to the SG participants in this study. The caveat is that some of the respondents wanted to dissociate themselves from the notion of 'Ghanaian' or African-based church. In other words, they prefer the church to be inclusive and referred to as a church for 'all people, not just Ghanaians'.

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<sup>594</sup>See Chapter 3.5.

<sup>595</sup>Modood, Beishon and Virdee, *Changing Ethnic Identities*, 105.

<sup>596</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/04/half-uk-population-has-no-religion-british-social-attitudes-survey>. Accessed 28 February 2018.

### 6.2.3 The Multiple Identities of the Second-Generation Members

Kuecker argues that people identify themselves with groups which they perceive they belong.<sup>597</sup> Though this assertion appears simplistic, it is foundational to peoples' self-identity. Most of the SG members were comfortable to profess their Ghanaian heritage, yet at the same time maintain their current identity and lifestyle as British citizens in the UK.<sup>598</sup> Unlike their parents and some of the FG, most of the SG members do not necessarily describe or link their identity with the church. Indeed, some were not even certain about denominational differences in Christianity. For some of them, their identity appeared to be shaped by their friends, both in the church and outside the church, and other social influences. Many of the SG respondents have non-Ghanaian friends whom they socialised with outside of church. They spoke of 'hanging around' with some of their non-Ghanaian friends, going to places like cinemas, parties, football and shopping. Some of the SG suggested that their parents and the church do not really know them. One SG youth opined that:

Though I love my parents, they don't really know me. Church is good, but they treat us like we are in Ghana. My friends help me to define who I am. They listen to me and are there for me.<sup>599</sup>

Another respondent added in the interview:

I love my Ghanaian roots but it's not as simple as that. Obviously, we don't live in Ghana. Most of my friends outside church are not Ghanaians. But I get on well with them and we know each other well. They don't judge me or try to make me into what I'm not.<sup>600</sup>

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<sup>597</sup> Kuecker, *The Spirit and the "Other"*, 28.

<sup>598</sup>Cf. Moodood, Beishon and Virdee, *Changing Ethnic Identities*, 110.

<sup>599</sup>Interview with Interview with Monica, London, 29 November 2015.

<sup>600</sup>Interview with Jake, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

For some of the participants they struggled to describe their identity even though they had responded to being Ghanaian or Ghanaian-British. Their identity is influenced by opinions of friends, society and other phenomena which are connected to the multiple cultures around them. Subsequently, the church becomes the primary institution where these young people exhibit and express their 'Ghanaianness', however, outside the church they assume their British and local identities. Moodood describes this as 'situational identity', whereby individuals assume different identities in different situations.<sup>601</sup> Woodward argues that individuals are now living within several different institutions at any given time.<sup>602</sup> Bourdieu describes these situations or institutions as fields.<sup>603</sup> Individuals participate in the various fields at various times, depending on the context and situation. Essentially, the complexities of contemporary life and the society, prompt individuals to assume different identities at different times.

Woodward explains that every field has its controls, expectations and promises of pleasure. Thus, the SG youth are not always Ghanaian. They can be Ghanaian at home and church, because they are required to observe certain practices, whilst outside church they assume different identities to fit in the community and society in which they live to enjoy certain benefits. This adaptation of identities is seen in Kuecker's explanation of "maintenance of positive self-esteem" and "the reduction of subjective uncertainty".<sup>604</sup> For example, Clive described how he changes his style of dressing and adopts the street lingua outside church to be accepted by his circle of

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<sup>601</sup>Moodood, Beishon and Virdee, *Changing Ethnic Identities*, 295.

<sup>602</sup>Woodward, *Concepts of Identity and Difference*, 21.

<sup>603</sup>Bourdieu in Woodward, *Concepts of Identity and Difference*, 21.

<sup>604</sup> Kuecker, *The Spirit and the "Other"*, 28.

friends at school.<sup>605</sup> The street identity is not necessarily British. It is an amalgamation of different cultures on the streets of London forming their own urban culture. For Clive and some of the SG members, the identity with the community group outside the church is crucial to maintaining a positive image, high-status stability and social identity outside church.<sup>606</sup>

These different identities can inherently conflict with each other. In the case of the SG in CoP-UK, there appear to be conflicts when, for example, Clive takes his street lingua and dressing into church on Sunday. Some of the FG see this style as 'ungodly' and secular and, in some cases, they pray for the youth who they think are backsliding because of their contemporary sense of fashion and speech.<sup>607</sup> Thus, when they are home they engage their parents within the Ghanaian cultural values and when in the church they adhere to certain practices required of them by CoP standards. Thus, whilst their parents and some church leaders may assume that the youth are Ghanaian, the SG are battling different identities, which leads some of them to ask questions about the relevance of church culture and practices, and eventually they become disengaged. Arguably, as Lorde asserts, "it is possible to be socially excluded and not symbolically marked as different."<sup>608</sup> In this context, the SG are not seen as symbolically different from their parents because they are Ghanaians. They are 'socially' excluded because they [the SG] themselves do not necessarily embrace all the marks of the church identity and culture.

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<sup>605</sup>Interview with Clive, London, 12 February 2016.

<sup>606</sup> See Kuecker for further discussions on identity and social groups. Kuecker, *The Spirit and the "Other"*, 28-34.

<sup>607</sup>Interview with Clive, London, 12 February 2016.

<sup>608</sup>Lorde, *Sister Outsider*, 47.

Thus, the SG identities are nuanced not only through ethnicity but are “fluid, multiple and contextual”.<sup>609</sup> Unless prompted, they were happy to identify themselves as young people living in London. But when presented with the categories of political and ethnic identity, they acknowledge their Ghanaian and British identities. This is what Brettell and Nibbs describe as ‘Lived Hybridity’ to describe ways in which young people describe themselves.<sup>610</sup> In Lived Hybridity the young people define themselves in ways which are fluid, complex and multiple based on the immediate context. Though they acknowledge their parents’ heritage as vital to their identity, at the same time they see their identity as neither fixed in the parents’ culture nor in the British culture. In the case of the SG participants, it is not necessarily an individualistic identification of the self as Friedman describes the modern individual.<sup>611</sup> Instead, it is a complex amalgamation of cultures and, in some cases, a creation of new cultures.

#### **6.2.4 The New and Emerging Identities of the Second Generation**

The discussion surrounding religion, culture and identity has been widely discussed and remains contentious.<sup>612</sup> Neil argues that although religion and culture are separate entities, they are practically intertwined.<sup>613</sup> In other words, as Tillich asserts, “religion is the substance of culture and culture is the form of religion.”<sup>614</sup> Subsequently, it has been difficult to define and separate religion and culture. However, some social anthropologists and theologians have sought to describe and identify migrants,

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<sup>609</sup>Haayen, ‘My Friends Make Me who I am’, *Identity and the Second Generation*, 66.

<sup>610</sup>Brettell and Nibbs, ‘Lived Hybridity: Second-Generation Identity Construction through College Festival,’ 678-99

<sup>611</sup> Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process*, 194.

<sup>612</sup>Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, 123.

<sup>613</sup> Neil, ‘Religion and Culture: A Historical Introduction,’ 1

<sup>614</sup>Tillich, *Theology of Culture*, 42.

especially African migrants, in the diaspora within the context of religion. For example, Hanciles points out that religion is central to immigrants' identity and also acts as a coping mechanism for migrants in a foreign land.<sup>615</sup>

In his work on identity and depression, Kilbour argued that individuals who come from a majority homogenous group into a minority group in a foreign country resort to religion as their way of identifying themselves.<sup>616</sup> Hunt adds that religion is the bastion that holds the various strands of identity among Africans in the diaspora.<sup>617</sup> Geertz,<sup>618</sup> Berger,<sup>619</sup> and Gilroy<sup>620</sup>, among others, argue for identity based on religious affiliations. In his research on African migrant churches in Ireland, Abel Ugba also argued that Pentecostalism offers African migrants a new form of identity independent of race, nationality and immigration status.<sup>621</sup> His findings are not dissimilar to that of Michael Frost<sup>622</sup> who looked at the Pentecostal experience and identity among the Māori in New Zealand and Berhó et al's work on how a Pentecostal Guatemalan church in Oregon successfully maintain their identity in the diaspora.<sup>623</sup>

Two identifiable features within most of these theories on identity are: firstly, they rely on FG immigrants who have migrated to the diaspora; and secondly, most of the argument is seen from the lens of immigrants' quest for identity amid racial tension and

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<sup>615</sup>Hanciles, 'Mission and Migration: some implications for twenty-first century church', 146-153.

<sup>616</sup>Kilbour, 'Ethiopian immigrants' racial identity attitudes and depression symptomatology', 47-58.

<sup>617</sup>Hunt, 'Neither here nor there' 147.

<sup>618</sup>Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures* (1973).

<sup>619</sup>Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion*, (1967).

<sup>620</sup>Gilroy, *Between Camps*, (2000).

<sup>621</sup>Ugba, 'A Part of and Apart from Society? Pentecostal Africans in the 'New Ireland,' 86-101.

<sup>622</sup> Frost, 'Pentecostal Experience and the Affirmation of Ethnic Identity,' (2017).

<sup>623</sup> Berhó et al, 'Global Pentecostalism and Ethnic Identity Maintenance among Latino Immigrants,' (2017).

conflicts. The work by Amoah in *The New Identities of Youth in America* has shown that the general conceptualisation of immigrants does not follow a similar pattern.<sup>624</sup> This is because different countries in Africa have different cultures and even among the countries there are different “groups such as tribes and clans, with specific emphasis on strict family attachment, religiosity, and strong attachment to one’s ethnic group.”<sup>625</sup>

Thus, although the SG participants spoke of their identity with references to their parents’ heritage, love for African music and dances, they described their identity in more fluid and complex ways. The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau asserts that identities are devised from social rather than natural phenomena.<sup>626</sup> Thus, in this context, the SG in CoP-UK forge their identities not necessarily through the parents’ lineage, but rather through the influences in the British society. The subject of identity is complicated because, as Hussain notes, it is not a subject of daily discussion or reflection.<sup>627</sup> It requires intentional conversation and discussions. Unlike some of the social and anthropological theories, which stress the importance of religion in identity formation, the SG members appear to have redefined their identity in the diaspora in other ways.

The crux of the matter is that whilst these theories on religion and identity fit the case for the FG migrants, it becomes difficult to fit the same cap on the SG citizens. This is

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<sup>624</sup>Amoah, ‘The Identity Question for African Youth: Developing the New While Maintaining the Old’, 127-133.

<sup>625</sup>Amoah, ‘The Identity Question for African Youth: Developing the New While Maintaining the Old’, 130.

<sup>626</sup>Rousseau, in Gilroy, ‘Diaspora and the Detours of Identity’, 303.

<sup>627</sup>Hussain and Bagguley, *Reflexive Ethnicities: Crisis, Diversity and ReComposition*, *Sociological Research Online*, 18.

because CoP-UK, like other African migrant churches, was established with the aim of reconnecting and giving migrants a sense of identity in a foreign land. However, the SG does not see the UK as a foreign land. Unlike their parents, the SG participants see themselves as British, equals with the indigenous people, and openly reject any indignities of racism or attempt to be seen as migrants or third-class citizens. For most of my SG respondents, UK is home. Though they appear to enjoy some aspects of the Ghanaian socio-cultural practices, their identity is not rooted in the church or Ghanaian culture.

Gilroy asserts that the raw materials which make up identity maybe inherited from the past, but they are also worked on in the present, creatively or reluctantly.<sup>628</sup> It is perhaps the SG's engagement in church practices, such as dancing and singing, that has led some of the leaders of CoP-UK and the parents of these SG members to consider all the SG as Ghanaians. Hence, they continue to organise and structure their services like how it is done in Ghana. However, because of their fluid identities, the SG is not necessarily rooted in the CoP way of services; they become disengaged with some practices and beliefs over time and eventually become prone to leaving the church.

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<sup>628</sup>Gilroy, *Diaspora and the Detours of Identity*, 304.

### 6.3 The Second Generation and the Ghanaian Cultural Influences on the Church

In attempting to understand the SG's perceptions of the church, another area of consideration was to find out if the SG think the church is influenced by the Ghanaian Akan culture, and in what ways these influences affect their [the SG's] engagement in church? I asked them "Do you think the church is influenced by the Ghanaian culture?" The answer from the questionnaires, interviews and focus groups was unanimously 'Yes'. However, it was the follow-up answers, especially in the interviews, that consistently proved ambiguous, yet provided various stories and experiences from the SG members and their struggles within the church. For example, when I asked, "In what ways is the church influenced by the Ghanaian culture?" most of them struggled to answer without first pausing to think for a few seconds. The first response, however, for most of them was to do with language. Most SG members pointed to the use of Twi language and Twi songs as evidence of Akan influence on CoP-UK. Some of the responses were:

Clive: 'They always sing Twi songs and use Twi in the sermons.'<sup>629</sup>

Paula: "...even in the PIWCs some of the pastors still speak Twi in their sermons and in their illustrations."<sup>630</sup>

Anna: "It's the Twi! Too much Twi. We live in England not in Ghana. Everyone speaks English at work and school so why do they have to speak Twi in church."<sup>631</sup>

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<sup>629</sup>Interview with Clive, London, 12 February 2016.

<sup>630</sup>Interview with Paula, Birmingham, 15 April 2016

<sup>631</sup>Interview with Anna, London, 13 February 2016.

These three respondents are representative of the general response I got from the participants during focus group discussions and interviews. During the interviews, some of the SG elaborated further. For example, Luke said, “I think Twi is killing the church. We all speak English and even our parents speak English. They came here before us, so they should know more English, but they just prefer to stay with their Ghanaian mind-set.”<sup>632</sup> Rose in Birmingham added “much as they [the leaders] try they still end up speaking Twi. When they come we tell them this is PIWC, no Twi songs and no Twi illustrations but they still can’t seem to help themselves.”<sup>633</sup> Rose and the other SG members appeared to be disengaged with the fact that the use of Twi in the church was hindering their satisfaction of church and preventing others from joining the church. Apart from members from LP1 and LP2, most of the other youth said they could not invite their non-Ghanaian friends to church because of the Twi language. James in LP1 said:

I understand Twi because my parents speak it at home and I respond back in English. Occasionally I say a few slang words in Twi with some of my friends but when I come to church I don’t want to speak Twi because I cannot understand and flow in Twi properly, and also, I think church should be a place for everyone not just Ghanaians.<sup>634</sup>

Thus, on the Ghanaian influences on the church, the use of Twi language in the services appears to be a major issue for most of the SG. Paradoxically, whilst most of the SG seemed to enjoy the praise and worship and dancing in Twi songs, they preferred the rest of the liturgy to be done in English.

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<sup>632</sup>Interview with Luke, LP1, London, 13 February 2016.

<sup>633</sup>Interview with Rose, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>634</sup> Interview with James, London, 30 January 2016.

### 6.3.1 The Second Generation and 'AF'

Another way in which some of the SG described the Ghanaian Akan influence on the church is the use of the word or expression 'Af'. Like the SG who had already left the church, the SG described the church as "to Af or Ghanaian". Used in a slightly negative but jovial sense, one is *Af* not because one comes from Africa, but when one displays certain characteristics which are deemed as rooted in the 'Ghanaian socio-cultural or religious' background. In other words, *Af* is a term the young people use to describe a person, belief or practice that has a distinct African/Ghanaian style and twist to it.<sup>635</sup> For example, the way one prays, speaks or even dances can be described as *Af* if it does not reflect the contemporary style and culture in the UK. In the end, most of the responses I got showed that by *Af* the SG members were referring to the practices based on the Akan socio-cultural and religious belief systems, especially beliefs in spirits and witchcraft which seem to dominate the prayers of most of the FG in the church.

The FG's belief and incessant prayers against the devil and evil spirits are now being questioned by the SG members. There is a sense in which some of the SG think that their parents, the FG leaders and the Akan services, in general, are driven by the perceived presence, danger and work of evil spirits and witchcraft in their lives. Hence, most of their prayers are directed at destroying the works of these evil forces. When I asked the SG "Do you think the FG or Akan church focus too much attention on evil spirits?" 95% of the SG members I surveyed said yes. Again, when I asked, "Do you

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<sup>635</sup>The slang *Af* was first explained to me by two young pastors.

think evil spirits can cause sickness and misfortune in your life?” 95% of the FG members I spoke to said yes, whilst 90% of the SG members responded no.

I asked the SG the same question during focus groups and interviews, “Do you think evil spirit causes misfortune such as sicknesses and accidents in your life and or your family?” Some of the SG members responded as follows:

Loise: “No. God is the one who controls my life not evil spirits.”<sup>636</sup>

Gavin: “No. I don’t think they can do me any harm as long as I am in God.”<sup>637</sup>

Rose: “No! Evil spirits can’t cause misfortune. Whatever happens in my life is either God or consequences of my actions.”<sup>638</sup>

Suzy: “Yea, I think to a degree maybe if you have sin in your life.”<sup>639</sup>

Hannah: “I think they could yes. If God allows them.”<sup>640</sup>

Morgan: “Obviously, I believe in evil spirits because the Bible even talks about them. But I don’t think they can harm me. Because I’ve got God.”<sup>641</sup>

Incidentally, the only two who said yes, evil spirits could cause harm, were Hannah and Suzy. Significantly, Hannah and Suzy are the same SG ladies who watch Ghanaian and Nigerian movies with their parents.<sup>642</sup> Their response sheds light on the influences of watching the African movies which portray evil spirits and their

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<sup>636</sup>Interview with Loise, LP2, London, 3 March 2016.

<sup>637</sup>Interview with Gavin, London, 12 February 2016

<sup>638</sup>Interview with Rose, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>639</sup>Interview with Suzy, London, 31 January 2016.

<sup>640</sup>Interview with Hannah, Birmingham, 18 June 216.

<sup>641</sup>Interview with Morgan, London, 13 February 2016.

<sup>642</sup>See Chapter 5

manifestations. The caveat is that because they watch these movies with their parents, they are influenced to a degree by manifestations of evil spirits and witchcraft. Hence, they believe that sicknesses and misfortunes can be caused by these malevolent powers. However, for Morgan and most of the SG members it appears that their understanding of God buffers their belief that if they are in Christ, the devil cannot do them any harm. Though they acknowledge the presence and existence of evil and demonic spirits, they do not share the belief that malevolent spirits can have any significant effect on their lives. The participants in the focus groups in LP1, LP2 and BP1 cited the story of Job in the Bible and some of the healings of Jesus in the New Testament as examples of evil spirits causing harm. However, they argued that in those cases it was God who allowed and gave permission for those misfortunes. The point here is that the SG appeared to have varied interpretations of the manifestations of evil spirits, whilst their parents' views appeared to be connected to the Akan socio-cultural and cosmological beliefs regarding spirits and their effects on humans. The description of *Af*, therefore, appears to be heavily nuanced in these beliefs, which in turn is linked to the SG's disengagement with the church.

#### **6.4 Spirit Beliefs and Practices: Convergences and Divergences**

As seen from the Akan socio-cultural and religious background in Chapter 3, most of the Akan people are born and raised with the understanding of the spirit world and its impact on the physical. God, the Supreme Being, governs the universe, whilst the ancestors, deities, other spirit beings and fetish priests all act on his behalf. The presence of these spirit beings in society and their unpredictability to cause good or havoc at any time means that people endeavour to seek protection from a higher or

spiritual power to counter any unexpected attack. Against this background, the FG's understanding of religion from Ghana is teleological and requires that all efforts be made in life to please the spirit world to gain a blessing from them.

The observations of church services in chapter 5 showed that some of the SG see some of the church liturgies as *Af*. The four areas of the church service discussed in Chapter 5 suggest a pattern of practice and a belief system that cannot be ignored, as far as spirit beliefs and practices of the FG members are concerned. Subsequently, I will use those four sections in the service as a framework for analysing the contours of 'perceptions and beliefs' about spirit beliefs and practices between the FG and the SG members.

#### **6.4.1 The Opening Prayer**

The opening prayer, which acts as the precursor to the service, is not a simple short prayer, as seen in other churches. To the FG members, this section is vital for awakening the spirits of the members, activating the power of the Holy Spirit and disarming the work of the evil spirits. The understanding among the FG is that if the Holy Spirit fails to move, then the leader must "move the Spirit".<sup>643</sup> One of the pastors explained to me that the opening prayer is so important in the FG Akan services that sometimes the pastors must step in when they realise that the atmosphere is dull.<sup>644</sup> The belief is that the 'spirits' and, in this case, the spirits of the members are asleep and need awakening to embrace the power of the Holy Spirit. The purpose of activating

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<sup>643</sup>Babatunde, *Coat of Many Colours*, 142.

<sup>644</sup>Interview with Pastor Brown, London, 15 March 2015.

the power of the Holy Spirit is to ensure that the service is fruitful and to destroy any work of evil spirits or witchcraft set against the service and the members.

The SG members, like their parents and the adult church, generally see the opening prayer as important in inviting the Holy Spirit to take control of the service. However, the difference in emphasis on the Holy Spirit and evil spirits is key. For example, in the focus group discussion in BP1, the youth came up with the following statements when discussing belief in spirits and its impact on the church.<sup>645</sup>

Max: "...we obviously believe that evil spirits exist, but I don't think they can make people sleep in the service. Come on! Do we need to pray about that?"<sup>646</sup>

Cindy: "...the opening prayers are good, but I don't think we need to spend so much time on breaking strongholds."<sup>647</sup>

Grace: "...they take a long time praying about cancelling out the works of evil forces during the opening prayers. I know evil spirits are real and can cause disruptions, but I think we can focus on other things like praying on being more receptive rather than praying long about destroying Satan's work right at the start of the service."<sup>648</sup>

Jake: "the opening prayers can sometimes be long and boring because they seem to think that if we don't pray for long, the Holy Spirit will not be present."<sup>649</sup>

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<sup>645</sup>Focus Group discussion, 18 June 2016.

<sup>646</sup>Interview with Max, Birmingham, 18 June 2016.

<sup>647</sup>Interview with Cindy, London, 14 February 2016.

<sup>648</sup>Interview with Grace, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>649</sup>Interview with Jake, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

James suggested that he knows other youth who intentionally attend church late to avoid the long opening prayers by the FG.<sup>650</sup> Nancy said, “I know they only going to be praying long about destroying works of Satan at the start for an hour, so I usually skip that part.”<sup>651</sup> Nancy’s example is typical of the SG who are in early stages of frustrations and disengagement. They start to give excuses regarding certain aspects of the service. The SG participants did not denigrate the importance of the opening prayer in the services. They bemoaned the over-emphasis on breaking strongholds and praying against evil forces at the start of the services. The SG members generally agreed that it is vital to invite the Holy Spirit into the service. However, it is the overemphasis on the other malevolent spirits that causes discomfort and subsequently makes them question the necessity of some of the long opening prayer sessions. This in their words is *Af* and subsequently contributes to their frustrations within the service.

#### **6.4.2 The Approach to Praise and Worship**

Praise and worship time in most of the Akan FG services is not just a matter of singing and dancing, but an activity that highlights the FG’s belief in the omnipotence of God and the working of his Spirit. For most of the FG this segment of the service is a time for “extolling God as the power behind the universe”<sup>652</sup> and over their lives. The outworking of this power is seen through the Holy Spirit. For FG members of the CoP “worship must be spiritually relevant and inspiring.”<sup>653</sup> By ‘spiritually relevant’, Onyinah

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<sup>650</sup>Interview with James, London, 30 January 2016

<sup>651</sup>Interview with James, London, 30 January 2016.

<sup>652</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘God’s Law of Productivity,’ 182.

<sup>653</sup>Onyinah, sermon notes, *worshipping in spirit and Truth*, 2014.

explains that worship must touch the spirits of the people and the heart of God.<sup>654</sup> I asked some FG members “What is the role of the Holy spirit in worship?” Some gave the following comments:<sup>655</sup>

Mr. Bright: “During worship we want to get into the throne room of God. The Holy Spirit helps us to worship without interference.”

Mrs. Badu: “During worship the power of the Holy Ghost reminds us that God is still holy, powerful and on the throne therefore we should not be afraid.”

Elder George: “...during worship, the Holy Spirit makes the power of God active like electricity in our spirits. The Holy Spirit helps us to see the power of God in our lives and situations.”

Mrs. Barnes: “...the Holy Spirit reminds us of the power of God and his holiness in worship. That way we know that God has the power to do what we are worshipping him for.”

For some of the FG members praise and worship is a time for celebrating God’s interventions in their lives, protecting them from precarious situations caused by malevolent spirits.<sup>656</sup>

Praise and worship continue to be a vital part of the service for the SG members. Some of the youth I interviewed admitted that it was their favourite part of the service because they enjoyed the dancing and the singing. Charles, who had left the church at the time of writing, said that some of the youth continue to attend the Akan services because

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<sup>654</sup>Onyinah, sermon notes, *worshipping in spirit and Truth*, 2014.

<sup>655</sup>I spoke to these three FG members together after church service in CoP London on 21 June 2015.

<sup>656</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, *Sighs and Signs*, 137.

“it’s fun”.<sup>657</sup> The ‘fun’ part of the service is the praise and worship. In my observations, it became clear that the youth enjoy the Akan songs and some of them go to the Akan services because they love the praise and worship time. They relish their Ghanaian identity in the Akan songs and dancing. Though some of the SG do not fully understand all the words of the songs, they nevertheless particularly enjoy dancing to them. Significantly, the youth who attend PIWC find a way to incorporate Ghanaian style rhythms and beats in their praise and worship. These SG members in PIWCs were very conscious and intentional of being multi-ethnic and multicultural in their praxis, yet they embraced various African rhythms and Africanised English songs during their praise and worship time. One pastor said to me:

...even if we don’t do any Ghanaian type songs in the usual praise and worship time, we must include it in the praises during offering time. The young people look forward to these songs because they have a way of dancing that only goes with the African type songs and rhythm.<sup>658</sup>

Most of the youth in the PIWCs expressed their desire and efforts to see the church as a multicultural community. What was interesting about this point is that although the youth spoke regarding being multicultural and not necessarily Ghanaian or CoP based church, they were happy to engage with the Ghanaian praise songs. For example, the SG members gave these responses in the focus groups:

Anna: “We don’t want this church to be a typical Ghana church. However, we love our African beats. We love to mix it a bit.”<sup>659</sup>

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<sup>657</sup>Interview with Charles, London, 27 January 2016.

<sup>658</sup>Interview with Pastor K, London, 18 December 2015.

<sup>659</sup> Focus group discussions, London, 18 June 2016.

Paul: "What I like about this church is that it embraces different cultures and reflects the London culture. But at the same time, we love praise and worship in the contemporary Afro/Western beat and that is awesome."<sup>660</sup>

Paula: "I must say that much as I listen to the other English worship songs, nothing compares to our African beats and rhythm. We love to dance, and those songs give us the vibes to dance."<sup>661</sup>

Nancy: "To be honest, I do like to sneak into the Akan services from time to time just to enjoy the praise and worship."<sup>662</sup>

In the focus group session in Birmingham, one of the youth explained:

...being in PIWC does not make us British you know. We still love our Ghanaian beats and rhythms. We are more international. Meaning, we are inclusive and embrace other cultures and national songs. But we always love our African beats.<sup>663</sup>

Thus, the SG members were happy to engage in Western contemporary type songs. However, they continued to sing, play and dance to songs of African beat, and occasionally sing songs from Ghana and other African nations. 'Praise and worship' is one of the areas where it was difficult to separate the SG and FG members.

However, the caveat is that by describing certain practices as *Af*, the SG members were not necessarily proposing a break from Ghanaian or African type songs during worship. For the SG participants worship is equally a Holy Spirit-filled session,

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<sup>660</sup>Focus group discussions, London, 18 June 2016.

<sup>661</sup>Focus Group discussions, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>662</sup>Focus group discussion, London, 31 January 2016.

<sup>663</sup>Focus Group discussions, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

however, their understanding of the Holy Spirit's involvement in the praise and worship is different. I asked them the same question I asked the FG members, "What is the role of the Holy Spirit in worship?"

Roberta: "...the Holy Spirit brings me to the cross where Christ died and enables me to worship him."<sup>664</sup>

Gavin: "The Holy Spirit is the one who makes worship happens really. He stirs a heart of worship within us."<sup>665</sup>

Nancy: "...the Holy Spirit creates the atmosphere of worship and helps us to put the cross and Jesus central in our worship."<sup>666</sup>

Rose: "The Holy Spirits helps us to focus on Jesus and not on our problems in worship."<sup>667</sup>

For the FG worship time is a moment in the service where they recount the power of God in delivering them from the hands of Satan and evil spirits. Their beliefs about God are expressed through worship. They recount his power over Satan and evil spirits in their lives. They sing about the cross and love of God, however, most of the songs are about acknowledgment and deliverance. For the SG respondents the Holy Spirit simply makes worship possible, whilst at the same time he brings them to the cross where Jesus died. This means that the SG members see worship time as a time of adoration and singing of the love of God, and more than a moment of reflection and recounting breakthroughs.

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<sup>664</sup>Interview with Roberta, London, 22 July 2016.

<sup>665</sup>Interview with Gavin, London, 30 July 2015.

<sup>666</sup>Interview with Nancy, London, 12 February 2016.

<sup>667</sup>Interview with Rose, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

Although the youth acknowledged the centrality and presence of the Holy Spirit during times of worship, their focus is more on the cross than the power. Nevertheless, it is still difficult to separate worship practices between FG and SG members. Their beliefs in spirits and the role of the Holy Spirit appear to be similar although with slightly different emphasis. These differences must be analysed with great care because the views of individuals do not necessarily reflect the entire group or the church. There was not a great deal of dissatisfaction from the perspective of the SG, as far as praise and worship is concerned. Except for the PIWCs that preferred mainly English songs, the SG generally appeared content with the praise and worship style of CoP-UK.

Mbiti rightly asserts that "...music, singing and dancing reach deep into the innermost parts of African peoples, and many things come to the surface under musical inspiration which otherwise may not be readily revealed."<sup>668</sup> Among such things are beliefs about God and attitudes towards him. According to most of the SG participants, the FG members were not unreasonably *Af* in praise and worship. This is because in praise and worship there is a general understanding of singing and dancing to God for his many blessings and benevolence. Arguably, praise and worship or music is one of the lasting legacies of the Akan culture and religious practices that have successfully and effortlessly been passed on to the SG. Mbiti concludes that the singing and dancing which accompanies most religious gatherings becomes a catalyst for passing on religious knowledge from one person to another group.<sup>669</sup>

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<sup>668</sup>Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 67.

<sup>669</sup>Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 67.

### 6.4.3 The Sermons

The third area where belief in the Holy Spirit is emphasised strongly among the FG services is the sermons. On several occasions the preachers emphasised how they had waited on God patiently in prayer and had been led by the Holy Spirit in receiving the word and the theme for the sermon. For example, during a service in London the speaker commented during the opening words, "Praise the Lord! I have a message from God for you. Hallelujah! I have fasted three days for this word and this is what the Holy Spirit has given me to deliver to you."<sup>670</sup> Such comments were frequent at the start of sermons to assure the people that God was truly speaking to them.

This belief in Holy Spirit-inspired preaching is relevant to the FG members. Although the sermons were not always centred on the Holy Spirit, what was significant in the sermons was that firstly, they were always considered as being inspired by the Holy Spirit. Secondly, the FG members largely took the words of the preachers as God's words spoken to them, without asking questions. Speaking from the Caribbean context Bishop Joe Aldred echoed this point when he explained that most FG members of Black Majority churches (BMC) just take the word without asking questions because they believe the words to be the words of God.<sup>671</sup> They believe that since the preacher has waited on God and has been anointed by the Holy Spirit their words are authoritative and final.

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<sup>670</sup>Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 254.

<sup>671</sup>Telephone interview with Bishop Joe Aldred, 17 December 2015. BMC refers to the Black Majority Churches.

One of the key areas where the SG highlighted their frustrations and described the church as being *Af* was the sermon. As seen in the observations, though the sermons do not all follow the same theme, most of the SG members described the *Af* nature of the sermons in three areas. Firstly, the respondents considered the incessant use of the Akan language and anecdotes from Ghana as *Af*. Secondly, the SG participants described the frequent theme of ‘deliverance and breakthrough’ by the speakers or preachers as *Af* – here the SG expressed that the sermons were irrelevant and lacked contextual application. Thirdly, some of the SG were frustrated by what they perceived as over-emphasis on the theme of holiness. In the first place, though the SG members enjoyed and contributed to worship time through singing and especially dancing of the African beat songs, they were not as enthusiastic about what they described as *Af* preaching. Emmanuel said, “Half of the time I don’t get what they are preaching about. The preachers are not relating to us and bringing the message down to our level.”<sup>672</sup> Richard continued, “Don’t get me wrong, the sermon was alright but too many references to the villages in Ghana just didn’t reflect our world.”<sup>673</sup>

Along with the references to Ghana in their sermons, the SG were also frustrated with the frequent use of the Akan or *Twi* language in the sermons. Apart from a few FG preachers and some SG preachers, they felt that the frequent use of *Twi* during sermons meant that they missed out on certain important points in the sermons. Sandra, one of the members who left the church said:

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<sup>672</sup>Interviewed with Emmanuel, London, 15 June 2015.

<sup>673</sup>Interview with Richard, Coventry, 28 May 2016.

...they seemed to plan their preaching for the adults and left us young people out because half of the sermons were full of Ghanaian stories and the other half was full of Twi, so I simply didn't understand what was going on.<sup>674</sup>

Sandra's frustration was shared by most of the people in the focus groups. Bernard, one of the youth leaders in the London churches, said, "this has been one of my challenges with the leaders. The youth are on their phones and chatting on social media apps because they are not engaging with the word."<sup>675</sup> Bernard continued:

These young people do not know cities in Ghana let alone villages and means of transportation. They only know McDonalds, KFC, buses and X Factor. For some of them the closest they come to knowing Ghana is listening to the Hip life music and watching the occasional Ghanaian or Nigerian movies.<sup>676</sup>

Not only were the SG members concerned about the use of the Ghanaian language and illustrations from Ghana in their sermons, but they were equally frustrated with what they described as over-emphasis on 'deliverance and miracles' by some of the preachers. Kalu aptly notes that most African sermons are drawn from personal experiences and the working of God's grace and miracles in the preacher's life and community.<sup>677</sup> The caveat here is that because the preachers draw from their personal experiences most of them fail to prepare adequately. Their sermons become an expression of 'if God did it for me, then the same God can do it for you also.' The SG members, however, are not finding such messages relevant. Esther said, "I want to hear more about the teachings of Jesus and what it means for me today and how I can

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<sup>674</sup>Interview with Sandra, London, 25 September 2015.

<sup>675</sup>Interview with Bernard, London, 15 December 2015.

<sup>676</sup>Interview with Bernard, London, 15 December 2015.

<sup>677</sup>Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 254.

apply it.”<sup>678</sup> Cindy said, “We cannot be hearing about breakthroughs all the time and how God saved and delivered people from demonic oppression in Ghana and that. We also want to know about how to live for Christ today.”<sup>679</sup>

Unlike the FG parents, who took every word from the preacher as sacrosanct, the youth today question when, how and in what ways God speaks to the preachers. In an interview with a bishop from the Church of God of Prophecy in Birmingham, he shared some of the challenges he was facing with the SG members of his congregation. He spoke of having to change his style of preaching as well as the topics of his sermon to meet the demands of the young people in his church. He reiterated the point that he is frequently questioned about various parts of his sermons by the youth after the service.<sup>680</sup> Thus, similar to the Ghanaian SG members, the SG or their case, the third generation in some of the other migrant churches are not impressed and satisfied by simply ‘deliverance and miracles’, they also want to know how God wants them to react and apply the word. In his documentary about Christianity, Beckford stated that relevant preaching to the youth, “... is much more about practical talk to young people about how to live their lives with integrity and dignity.”<sup>681</sup>

The third point was the feeling that most of the messages directed at them by the FG leaders were overwhelmingly focused on holiness and immorality. This emphasis on holiness was indeed one of the key characteristics and teaching of CoP that made it

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<sup>678</sup>Interview with Esther, Birmingham, 9 July 2015.

<sup>679</sup>Interview with Cindy, London, 14 February 2015.

<sup>680</sup>Interview with Bishop Gates, Birmingham, 8 March 2016.

<sup>681</sup>Beckford, 3 reasons why Hillsong Church is succeeding, [www.premierchristianity.com](http://www.premierchristianity.com), 21 March 2016. Accessed 16 April 2016.

stand out in Ghanaian Pentecostalism.<sup>682</sup> As in the case with the interview with Apostle Newton, there is a sense in which the FG believe that the Western culture is laden with sexual immorality, impurity and general decadence of moral values. Hence, the FG preachers who speak at PIWCs turn to focus their attention on the Holy Spirit's power to effect purity and holiness in believers' lives. This emphasis is increasingly becoming a source of frustration to some of the SG members. In one of the focus group discussions in Birmingham, the youth expressed their opinions in this way:<sup>683</sup>

Eva: "...we want more sermons on the fruit of the spirit and how to achieve our goals in life."<sup>684</sup>

Rose: "...it's becoming boring when every time the elders preach they seem to think that we are all engaging in sexual activities and so the messages are like stay away from the opposite sex" [all laugh and nod in agreement].<sup>685</sup>

Kofi: "I couldn't believe it when the pastor said he doesn't hug the opposite sex because it could lead to trouble. And he was trying to say that we should ask for the Holy Spirit's help so that we don't hug the opposite sex. Come on! This is twenty-first century England!"<sup>686</sup>

Max: "I'm sure Jesus hugged the women around him, but he didn't go about preaching about the Holy Spirit and sexual immorality all the time."<sup>687</sup>

These comments, along with others in the interviews, suggest that though the youth are aware of the social and moral challenges facing them, they were at the same time

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<sup>682</sup>See Chapter 4.7

<sup>683</sup>Focus group discussions, Birmingham, 18 June 2015.

<sup>684</sup> Eva, Focus group discussions, Birmingham, 18 June 2015.

<sup>685</sup> Rose, Focus group discussions, Birmingham, 18 June 2015.

<sup>686</sup> Kofi, Focus group discussions, Birmingham, 18 June 2015.

<sup>687</sup> Max, Focus group discussions, Birmingham, 18 June 2015.

overwhelmed with sermons which consistently focused on them receiving power from the Holy Spirit to help them overcome sexual pressures. Mark, who was previously a youth leader in one of the CoP churches but who had left the church, said:

The youth watch other GOD TV stations, YouTube and listen to other sermons and they want to be empowered for fruitful and a productive living. They want prosperity in all areas of their lives not just on how to avoid sex and immorality.<sup>688</sup>

To the SG the sermons are *Af* because of style, content and emphasis on deliverance by some of the FG preachers.

#### **6.4.4 Intensive Prayers**

This intensive prayer, otherwise called “dangerous prayer”, “wrestling with God or “The Jacob principle”, as described by Asamoah-Gyadu, is an integral part of the FG liturgy and prayer lives.<sup>689</sup> The understanding and approach to prayer by most of the FG members suggest that a vast number of them continue to attribute misfortune in life in the UK to witches in Ghana. The spiritual, material and other physical struggles of these FG members did not start in the UK or cease to exist when they arrived in Europe from Africa.<sup>690</sup> From the outset, they prayed against the evil forces that might be working through the immigration officers to get the necessary travel documents to Europe and the UK. Then, upon receiving their visas, they continued to break the demonic forces for them to have a safe journey across the continents.

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<sup>688</sup>Interview with Mark, 28 November 2015.

<sup>689</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘On Mission Abroad’: Ghana’s Church of Pentecost and Its USA Missions,’ 95.

<sup>690</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘On Mission Abroad’: Ghana’s Church of Pentecost and Its USA Missions,’ 95

The FG African migrants transport their witchcraft elements through charms, amulets and other items of clothing. Some of the FG believe that the very powerful spirits do not even require visas to travel abroad. They can fly and shuttle themselves to any part of the world unrestrained.<sup>691</sup> For some of the FG members the genuine fear of the malevolent forces and spirits from their home countries compels them to constantly pray against evil and demonic forces from back home. Some FG parents pray against evil spirits preventing their children from getting good jobs and marriages. Some FG migrants often blame lack of employment, financial struggles and minor ailments, such as colds, on evil spirits preventing them from progressing in life. For example, Uncle Henry prayed for several months after arriving in the UK for a job. A week after obtaining the job he contracted flu. He blamed this flu episode on witchcraft and demonic forces who simply didn't want him to work and progress in life. Uncle Henry said, "I prayed and rebuked this demonic flu through the power of the Holy Ghost and I returned to work within two days."<sup>692</sup>

Another FG lady called Mama Grace commented "as for me, intensive prayer is warfare. Even if I'm okay in myself I must keep praying to destroy any potential weapon the devil may throw against me and my children."<sup>693</sup> Sister Frances also added "there are family members and bad people working against us from Ghana all the time. We need these serious prayers to stop their attacks."<sup>694</sup> A testimony by Sister Dora, a 57-year-old FG member, summarises the point:

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<sup>691</sup>Adogame highlights this point in Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, 87.

<sup>692</sup>Interview with Uncle Henry, Birmingham, 17 July 2015.

<sup>693</sup>Interview with Mama Grace, Birmingham, 4 March 2016.

<sup>694</sup>Interview with Sister Frances, London, 21 June 2015.

I started having stomach pains two years ago. Initially the GP said it was ‘IBS’<sup>695</sup>, then after persistent pains they said it might be stomach ulcers. I went through several tests including endoscopy, yet they could not find anything wrong with me. I started having nightmares and sleepless nights. I was sweating most nights and couldn’t sleep. On several occasions, I dreamt that I was falling in a deep pit. Throughout these I was still struggling with my pains with no remedy. Eventually, a prophet came from Ghana to preach. After his sermon, he said “there is a lady who has been suffering from stomach pains and sleepless nights. Some people back home are planning on killing you. We need to fast and break the work of the enemy before they kill you.” I went to see this prophet after the service and after further instructions on fasting and prayers my stomach troubles stopped. My nightmares ceased, and I have been completely fine for the last 6 months.<sup>696</sup>

Sister Dora’s story is not exceptional among the FG community. Several testimonies during the services and other individuals I spoke to narrate their deliverance from evil spirits and attacks through the power of prayer. It is against these fears and beliefs in malevolent spirits that the FG members focus most of their prayers. For these FG members intensive prayer is warfare. It is breaking the enemies’ stronghold in their lives and wrestling with God for their breakthrough. The Akan social and religious influences on the FG is evident particularly in their prayers.

During my interviews and focus groups, I deduced that the SG members are as enthusiastic, passionate and interested in prayer as their parents in the Akan church. Simon, a youth leader, said, “The young people actually love to pray. They are interested in seeing the power of God being demonstrated in their lives and in the lives

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<sup>695</sup>Irritable Bowel Syndrome.

<sup>696</sup>Sister Dora narrated her story to me during an interview on 19 December 2015.

of their family and the church.”<sup>697</sup> When I asked them about their views on prayer many of them responded by saying that prayer is important and connects them to God. At the 2015 National Youth Conference, some of the SG participants expressed their disappointment in not having ample time to pray after the sermons.<sup>698</sup> There was a huge desire on their part to engage in prayer. Furthermore, during my observations I deduced that the youth were very active and participative during prayer times after the sermons. They responded to calls to come forward for various prayer requests. So, it appears that prayer as a concept or practice is not an issue for the SG.

The point of diversion for the SG was their opposing views on the emphasis of the spirits during prayers. They seemed uninterested in the over-emphasis of breaking strongholds and demonic spirits during prayers. In other words, the youth appeared not to be disengaged with prayer, but with the topics and issues being prayed about. To describe their frustrations, Steve explained that their disengagement with the Akan services, as far as prayer is concerned is “...the fact that they attributed everything to witchcraft.”<sup>699</sup> This is what Asamoah-Gyadu refers to as the “traditional worldviews of spiritual causation”.<sup>700</sup> This is where nearly everything has a spiritual source. In this context “Prayer [for the FG] is an activity inspired primarily by the Akan social and religious understanding of the manifestations of the Spirit world.”<sup>701</sup>

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<sup>697</sup>Interview with Simon, 15 June 2015.

<sup>698</sup>The National Youth Conference is a gathering of the Youth of CoP-UK that takes place bi-annually. Group discussion at CoP-UK National Youth Conference, 31 July 2015.

<sup>699</sup>Interview with Steve, London, 6 March 2016.

<sup>700</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘On Mission Abroad’: Ghana’s Church of Pentecost and Its USA Missions,’ 96.

<sup>701</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, *Contemporary Pentecostal Christianity: Interpretations from an African*, 35.

By contrast, the SG members have a different focus. Although they believe in the existence and manifestations of evil spirits and witchcraft, they do not focus their entire prayer agenda on these malevolent spirits. When I asked them “What do you focus your prayers on?” the top three subjects that came up were education, career and relationships (marriage).<sup>702</sup> The SG members did not always see a link between their struggles and evil spirits. Adjoa, who at the time of the interview was contemplating leaving CoP, said, “It’s not that we don’t believe in evil spirits. Of course, we do believe in them, but we also believe in the power of God.”<sup>703</sup> Lucy said, “Praying in these loud voices about demons scared me and some of my friends and in the end, I left.”<sup>704</sup> Solomon adds “prayer cannot always be about breaking strongholds. I think we also need to build strongholds through prayer.”<sup>705</sup> Luke puts it this way, “our parents and some of the leaders focus so much on Ghana and the spirits from Ghana that they forget we live in the UK.”<sup>706</sup>

Roberta described her disappointment when she expressed her concerns to the pastor about praying for the UK after the Brexit vote in June 2016.<sup>707</sup> According to Roberta, the pastor reluctantly asked one of the deaconess to pray for the UK, after which they quickly reverted back to praying for their personal issues linked to evil spirits.<sup>708</sup> Issues such as immigration appear to be high on the prayer agenda of the FG, whilst the SG members usually focus on social justice, employment, career and choosing good life

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<sup>702</sup>I came to this conclusion based on findings from my interviews with the SG participants.

<sup>703</sup>Interview with Adjoa, 15 April 2016.

<sup>704</sup>Interview with Lucy, 28 November 2015.

<sup>705</sup>Interview with Solomon, 18 June 2016.

<sup>706</sup>Interview with Luke, 13 February 2016.

<sup>707</sup>The Brexit vote refers to the referendum vote that was held in UK on 23 June 2016.

<sup>708</sup>Interview with Roberta, 22 July 2016.

partners. Overall, the emphasis on breaking of strongholds, which stems from the fears of the FG, has become a major diverging factor in the SG's church practices. Though they enjoy prayer and see it as an important aspect of their lives, they consider the way their parents engage in prayer as *Af* and subsequently, this over-emphasis on witchcraft, evil spirits and demons is increasingly becoming a huge source of frustration and is contributing to some of the SG contemplating leaving the church.

The analysis has so far shown that though there are many points of positive convergences between the FG and SG, the contrasting views of spirit manifestations and influences of the spirits in church liturgy is a significant point of disengagement for the SG. These views affect the beliefs of how both generations generally view the influences and impact of the supernatural and on the physical. Hence, because the SG do not share similar views of their parents' understanding of the spirit world, they become disengaged and prone to leaving the church.

## **6.5 The Second Generation on the Structures and Liturgy of the Church**

Closely linked to the spirit beliefs of the SG are their opinions of the church and the various liturgies and how church services are conducted. In this section – my analysis – my aim was to simply hear from the SG what some of their frustrations were. Therefore, I did not restrict my questions to the spirits or any theme, but instead was open to hearing from the SG their own version of what constitutes disengagement and why some of them are contemplating leaving the church. Thus, this section

encapsulates some of the key issues that I deduced from the interviews and focus group discussions.

### **6.5.1 Structure of the Service**

A key point which surfaced during the interviews and focus groups, regarding why some of the young people are leaving and feel disengaged, is what they described as a boring style of service. For some of the youth, most church services were becoming a dreary repetition of the previous services. According to Menzies and Menzies:

...the gatherings of Pentecostals although generally following a simple form, nonetheless were punctuated by manifestations of the Spirit ...church services were not boring repetitions of prearranged liturgy; rather, each service had the potential for being the occasion of a special outpouring of the Spirit.<sup>709</sup>

Menzies and Menzies' description of the early Pentecostal worship is reminiscent of many Pentecostal churches today, however, there is a sense in which some of the SG members see a repetition of liturgy in their services on a weekly basis, which to them makes it boring. Subsequently, some of the youth devise strategies and routinely disappear momentarily during certain times of the service to avoid what they perceive as 'unnecessary boring parts' of the service.

For example, some chose periods when to leave for the washrooms and others used certain sections for social media catch up on their mobile phones. Jake said, "When I used to go the Akan services I would pretend I needed the bathroom immediately we

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<sup>709</sup> Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, 23.

walked into the service. This gave me time to miss a bit of the long opening prayer session.”<sup>710</sup> Eunice added:

I knew the worship was going to finish soon when the leader signalled us to take our seats. The next words would be ‘let’s be silent and wait for the Lord,’ So my cue for popping out to the bathroom and going outside was the moment just as the one leading worship signalled that we take our seats.<sup>711</sup>

Eunice’s reason for going to the bathroom was because she was not looking forward to the sermons which, in her words, “...were unnecessarily long and difficult to understand.”<sup>712</sup> Though the SG members acknowledged the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in the services to direct and redirect the structure of the service, they were largely disengaged with what they felt as a repetitive and predictable liturgy.

The average CoP Akan service lasts approximately three hours, whilst PIWCs average about two and half hours, not including time for socialisation before and mostly after the service. For most of the FG members a longer service usually means that the Holy Spirit was present and worked in a powerful way, hence, they did not want to ‘stop the flow’ of the Spirit. Most African churches hold services for much longer in Africa. The norm is that after a long week of work, Sunday is the focal day of worship, hence, they devote ample time for people to pray, praise, dance and in the words of one Pastor, “enjoy themselves in the presence of the Lord.”<sup>713</sup> When these African Pentecostal churches, such as CoP, started branches in the UK and the diaspora, they had the same mindset of honouring God for long periods on Sundays. Thus, they sought to

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<sup>710</sup>Jake, focus group discussion, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>711</sup>Interview with Eunice Birmingham, 21 May 2016.

<sup>712</sup>Interview with Eunice Birmingham, 21 May 2016.

<sup>713</sup>Interview with Pastor Cliff, London, 21 November 2015.

mirror church liturgy from Ghana to the West, without considering the socio-cultural differences between the host country and their country of origin.

Speaking to some FG members of the Nigerian-dominated Redeemed Church of God (RCCG), I deduced from the conversations that though they felt the services were generally long, they seemed quite content with the fact that the Holy Spirit was working in the services. After I visited one of their churches, I spoke to Bibola (FG) who said, “I actually do admit that our services are long but you know when the Spirit of God is moving you can’t complain”.<sup>714</sup> Adeja (FG) added “you know we come prepared for anything the Spirit has for us. Sometimes when the Holy Ghost is moving we don’t even see the time. We just see fire and miracles”.<sup>715</sup>

Conversely, three of the SG members I spoke to from the same Redeemed church concluded that, although the Holy Spirit was present in the services, they were needlessly long due to unnecessary prolonged liturgy in the service. Ako concluded, “This is typical African mentality. They think the service has to be long for it to be fruitful and Spirit-filled.”<sup>716</sup> Those SG members in the Redeemed church I visited expressed similar concerns to the SG participants in CoP-UK. Most of the African Led churches I visited, including Light House, RCCG, Potters House, Resurrection Power Ministries and Royal House Chapel, had a similar structure to CoP. Most of these churches follow a similar pattern to their mother churches in Africa, hence, the church services are nearly as long as those in Africa. In Ghana people hardly work on Sundays, whereas

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<sup>714</sup>Interview with Bibola, RCCG, Birmingham, 20 December 2015.

<sup>715</sup>Interview with Adeja, RCCG, Birmingham, 20 December 2015.

<sup>716</sup>Interview with Ako, RCCG, Birmingham, 20 December 2015.

work patterns in the UK generally affect people's punctuality and commitment to church. Nevertheless, the church leaders continue to organise and arrange the services "...just like how it is done in Ghana."<sup>717</sup> For my CoP-UK SG participants the leaders of the church appear to structure the services primarily to cater for the needs of the FG, hence, fostering a sense of frustration and disengagement among the SG.

### **6.5.2 Not everything is 'Spiritual' About the Service**

Whilst the FG attribute nearly every occurrence, including starting the service late, to the work of demonic spirits, by contrast, some of the SG members are unsatisfied with the apparent lack of organisation and preparation towards some of the services they attend. For example, referring to her mother's lateness to church, Lois commented "how can she say Satan made us late when she was on her phone for several hours before the service started."<sup>718</sup> Jake added "We were told to come at 11am. However, some of the leaders came at midday."<sup>719</sup> For some of the SG who are in full-time education and professional careers this apparent lack of organisation and readiness for service cannot be attributed to the evil spirits or interferences from unseen malevolent forces. They described such practices and attitudes as *Af*.<sup>720</sup>

Apart from the 'Spirit factor' in the services, the SG highlighted other issues – such as lack of organisation, lack of mentoring, lack of ministry opportunity and lack of social

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<sup>717</sup>Some of the pastors I spoke to pride themselves in the fact that the FG members commend them for giving them the authentic Ghanaian flavour of church.

<sup>718</sup>Interview with Lois, LP2, London, 3 March 2016.

<sup>719</sup>Interview with Jake, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>720</sup>Several of the youth described African mentality in the context of lateness and lax attitude in church.

action by the church – as frustrating. They cited these as some of the reasons why some of their friends left and why several of those who are still there are frustrated and considering leaving. They felt they did not have a voice in church administration, organisation and practices. Obed, who has left the church said, “They taught us to preach but did not give us the opportunity to preach or stand at the pulpit ...it was as though they were scared of us.”<sup>721</sup> Eva also added “all you hear is that they [the leaders] are not ready when it comes to the youth.”<sup>722</sup> These concerns were affirmed in the conversations I had with some of the FG members and church leaders. Some of the comments by the FG were: “They [the SG] don’t understand the CoP way yet”<sup>723</sup>, “they [the SG] are too young”<sup>724</sup> and “the youth are too modern and not spiritual.”<sup>725</sup> By modern, the FG members refer to the SG’s choice of Western songs, casual style of fashion, unconventional ways of praying<sup>726</sup> and use of the electronic gadgets, such as iPads, tablets and mobile phones, in the church.

Most of the FG prefer to hear the youth praying in ‘tongues’ and breaking and binding the demonic forces, just like their parents and church leaders. Elder Mark, an FG leader, commented “you see, these youths are not as sharp as we want them to be yet. They read their Bibles on the phones, come to church in jeans and can’t even pray for 10 minutes.”<sup>727</sup> Another FG pastor in London said, “The youth need orientation into

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<sup>721</sup>Conversation with Obed, 29 January 2016.

<sup>722</sup>Interview with Eva, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>723</sup>Interview with Elder Sam (FG), London, 19 December 2015.

<sup>724</sup>Interview with sister Martha (FG), Birmingham, 22 July 2015.

<sup>725</sup>Interview with Pastor Wright, London, 18 March 2016. These were the most frequent comments I heard from some of the FG leaders during conversations.

<sup>726</sup>Unconventional ways of praying involve praying while sitting and not using jargons which the FG use in breaking and destroying satanic and demonic forces.

<sup>727</sup>Interview with Elder Mark, Birmingham, 22 July 2015.

the CoP way of doing things. You see, the church must be a spiritual service, not just coming and dancing but coming with fire.”<sup>728</sup> Another FG leader, a deaconess, said, “how can you go to a party on Saturday and come and lead or sing on Sunday. You must be praying all night and getting yourself ready for coming to church. These youths are not spiritual enough.”<sup>729</sup>

Such comments and attitudes by some FG leaders have led to some of the SG visiting other churches, where they feel they can be involved in ministry at top level leadership. For example, Charles left the church because he was chastised for having an ear piercing. At the time of writing, Charles was a worship leader in another church in London. Steve, James and others in LP2 have visited churches like Hillsong London and the Dominion Kingdom, which they perceive as punctual, well organised and relevant to young people. A significant point here is that Steve and his friends prefer to stay in CoP. Steve said:

We enjoy the praise and worship and ‘spiritual power and fire’ in the church, but it is the *Af* practices and behaviours that put us off ...they [the leaders] invite *Af* preachers who constantly talk about evil spirits, and they don’t give us the opportunity to preach and lead as well.<sup>730</sup>

Though the trend of inviting *Af* preachers is slowly changing with the growth of PIWCs and the introduction of SG pastors and leaders, there still appears to be a general dissatisfaction among the SG members on issues pertaining to ministry, mentoring and organisation of the service.

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<sup>728</sup>Interview with Pastor Brown, London, 12 February 2016.

<sup>729</sup>Interview with Sister Martha (FG), Birmingham, 22 July 2015.

<sup>730</sup>Interview with Steve, London, 6 March 2016.

Not only are the youth calling for more involvement, but they are also frustrated at the constant prayer and yet lack of social action within the ranks of the church. The SG members are generally happy to pray about nearly every issue that their parents raise in church, however, they are increasingly crying out for more social involvement within the communities. Whilst most of the FG members and leaders see social issues – poverty, homelessness and lack of employment – as spiritual warfare, the youth, however, seek practical ways to tackle such depravities. For example, the youth have been embarking on feeding the homeless in one of the churches in London. They see this as love in action towards their neighbours. James commented that they hardly see any of the FG participating in such events. James concluded that the FG are only interested in prayer and warfare.<sup>731</sup> Thus, outside the key issues concerning spirits, which still underscores the discussions, a culmination of the above factors contributes to the disengagement and subsequent departure of some of the SG members from the church.

## **6.6 The Holy Spirit and Baptism of the Holy Spirit**

My final round of questions during my fieldwork centred on the beliefs and perceptions of the Holy Spirit among the SG. I chose to ask these questions towards the end of my fieldwork as I did not want to influence the responses of the participants towards Spirit beliefs and practices from the beginning. I asked the SG participants “Write down one word that best describes the Holy Spirit in your opinion?” This was an open question which generated varied responses among the participants. However, the word that

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<sup>731</sup>Interview with James, London, 30 January 2016.

came up most among the SG members was 'friend'. Some chose to include the adjective 'best' to qualify the kind of friendship they have with the Holy Spirit. This was closely followed by 'helper'. These two were by far the most used words to describe the Holy Spirit by the SG participants, thus accounting for 85% of the responses. The other words included 'supernatural', 'indescribable' and 'power'. Conversely, among the FG participants the word 'power' dominated the responses. 90% of the FG members who took part in the interview and questionnaires chose the word 'power' or 'powerful' to describe the Holy Spirit. Thus, from the outset, it appeared that the SG and FG had a different understanding and perception of their relationship with the Holy Spirit.

I followed the initial question with another which is key to Pentecostals, 'What do you think is the purpose of Baptism in the Holy Spirit?' Here over 65% of the overall participants, both FG and SG, responded by saying 'power'. Undoubtedly, the idea that the Holy Spirit baptism brings power was widely acknowledged, however, it is the nature and manifestations of the power that appeared to be different between the two generations. For the FG members the power has to do with two essential things. First, power for protection against evil and malevolent spirits, and second, power for mission and ministry. For the SG members power is, first, the ability to connect to God, and second, power for ministry and mission. Here, both FG and SG participants mentioned power as effective for mission and ministry however, the FG added power of the Holy Spirit to displace any other spirit.

### 6.6.1 FG and Power of the Holy Spirit

Among the FG members, the word 'power' was used to describe the Holy Spirit in various ways. There was little distinction between the description of the Holy Spirit and the purpose of baptism. When I asked them "How would you have described the Holy Spirit?", they gave the following response:

Brother T: "...as for the Holy Spirit he' powerful."<sup>732</sup>

Brother F: "The Holy Spirit is power from God."<sup>733</sup>

Sister: K: "The Holy Spirit is the supernatural power from God."<sup>734</sup>

Sister J: "...well, what I can say? The Holy Spirit is God working in power."<sup>735</sup>

All the participants affirmed the deity of the Holy Spirit and even though they occasionally described him as 'it', they did not doubt or deny his deity. However, the underlining factor in all the responses was that the Holy Spirit was described as power in various ways. Furthermore, my question regarding the purpose of baptism produced similar responses, although this time with more clarity and explanation on their responses. For example, Sister K responded by saying "Every believer needs baptism of the Spirit. This baptism enables us to have power over Satan and to break Satan's stronghold. The power also gives us the ability to speak in tongues and do evangelism."<sup>736</sup> Brother T also contributed as follows:

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<sup>732</sup>Interview with brother T, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>733</sup>Interview with brother F, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>734</sup>Interview with sister K, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>735</sup>Interview with sister J, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>736</sup>Interview with sister K, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

We are surrounded by various evil and demonic forces. Even the Bible makes this clear. So, we need to be baptised in the Spirit in order to have power to counter any forces that rise against us. If you don't get baptised in the Spirit, you lack power in this world and we all need some supernatural help. The power also helps us to become powerful in our ministries.<sup>737</sup>

Sister J responded:

We need power to do God's work. But also, power to overcome Satan. If you don't have the baptism and the power, then Satan can cause severe troubles in your life. So that is why I need the power of the Holy Ghost.<sup>738</sup>

Brother M, who is an elder of one of the local churches, added:

Baptism in the Holy Spirit gives us power from God. This power firstly enables us to witness to others about Christ and secondly this power helps us in our fight against the enemy. We are in Spiritual warfare and without power we are doomed.<sup>739</sup>

Another leader of one of the local churches in London explained it this way:

The Bible says when the Holy Spirit comes, we shall receive power. We need this power for healing and miracles just like the early church. We need the power to overcome the satanic forces and to win souls for Christ too.<sup>740</sup>

The responses of the FG members and leaders suggest that their understanding of the Holy Spirit and the purpose of baptism is adumbrated within the context of power for mission and over evil spirits. Essentially, they are not different to the Pentecostal

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<sup>737</sup>Interview with brother T, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>738</sup> Interview with sister J, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>739</sup>Interview with brother M, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>740</sup>Interview with Brother Dan, London, 15 June 2016.

understanding of Holy Spirit baptism as essential for mission.<sup>741</sup> Although they spoke of power to witness, they still found a way to highlight the Holy Spirit's power for the fight against demons. This understanding of the purpose of the Holy Spirit baptism is situated both within the larger Pentecostal understanding of 'Power and witness' and the Akan socio-cultural understanding of 'Power and Protection'. In these descriptions, Droogers notes that there is a feeling of an overpowering and empowering presence of the Holy Spirit in the dramatic experiences of the Pentecostals.<sup>742</sup> Though some FG participants mentioned power as ability to witness and serve God better, the common denominator in their explanations was power for protection and witness.

CoP is arguably a classical Pentecostal church in the sense that they believe in speaking in tongues as the initial evidential sign of baptism of the Holy Spirit and the power to enable witnessing.<sup>743</sup> Indeed, the church attributes its successful global reach to the Holy Spirit as director of missions.<sup>744</sup> However, because of the Ghanaian socio-cultural influences and cosmological understanding of the fear of evil spirits, some Ghanaian Pentecostals, both at home and abroad, continue to seek and see the power of the Holy Spirit, not only for witnessing but also for protection against evil spirits. This FG understanding of the Holy Spirit and baptism in the Holy Spirit means that the references made to the Holy Spirit in church, sermons, worship and prayers are mostly geared towards the Holy Spirit's ability to equip them with power to overcome Satan's influences and forces. The constant breaking and binding of forces during prayers is

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<sup>741</sup> Penny, *Missionary Emphasis*, 58; Stronstad, *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke*, 11; Menzies and Menzies, *Spirit and Power*, 82.

<sup>742</sup> Droogers, 'The normalisation of religious experience: Healing, Prophecy, Dreams and visions', 35.

<sup>743</sup> Onyinah, 'Pentecostalism and the African Diaspora,' 218-220.

<sup>744</sup> Onyinah, 'Pentecostalism and the African Diaspora,' 220.

to encourage the members to seek the power of the Holy Spirit, to enable them to overcome satanic forces and to prosper in the diaspora. In other words, the liturgy is shaped by their pneumatology.

### **6.6.2 The Second Generation and Power of the Holy Spirit**

The responses of the SG regarding the purpose of baptism of the Holy Spirit were on the one hand like their parents yet on the other hand significantly different from their parents and the FG members. In the first place, many of the SG members described the Holy Spirit as their friend. This idea of a friend meant that when they are baptised in the Holy Spirit, they see their friend giving them assurances and enablement to achieve what they could not achieve before. In a group discussion at a youth conference, the SG gave the following responses when I asked them “What do you think is the purpose of baptism in the Holy Spirit?”

YC1: “...the baptism is for our daily lives. To make right decisions.”

YC2: “...we need the baptism to help us make good decisions whether big or small and to overcome sin.”

YC3: “...we need the power to be effective in our ministry in serving God.”

YC4: “...the baptism keeps you on the straight and narrow path and connect you to God.”

YC5: “...it’s for protection really. From all the snares of the enemy.”

YC6: “God wants us to commit to him totally and, so he baptises us with the Holy Spirit to enable us commit to him and serve him better.”<sup>745</sup>

Furthermore, among the participants, Jake explains his relationship and understanding of the Holy Spirit in this way:

The [Holy] Spirit comes to us to affirm our salvation. You see without the Spirit I have no salvation and I have no life. He helps me to get closer to God and directs my decisions and tells me what to do and how to do it. He is God. He’s not just a ‘side-man’<sup>746</sup> but he is God in me.<sup>747</sup>

Cindy describes her relationship with the Holy Spirit:

The Holy Spirit is my friend. He is God who lives in me and walks with me. I believe that the baptism of the Spirit has given me power to connect to God on a deeper level and to overcome temptations and the pressures of the society.<sup>748</sup>

Cindy’s explanation of the Holy Spirit’s help in overcoming temptation and directing her daily affairs was echoed by many others. Steve reflects this theme in his explanation:

The Holy Spirit makes us aware and conscious that we are children of God. He makes me feel that God is with me. As for the baptism of the Spirit, it is important, you get me? It is a sign that I belong to God and it gives me power to do the work of God. It is like the tool I need to make right decisions and serve God properly.<sup>749</sup>

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<sup>745</sup>These responses were given by a group of youth I had a conversation with on the last day of CoP’s National Youth conference on July 31, 2015 at Nottingham University.

<sup>746</sup>‘Side-man’ is a slang term referring to someone who is not as significant as others in a person’s life.

<sup>747</sup>Interview with Jake, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>748</sup>Interviewed with Cindy, London, 14 February 2016.

<sup>749</sup>Interview with Steve, London, 6 March 2016.

Paul stated:

The power gives me the ability to overcome temptation. It is like a next level in getting deeper with God. Connecting to him and serving him properly. Without the baptism of the Spirit, I'm like the next man on the street but the baptism gives me power to be different. Different in serving God and achieving my dreams.<sup>750</sup>

Rose commented:

Since I got baptised in the Spirit I have become bold in stepping up to do things for God. I used to be a bit weak and shy but now I feel I have the power to get out there, finish my education and get a job. All thanks to the power of the Spirit.<sup>751</sup>

For the SG members the concept of power appears to be an elevation of a status into a higher spirituality in their walk with God and effective ministry. This spirituality is measured by getting to know God better and evidenced by the decisions one makes because of the power of the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit. These responses are not significantly different from their parents. Indeed, although the FG speaks of the Holy Spirit in terms of power, when pressed during the conversations, they express their relationship with the Holy Spirit in terms of love and bearing fruit. However, because of their inherent worldviews, they often speak of the Holy Spirit initially in terms of power. Like their parents and the FG leaders, the SG members value the presence and power of the Holy Spirit.

Most of the SG hold on to the Pentecostal doctrine of initial evidence, as passed on by the church leaders. They [the SG] respondents also spoke of the witnessing ability

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<sup>750</sup>Interview with Paul, London, 30 January 2016.

<sup>751</sup>Interview with Rose, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

enabled by the Holy Spirit baptism. However, it is the added subtle and undocumented emphasis and understanding of the Holy Spirit, as power for protection and against evil spirits, that marks a turning point in the responses of many of the SG participants. They see the Holy Spirit as God and as a friend. For them baptism in the Holy Spirit is baptism into a deeper relationship with God. Significantly, only one of the SG members in the Youth Conference mentioned evil spirits, healing or protection as a reason for Spirit baptism.<sup>752</sup> Unless otherwise prompted, they assumed that by default they were protected by the Holy Spirit, as Eva exclaimed, “Oh I didn’t really think of protection because I know I’m already protected in Christ”<sup>753</sup> The two SG members in the cohort who mentioned power and deliverance regarding the Holy Spirit were Suzy and Hannah, who were familiar frequent engagement with juju and evil spirits from watching Ghanaian/Nigerian movies with their parents. Both mentioned the need for the power of the Holy Spirit against evil spirits.<sup>754</sup>

Overall, these beliefs and responses by the SG on the Holy Spirit are arguably shaped by their understanding and perceptions of the world and society, which is significantly different from their parents, who largely see the world from a Ghanaian perspective. This makes the emphasis on the Holy Spirit’s power as essential for protection and deliverance from evil spirits and their manifestations irrelevant to most of the SG. Therefore, they do not see the need in focusing their prayers on protection, because they believe their friend [the Holy Spirit] is already protecting them. On the one hand, the FG are conscious of evil and their occurrences in daily lives, whilst on the other

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<sup>752</sup> This was at the National Youth Conference mentioned earlier in 6.2.2. CoP-UK National Youth Conference, 31 July 2015.

<sup>753</sup> Interview with Eva, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>754</sup> Interview with Suzy, London, 31 January 2016.

hand, the SG are conscious of their friendship with God and the ability to make right choices and serve him in the contemporary society. In the end, both FG and SG have a common understanding on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as necessary in their Christian walk. Both generations see the power and purpose of Spirit baptism as essential in witnessing and ministry. However, it is the emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit against evil spirits that appears to frustrate some of the SG members. This frustration eventually contributes to their reluctance and disengagement within services and subsequently leads to some of them leaving the church.

## **6.7 The Holy Spirit Still at the Centre of the Services for Both the Second Generation and First Generation**

Amidst the disengagement and frustrations of the SG members regarding some of the church practices and what they described as *Af*, their reasons for going to church remain connected to experiencing the Holy Spirit. In other words, church to them is not just a place of fellowship, but a place for spiritual empowerment and nourishment. I asked the SG members, “Why do you go to church?” The top two responses out of the list were to do with spiritual encounters. More than two-thirds of the participants, that is 88%, said that the church meets their spiritual needs. 92% stated that they attend church because they feel the presence of the Holy Spirit, while only 4% responded that they attend church because they want to be with people from a similar background.

Incidentally, the idea of Ghanaians coming together was not a key reason for the youth going to church. Their attendance and participation in the church are not a response

to a quest for social respectability<sup>755</sup> or a means of coping strategy in a foreign land.<sup>756</sup> For the SG members Britain is home and church is a place where they feel they can receive spiritual empowerment. For their parents and grandparents, the churches became more than a place for spiritual nourishment. The church served as a social hub, a community centre, economic advisory unit, employment network and, notably, an immigration support centre.<sup>757</sup> The SG members do not see the church in the same light. These young members have various places where they socialise and scarcely think of immigration issues, since nearly all of them are British citizens. Nevertheless, they continue to see the church as a place of spiritual nourishment where their spiritual needs are met. I asked the focus groups what they meant by their spiritual needs? Most of the SG members I spoke to said that they feel the church supports them with intensive prayers and helps them engage with God in their difficult times.

For most of the SG participants their spiritual needs were mainly seeking God through prayer and fasting and getting closer to him. Gerloff observed in 1991 that one of the key elements of the African diaspora church was that it continues to provide for the spiritual needs of its members.<sup>758</sup> Concerning this adaptation of African Christianity to the needs of Africans in the diaspora, Adogame aptly notes, “It is the rapprochement with indigenous cosmology and ritual praxis that distinguishes it within global Pentecostalism ...and accounts for its success.”<sup>759</sup> Hanciles adds that “the declaration of spiritual needs implies that members experience spiritual growth and adequate

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<sup>755</sup>van Dijk, ‘Negotiating Marriage,’ 464.

<sup>756</sup>Hunt and Lightly, ‘The British Black Pentecostals Revival,’ 104.

<sup>757</sup>This was like the Caribbean churches post Windrush 1948. Cf. Olofinjana, *Reverse in Ministry & Mission*, 47-48.

<sup>758</sup>Gerloff, ‘The Significance of the African Christian Diaspora in Europe,’ 116.

<sup>759</sup> Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, 93.

spiritual support in times of crises.”<sup>760</sup> Though Gerloff, Adogame and Hanciles were referring to the FG migrant church, their observations on the church providing spiritual support is true among the SG members in CoP-UK.

The point of contention here is ‘spiritual growth’ vs. ‘spiritual needs’. For most of the FG Christians spiritual growth is not necessarily a primary reason for going to church. My research on CoP-UK, coupled with Adogame’s extensive research on some African churches at home and in the diaspora, shows that most Africans are attracted to the church because of the appeal of the Holy Spirit in providing solutions to their problems.<sup>761</sup> This attraction to a higher or more potent spiritual source is a continuation of Akan religious practices, where people maintained loyalty and were committed to a shrine and a deity as long as their needs were met.<sup>762</sup>

In theory, most of the FG participants ticked ‘spiritual growth’ as one of the main reasons for attending CoP-UK. However, when asked to explain what they meant by spiritual growth, many of them referred to the power of the Holy Spirit in helping them deal with life’s problems as a sign of growth. Thus, in practice, one of the main reasons for the attraction to CoP and other Pentecostal churches by FG members is the emphasis placed on the power of the Holy Spirit to help them in their time of need. Hanciles suggests that the numerous weekly programmes in migrant churches are a sign of their quest to cater to the spiritual needs of migrants in the diaspora.<sup>763</sup> These additional programmes are often prayer and deliverance services and are mainly

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<sup>760</sup>Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 361.

<sup>761</sup>Nyanni, *Spirit and Power*, Chapter 4. Adogame, *African Christian Diaspora*, 79-100.

<sup>762</sup>See Chapter 3.7 for a fuller description.

<sup>763</sup>Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 361.

patronised by the FG members because most of them continue to fear and worry about the influence of witchcraft and malevolent spirits. As one pastor said, “we preach less and pray more during deliverance services because that is why our people come. They come to pray and seek deliverance and the manifestation of the power of God.”<sup>764</sup>

What makes the African immigrant Christian continue to attend church in the diaspora? It is not simply to grow spiritually, but it is the recourse to deal with the ordeals of the host country, as well as their country of origin.<sup>765</sup> Some of these ordeals include witchcraft, financial pressures from family, immigration and the pursuit of legal documentation, the fear of evil forces and other economic and employment pressures. In the end, all these ordeals are attributed to the work of evil spirits. Consequently, for the FG members the response to these ‘spiritual attacks’ is to take authority in Jesus and bombard the devil with sophisticated and devastating prayers. CoP-UK through its various prayer meetings, as well as Prayer Clinics, provides the space for the FG to feel empowered, resourced and armed for the various spiritual battles they face.

Conversely, the SG members barely attend the Prayer Clinics and other midweek meetings unless they are specifically for the Youth. Several reasons contribute to their lack of attendance, including school/college, University hours and other commitments. However, most of the SG do not attend even when they can because of what they see as the over-emphasis on casting out and demolishing evil spirits by their parents. For the SG the description of spiritual needs is not victory over evil or malevolent forces,

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<sup>764</sup>Interview with Pastor Marvin, London, 8 June 2015.

<sup>765</sup>Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, 99.

but rather direction and support for their daily routines. They attend church because they are given the space to pray as well as the support in times of crises. That support includes fasting, praying and counselling.

The SG members, like their FG parents, seek prayer support. However, they do not focus their attention on destroying the work of evil spirits, but rather they seek the Holy Spirit for encouragement, wisdom, direction and counselling. In contrast to the FG members, the SG generally ask for practical ways in dealing with their challenges. Their ordeals include getting through their education successfully, finding employment, finding life partners and getting on the housing market. Though some of the SG struggles are same as FG's they do not see any significant involvement of evil spirits in these challenges. Though they acknowledged the power of intensive prayers, they seek empowerment through other experts in areas where they need guidance. For them the Holy Spirit works miraculously through prayers as well as through the counselling and guidance of consultants and other experts.

The different emphasis on the Holy Spirit can be summarised in the comments below:

Suzy (SG): "when I leave the church, I feel empowered by the [Holy] Spirit to face the week with hope and confidence. I feel I can get on with my studies and work in a productive manner."<sup>766</sup>

George (FG): "when I leave the church, I feel my burdens have been rolled away. I come with a lot of issues which Satan and his demonic spirits try to pin on me.

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<sup>766</sup>Interview with Suzy, London 31 January 2016.

But when I come to church and especially after praying, I feel those enemies are defeated.”<sup>767</sup>

Undoubtedly, both responses highlight the important role the Holy Spirit plays in their lives and the church. However, they highlight the different emphasis on the role the Holy Spirit plays. These two comments are by no means exhaustive of the various comments I heard from both FG and SG contributors, however, they are representative of most of the responses I heard from the participants.

During my interviews and focus group sessions, it became apparent that the young people had a strong awareness of the Holy Spirit's presence in the church and expected the manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the services. This emphasis on the Holy Spirit's presence, power and manifestation in the service is what Onyinah describes as making CoP stand out even in the diaspora.<sup>768</sup> One of the SG participants who left the church but returned after a year said that he did not experience the Holy Spirit in the other churches he visited like he did in CoP-UK.<sup>769</sup> Another young lady who left the church but has not returned said, “I have not yet found a church where I feel the power of the [Holy] Spirit so much like in CoP.”<sup>770</sup> It therefore appears that though the SG members are disengaged primarily because of over-emphasis on malevolent spirits and witchcraft in the services, they still attend church because of what they perceive to be the presence of the Holy Spirit's power within the services.

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<sup>767</sup>Interview with George, 13 February 2016.

<sup>768</sup>Onyinah, 'Pentecostals in the African Diaspora', 238.

<sup>769</sup>Interview with Joshua, London, 26 June 2016.

<sup>770</sup>Telephone interview with Freda, 30 January 2016.

The challenge, therefore, must be on negotiating practices in CoP-UK between the generations.

## **6.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has shown that the themes or reasons why some of the SG are disengaged in church and others are leaving are consistent with both those who have already left the church and those who are still in church. In their [SG] own words, factors such as structure of the service, organisation of liturgy, lack of social involvement and mentoring, are all reasons contributing to their disengagement in the services. However, one of the main recurring reasons that surfaced during both observation and interviewing stages appears to be on the beliefs, practices and manifestations of 'evil spirits' and the Holy Spirit in the church. The analyses showed that though there are several areas of commonality in beliefs and practices, there also exists some significant differences on occasions on the emphasis the different generations place on spirits and church liturgy. It was observed that part of the reason for this might be the ambivalences in the identity of some of the SG members.

It was seen that the self-description by most of the SG as Ghanaian-British encourages the FG leaders to believe that the SG are Ghanaian, hence they continue to organise church in the Ghanaian way. However, although the SG identified with certain Ghanaian socio-cultural and religious practices, to a large extent they also found certain practices in church irrelevant and archaic (*Af*), hence contributing to their disengagement and exodus from the church. It appears that though the over emphasis on certain Ghanaian practices and beliefs in evil spirits is a stumbling block to some of

these SG members, yet, in the end, the SG members appear to be attracted to the church because of the workings of the Holy Spirit's. Having discussed the background of the FG and their worldview and how that has shaped the CoP-UK, it is imperative to evaluate the socio-cultural influences on the SG and to discuss the nature of the rapid transitions in their contemporary culture and suggest negotiation strategies for them to continue to enjoy church.

## CHAPTER 7: THEORIES, THEOLOGY AND NEGOTIATION

### 7.1 Introduction

The observations, interviews and discussions with the second-generation (SG) members of the Church of Pentecost UK (CoP-UK) have been essential in not only understanding their frustrations and perceptions, but it has also highlighted the socio-cultural influences and theological nuances in comparison with their parents' socio-cultural practices and beliefs. For example, the struggle of the SG members to fine tune what they mean by the church being too *Af* or overly influenced by the Ghanaian culture can partly be explained on the one hand by their love for certain elements of the Ghanaian cultural and religious practices, such as the vibrant style of worship, the upbeat music, dancing and exuberant praying style. While on the other hand, the idea of the church being *Af* can be explained within the context of the conscious and subconscious influences affecting the SG's social and religious beliefs and practices in Britain today.

I have used the term 'beliefs and practices' connectedly and interchangeably throughout the thesis. However, Parekh has attempted to explain the distinctions between them in four different aspects.<sup>771</sup> Although Parekh admits that beliefs and practices of a culture are closely related, he argues that they are also autonomous and subject to their own distinct features.<sup>772</sup> According to Parekh, "beliefs primarily pertain

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<sup>771</sup>Firstly, beliefs are general whereas practices are determinate. Secondly, practices are easily recognised and more enforceable than beliefs. Thirdly, beliefs are more concerned with the realm of thought whilst practices are social institutions and experiences. Fourthly, coherence among beliefs is a matter of intellectual consistency. Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 145.

<sup>772</sup>Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 145.

to the realm of thought and practices to that of conduct.”<sup>773</sup> In other words, beliefs are subject to how people think and what factors contribute to and influence that thought process. Whilst practices are easily ascertainable, hence easy to enforce and maintain, Parekh argues that since beliefs have more to do with thinking and influences, beliefs “are more likely to be influenced by new ideas and knowledge”.<sup>774</sup> In this context it can be argued that the SG members of CoP-UK are growing in a cultural environment significantly different from what their parents grew up in. Arguably, some of the cultural ideas, experiences and concepts have unconsciously affected their beliefs and practices, as far as church is concerned. Furthermore, the rapid pace of change in the Western world since the twenty first century means that the FG parents are also having to frequently adjust to new ways of engaging in the contemporary culture. This penultimate chapter attempts to summarise some of the key social theories and concepts that are influencing the SG, before discussing the theological implications on the SG members. This chapter finishes by proposing negotiation strategies for a smooth transition in CoP-UK.

## **7.2 Multiculturalism: The Emerging British Culture and its Effect on the Second Generation**

A major contributing influence on the SG in CoP-UK is the reality of the multicultural society in which they live. Defining the term “multiculturalism” can be puzzling, however, in its simplest form it “suggests no more than the existence of a range of

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<sup>773</sup> Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 145.

<sup>774</sup> Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 145.

cultures among the residents of a country.”<sup>775</sup> Therefore, in asserting that the SG have been influenced by multiculturalism, I refer to the broader picture of multiple identities, interculturalism, liberalism, relativism, materialism and the many other subsets attached to the Western culture.<sup>776</sup> It is not the purpose of this thesis to analyse each of the concepts, since this will take the discussion beyond the aims of my research.

British culture can no longer be described or explained within the context of “white English traditions and lifestyle”.<sup>777</sup> The rapid pace of globalisation, especially in the latter part of the twentieth century, means that the British culture and society is not how it used to be when the CoP-UK first-generation (FG) members first arrived. Migration, globalisation and other factors have led to the assimilation and diversity of cultures in the West.<sup>778</sup> I shall discuss the globalisation effect on the SG below (Section 7.3). Globalisation, which arguably originally began with Western influences on the rest of the world,<sup>779</sup> can no longer be accepted as an adequate description of the word or concept. This is partly because through multidirectional migration, transnationalism and other factors, the Western world has also been impacted by cultures from other parts of the world.<sup>780</sup> The impact of other cultures on the West can be seen in the social, political and religious landscape in Europe and America.

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<sup>775</sup>Leech, *Changing Society and the churches*, 118.

<sup>776</sup>Bouchard, *What is interculturalism?* (2011); Bouchard and Taylor, *Building the future: A time for reconciliation*, (2008); Cattle, *Interculturalism: The new era of cohesion and diversity*, (2012); Taylor, ‘Interculturalism or multiculturalism?’, 413– 423.

<sup>777</sup>This was a phrase frequently used by some FG members to describe the indigenous culture.

<sup>778</sup>Appadurai, ‘Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,’ 295-310.

<sup>779</sup>Berger, *Many Globalisations*, 10.

<sup>780</sup>See Adogame on discussions on Migration Theory. Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, 1-36.

## 7.2.1 Understanding Contemporary British Culture

It will be inapt to describe the British culture without making references to its multicultural and multi-ethnic orientation. I refer to 'culture' in its "conventional social scientific sense as the beliefs, values, and lifestyles of ordinary people in their everyday existence."<sup>781</sup> The increased diversity of people and cultures in Britain has made it nigh impossible to describe 'the British culture'. One only has to walk through the streets of the UK's major cities, like London, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, to see the assortment of cultures demonstrated on public transport, in shops, restaurants and religious places of worship. British culture has not only emerged from transnational and colonial influences<sup>782</sup>, but by a new ensemble created by children of migrants and of people from all walks of life, to fit into a new, yet always changing, culture. Indeed, the culture of Britain has evolved so much that the political hierarchy is unable to arrest the disintegration of what was once 'the traditional culture'.<sup>783</sup>

Such was the severity of the cultural shock that the 'Life in the UK Test' was introduced in 2005 by the then Home Secretary David Blunkett. The Immigration Minister at the time, Tony McNulty, said, "this is not a test of someone's ability to be British or a test of their Britishness ...it is a test of their preparedness to become citizens in keeping with the language requirement."<sup>784</sup> Although understanding the language is crucial to survival and integration into the British culture, the implication of the 'Life in the UK

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<sup>781</sup>Berger, *Many Globalisations*, 2

<sup>782</sup>Bryceson, 'Transnational Families in the Twenty-first Century,' 5. For discussions on effects of British colonialism see; Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, (1998); Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, (1997). Brah and Cohen mainly focus on cultural process and their connection with larger communities and states/nations.

<sup>783</sup>For example, shops are now open on Sundays whilst traditional English Sunday roasts are being substituted for exotic curries and Chinese takeaways.

<sup>784</sup>[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk\\_politics/4391710.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4391710.stm). Accessed 05 January 2017.

Test' was more than language requirement. It was about integration and sharing in British traditions and values.<sup>785</sup> Arguably, the test was to examine and determine if prospective applicants for UK citizenship had adequate knowledge, history and awareness of what it means to be British. Essentially, the guardians of the culture, in this case, the political leaders had to find a way to limit the compression and dilution of the British culture by introducing measures to help keep and maintain aspects of British life and culture that makes Britain unique. National identity, however, goes beyond a simple test. It has expanded and contracted over time to include minorities like African migrants becoming part of the history, present and future of what it means to be British in contemporary Britain.

### **7.2.2 Situating the Second Generation of Church of Pentecost-UK within the Multiculturalism Discourse**

This ever-changing culture in the British society is reflected in the church life of the SG members in CoP-UK. Unlike the FG members who started the church as a response to a need, which included maintaining a cultural identity, the SG members are more integrated in the British culture and do not necessarily share the same needs as their parents. Speaking from a Caribbean perspective, Aldred has argued that many BMC were set up to cater for their own, without necessarily looking to bridge cultural gaps.<sup>786</sup> Among some of the reasons for initiating these BMC was that the community realised they did not have some of the churches they belonged to from the Caribbean islands

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<sup>785</sup> [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk\\_politics/4391710.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4391710.stm). Accessed 05 January 2017.

<sup>786</sup> Joe Aldred, 'Response to Roswith Gerloff's Pentecostals in the African Diaspora,' *Pentecostals after a Century*, 87-88. Also see Reid-Salmon, *Home Away from Home*, 159-159.

before migrating to Britain.<sup>787</sup> Others started churches because of racial segregation and tensions in the society at the time.<sup>788</sup>

Beckford adds that yet another group started their churches simply because some Black churches had within their culture and practices certain levels of resistance that clashed with post-colonial Christianity found in Britain.<sup>789</sup> Beckford has further shown through various surveys and maintains the polemic that some black people are still uncertain about their place in Britain.<sup>790</sup> However, Edwards strongly advocates that it will be disingenuous to advocate that all of the independent BMC started because of racial tension and white Christian rejection.<sup>791</sup> Edwards suggests that “Black churches came into being to fulfil spiritual, social and cultural, needs which would otherwise have gone unmet.”<sup>792</sup>

This is true not only of Caribbean churches, but also of African churches.<sup>793</sup> Though officially the Church of Pentecost (CoP) promotes and advocates a culturally inclusive church in its mission strategy, Onyinah asserts that meeting the spiritual needs of migrant Ghanaians was the main reason for starting CoP in the diaspora.<sup>794</sup> The crux

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<sup>787</sup>This is where MacRobert argues that some of these churches were started because they wanted a cultural and theologically different church to what the mainstream churches offered them. MacRobert, *Black Pentecostalism*, 288-291.

<sup>788</sup>Edwards, ‘Afro-Caribbean Pentecostals in Britain,’ 109; Beckford, *Dread and Pentecostal*, 15.

<sup>789</sup>Beckford, *Dread and Pentecostal*, 16.

<sup>790</sup>Beckford, *Dread and Pentecostal*, 14.

<sup>791</sup>These views are also expressed by ter Haar, *Half-Way to Paradise*, 21-25; 178-9 and Dijk, ‘Negotiating Marriage,’ 464.

<sup>792</sup>Edwards, ‘Afro-Caribbean Pentecostals in Britain,’ 104. See also; Gerloff, ‘African, Continuum,’ 93.

<sup>793</sup> Apart from the African churches in discussion here, Kwiyani also made similar observations on Africans joining African churches because of their spiritual needs in North American churches. Kwiyani, ‘Pneumatology, Mission and African Christianity in the West,’ 127-128.

<sup>794</sup>Onyinah, ‘Pentecostalism and the African Diaspora,’ 218. Opoku Onyinah was the first Missions Director of the Church of Pentecost and chairman of the church 2008-2018.

of the matter is that from the outset, CoP sees itself as a church called to the diaspora to preserve and maintain the biblical and moral beliefs and practices of Ghanaians in the diaspora.<sup>795</sup> Thus the leadership of CoP-UK continue to adhere to the practices as seen in Ghana. Some of these practices include a strict abstinence from alcohol and smoking, discouraging its members from participating in 'questionable places' such as non-church parties, night clubs and bars, and strict protocols to events such as funerals, weddings and naming ceremonies.

In the UK CoP's initial agenda was not one of integration or assimilation with the British people or culture. On the contrary, the early members desired a spiritual and social experience like what they left in Ghana. Though the FG members welcomed other nationalities and people from other cultures into their fold, they met primarily as Ghanaian Pentecostals and specifically as CoP members in the diaspora. Adedibu describes this as selective assimilation "which is fostered by social interaction and religious repository within ethnic churches where the indigenous migrant cultural worldviews are upheld."<sup>796</sup> Hanciles asserts that the African churches in the diaspora have a freshness and vitality which is bound to impact people outside their sphere.<sup>797</sup> However, most of the African churches in the diaspora continue to largely cater for and structure their service to suit the FG, as my research has shown. Thus, Gerloff's argument that the patterns of worship and spirituality in the African churches are informed by their African cultural and religious values still stands today, in the case of

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<sup>795</sup> Onyinah, 'Pentecostalism and the African Diaspora,' 235.

<sup>796</sup> Adedibu, *Coat of Many Colours*, 238.

<sup>797</sup> Hanciles, 'Migration and Mission,' 152.

CoP-UK. Adogame<sup>798</sup>, Hunt<sup>799</sup>, ter Haar<sup>800</sup> and Hanciles<sup>801</sup> have all shown that most of the African churches in the diaspora still reflect the teachings and practices of the mother church in Africa. The cultural homogeneity of CoP-UK, as seen in the statistics in Chapter 5, suggests that after 25 years of its inception CoP-UK is still largely and predominantly a 'Ghanaian church'.

The SG today are living in a cultural exposition different to what their parents grew up with in Ghana and slightly different to what they encountered when they arrived in the UK in the 1980s. Furthermore, though racism and segregation appear in different forms today, Adedibu accurately notes that changes within legislature have ensured that measures are in place to check some of these social injustices that the FG faced when they first came to Britain.<sup>802</sup> Britain is no longer a 'White man's' country, as it used to be known by some of the migrants.<sup>803</sup> Entertainment places, such as bars, night clubs and cinemas, are no longer seen as 'questionable' by the SG. The SG engage in other social activities outside church and engage with their non-Ghanaian friends in various ways. They have many active friendships with non-Ghanaian and non-Christian friends and a few of them live with non-Ghanaians, especially at university. Practices such as drinking occasionally or socially are perceived by some of the SG as normal.<sup>804</sup> The traditional 'Sunday best dressing', which had been instilled in the SG when they were in Sunday school by their parents, has been replaced by contemporary youth fashion,

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<sup>798</sup>Adogame, *African Christian Diaspora*, (2013).

<sup>799</sup>Hunt, "'Neither Here nor There": The Construction of Identities and Boundary Maintenance of West African Pentecostals,' 147-69.

<sup>800</sup>Ter Haar, *Halfway to Paradise*, (1998); Ter Haar, *How God Became African*, (2009).

<sup>801</sup>Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, (2008).

<sup>802</sup>Adedibu, *Coat of Many Colours*, 240

<sup>803</sup>This was a phrase that several FG participants used during conversations.

<sup>804</sup>These views were expressed by some of the SG especially during the one to one interviews.

such as jeans, trainers and T-shirts. The SG worship leaders are no longer wearing suits and ties to lead worship, they come in jeans and trainers. The caveat here is that the youth are influenced by the Western culture and do not necessarily see Sunday as a special day for special clothes.

Their language has changed. Though they speak English, they feel comfortable to use 'slang' and 'street language' in church.<sup>805</sup> The SG are now more open to other cultures, while their parents and some of the SG leaders are still very loyal to the Ghanaian and CoP way of life, culture and practices. This is essentially a discussion of cultural encounters and their consequences. The SG members of CoP, having been raised by Ghanaian parents with Ghanaian cultural values from childhood, encounter different cultural systems as they grow into teenage years. These new cultural systems consciously and subconsciously influence the values they were brought up with. Indeed, they are using the 'globalisation forces' or in other words, the many cultures around them to form their own (hybrid) or creole cultures.<sup>806</sup> Furthermore, encountering the new cultures contribute to their quest in challenging some of the belief systems of the indigenous Ghanaian culture and religion in which they have grown.

In the end "multiculturalism is not committed to the view that only the culturally open way of life is the best".<sup>807</sup> Multiculturalism holds that there are more ways to enjoy life than limiting oneself within one culture in a multicultural environment. Cultural diversity and the obvious impossibility of living in one cultural region at any given time means

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<sup>805</sup>For example, instead of saying, 'Somebody shout hallelujah', they say 'somebody holla Jesus'.

<sup>806</sup> Hannerz uses the term 'creolization' to refer to the processes where different cultural forms and meanings are shaped by interaction between the main and peripheral societies. Hannerz, *Cultural Complexity*, 39.

<sup>807</sup>Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 172.

that as much as the SG members are taught certain practices in the church, by the time they get to young teenage years they are influenced not only by what is happening in church once a week, but by their daily experiences in school and in their communities.

The discussions surrounding migration, transnational theories and the African diaspora church seem to have missed the importance of the SG citizens who have not migrated from Africa, but who were born in the diaspora. They are a different breed. The culture of the migrant church is still largely seeking to fill a spiritual vacuum and offer for many disenchanting Africans “a home away from home.”<sup>808</sup> Though outsiders commonly label CoP, along with other African-led churches, as ‘Ghanaian’ or ‘African churches’, the churches themselves reject these labels because they claim it limits their missional goal and aims of building multicultural churches. Hence, in the case of CoP, they have established the PIWCs for the purpose of reaching out to people from other cultures.<sup>809</sup> The idea is that these PIWCs become culturally sensitive and welcoming to people from all cultures to worship with CoP. Indeed, PIWCs have attracted some members of non-Ghanaian heritage, however, the case studies have shown that, apart from LP2, though PIWCs use the English language in the services, most of their ecclesiastical style and practices are modelled on the Akan culture and services. Though some of the youth appear to enjoy the services, nevertheless their appeal to other nationals is still a long way from what the leaders envision and expect.<sup>810</sup>

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<sup>808</sup>Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, 69.

<sup>809</sup>See Chapter 5.3 for details on PIWCs.

<sup>810</sup>Interview with Apostle Newton, London, 16 December 2015.

## 7.3 Globalisation and the Media Effect on the Second-Generation

### CoP-UK

Adogame asserts that “globalisation is a term that has come from ‘nowhere’ to occupy almost ‘everywhere’ especially in the last decade.”<sup>811</sup> This is not to say that the process of globalisation is a recent phenomenon. Casanova has argued that if by globalisation we mean the world is an interconnected single community through various ways, then the world religions have always been involved in the process of globalisation.<sup>812</sup> The discussion on globalisation is diverse and complex and its vocabulary includes consumerism, fragmentation, multiple identities, hybridity and postmodernity.<sup>813</sup> There is no consensus on the definition on globalisation, however the common thread that appears to run through the globalisation debate is the idea that the world is a “single place”<sup>814</sup>, “a social unit”<sup>815</sup>, and “an abstract sign space”<sup>816</sup>. In this context globalisation is not a geographical theory but pertains to the sharing of and changing of ideas and the spread of concepts. Some of these ideas have been largely discussed within the social sciences and centred mainly on economic, political, social, cultural and military aspects.<sup>817</sup>

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<sup>811</sup>Adogame and Ukah, ‘Viewing a Masquerading from different spots?’ 12.

<sup>812</sup>Casanova, ‘Globalization and the Free Exercise of Religion Worldwide,’ 139.

<sup>813</sup>Meyer, ‘Pentecostalism and Globalisation’, 113.

<sup>814</sup>Mittleman, *The Globalisation Syndrome*, (2000); Robertson, ‘Internationalization and Globalization,’ 8–9.

<sup>815</sup>Beyer, *Religion and Globalization*, 14.

<sup>816</sup>Augé, *Non-places: An Introduction to an Anthropology of Super modernity*, (1995).

<sup>817</sup>Peter Beyer discusses globalisation within these four concepts in Beyer, *Religion and Globalisation*, 14-41; whilst Keohane adds the military aspect in Keohane and Nye, *Globalization: What’s New? What’s Not? [And so What?]*, 104-119.

Beyer asserts that “globalisation is a direct consequence of modernization.”<sup>818</sup> In other words, the concept of globalisation is to do with modernising the underdeveloped and third worlds. “The stereotype is that the local disappears under the influence of Americanization, cocacolization, McDonaldization, Guinnesssisation, raggaefication and other common usages or what may be likened as synonyms.”<sup>819</sup> However, it is a misnomer to discuss globalisation within the confines of economy, polity and big systems influencing smaller ones. Hanciles contends that “non-Western initiatives and movements such as Pentecostalism are among the most powerful forces shaping the contemporary world order.”<sup>820</sup> Giddens argues that globalisation is not only out there, but it influences personal and individual lives in the here and now.<sup>821</sup> This intersection of the global and local influencing local lives is what Robertson described as “glocalisation”,<sup>822</sup> a term which etymologically is traced to the Japanese word ‘*dochakuka*’.<sup>823</sup>

The discussion surrounding religion and globalisation has evolved in recent decades. The discussion has moved on, although not entirely, from the link between modernisation, globalisation and secularisation to how religion is changing in the contemporary globalised society.<sup>824</sup> Although the discussion has been mostly centred on mainline Christian denominations and other religions, particularly Islam, the rapid

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<sup>818</sup> Beyer, *Religion and Globalisation*, 99.

<sup>819</sup> Adogame and Ukah, *Viewing a Masquerading from different spots*, 14.

<sup>820</sup> Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 37. Emphasis mine.

<sup>821</sup> Giddens, *Runaway world: How Globalisation is reshaping our lives*, 3.

<sup>822</sup> Robertson, *Globalisation, Social Theory and Global Culture*, 8. See also Sklair’s description of ‘globo-localism’ where he describes the multifaceted descriptions of global and local relations. Sklair, ‘Competing Conceptions of Globalization,’ 150.

<sup>823</sup> Dochakua originally meant adapting farming techniques to one’s own local condition. Adogame, *African Christian Diaspora*, 147.

<sup>824</sup> Wilkinson, ‘Pentecostals and the World,’ 378.

growth of Pentecostalism in recent years has caught the attention of not only theologians, but anthropologists and sociologists too.<sup>825</sup> Jenkins describes Pentecostalism as “perhaps the most successful social movement of the last century”,<sup>826</sup> whilst Meyer describes Pentecostalism as “a globalising religious project”.<sup>827</sup> To attempt an investigation of the numerous literature concerning globalisation and its complex dimensions at this stage will add unnecessary diversion to the thesis. My aim here is an attempt to narrow the analyses to the effects of globalisation on the SG members of the CoP-UK.

### **7.3.1 Church of Pentecost-UK and the Globalisation Debate**

The process of globalisation has contributed significantly to religious pluralism and awareness of different forms of religions in the West. Wilkinson argues that this pluralisation is not simply about multiplicity of Pentecostal identities, but it is also about embracing the fluidity and ambiguity within Pentecostalism.<sup>828</sup> Meyer has shown that Pentecostalism plays a central role in describing the world within the context of dualistic forces: a cosmic battle between God (Holy Spirit) and the Devil (evil spirits).<sup>829</sup> This description of the cosmic battle cuts across cultural and geographical boundaries. Thus, Pentecostals in Africa, America, Asia and Europe are concerned about the power of the Holy Spirit in overcoming demonic forces, however they are manifested. From the African diaspora perspective Adogame has argued that indigenous forms of

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<sup>825</sup> Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, 101.

<sup>826</sup> Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, 7-8.

<sup>827</sup> Meyer, *Pentecostalism and Globalisation*, 114.

<sup>828</sup> Wilkinson, ‘Pentecostals and the World,’ 378.

<sup>829</sup> Meyer, *Pentecostalism and Globalisation*, 114. Anderson also discusses the implications of African beliefs in the spirit world and globalisation in Anderson, *Spirit-Filled World*, 36-47.

worship in African Christianity have adopted a global form, while remaining faithful to their local identities.<sup>830</sup> For example, churches use various technology and media productions for their songs, sermons and other liturgy, whilst they continue to sing and preach in their mother dialects. Adogame, Hanciles, ter Haar and others have shown that, from the AIC to modern Pentecostal/Charismatic churches, the African churches consider themselves strong contributors in the globalisation process, because: firstly, they are called to evangelise the world;<sup>831</sup> secondly, they have within their names the word 'international';<sup>832</sup> thirdly, their 'self-definition', which is usually in their mission statements and in prophetic words; and finally, their appropriation of the new media and social media presence.<sup>833</sup>

The caveat is that from evangelism to the media, the African churches see the Holy Spirit as central to its practices and beliefs. It is the Holy Spirit who equips and empowers them for evangelism, it is the Holy Spirit who inspires prophecy, and it is the Holy Spirit who breaks the communication barriers and works through television broadcasts, YouTube channels, Facebook and the various prayer lines to perform wonders. Plüss posed the question "is there a global Pentecostal culture?" and could Pentecostals have a common spirituality? Though Plüss was writing from a European perspective, he concludes that the global culture of Pentecostalism is the awareness that the Holy Spirit is working through all channels of communication.<sup>834</sup>

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<sup>830</sup> Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, 149.

<sup>831</sup> Hunt and Lightly, 'The British black Pentecostal,' 121; Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 364.

<sup>832</sup> See also, Ter Haar who suggest that AIC be renamed 'African International Churches'. Ter Haar, *Half-way to Paradise*, 24.

<sup>833</sup> Adogame, *African Christian Diaspora*, 149-153; Coleman, *The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity*, 55-71.

<sup>834</sup> Plüss, 'Globalisation of Pentecostalism or Globalisation of Individualism? A European Perspective', 179.

CoP's understanding within the globalisation framework can be seen in their mission statement, the creation of International Missions Office and the creation of Pentecost International Worship Centres (PIWCs). The mission statement of CoP is "to bring people everywhere to the saving knowledge of Christ"<sup>835</sup> and they believe in the power of the Holy Spirit as the driving force for this world evangelism. From the outset this mission statement highlights the global vision of the church and, with branches in over 90 countries, the church of Pentecost is arguably making a massive contribution to the globalisation of Pentecostalism. The current chairman of the church, Apostle Onyinah, asserts that this mission of global evangelism is not only inspired by the Holy Spirit, but was also born out of prophecy.<sup>836</sup> Robbins argues that evangelisation is a paramount feature of global Pentecostalism, whereby Pentecostals believe that every Christian has the potential and responsibility to evangelise because of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>837</sup>

The creation of the International Missions Office in Ghana, as well as International Worship Centres across the nations, is not only a sign of the church's aim of having a global presence but through the PIWCs, the church aims to meet the needs of the various cultures it encounters. Thus, making globalisation in CoP not just about 'internationalisation' but about 'global consciousness'.<sup>838</sup> However, CoP's strict

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<sup>835</sup><http://thecophq.org/overview.php?id=1>. Accessed 16/02/2017

<sup>836</sup> Onyinah, 'Pentecostalism and the African diaspora,' 235.

<sup>837</sup> Robbins, 'The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity,' 124-5.

<sup>838</sup> Anderson asserts that globalisation is not just about internationalisation. In other words, by having the word "international" and simply having churches across nations does not mean a church is embracing globalisation. Anderson, *Spirit-Filled Word*, 36. For global consciousness see, Robertson, 'Global Connectivity and Global Consciousness,' 1336-45.

emphasis on practices such as total abstinence from alcohol and avoidance of certain questionable places have become one of their distinct marks of local identity regardless of the location of the church and its numerous parishes.<sup>839</sup>

In this context, the leadership of CoP-UK in line with the church's practices, discourage and frequently remind members not to drink, smoke, and attend secular parties, night clubs and such questionable places. However, the SG members are seeing some of their friends and some church leaders from other P/C churches drink, attend parties and enjoy movies sometimes on the eve of services. One SG member said, "I was actually shocked to hear that the pastor (from a P/C church he visited) made a reference to a scene from a movie he watched the previous night before the service. This will never happen in Pentecost [CoP]."<sup>840</sup> The SG's understanding of such situations is evolving, and some young men are coming to church with ear piercings, which is frowned on culturally and a violation of the church's unwritten code of conduct.<sup>841</sup>

According to Beyer, religion reacts against the homogenising forces of globalisation, as in so-called fundamentalist movements.<sup>842</sup> For some of the FG members' globalisation is seen as an abstract force destroying the core beliefs of Christianity. They feel threatened and worried about the impact of the openness of cultures, ideologies and access to various information wrought by globalisation.<sup>843</sup> For example,

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<sup>839</sup>Onyinah, 'Pentecostalism and the African diaspora,' 233. See 4.7.2

<sup>840</sup> Interview with Andrew, London, 29 January 2016.

<sup>841</sup>The CoP does not have a written policy which disallows male members from having ear piercings. However, such practices are generally not encouraged or permitted.

<sup>842</sup>Beyer, *Religion and Globalization*, 97.

<sup>843</sup>Cf. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 28.

the idea that it is fine to drink or go to parties and yet attend church worries some FG members.<sup>844</sup> As some of the leaders noted in the interviews, “these ideas and concepts are creeping into the church and destroying the spirituality of our young people.”<sup>845</sup> It is within this context of ambiguity and mixed reactions that the CoP FG generally turn to view globalisation and its impact on the SG youth in the church.

### **7.3.2 The Second-Generation members within the Globalisation**

#### **Framework**

The CoP, like other African Pentecostal and Charismatic churches such as Redeemed Christian Church of God, Winners Chapel and Lighthouse Church, have set out to evangelise the world and have so far arguably been successful in planting churches in many nations. However, whilst they appear to be global in extending their network, they remain local in their appeal because they mainly appear to reach members of their own community in the diaspora. The question that rises from reading the works of Adogame, Hanciles, ter Haar and other African scholars is ‘are these African churches global because they have a global presence or are they global because they have people from all nations in their churches?’

The importance of the SG members of CoP within the framework of globalisation is not merely their expression of Ghanaian Pentecostal practices mixed with a Western style.<sup>846</sup> Rather it is the influences of the globalised culture on their beliefs and

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<sup>844</sup>This was observed in some of the conversations with FG members and leaders during the fieldwork and highlighted in Chapter 6.

<sup>845</sup> Interview with elder Mark, Birmingham, 22 July 2015.

<sup>846</sup>By western style, I refer to some of the western songs and use of media in worship services.

practices. In other words, whilst CoP is making a global impact, the SG are being transformed by the processes of globalisation. In his attempt to answer questions relating to the perceived influence of globalisation on local congregations in Europe, Plüss' research suggested that there were commonalities in the shared use of songs, worship style, basic doctrine and evangelism. Indeed, the most common element in P/C churches was the move of the Holy Spirit in their services, as described by Gerloff.<sup>847</sup> However Wenk and Anderson cautions that this unity of appreciation of the Holy Spirit should not be confused with, or substituted for, uniformity because there exist cultural differences and practices.<sup>848</sup>

Though the SG members of CoP-UK are now aware of other forms, ideas and various ways of church liturgy and practices in their contemporary settings, the Pentecostal imagery of the world, in terms of its approach to matters of the spirits, as described by Meyer, is still prevalent in their thinking. The SG members of CoP did not appear to be swayed by other forms of religion and non-Christian ideas, but rather they seemed open to the idea of 'picking and choosing' from various church practices which do not seem to overemphasise demonic spirits, and which somehow meets their satisfaction. For example, Barbara said, "in Dominion Kingdom we do pray against evil spirits, but we do not make them our prime target. We start the service on time and finish on time."<sup>849</sup> Barbara, who at the time of writing still attended CoP, was contemplating leaving to join Dominion Kingdom permanently because of their different approach to services.

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<sup>847</sup>Plüss, 'Globalisation of Pentecostalism or Globalisation of Individualism? A European Perspective,' 174.

<sup>848</sup>Matthias Wenk in Plüss, 'Globalization of Pentecostalism or Globalization of Individualism? A European Perspective,' 174. Anderson, *Spirit-Filled World*, 39-37.

<sup>849</sup>Interview with Barbara, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

In the case of the CoP-UK, none of the SG participants had converted to other religions or left the Christian faith. They appeared to be looking for alternative ways to express and experience their Christian faith. This appeared to be the case of some of the Korean migrant churches in USA where the SG were not leaving the faith but advocating for newer and contemporary ways in organising church.<sup>850</sup> Kim shows in her research on SG Korean migrants and young leaders that the influence of the American culture was a factor in prompting most of the SG Korean migrants to join other American churches or start their own churches.<sup>851</sup> This desire for a different way has been brought about, not necessarily by the influence of other religions, but mainly through their interactions and access to other P/C churches and social institutions. For example, as seen in Chapter 6, James and some of the youth visited other churches in London, such as Hillsong, Ruach, Dominion Centre and Lighthouse. Their question was “why can’t we do church like them?”<sup>852</sup> Here it was not a case of a shared Pentecostal experience of the Holy Spirit, as observed by Plüss and Klaus,<sup>853</sup> but a quest for a different approach to matters of the spirit and other factors such as starting and finishing service on time, hearing more practical preaching as well as the youth being given opportunities to lead and serve in various roles in the church.<sup>854</sup>

There is an openness to European, American and other societal forms of embracing and dealing with the Holy Spirit and spirit matters which some of the SG are calling for

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<sup>850</sup> Dhingra, ‘We’re Not a Korean American Church Any More’: Dilemmas in Constructing a Multi-Racial Church Identity’, 367-379; Chai, ‘Competing for the Second Generation: English-Language Ministry at a Korean Protestant Church’, 295-331.

<sup>851</sup> Kim, *A faith of our own: second generation spirituality in Korean American churches*, 21;133.

<sup>852</sup> Interview with James, London, 30 January 2016.

<sup>853</sup> Klaus, *Pentecostalism as a global culture*, 127.

<sup>854</sup> Interview with James and Steve, London, 30 January 2016.

in CoP-UK. In other words, they seem to be saying that there needs to be balances with the dealing of evil spirits and breaking of strongholds within the church. Furthermore, they are seeking a more balanced approach as far as church liturgy, leadership roles and practices of the church are concerned. In the UK, the establishment and progress of the PIWCs appear to be helping the SG deal effectively with some of these issues. However, the main challenge remains with the leadership and the FG who are still the majority and hold positions of power and influence in the church. In short, the Ghanaian exported style of Christianity and church liturgy does not entirely make sense to the SG in CoP-UK, unless they are nuanced with the contemporary British culture. It appears that the impact of globalisation on the SG members is the access to and availability of other forms, styles and different ways of enjoying Pentecostal services, which their parents were not privileged to in the late 1980s and 1990s when they started the church. However, though the FG parents and leaders are aware of and have access to the same resources as the SG it appears that they seem comfortable with their Ghanaian ways of doing church. In the end, though most of the SG identify themselves as Ghanaian British, they do not necessarily want the church to be known as a Ghanaian church but simply a vibrant Pentecostal church.

### **7.3.3 The Media and Its Influences on the Second Generation**

The appropriation of multimedia has become part of the Pentecostal identity in Africa and the African diaspora church because it does not only advance their international status, but it also represents their identity as a modern and global church.<sup>855</sup> The new

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<sup>855</sup> Asamoah-Gyadu, 'Anointing through the Screen,' 13.

technologies, social media platforms and social apps are used by churches to communicate and advance their vision and mission. In Ghana nearly, all urban churches have a website and Facebook page. Some of these churches use the media to promote their conferences, events and pastors. Churches use prayer platforms, social media and television to evangelise and pray for members outside Ghana.<sup>856</sup> Some of the FG in UK use social media to connect with some of these pastors for special prayers for protection against witchcraft. Churches in Africa have formed alliances with churches in Europe and America through various media platforms.<sup>857</sup> Others have adopted certain liturgical practices, worship styles and preaching styles from other American churches, without having any formal association or network with them. This is where ideas, style and practices are transferable and transposable across different cultures.<sup>858</sup> For example, a church in Ghana is known as 'the Potter's House' and attempts to mimic the style of worship and preaching of T.D. Jakes' Potter's House church in America. Overall, churches in Africa and in the diaspora use multimedia to propagate their messages and transmit their services across the world.

In January 2017, the Church of Pentecost held its first global conference of all its ministers in Accra, Ghana.<sup>859</sup> Services from the conference were streamed live over the internet during the week-long conference. One of the organisers of the conference, and a leader of the church, said, "Our aim was to present CoP to the world and to let others know what we are about."<sup>860</sup> Another leader said, "By transmitting these

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<sup>856</sup>Sackey, 'Charismatics, independents, and missions: church proliferation in Ghana,' 41-59; White, 'Ghanaian Pentecostal Churches Mission Approach,' 256.

<sup>857</sup>Schiller et al, 'Beyond the ethnic lens: locality, globality, and born-again incorporation,' 612 – 613.

<sup>858</sup>Csordas, 'Introduction: modalities of transnational transcendence,' 261.

<sup>859</sup>CoP Global Ministers Conference was held in Accra from 9<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> January 2017.

<sup>860</sup>Telephone interview with Elder Q Boat, 12 January 2017.

services, we wish to teach the rest of the church how to do church so that they can learn how a Pentecostal service is done.”<sup>861</sup> These statements highlight the significant influence the media has on people and cultures. In a short survey I realised that most of the people in the UK who watched the live streaming were FG members.<sup>862</sup> The small number of SG members who watched were impressed with the technology and organisation, but still concluded that the services were *Af*.<sup>863</sup>

It is within this context that the SG in CoP-UK have been influenced by the global media presence. Through online streaming, satellite TV and transnational broadcasting, the SG have access to real time church services from around the globe. The SG also connect with friends through social media but in contrast to the FG prefer to watch church services mainly from America and other churches in the UK. In this context churches such as Potter’s House and Lakewood Church (USA), were among the popular churches watched online whilst Hillsong Australia, Ruach City Church in London and Hillsong London were also common choices.<sup>864</sup> Through such media, the so-called ‘electronic churches’<sup>865</sup> transmit not only their services, but also their culture. Wilson has described this concept of transferring ideas transculturally as “a new kind of relativism in men’s thinking.”<sup>866</sup>

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<sup>861</sup>Telephone interview with pastor Garry, 15 January 2017.

<sup>862</sup>I conducted a random survey (conversation) of 20 FG and 10 SG members in London. Out of the 20 FG members, 14 had regular updates from the conference and were greatly satisfied with the organization and what they described as the spiritual impartation. Only 8 of the SG members knew there was a global conference and kept regular updates. All 8 said it looked well organized and commented on the lighting and appearance. However, they all concluded that it was *Af*.

<sup>863</sup> Focus group conversation with BP1, 20 January 2017.

<sup>864</sup> These views were from the various focus group discussions.

<sup>865</sup>Droogers, ‘Globalization and the Pentecostal Success’, 12.

<sup>866</sup>Wilson, *Religion in Sociological Perspective*, 129. See also, Coleman who discusses Pentecostal and charismatic churches and the transmission of practices and concepts through the media. Coleman, *The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity*, 66-68.

In the case of the SG, they identify with the British and American socio-cultural values, as well as the Ghanaian socio-cultural practices. They dislike certain CoP practices and beliefs, especially the ones associated with the Ghanaian religious practices which they feel is Af and irrelevant to them. For example, on the one hand, most of the SG enjoy dancing with various Ghanaian dance moves, yet on the other hand, they complain about long sermons and long prayer services with overemphasis on breaking demonic strongholds. Their disengagement with such practices and beliefs can arguably be attributed to the influence of the media in the globalised society.

Significantly, the power of the media in the globalisation process has aided the transfer of ideas and concepts across the world, without people physically moving geographical boundaries. This media presence has subconsciously affected the SG's beliefs and practices and fostered inquisitive minds, especially concerning some of CoP's beliefs and practices. While most Pentecostal services follow a similar pattern of loud, vibrant and ecstatic praises, the Western Pentecostals appear to do so in half the time and with less itinerary in any given service. For example, during a visit to Hillsong London, I quickly discovered that the structure of the service was like CoP LP2, which was a SG dominated church. The link between opening prayer and praises, and sometimes worship, meant that there were fewer interruptions and no need for a master of ceremony to interrupt the services. This essentially meant that half the entire service was completed in approximately 30 minutes, which is usually the time it takes for just the opening prayer in some CoP services. This explains why some of the SG members become disengaged with the long services in CoP.

Furthermore, during my visits to the other non-Ghanaian/non-African churches I realised that their opening prayers and praise and worship were dominated by more singing than praying. Again, this is seen in some of the SG dominated churches in CoP where the SG sing more in their worship sessions than pray. Because most Westernised churches, such as Hillsong, Potter's House and the Elim Pentecostal churches where I visited, followed a similar pattern. Worship was mainly singing. Announcements were not verbally given but members were directed to access church information via social media apps, such as Facebook pages, Twitter and the churches' websites.

The importance of the SG within the framework of globalisation and media is not in the fact that they are now appropriating new and sophisticated forms of technology and communications. The process of globalisation has fostered the exchange and transmission of cultural values, practices and ideas between nations, cultures and organisations. This can be seen within the context of consumerism and the attitudes of consumption within the present society. Gauthier argues that the concept of consumerism is more than simply buying of goods "...it is a means of circulating symbols, meanings, identities and belonging."<sup>867</sup> For Taylor, consumerism has contributed towards a culture of individualistic authenticity and expressivity.<sup>868</sup> Taylor's description of the emerging culture as individualistic, does not necessarily fit with the SG cohorts in my research. This is because the SG continue to see themselves as part

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<sup>867</sup> François Gauthier. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/religionpublicsphere/2017/10/religion-is-not-what-it-used-to-be-consumerism-neoliberalism-and-the-global-reshaping-of-religion/>. Accessed 6 December 2017.

<sup>868</sup> Taylor, *Ethics of Authenticity*, 15.

of a “Ghanaian” Christian community. However, his argument that the emerging culture, “the fractured culture of nova” in which people are encouraged to express themselves in their own way can find some shades in the SG members of CoP-UK.<sup>869</sup>

In this context, the SG appears to have been influenced by consumeristic attitudes which has arguably been enhanced by the advancement of mass media. They are therefore able to express their opinions and feelings in ways which may be considered as unconventional by some of the FG members. Thus, whilst some of the FG members use media to request for prayers from back home, the SG use the media mainly to enhance their services and as a tool of learning other ways of conducting church in the West. Again, a major question being asked by some of the SG is “why we can’t do church in the same way other vibrant Pentecostal churches are?”<sup>870</sup> The media, therefore, has influenced the SG in as far as they are now able to access other ways of conducting services and thereby question the status quo.

#### **7.4 The Second Generation and Britain’s Religious Landscape: Secularisation**

Since the last half of the twentieth century Britain has been described as a secular society by sociologists, theologians, anthropologists and scholars from different fields. This is mainly because children and grandchildren of parents who were very active in church and other religions in the latter part of the twentieth century appear to be leaving

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<sup>869</sup> Taylor, *Ethics of Authenticity*, 33.

<sup>870</sup> Interview with James and Steve, London, 30 January 2016.

their respective religions. This is not the case in Christianity alone, but also in other religions such as Islam.<sup>871</sup> Typically, the discussions surrounding religion in the West have been characterised by declining church attendances and the rise/decline of other newer forms of world religions<sup>872</sup> and the argument that religion is not in decline but in transformation.<sup>873</sup> Others have rejected the views and ideas of secularisation entirely.<sup>874</sup> This has generally been described as the secularisation debate. The secularisation debate has shifted focus from the West to include third world and Middle East countries, which are predominantly Muslim societies.<sup>875</sup> The debate generally follows the contours of the globalisation effect, where the Western culture has influenced the rest of the world and vice versa.

Secularisation theory “in its most extreme form, predicts the eventual collapse of organised religion and the disappearance of Christianity from the public domain.”<sup>876</sup> Bruce refers to various surveys and statistics and makes several bold conclusions, among which he predicts the death of the Methodist church in or around 2031, and that major British religious denominations are a generation away from extinction.<sup>877</sup> Though Bruce’s prediction is regarding the mainline British churches, such as Anglican and Methodists, it is difficult to see the migrant church being extinct at the rate at which they appear to be growing. My research has shown that though some of the young

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<sup>871</sup>Bruce, *God is Dead*, 2000.

<sup>872</sup>Bruce, *Religion in Modern Britain*, 29-30; Bruce, *God is Dead*, 2002. See also Brown, C.G. *The Death of Christian Britain*, 2009.

<sup>873</sup> Davie, *Religion in Britain: A Persistent Paradox*, (2014); Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945*, 93; Martin, *Pentecostalism*, (2002).

<sup>874</sup>Stark, ‘Secularization: R.I.P.’ 249-273.

<sup>875</sup>Plüss, ‘Globalisation of Pentecostalism or Globalisation of Individualism? A European Perspective,’ 179; Ter Haar, *How God Became African*, 90.

<sup>876</sup>Garnett, *Redefining Christian Britain*, 1.

<sup>877</sup>Bruce, *God is dead*, 60-74.

people in CoP-UK are frustrated with certain church practices, they are not disengaged with God, or with Christianity. Those who leave the church join other churches, whilst a few start their own fellowships. Therefore, the CoP-UK SG do not represent the shift in Christianity from organised congregations, in what Davie describes as “believing without belonging” in her earlier work.<sup>878</sup>

Though the SG participants did not appear to have abandoned Christianity or church entirely, they are arguably influenced by some of these secular ideas. In a recent article in *Pentecost Fire* Emmanuel Boate warned of the growing trend of secular ideas where young people appear to be influenced by what he termed a “Western and ungodly approach to church”.<sup>879</sup> Some of these secular ideas are nuanced within the educational system.

Weller has argued for a widening of the religious debate in the UK, to move from secular and Christian to include what he calls a ‘three-dimensional’ religious diversity. In summary, Weller opines that “the contemporary religious landscape of the UK is exhibiting contours that are ‘Christian, secular and religiously plural’.”<sup>880</sup> In his follow-on work in religious diversity, Weller argues that these three intersect and affect the “private, family, civil society and public life’ of people in the UK.”<sup>881</sup> For example, Weller argues that the education system is an arena within which family traditions, beliefs and identities come into conflict with other religious beliefs.<sup>882</sup> The teaching of other

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<sup>878</sup>Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945*, 93.

<sup>879</sup>Boate, ‘The Art of Leading Worship,’ 24. *Pentecost Fire* is church of Pentecost’s flagship magazine produced every quarter.

<sup>880</sup>Weller, *In Time for a Change*, 73.

<sup>881</sup>Weller, *Religious Diversity*, 1.

<sup>882</sup>Weller, *Religious Diversity*, 128.

religions and belief systems creates an awareness in the mind of the young people who had until that point only known of their parents' belief systems. Through schools and colleges, the SG are introduced to some concepts which are contradictory to what they have been brought up with at home and in church. Stevens describes this as 'openness'.<sup>883</sup> The implications of this conflict are that it contributes to the shaping of perceptions and approaches to one's religion and other religions.<sup>884</sup> Aldred opines that "this is where young people's fundamental outlook is likely to take shape."<sup>885</sup>

During their school years the SG members are not only introduced to the various religions, but also to different concepts of spirituality through the New Age Movements and other social institutions. This openness either becomes a catalyst for the youth to question the authenticity and relevancy of their beliefs, or it gives them the opportunity to seek clarification and consolidate their own faith. For example, Jake said during one of the focus group sessions, "we were taught about other religions at school, but we still love our Jesus."<sup>886</sup> Louis also said at another meeting, "my time at uni [university] opened my eyes to some serious forms of spirituality out there, but it did not knock my belief in Christ."<sup>887</sup> Whilst education is pivotal in introducing forms of spirituality and religions to the SG, it becomes an empowering force by which the SG begin to ask intriguing questions about their beliefs.

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<sup>883</sup>Stevens, *English for English: An intercultural approach*, 155-178.

<sup>884</sup>Weller, *Religious Diversity*, 128.

<sup>885</sup>Aldred, *Intercultural experience and education*, 182.

<sup>886</sup>Interview with Jake, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

<sup>887</sup>Interview with Loise, LP2, London, 3 March 2016.

In a similar context Bruce, asserts that “science and technology have not made us atheists.”<sup>888</sup> Rather, for Bruce the key conventions that underline science and technology can be described as ‘rationality’.<sup>889</sup> By this Bruce describes the material world as being able to reproduce and innovate reactions and responses to deal with problems, hence rejecting the need for divine intervention.<sup>890</sup> Though the SG participants did not reject the importance of divine interventions in their lives, most of them rationalise issues and predicaments instead of spiritualising them like some of their parents. For most of the participants, although the spirit world is real, it does not impact their lives in the same way as their parents perceive. They have a scientific explanation for most sicknesses and disabilities, such as learning difficulties.

Mary’s story where her mother discouraged her from friendship with a girl with learning difficulties highlights the struggles that some of the SG members are facing. For Mary and some of her friends, learning difficulties and other disabilities or behaviour can be explained medically, and support can be sought from the right and appropriate institutions.<sup>891</sup> To suggest that these disabilities, disorders and other illnesses are all works of demons and evil spirits is contrary to what they read, see and hear in the contemporary society. The threat of witchcraft and malevolent spirits do not alarm most of the SG members of CoP-UK who I interacted with. This is because the culture they are living in does not encourage or greatly support the influence of the unseen malevolent spirits in physical lives.

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<sup>888</sup>Bruce, *God is dead*, 28.

<sup>889</sup>Bruce, *God is dead*, 28-29.

<sup>890</sup>Bruce, *God is dead*, 28-29.

<sup>891</sup> Interview with Mary, London, 9 January 2016. See 6.1.4

### 7.4.1 The Secularisation Debate and the Second-Generation Church of Pentecost-UK

Peter Berger, one of the early advocates of secularisation has now observed that though modernisation has contributed to the secularisation effect, it has also prompted “powerful movements of counter-secularisation.”<sup>892</sup> Hanciles observes that the resurgence of Christianity in the West has made secularisation fall apart.<sup>893</sup> This resurgence has been widely attributed to the impact of the ‘reverse-mission’ of the rest of the world on the West. Beginning with Walls, the discussion has centred on the shift of Christianity from the north to the south.<sup>894</sup> The work of Gerloff, a prominent writer on African presence in the West, has spanned over three decades and is centred on recognition of the positive impact of African Christianity in Britain and the West. Olofinjana<sup>895</sup> and Adedibu<sup>896</sup> speak of the major contributions of African churches, Black Led churches and Black Majority churches (BMCs) in the UK. Like their Caribbean counterparts, Aldred,<sup>897</sup> Beckford<sup>898</sup> and Sturge,<sup>899</sup> their discussions have been on the recognition, contribution and importance of ecumenism, whilst at the same time recognising important differences among the Black Led churches.

Several scholars in the fields of sociology, diaspora studies and missions attribute this resurgence of Christianity in the West to the African migrant church and generally the

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<sup>892</sup> Berger, ‘The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview,’ 3, 8.

<sup>893</sup>Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 382.

<sup>894</sup> Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, (1996); see also, Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, (2002).

<sup>895</sup>Olofinjana, *Reverse in Ministry and Mission*, (2010).

<sup>896</sup>Adedibu, *Coat of Many Colours*, (2012).

<sup>897</sup>Aldred, J & Keno, O (eds.), *The Black Church in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (2001).

<sup>898</sup>Beckford, *Dread and Pentecostal*, (2000).

<sup>899</sup>Sturge, *Look What the Lord Has Done*, (2005).

Christian migration of ‘the rest of the world’ to the West.<sup>900</sup> CoP-UK church statistics indicate that the church is growing every year, despite some of the SG leaving. The caveat here is that even with some of the SG leaving CoP, they still attend other churches; though not all of them attend African migrant churches. The likes of Hillsong London, the Elim Pentecostal churches and other African independent Pentecostal and Charismatic churches have attracted some of these young people with their new brand of music, church liturgy and contemporary approach to church. Brown observes this exception in the growth of black Pentecostal churches in his second edition of *The Death of Christian Britain*, “one of the few exceptions where Christian churches are thriving is in predominantly black communities.”<sup>901</sup>

Though the secularisation theory does not appear to affect the SG members in CoP-UK in ways that seem to derail their Christian faith, it is a misnomer to argue that the secularisation theory has fallen apart. Indeed, the fieldwork has so far shown that secular and atheistic ideologies have not replaced the central role religion plays in the lives of the CoP-UK SG participants. This is because, for now, their disengagement is not necessarily to do with God, but with certain church practices. Hence, they do not leave the church or the Christian faith per se, rather they transfer allegiance to other churches.<sup>902</sup> However, it is uncertain how this trend will pan out with the next generation of African migrants in the UK and the West.

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<sup>900</sup>Some of these include, Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian*, (2002); Gittins, ‘Reflections from the Edge: Mission-in-Reverse and Missiological Research,’ 21-29; Gerloff, ‘The Significance of the African Christian Diaspora in Europe: A Report on Four Meetings in 1997-8’, 115-120; Davie, *Europe - the Exceptional Case*, (2002); Catto, ‘From the Rest to the West: Exploring Reversal in Christian Mission in Twenty-First Century Britain,’ (2008); Haar, *Strangers and Sojourners*, (1998).

<sup>901</sup> Brown. *The Death of Christian Britain*, 2.

<sup>902</sup> Conversation with Pastor Q, 4 January 2017. See also 6.1.1.

The debate regarding the third-generation Caribbean migrant children needs to be monitored closely by the African scholars, churches and leaders. Discussions with some of the Caribbean church leaders and unofficial statistics suggests a gradual decline from church and Christianity among third generation Caribbean migrants.<sup>903</sup> Since the Caribbean migration to the UK began in huge numbers before African migration, most of the third-generation Caribbean migrants are now in their late 20s and 30s and are mapping out a different trajectory to the African migrants, whose third generation are mostly younger children. This thesis has shown that, though institutions such as the educational system have impacted the SG to an extent, the negative impact of secularisation cannot be applied to the SG members of CoP-UK. Indeed, secularisation influences has triggered within the SG, a search for modern and different ways to express their Christianity which resonates more with their worldview.<sup>904</sup> In this context, although there are some frustrations among some of them, nevertheless, these young Pentecostals still uphold the Christian faith.

## **7.5 The Second Generation and their Emerging Theologies**

Before concluding this chapter, I consider it is useful to highlight the emerging theologies of the SG because of their worldview and different cultural perspectives to their FG parents and leaders. Though my intention is not an extensive theological or pneumatological debate, it is relevant to make some useful observations as per my

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<sup>903</sup>This debate is anecdotal as there is no substantive data to suggest the case. However, my conversations with some of the leaders of the Caribbean dominated Black Led churches in Birmingham UK as well as some of the third-Generation people indicates that there is a general decline in church attendance.

<sup>904</sup> See Burgess, *Nigeria's Christian Revolution*, 13.

analyses of the SG participants. I have so far identified three key factors which I believe have made an impact on the SG's approach to church and hence their beliefs and practices. These are multiculturalism, globalisation and secularisation. This segment looks at how the above concepts and theories have contributed to the new and emerging theologies of the SG in CoP-UK. In discussing the emerging theologies, I will limit the scope to mainly pneumatology, since my focus has been on spirit beliefs and practices.

### **7.5.1 Theology in Context**

Discussions surrounding theologies have emerged out of the experiences that people go through both spiritually and physically. Tanner argues that "theology is something that human beings produce. Like all human activities it is historically and socially conditioned; it cannot be understood in isolation from the rest of human socio-cultural practices."<sup>905</sup> For example, liberation theology emerged out of the Latin Americans struggle for a theological response to extreme poverty, political oppression and economic injustice amidst the silence or inactivity of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>906</sup> Feminist theology is concerned with advocating for and arguing for female recognition in a male dominated world, including biblical hermeneutics.<sup>907</sup>

There is black theology which, to a degree, expresses the experience of blacks (especially among South Africans/Americans and British) and champions their struggle

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<sup>905</sup>Tanner, *Theories of Culture*, 63.

<sup>906</sup>Avila, 'Liberation', *Dictionary of Mission Theology: Evangelical Foundations*, 207.

<sup>907</sup>Gossmann, 'The Image of God and the Human Being in Women's Counter-Tradition,' 26-56.

for freedom from oppression and poverty. Anthony Reddie, a prominent black theologian in the UK, argues that the mainstay of black theology is to espouse the notion of liberation.<sup>908</sup> Reddie takes his cue from the godfather of black theology, James Cone, who argues that black theology is essentially biblical theology of liberation – “the significance of black theology is found in the conviction that the content of Christian gospel is found in liberation.”<sup>909</sup> Black theology is essentially politically and socially motivated, stressing the empowerment and liberation of black people in America, Britain and mainly South Africa. Beckford writes:

In order to counter the harmful effects of European thought, people of African descent must construct an alternative way of thinking, believing and doing. In other words, Afrocentricity advocates that the best way of empowering Black people is by developing their own epistemologies for analysis of the social and political world<sup>910</sup>

Beckford’s view is an improvement and polished version of Cone’s pioneering black theology, which was described as black male theology.<sup>911</sup> However, the core message is that in black theology there is a call for God to be on the side of black people and for the blacks to have a renewed mind-set because “whites have wiped out the feeling of God’s presence” and help to black people.

Then there is African theology which has evolved over the last few decades from oral practices to written theology. Previously, Mbiti, the doyen of African religious studies, argued that the church in Africa “is a church without a theology, without theologians,

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<sup>908</sup>Reddie, *Working Against the Grain*, 1.

<sup>909</sup>Cone, ‘Black Theology and Black liberation,’ 109.

<sup>910</sup>Beckford, *Jesus is Dread*, 14.

<sup>911</sup>Beckford, *Jesus is Dread*, 15.

and without a theological concern.”<sup>912</sup> His statement has since challenged and led to a development of a form of African theology which has emerged from oral theology – living experiences, the market place, in the home and in the churches – to written theology which reflects the practices of African Christians both at home and in the diaspora.<sup>913</sup> Essentially, African theology was developed in the context of poverty, colonial imperialism, cultural and religious concepts, diseases, exploitation and spiritual issues within the context of the African understanding of the universe and the cosmos. This form of theology is not necessarily a liberation theology or black theology.

Apart from South Africa, African theology emerges out of a different set of contexts in comparison with black theology.<sup>914</sup> Political independence from Western colonial masters by most of African states meant that the direct prolonged oppression suffered by blacks in America, Britain and, specifically, South Africa were not experienced by most other African nations. Thus, African theology is essentially an amalgamation of lived experiences and perceptions of God in pre-Christian and post-missionary Africa.<sup>915</sup> Most Africans would have already experienced the spirit world before becoming Christians. The attraction to Christianity is largely because of the emphasis on Jesus who saves and the Holy Spirit who empowers. Bediako asserts that “the task of African theology, came to consist, not in ‘indigenising’ Christianity, or theology as such, but in letting the Christian Gospel encounter, as well as be shaped by, the African experience.”<sup>916</sup> In other words, African Christian theology is a theology of divinity at

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<sup>912</sup>Mbiti, ‘some African concepts of Christology,’ 51.

<sup>913</sup>Mbiti, *Introduction to African religion*, 229; Hastings, *A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975*, 49.

<sup>914</sup> South Africa is exceptional due to the longer subjection under the apartheid rule. This makes their theology akin to the black theology of liberation from oppressors’ rule.

<sup>915</sup>Bediako, *Jesus and the Gospel in Africa*, 49.

<sup>916</sup>Bediako, *Jesus and the Gospel in Africa*, 55.

work. It is shaped by a spirit-oriented culture and a raw appropriation of scripture. It is borne out of a need which exists within a powerless people to experience God in powerful ways in their daily practical and spiritual lives. "Their theology is not in books but in their heads, thoughts, utterances and day-to-day actions and life modes."<sup>917</sup>

These Africans, having migrated to Britain and the West, have transported their theological understanding and perspectives with them. Hence it is disproportionately inaccurate to study the African diaspora church within the context of the Caribbean churches. According to Kwiyani, studying the African diaspora church within the shadows of the Caribbean churches has done the African church in the diaspora a disservice.<sup>918</sup>

### **7.5.2 The Spirit at the Centre of 'Black' and 'African' Theologies**

Arguably, the common thread running through both the Caribbean churches (representing black theology) and the African diaspora church (representing African theology) is the emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit. For these BMCs the idea of liberation or empowerment is gained through the power of the Holy Spirit. Hence their theology is wrapped in their pneumatology. The underlining and connecting principle here between the Caribbean or North American churches, black churches in Britain and African Charismatic and Pentecostal churches is Pentecostal theology. Put simply, a theology of encountering God through the Holy Spirit.

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<sup>917</sup>Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, 85.

<sup>918</sup>Kwiyani, *Sent Forth*, 106.

Beckford asserts that “quite rightly, black Pentecostal theology places a strong premium on the power of the Spirit continually breaking into our world”.<sup>919</sup> In his *Jamaican Bible Remix Musicology* Beckford asserts that the purpose of the power of the Holy Spirit is to bring social justice to the oppressed and the disadvantaged<sup>920</sup> thus, highlighting the crucial role the Holy Spirit plays in liberating black people. African theology stresses not so much the freedom brought by the Holy Spirit in the socio-political arena, but rather the power that the Holy Spirit brings in destroying the work of evil spirits. For some of the proponents of black theology the devil is the human oppressor, whilst for the advocates of African theology the devil is the unseen malevolent spirit forces. In this context the theologies have been shaped by the cultures and background of the people.

Heibert opines that theologies are shaped by the society and culture in which people live.<sup>921</sup> If Heibert’s suggestion is taken seriously, then it implies that the CoP-UK first and second-generation members would have or share a similar theological position. Indeed, the research has shown that the FG and SG share similar understandings of the Holy Spirit. They believe in the power and expect the manifestations of the Holy Spirit in their lives and in church services. However, there are some variances which, in the context of Heibert’s statement, do not reflect the situation of the first and second generations in CoP-UK. The FG’s cultural and cosmological background from Ghana appears to still affect their theology. For most of the FG African Pentecostals and Charismatics the search for the Holy Spirit is a search for power and influence over the

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<sup>919</sup>Beckford, *Jesus is Dread*, 14.

<sup>920</sup>Beckford, <https://www.canterbury.ac.uk/arts-and-humanities/school-of-humanities/religion-philosophy-and-ethics/research/jamaican-bible-remix.aspx>. Accessed 06 April 2017.

<sup>921</sup>Hiebert, *The Gospel in Human Context*, 38.

demonic forces. This power is seen as power of God in action.<sup>922</sup> It is for protection, healing and deliverance. After studying the practices and beliefs of the Holy Spirit in indigenous Ghanaian communities, Clifton Clarke concludes that Christianity is attractive to Africans in as much as it meets their existential needs of arming them for battle against the spirit world and the powers at work.<sup>923</sup>

Chike has also shown in his work on *African Christianity in Britain* that African Christians in Africa and Britain have a similar view of God and matters of the Holy Spirit.<sup>924</sup> Chike further highlighted in his follow-on work in *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity* that the traditional African view of the spirit world continues to shape the pneumatology of the FG Africans in the diaspora.<sup>925</sup> Chike's participants were African diaspora Christians from different denominations including Church of England and the Methodist Church. He concluded that although different denominational backgrounds slightly affected the participants' expressions and practices, most Africans seem to appreciate the person and power of the Holy Spirit as essential for physical and spiritual protection and blessing. The emphasis was on "the personhood of the Holy Spirit and the work of the Spirit to empower."<sup>926</sup>

The conclusion, therefore, is that because Africans have a similar background their understanding of the Holy Spirit turns out to be similar, even though they worship in different Christian denominations. However, Chike threw caution to the wind by

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<sup>922</sup>Asamoah-Gyadu, *Sighs and Signs*, 37

<sup>923</sup>Clarke, *African Christology*, 83.

<sup>924</sup>Chike, *African Christians in Britain*, 86.

<sup>925</sup>Chike, *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity*, 174.

<sup>926</sup>Chike, *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity*, 165.

suggesting that the trend is shifting slowly with the Africans who had lived in Britain for a long time. Chike's research focused on the first-generation Africans however his observation on those FG who have lived in UK for a longer period (over 25 years), is significant for our discussion on the SG.<sup>927</sup> The significant factor here is that the African worldview has a greater effect on the FG's theology than the SG members.

### **7.5.3 The Emerging Pneumatology of the Second-Generation**

#### **Members**

The SG members who have grown up in the UK are products of postmodern secular multicultural society. Their complex identities, multicultural environment and other influences such as secularisation and globalisation make exploring their theologies an enormous task. One can no longer categorize the children of FG migrants into a single theological framework. In other words, it will be inaccurate to say the SG have adopted a black theology or African theology.

The analysis of the fieldwork has shown that most of the SG are now caught mainly between African and Western theological ideas. Since most of the SG did not suffer the extent of oppression and racism suffered by the Caribbean migrants, the basic ideas of liberation and black theologies do not resonate with them. However, they appear to be influenced by the concepts of the spirits in their parents' African theological and cosmological orientation and the western theological traits. Thus, the young people are dealing with African British theology,<sup>928</sup> a theology that is an

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<sup>927</sup> Chike, *The Holy Spirit in African Christianity*, 176

<sup>928</sup> Olofinjana, 'Introduction: Towards African Theology in Britain,' 11.

amalgamation of the African and Western influences. Chike noted this trend when he concluded that there is a growing transitioning of beliefs and practices between Africans in Africa and Africans in the diaspora due to the influences of Western culture and theology.<sup>929</sup> In attempting to bring these theologies together, Beckford suggests that the hallmarks of Black British theology can be defined in three categories: the experience of God; a dynamic spirituality; and empowering worship.<sup>930</sup> This is in many ways similar to Warrington's Pentecostal theology, which describes theology as theology of encounter.<sup>931</sup> Furthermore, from the African perspective there is emphasis on experience, not only in church but in the market place and in every aspect of life. This is essentially an African expression of Pentecostal theology.

The convergence between African and Western theology is reflected in the SG's admiration of the African way of expressing themselves in church liturgy, such as intensive prayers, exuberant praises and dancing, whilst at the same time embracing the Western way of rationalisation, for example, causes of illness. The SG generally do not blame evil spirits for many of life's incidents; certainly, most of them did not spend time in engaging in spiritual warfare prayers for protection against evil spirits. However, this reluctance in blaming every occurrence on malevolent spirits does not mean that the SG participants are oblivious to the work of Satan and his emissaries. This is what Adjoa meant when she said, "it's not that we don't believe in evil spirits. Of course, we do believe in them, but we also believe things happen without the

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<sup>929</sup>Chike, *African Christianity in the diaspora*, 165.

<sup>930</sup>Beckford, *Dread and Pentecostal*, 171.

<sup>931</sup>Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology*, 27.

interference of evil spirits.”<sup>932</sup> Jake explained – “not that we don’t believe in the demonic forces, but we simply don’t give them more attention than they deserve.”<sup>933</sup>

In other words, unlike some of their parents and grandparents, the SG do not believe that their world is full of malevolent spirits. Their understanding of the spirit world coupled with the socio-cultural influences in Britain has produced, in some SG members, a form of spirituality which transcends the sterility of the demonic powers and attitudes towards the spirits. Although they believe in the spirit world, they do not subject all physical occurrences to spiritual causations. Subsequently, they do not link every misfortune and life struggles to the presence, power or influence of evil spirits. Consequently, their pneumatology is nuanced within a different kind of power. Most of the SG seek power from the Holy Spirit for practical living, not for fighting demonic forces or protection from witchcraft. For most of the SG members, evil and malevolent spirits appeared to be the least of their worries. Finding good jobs, life partners and living Spirit-filled lives in their communities seemed to be the mainstay of their quest for the Holy Spirit. This is effectively the SG’s understanding of mission. The globalisation, multiculturalism and secularisation influences mean that their understanding of mission is not simply winning souls for Christ, but also making an impact in the communities through media and social action.

The presence of the Holy Spirit is lived out daily rather than experienced only by ‘the power and the fire on Sundays’. To this effect, although the SG believe in the power of

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<sup>932</sup>Interview with Adjoa, Birmingham, 15 April 2016.

<sup>933</sup>Interview with Jake, Birmingham, 27 March 2016.

the Holy Spirit in healing and performing miracles, their emphasis in prayer is not confronting the evil spirits. It is rather on seeking wisdom, direction and guidance for life. This is not to say that the FG members do not seek the Holy Spirit's direction and guidance too. Rather, it is the high importance they place on breaking the demonic activities that makes their position slightly different from some of the SG members. Arguably, there is a shifting emphasis on African pneumatology in the diaspora. It is a pneumatology that is not based on radical power against evil spirits and forces, but a pneumatology that appears to focus primarily, but not exclusively, on the quality of life produced in Christians by the power of the Holy Spirit and the effects of this power in the communities.

## **7.6 Purposeful Negotiations for a smooth Transitioning in the Church of Pentecost-UK**

Kwame Gyekye, a prominent Ghanaian philosopher, argues that Africans, in their attempt to embrace and adopt the social, political and religious practices of the West, have encountered internal and external challenges.<sup>934</sup> The internal challenges include conflicts of belief systems and approaches to religion and spirituality, which emanates from a conflict between their conventional religion and the gospel. The external problems are mainly those of political and economic dimensions. Though Kwame Gyekye was alluding to Africans in Africa, the same can be said of African migrant children in the West. My research has shown that the SG are caught between the world of their parents and the world in which they presently live.

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<sup>934</sup>Gyekye, *Tradition and Modernity*, 25.

The FG migrants who started the church are getting old. The leadership of the church is still largely FG and the practices/liturgy are tied to the beliefs, practices and worldviews they carried from Ghana. Conversely, most of the SG members are now young adults with third generation children, whilst others are in colleges and universities completing their education. This younger generation have been enculturated and acculturated into the British society, which is vastly different from the culture in which their parents were brought up and lived for many years. There is a vast contrast between the African worldview which is full of spirit manifestations and the Western culture, which since the enlightenment, has been affected by reason and rationality.<sup>935</sup> There is little space for spirits in the public arena and, as Welker notes, many people think of ghosts when they hear Holy Spirit.<sup>936</sup> Although it is a misnomer to believe that people in the West do not believe in spirits.<sup>937</sup> CoP-UK is undoubtedly a church in transition as the nature, identity and makeup of its membership transitions from one generation to the next. Thus, the question is how can the FG members successfully align the wheels of transitioning to embrace their SG children and grandchildren? Against the findings of this research, I suggest three areas for careful and deliberate negotiation between the FG and SG of CoP-UK.

Firstly, the PIWCs need to be empowered and given the necessary resources and liberty to function as a multicultural church. In his work on the *Death of the Church*, Regele offers two opposing alternatives – either the church dies because of its

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<sup>935</sup>Taylor, *A Secular Age*, (2007).

<sup>936</sup>Welker, *God the Spirit*, 1.

<sup>937</sup> A survey by YFC in 2017 suggested that there is still a deep hunger for spirituality among 11-18-year olds in UK. Although not all of them are seeking the Holy Spirit per se. YFC survey, <https://yfc.co.uk/gen-z-rethinking-culture-report-released/>. Accessed 30 May 2017.

hidebound resistance to change or dies to live.<sup>938</sup> For Regele, the institutional church in America is already on the course towards death and he fears they are doing nothing about it. CoP-UK, however, is not silent about the issues and options at hand. The establishment of PIWCs already gives a framework to satisfy and embrace the growing and diverse needs of the SG members. Within the PIWC structures the leadership must be prepared to adopt, compromise and significantly empower the SG to amalgamate certain practices and liturgical styles to be the 'international' church for all cultures that they seek to be.

For the PIWC to be an international church, it must break out from its appeal to Ghanaians alone in the diaspora. The church and its practices must be reshaped, not to suit the Ghanaian community in the diaspora alone. The church can still meet the needs of the FG and SG members who wishes to experience a taste of Ghana in through the Akan parishes, however, the PIWCs must be transformed to meet the local communities where they exist. One way of meeting the needs of the indigenous in the community is through social action and engagement. In this context CoP-UK could take a leaf out of some of the RCCG churches which seem to be actively engaging their communities through social action.<sup>939</sup> By engaging in social action projects, the church will meet the different people in the communities, engage with them and fulfil their mission to the poor and needy. Indeed, CoP in Ghana is engaged in several social, community and political activities.<sup>940</sup> These social projects have not only

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<sup>938</sup>Regele, *Death of the Church*, 19.

<sup>939</sup> Some of RCCG's bigger churches such as Jesus House in London are recognised for their contributions towards social action to the underprivileged and poor in the society. See Burgess, *African Pentecostal spirituality and civic engagement: the case of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Britain*, 260-263.

<sup>940</sup> CoP in Ghana has built several schools and Hospitals and other tertiary training centers across the nation. This is in line with Wolganag's argument of Pentecostal formation as Social Engagement. Wolfgang,

enhanced the churches outreach to the rural areas, but it has also boosted their influence on the political scene in Ghana. Thus, by engaging in community and social action, CoP-UK will not only create a platform for effective evangelism but will also help lift the face of the church in the socio-political arena.

The PIWCs by definition and in to an extent are already able to engage with the multicultural society in UK. They only need to be resourced, empowered and trained for a more effective and structured approach towards reaching people from all cultures. The heart of the matter is that unless the leadership are prepared to negotiate new practices and strategies in liturgy, the word 'international' alone will not have a greater impact on the label given to the church. The term 'migrant', 'African' or even 'Ghanaian' is a challenge in describing CoP PIWCs. There is nothing wrong in acknowledging that CoP is a transnational church from Ghana. After all, Hillsong London is still connected to Hillsong Australia. Yet Hillsong London is attracting Londoners in London not just Australians in London. Thus certain 'Ghanaian' descriptions and practices may have to die for CoP-UK PIWCs to live and be relevant to the British and emerging cultures. Though the Pentecostal practices and appeal of the Holy Spirit is crucial for its survival, the culture of the PIWCs must be multicultural and inclusive.

Secondly, the FG and SG must negotiate the changing identities of the church members and attenders while seeking to transfer certain Ghanaian cultural values and maintain a Pentecostal identity. Every generation desires to leave a legacy for the subsequent generation. One of the key challenges for CoP-UK lies in their leaders'

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'The Impact of Culture and Social Justice on Christian Formation in Pentecostalism', 205-6.

understanding and perception of identity of the next generation. The FG leaders and members of CoP-UK need to realise that the identity of the SG is constantly being negotiated. It is not fixed in the Ghanaian cultural values. But it is being shaped, reshaped and redefined, not by the SG, but by the larger community in which they live. Institutions such as schools, economics, social media, workplaces, local communities and 'the streets' are constantly dictating and prescribing new ways of forming identities. Whilst the SG have a fluid and hybrid understanding of themselves and their culture, most of the FG members aim to protect their Ghanaian cultural values.

Burgess argues that "one of the obstacles to successful integration is the reluctance to relinquish certain cultural and religious traits, such as prayer, and evangelistic styles and purity regulations which may alienate members of the host nation."<sup>941</sup> Though Burgess talks about integration of Africans into the British society, the same can be applied to the transitioning of FG and SG of African migrant churches. In the case of CoP-UK, there may not be a need for a drastic culling of practices. Certain church liturgies such as prayers and praises as seen in chapters 5 and 6 are Pentecostal practices observed in other Pentecostal churches around the world. They are attractive to both Africans and Westerners. Perhaps practices such as their evangelistic style, style of preaching, punctuality and order of service may need to be negotiated. Furthermore, for CoP, the purity regulations and the several undocumented codes of conduct may also need to be revisited and negotiated. For example, whilst certain behaviours such as drunkenness is clearly stated as ungodly in the Bible, others like

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<sup>941</sup> Burgess, 'African Pentecostal spirituality and civic engagement: the case of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Britain,' 263.

hairstyles, clothes and even prayer jargons may need to be compromised. Indeed, the purity measures are not intended to discourage other people from attending CoP but rather the leadership see them as safety measures to prevent their members from being enticed into what they class as decline in Western morals such as sexual promiscuity and lack of respect for the elderly.<sup>942</sup>

Some of the FG parents prefer their children to attend Akan services to help them (the SG) maintain some of these important disciplines in life. This protection of identity is also a reaction to the forces of globalisation.<sup>943</sup> It is no surprise then that in recent months (January 2015 to January 2017) huge numbers of Ghanaians have migrated to the UK from other European countries and have settled in the Akan services of CoP-UK. Thus, the Akan services are still needed by many Ghanaians, both FG and SG. Thus, the SG members also need to understand the culture of their parents and endeavour to compromise with certain practices and beliefs of the church. The negotiation is a two-way conversation whereby, especially the SG who patronise the Akan services needs help in understanding their parents pride in maintaining what they believe to be a 'rich, respectful and vibrant' culture and way of doing church. For most of the FG parents, the 'good Ghanaian cultural values', the CoP along with its practices and beliefs are the legacies they want to leave behind for their children. However, in so doing, the contemporary British multicultural society cannot be demonised. The social phenomenon, such as globalisation, multiculturalism and secularisation, must be used to the advantage of the church. For example, the threat to Christianity must

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<sup>942</sup> Hunt, 'Neither here nor there': The construction of identities and boundary maintenance of West African Pentecostals,'163.

<sup>943</sup> Meyer and Geschiere, 'Globalisation and Identity,' 2.

encourage the leadership to train and engage the SG in discussions and relevant teachings on Christian apologetics.

The above two suggestions links into my third area of negotiation which calls for a contextualisation of beliefs and practices. This contextualisation will help both the FG and SG to put certain church practices and beliefs into perspective. Contextualisation as Anderson notes is not static. It evolves and requires constant change.<sup>944</sup> Thus, the leadership of CoP-UK will need to embrace and adopt a system of revitalisation and frequent appraisal to assess the effectiveness of their mission to be culturally inclusive and relevant. Wan argues that:

Contextualization promotes an integration that preserves cultural distinctiveness, not an assimilation that obscures it. In so doing it allows for host Christians to be greatly enriched by their correspondence with Christ followers from other nations who are encouraged to bring with them their own culturally-contextualized expressions of discipleship and their own 'local theologies'.<sup>945</sup>

For example, instead of calling on the spirits and gods in Ghana, the FG leaders and preachers need to carefully examine the contemporary British culture to identify areas of commonalties and differences and seek ways to meet the needs of the community. After all, the command that Jesus gave to exorcise demons still stands today; meaning that there are demons in Britain today. However, these demons may not manifest in the same way as the demons in Ghana. As Onyinah concluded in his research on spiritual warfare, the sovereignty of God must be acknowledged in misfortunes, whilst

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<sup>944</sup>Anderson, 'Contextualization in Pentecostalism: A Multicultural Perspective,' 33.

<sup>945</sup>Wan, *Diaspora Missiology: Theory, Methodology, and Practice*, Wan ed., 282.

reasoning and the place of science must also be recognised.<sup>946</sup> Pentecostalism is indeed a global religion that has been able to transmit its message to different cultures.<sup>947</sup> Thus, in the PIWCs of CoP-UK, the churches must find ways to enculturate into the multicultural society in UK. There needs to be a balanced and rational approach to church services, taking into consideration time (punctuality), language, media, social action, training, structure and a consciences effort in mentoring of the SG members. These elements are not by all means exhaustive but will help in negotiating smooth transitioning and perhaps slow the process of disengagement and exodus by some of the SG members of CoP-UK.

## **7.7 Summary of the Social and Theological Influences on the Second Generation**

This chapter followed on from my analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 by discussing the influences affecting the SG in CoP-UK. It has been seen that in expressing their beliefs and practices the SG are consciously or subconsciously influenced by some of the sociological, cultural and theological views that surround them. These ideas and concepts are not necessarily negative, nevertheless they influence some of their thoughts and actions. In the end I have shown that the SG are not anti-African, even if they use the term *Af* in a negative way. The church continues to be a place where they feel comfortable to express their Africanness. The SG's encounters with the various cultures in Britain today have not only widened their perspectives of the world but have

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<sup>946</sup> Onyinah, *Spiritual Warfare*, 33.

<sup>947</sup> Althouse and Waddell, 'The Transformations of Pentecostalism migration, Globalization, and Ethnic Identity,' 1.

also made them aware of cultural sensitivity and the importance of engaging with other cultures. Globalisation and the effects of media today mean that the SG have at their disposal a wide range of cultures, beliefs and practices to examine, evaluate and, on some occasions, engage with. Thus, they are now seeing church organised effectively in different ways and are therefore asking questions.

Finally, a difference in worldview has produced slight variations in the SG's approach to church as well as their pneumatology, with less emphasis on power of the Holy Spirit for the fight against evil. It is this change that can be largely contributing to some of the SG's disengagement and others leaving the church. As a church in transition CoP-UK needs to renegotiate its aims and appeal in missions in the diaspora. Both SG and FG members must be encouraged to seek ways of being contextually relevant and adopting to the changes that are happening, in the contemporary society for a smooth transitioning of the church from one generation to another.

## **CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS**

### **8.1 Summary of Thesis**

This thesis began from an anecdotal position in the sense that it was based on conversations with friends and colleagues of the church of Pentecost UK (CoP-UK). In these conversations, it surfaced that some of the second generation (SG) members of the church were becoming disengaged with certain practices in the church whilst others were leaving. Concerns from some leaders and parents who are first generation (FG) members of the church were that the youth or SG were showing signs of frustrations within the church. Hence, some of the FG members and leaders appeared to be anxious about losing some of the SG members not just in terms of numbers but in their attitudes towards church. From the SG's perspective one of the key issues they raised during these conversations was that the overemphasis on spirits, evil spirits and witchcraft in church liturgy and among their FG parents was frustrating and irrelevant to them. Against this background, I set out to investigate the reasons behind these perceived changing attitudes of the youth, why some of them are disengaged and others leaving and its implications for the future of the church.

In attempting to answer the question, I employed a combination of qualitative and empirical methods which enabled me to gather and analyse my data. These methods helped me to embark on a historical and anthropological study on the background of the FG members of the CoP-UK. This included their socio-cultural and religious background, as well as the beginnings of the Church of Pentecost (CoP) in Ghana. Having established that foundation, I looked at the structure of the CoP in UK, the

nature of the administration and how their practices and liturgy were affecting the SG members. I then listened to the views of both FG and SG members in interviews and focus group discussions. I also looked at them closely and heard not just what they were saying but what they were not saying through participant observations. In addition, I was also able to collect a large sample of data using questionnaires and surveys conducted several parishes of the CoP across the UK.

## **8.2 Summary of the Main Arguments**

At the end of my fieldwork and analysis, I have come to the following conclusions. It is difficult to prove or quantify how many SG members have left the church since there are no records indicating members who have left the church. At best, the church records show a column for backsliders, but this is ambiguous as those SG members who left had not backslidden but either joined different churches or started their own fellowships or bible study groups. Furthermore, it is also difficult to conclude that large numbers of youth are disengaged in church mainly because of the FG's overemphasis on evil spirits and Holy Spirit manifestations. Whilst 'the Spirit factor' is clearly one of the main reasons for some of the SG's frustrations, it is not the only or perhaps even the main factor. The issues are varied and, in some cases, complex.

Perhaps more than their attitudes in church, which on the main remains participative and engaging especially through singing, dancing and praying, it is their strong opinions on certain church practices such as punctuality, use of Twi language, repetitive style of liturgy, leadership structures, mentoring, lack of engagement in social action, and a more balanced outworking of the manifestations of the Holy Spirit that

has contributed to the youth being frustrated. Indeed, my observations showed that some of the SG members have left and others were considering leaving. However, rather than leaving, most of them really wanted to see some changes in the church because they loved the church. There are undoubtedly frustrations from some of the SG members, but I am not certain whether these frustrations are presently strong enough to see a large number leaving the church. Perhaps, these can be best described as warning signs which if unheeded could lead to mass exodus in the future. The crux of the matter is that the church is in transition and there needs to be some meaningful and intentional negotiations between the FG and SG members to enhance the smooth transitioning of the church from one generation to the next.

### **8.3 The First Generation and the Spirit Factor**

The FG Ghanaians that arrived in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s were products of a complex amalgam of Western imperial mission, home nurtured Pentecostal theological beliefs and practices, and beliefs from indigenous religious and cultural traditions. Those FG members were the transporters of a type of Christianity that held on to a soteriology that provided deliverance not only from sin, but from Satan and all his powerful emissaries in the spirit realm. They came from a background which perceives the world as full of powerful, fearsome, antagonising and vile spirits. The presence of these spirits make the salvation experience and the Christian walk difficult. For these FG members, although God is supreme and omnipotent, the constant presence and threat from these demonic spirits is a reminder that one needs to be spiritually powerful to win the daily battles in the spirit realm. This view of the world and their surroundings

has influenced their understanding of the person and work of the Holy Spirit as well as their church practices.

I argued that for most of them the primary aim of going to church is to seek the power of the Holy Spirit for protection against evil spirits and for miracles. Nothing is left to chance as everything has a spiritual causation. Church liturgy is therefore 'spirit-oriented'. The current CoP-UK practices and programmes meet the needs of these FG members, who are currently still the majority in CoP-UK. The FG's spirit-oriented liturgy has subsequently created a spirit-oriented theology for the FG members. The spirit-oriented theology is culturally and biblically based, in the sense that it is founded on the knowledge and belief in God the Supreme Being, who sent his son Jesus to die for the salvation of humankind and has since given his Holy Spirit as a powerful helper to believers. This theology is nuanced by their concepts and perception of the spirit world, in the sense that their understanding of God and the Holy Spirit is intrinsically connected to their cultural, cosmological and religious realities and practices.

Against this background and theological orientation most of the CoP-UK Akan services are geared towards empowering the members to stand against the devil's schemes. For example, the opening prayers are not just ritual introductions to the services, but a time for activating the presence of the Holy Spirit to take control of the entire service. Furthermore, the time for intensive prayers is a spirit-inspired session where they take the opportunity to pray to destroy the works of Satan in their lives and in their situations. Most of them still believe that there is a spiritual causation for every physical occurrence in their lives in the UK. Hence most of the services, conferences, sermons

and prayer themes are geared towards destroying the work of demonic activities and forces. I showed that there was continuity in some practices from the cultural and indigenous religions, although the church is firm in denouncing any association with any cult, traditional priest/prophet or any other indigenous forms of worship, such as pouring of libation. It is within this worldview that the FG have organised church services and seek to relate to their children.

#### **8.4 Voices of the Second Generation**

The case study critically examined the SG members of CoP-UK using the theories that evolved from my initial investigations on those who had left the church. Thus, although my starting point was on the matters of the spirit, I was open for other factors that might emerge from the wider case study. My multiple case study approach enabled me to observe four parishes. In these four congregations several outstanding observations were made. In direct response to the question 'why some of the SG members are disengaged and others leaving CoP-UK?' these were the key factors that I identified:

1. The structure of the church services were described as repetitive and uncreative
2. Lack of mentoring and leadership opportunities
4. The *Af* factor
5. The spirit factor.

These reasons are not dissimilar to those given by the participants who had already left the church. The structure and organisation of the services were described by some of the young people, as irritating and disorganised. For these young people, who are used to organised working environments in the workplace and educational structures,

they found some of the laid-back attitude of the FG, lack of punctuality and blaming everything on the spirits as rather careless and frustrating. As some of the interviews showed, the young people did not understand why their parents and leaders were attributing and praying against evil spirits and forces when they attend church late, fail to organise and plan for services in advance and, in their own words, “do the same thing” all the time. Ironically, though Pentecostal services are known for their spontaneity, for the SG members the religious praxis and jargon used within the services means that they know when each section of the service is about to start and end. Some of them planned when to come in and when to leave. To them the services needed revamping.

In the congregations which were predominantly SG membership it was seen that they had intentionally been creative and purposefully different in their approach to the services. In comparison with the congregations which were mainly FG (Akan services), there were noticeable differences in how the SG congregations set out their services. The conventional opening prayers had either been replaced with worship or merged with a time of worship. There were no moderators in the SG services, whilst a moderator in the FG services was a key person ensuring the smooth flow of the service. The SG used media and technology effectively in their announcements and sermon presentations effectively. This means that the PIWCS which I discussed in chapter 7.6 needs to be empowered and resourced effectively for the continuation of this brand of Christianity and style of liturgy for the SG members who want to remain in the CoP-UK.

The issue of the lack of mentoring and training opportunities came up among some of the SG participants. Although this was not high on the reasons it was nonetheless highlighted as a factor leading to their frustrations within the church. Indeed, some members had left because they felt they were not given the opportunity to lead some of the meetings, as well as contribute to the leadership and organisational structures of the church. There appears to be a perception that the SG members are not ready to conduct services or take up important leadership positions in the church. They are often treated with suspicion by some members of the FG who think that they are not quite spiritually mature enough to handle the things of the spirits. However, in training and opportunities the church appears to be currently addressing the situation as, during my research, three new pastors were appointed by the church who are SG.

One of the key concepts which this thesis discovered was causing the frustrations of some SG members was their description of the church and some of its practices as *Af*. The concept of *Af* was entirely unique to the researcher. It was a word that the SG members struggled to fully define or explain, however, they were able to illustrate what they meant by using various stories and examples. In short, it emerged that by *Af* the SG referred to practices which they perceived as African/Ghanaian, and which had no relevance to their contemporary culture and society. There is much ambivalence in the SG's expression of *Af* and what it means. I discovered that on the one hand, the church becomes the place where the SG feel confident in expressing their Ghanaian traditions, such as singing and dancing, whilst on the other hand they express their frustrations with the constant use of speaking in Twi and the incessant prayers directed at Satan and his emissaries. Except for the one congregation, which was fully SG

membership, the youth in the other two congregations, which had a mixture of FG and SG members, appeared to not only sing the Ghanaian songs but they also danced and expressed themselves during the time of praises and worship. Their participation in church services is often intensified during the time of singing, dancing and praying. This is because in those moments the SG enjoy their Ghanaian heritage and feel at home with the style of music. However, on the other hand, the expression of *Af* is nuanced by some of the FG's approach towards prayers, preaching and general attitude in church. Thus, whilst some SG participants embraced and enjoyed aspects of their Ghanaian culture and *Africaness*, they were also, to a large degree, dissatisfied with the FG's continued and, in their words, excessive copying of Ghana style into the UK.

## **8.5 The Second Generation and the 'Spirit Factor'**

In answering the question 'why some of the SG are disengaged and others leaving the church?' a major contributing factor is what I described as the 'spirit factor'. This spirit factor was mentioned and described by nearly all the young people I spoke to in my fieldwork as a major reason for their disengagement from church activities. The spirit factor simply refers to the frustration of the SG in seeing and hearing every negative occurrence blamed on evil spirits. From a young age they laugh at these references to evil spirits and witchcraft, however, as they grow and become aware of their social and spiritual environment they begin to ask if these evil spirits and witchcraft really cause every negative event that happens. It will be grossly inaccurate to say that the young people do not believe in evil and witchcraft. However, their perception of the world in the West and their educational background means that they do not always analyse

events spiritually, but also look at events rationally. In this context their understanding and perception of the spirit world is different from their parents and grandparents.

The study has shown that most SG members, like their FG parents and leaders, have a strong belief in the Holy Spirit and spirit manifestations. I argued that there is continuity of practices and praxis in the SG congregations and liturgy. Three out of the four parishes I observed had a significant number of SG members who were either born in or grew up in the UK or Europe. One of those three congregations is almost exclusively SG in its membership. However, though their style and format of service is different, their expectation of the manifestations of the Holy Spirit is not less than their parents in the Akan services. For example, I observed that though in the SG services the traditional opening prayers have been replaced by a new format of amalgamating worship time with opening prayers, the young people still seek the presence of the Holy Spirit from the outset of the services. They sing English songs that ask for the Holy Spirit to come and take control of the service.

Furthermore, the case study also showed that the SG took prayers very seriously and engaged in prayer time as actively as their FG parents and grandparents. Along with dancing and praises, prayer time was a time when the SG were seen to be very actively engaging in what they described as spiritual warfare. During such times they expected the Holy Spirit's power to transform their situations and believed that God would answer their prayers. They expect to hear from God through prophecies and the sermons in the services. I argued that even when they were disengaged in the sermons of the leaders and preachers, they found a way to motivate themselves for prayers.

Thus, in the end the SG continue to have a firm belief in spirit manifestations as well as expectation of the Holy Spirit. However, these expectations are nuanced by their social and contemporary settings. Subsequently, suggesting that the SG are leaving because of the FG's overemphasis on spirit beliefs and practices does not mean that the SG do not believe in spirits and their manifestations. Rather, it is the overemphasis on the demonic and witchcraft spirits which appeared to frustrate most of the SG. This was shown in church liturgy, especially prayers, praise and worship and sermons.

In addition, some of the SG who visited other churches returned to CoP because they missed the 'fire/power' in CoP. By fire they were referring to the manifestations of the Holy Spirit, especially during prayers. I used the prayers said by an FG elder and a SG man after a sermon on Daniel to show how the FG's emphasis is usually centred on breaking demonic strongholds, whilst the SG generally call on the Holy Spirit to guide them through their daily lives and to give them the spirit of excellence to excel in their endeavours. For the FG the oppressor is witchcraft and evil spirits, whilst the SG turn to rationalise and find reasons why things are not working. Thus, whilst most of the FG members attribute nearly every occurrence – such as starting a service late, minor headaches or the PA system malfunctioning – to demonic spirits and witchcraft, the SG by contrast are frustrated at the lack of organisation and their FG parents' and leaders' reluctance to invest in resources, equipment and, in some cases, take responsibility for their apparent lack of organisation and human inadequacies. For the SG issues such as Brexit, migration and social action in helping the poor were not matters necessarily caused by witchcraft or for the Holy Spirit to deal with. Rather, they required human action and invention with the help of the Holy Spirit.

## **8.6 The Second Generation and their Social Influences**

Towards the end of my research I looked at the emerging themes and to what extent the contemporary socio-cultural environment has affected the SG in the church. Thus, I did not limit my parameters to pneumatological or cosmological reasons, but also took on board other social phenomenon within which the youth are situated. In the end it became clear that the SG's approach towards church, as well as their understanding of the spirit world, are influenced by their identity, and their socio-cultural and religious environment. In other words, the reasons behind the SG leaving are not only wrapped within theological boundaries alone, but there are other sociological factors that contribute to their actions and behaviours. In this context based on the findings of the case study, I argued that the SG's approach to church is, to some extent, influenced by multiculturalism, globalisation and the secular society in which they live.

It was observed that members of the SG have fluid and complex identities. Though they embrace their Ghanaian heritage, they also adopt certain British and multicultural practices that make them cosmopolitan in nature. Here, I revisited discussions on multiculturalism, globalisation and media, education and secularisation to see if, and to what extent, these theories have affected the SG in CoP-UK. I argued that whereas the FG migrants came from a homogenous cultural background, the SG, by contrast, are living with and have access to multiple cultural practices due to the contemporary multicultural communities in Britain. Their awareness of the globalisations forces and access to other cultural beliefs make them prone to asking relevant questions about their own cultural background and forming newer ways of engaging with church.

As the CoP evolves in the UK the SG members have grown outside this Ghanaian way of doing things. They are not even certain of the exact culture in the UK, let alone the Ghanaian culture. This, therefore, creates some tensions with some FG leaders and their parents and results in their frustrations and departure from the church. The traditional Sunday dressing is no longer a norm among the SG. The SG prefer to use their slang words during church services. This was noticed particularly in the SG dominated congregations. Places such as cinema and bars, which are conventionally seen as questionable places, are no longer the case for most of the SG. Thus, when SG members attend church in jeans and T-shirts and carry their phones and other electronic gadgets they are sometimes seen by some of the FG as ‘Spirit-quenchers’—meaning they are hindering the Holy Spirit from doing his work.

It was seen that the concept of globalisation has contributed to religious plurality and concepts of non-religions in the contemporary society. Although none of the SG who participated in the case study had converted to any other religion, the issue was that through globalisation the SG in CoP-UK had not only been introduced to other religions, but, significantly, they have been introduced to other ways of conducting church services, especially within the Pentecostal and Charismatic circles. The world has become a global village. Hence, the use of new media and technology means that the SG can watch real time services and catch-up services from other parts of the country and indeed the world. By accessing other Pentecostal and Charismatic churches they compare and analyse how their services are conducted and ask questions about the liturgy of CoP-UK. In this context I observed that, even among

those who had not visited other churches, most of them had watched other church services via social media and the internet. It is within this context that the SG ask questions of organisation, relevance and practices of CoP-UK. For example, by watching and listening to other preachers and churches they deduce that the Holy Spirit can be active in the church in half the time they spend in CoP-UK services. Furthermore, they stress that prayers should not necessarily be focused on breaking demonic spirits.

This thesis did not avoid the secularisation debate as it lies within the parameters of the conversation. I engaged sociologists such as Bruce, Brown, Davie, Weller and others, who argue from different perspectives regarding the extent of which the church and religion has been affected by the secularisation of society. The point of the argument is that people are increasingly becoming less committed to the church and other religious institutions. It was seen that schools, education, politics and other social structures, such as media and other entertainment avenues, are increasingly becoming secular and encouraging the contemporary generation to embrace religious plurality, varied sexual orientation and basically 'all things go for everyone'. This theory and the concept of freedom and the license to engage in all manner of behaviours seem to permeate the contemporary worldview of the youth in the UK and the West. It was seen that through schools and education the young people become aware of other religions and ways of life and spirituality. To some extent this awareness encourages them to ask questions about their faith and engagement in the church, as well as their relationship with God.

It appears that the secular society, along with the other theories and concepts associated with it, make the youth confident in seeing a different perspective to the causations of events and incidents. For example, the story of Mary in the initial inductive study is reminiscent of most of the youth I spoke to in my studies.<sup>948</sup> Mary questioned and argued with her mother who attributed her (Mary's) friend's learning difficulty to evil spirits. Mary's mother was reluctant for her non-Ghanaian friend who had a disability to visit their house for fear of inviting witches and evil spirits into their confinement. Mary's argument was that disability or learning difficulties were not the work of evil spirits. Thus, Mary's mother's suggestion that these were works of evil spirits goes against the reasons and rationality of Mary and the society she lives in.

Overall, African scholars, such as Hanciles, Adedibu, Kwiyani, Olufinjana and their European counterparts, like Gerloff, Hunt, Walls, among others, have shown that the emergence of the African diaspora church is an indication of continuation of Christianity in the West, and rips up the conversations regarding the decline of the church in UK. Many African churches have now planted branches in the West, whilst other independent and Charismatic churches have sprung up without any representation from Africa. Most of these churches, including CoP, have a significant number of youth in their churches. Although some of the youth in CoP-UK, along with others like the Redeemed Christian Church of God, which I referred to earlier in the work, are frustrated with some of the practices of the church, they are not disengaged with God. The SG's description of the church as *Af* or their frustrations at some of the practices

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<sup>948</sup> For the story of Mary see, 6.1.4

did not lead them to abandon their Christian faith. Rather, it led them to ask relevant questions and challenge some of the beliefs and practices of the church.

## **8.7 Emerging Pneumatology of the Second Generation**

All these theories and influences above stand to reason that because the worldview of the SG is significantly different from their parents, who grew up in Ghana, they see some of the practices in the church and the beliefs in spirit matters slightly from their parents. For the SG the Holy Spirit is a friend who comes with his power to direct their lives, guide them and enable them to live fruitful lives. Unlike some of their parents they do not see Holy Spirit Baptism as power over Satan and evil spirits, but rather power for practical living. Most of the SG do not believe that nearly every negative occurrence is orchestrated by Satan and his evil emissaries. For most of the SG evil spirits are not the first point of blame for misfortunes. They generally have an understanding that certain occurrences and events happen because of people's negligence, lack of preparation and sometimes just unexplainable life events. Therefore, when the services are constantly geared towards breaking the demonic powers of Satan and the evil spirits, they become frustrated, disengaged and over time leave the church. For most of the SG the Holy Spirit is a friend and baptism of the Holy Spirit is primarily to empower them to become better Christians, live their lives for Christ and for mission.

## 8.8 Reflections

In the light of the responses to the question of the SG and their approach towards church this thesis contributes to existing knowledge in three ways. Firstly, it gives an alternative perspective to the reasons why people leave church, especially in the case of the youth. Whilst sociologists and anthropologists propose several reasons, including secularisation, this thesis has shown that cosmology and spirit beliefs are a major reason in people leaving or becoming frustrated with church. The thesis showed that for now, the secularisation debate and discussions have not greatly affected the SG of CoP-UK. They are still generally passionate about God and the church. The fact that they are leaving or frustrated does not mean that they are less passionate about God. On the contrary, they want to see more of God and the Holy Spirit in their practical daily lives.

Secondly, this thesis has theological implications. It challenges and opens a new angle to the conversation of African theology, especially African pneumatology. Theologians can no longer speak of African theology or African pneumatology as though the second and emerging generations in the diaspora have the same views as their parents. This thesis has shown that although the SG believe in the power of the Holy Spirit, their understanding of the Holy Spirit, is nuanced by their perceptions of the world and the socio-cultural influences.

Thirdly, this thesis has made ecclesiological contributions. It speaks of a church in transition and how the different generations are negotiating this transition. This thesis has also challenged the Pentecostal praxis of spontaneous worship, in the sense that

these SG members perceived some of the practices as repetitive and often predictive. Thus, it calls for the need to not only be directed by the Holy Spirit in the services, but also, to be creative, organised and intentional in making church services appealing to the contemporary generation without compromising the message of the gospel. Indeed, Pentecostal services and churches are vibrant and Holy Spirit-led. However, within this Holy Spirit influence, there remains still the need to be an aware of the contemporary society.

## **8.9 The Case for the Second-Generation Church of Pentecost-UK**

The findings of this thesis offer some implications for CoP-UK. Previous research done by Adogame, Chike, Kwiyani, Appiah and others, as discussed, overlooked the children of African migrants as key players in the projection of the church in Europe and America. This thesis has argued that for the African migrant church to grow and, indeed, for Christianity to grow in the West, attention needs to be given to the migrant children and their children. Three key areas I proposed for negotiation are first, empowering the International worship centres. This involves resourcing the PIWCs as a multicultural church. Second, embracing and rising to the challenges of multiple identities and shaping church liturgy accordingly. Third, the need to contextualise liturgy and practices in both the FG and SG services. This means that the FG cannot continue to organise church and practice the Christianity they transported with them from Africa in contemporary Europe and the West. The FG needs to understand and acknowledge that though their children grow up with them at home, they are not necessarily Ghanaian in their thinking and behaviour. They do not fully understand their parents' culture let alone the culture of the church. The CoP, like many other

African churches in the diaspora, has fallen victim to concentrating on wooing the FG African migrants in the UK and the diaspora. They replicate church practices and attitudes from the mother church and the culture back home, to the detriment of the second generation and the children born in the diaspora.

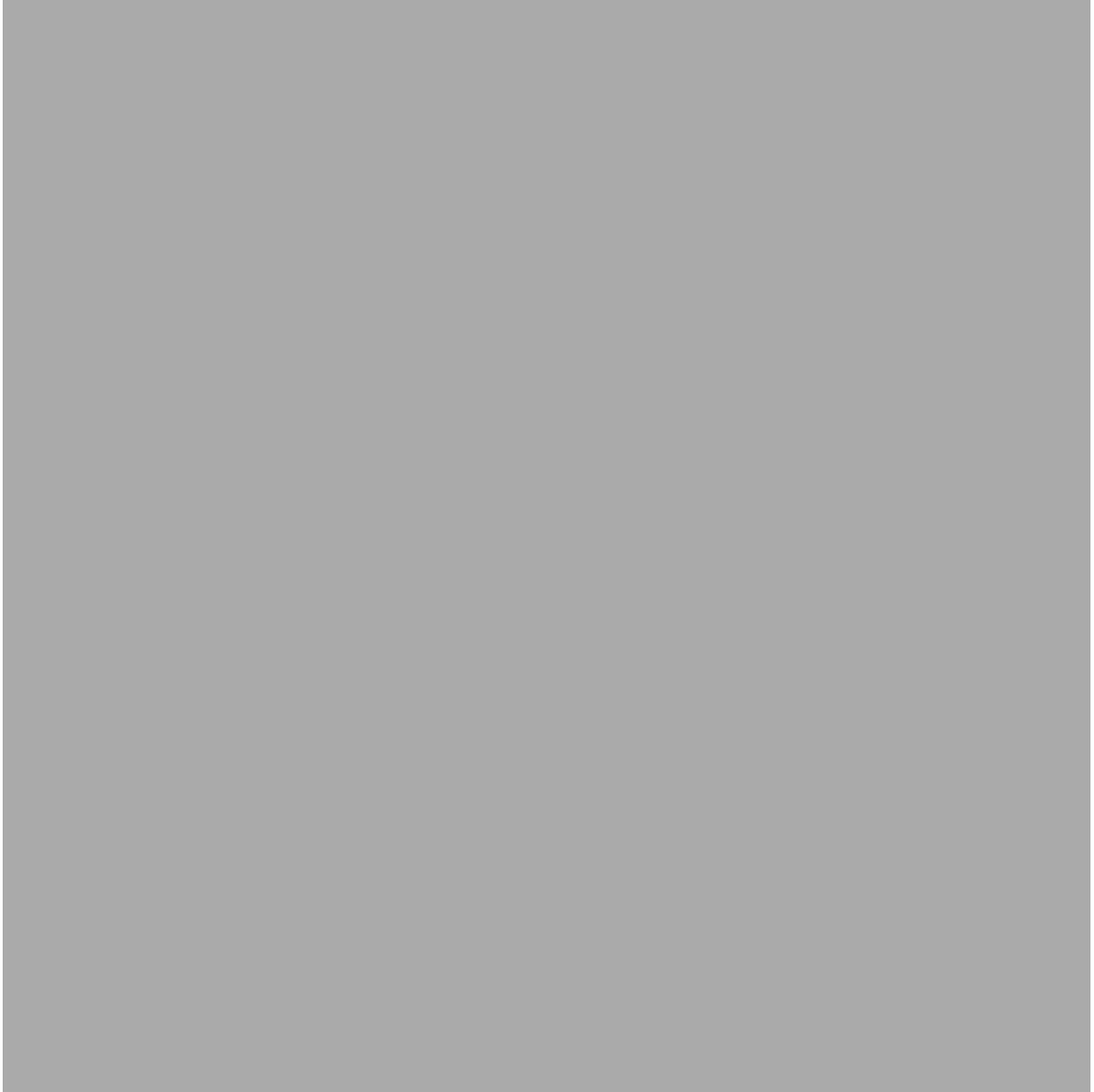
Theoretically, their aim is to reach the indigenous in the UK, however, practically, their services do little to attract the indigenous. Based on my findings in this research I suggest that CoP concentrate on the youth and SG to enhance the growth of the church and to harness continuity of their missionary agenda of reaching the indigenous for Christ. If the Church is to embrace and recognise the culture and contemporary socio-cultural climate in the UK and operate within its parameters, then the the second generation is the key to unlocking the next chapter of the church's mission and vision. After all, in 1 Chronicles 12:32 the men of Issachar were commended for knowing their time and recommending what Israel should do in those times. The SG or young people are the 'men of Issachar' today. They must be empowered to serve their generation. The SG are not calling for a complete disconnection with the Ghanaian culture. On the contrary, they enjoy some of the elements of the culture and engage in them in church.

There is no doubt that CoP-UK is a church in transition. The pioneers are slowly advancing in years and the immediate future of the church belongs to the second generation. As the number of SG members increases the hierarchy of the church will be forced to listen to the emerging generation and their ecclesiastical needs. The listening and talking must begin from both ends of the spectrum to prevent more young people from leaving the church. The young people must be allowed to serve their own

generation, just as David served his generation, according to Acts 13:36. These SG members do not only understand the needs of their generation, but they appear willing to serve this generation. If there is any encouragement, then it comes from the observation that most of the young people who participated in this study love CoP-UK, and they want to see the church transformed to reflect the multicultural society they live in without compromising their faith.

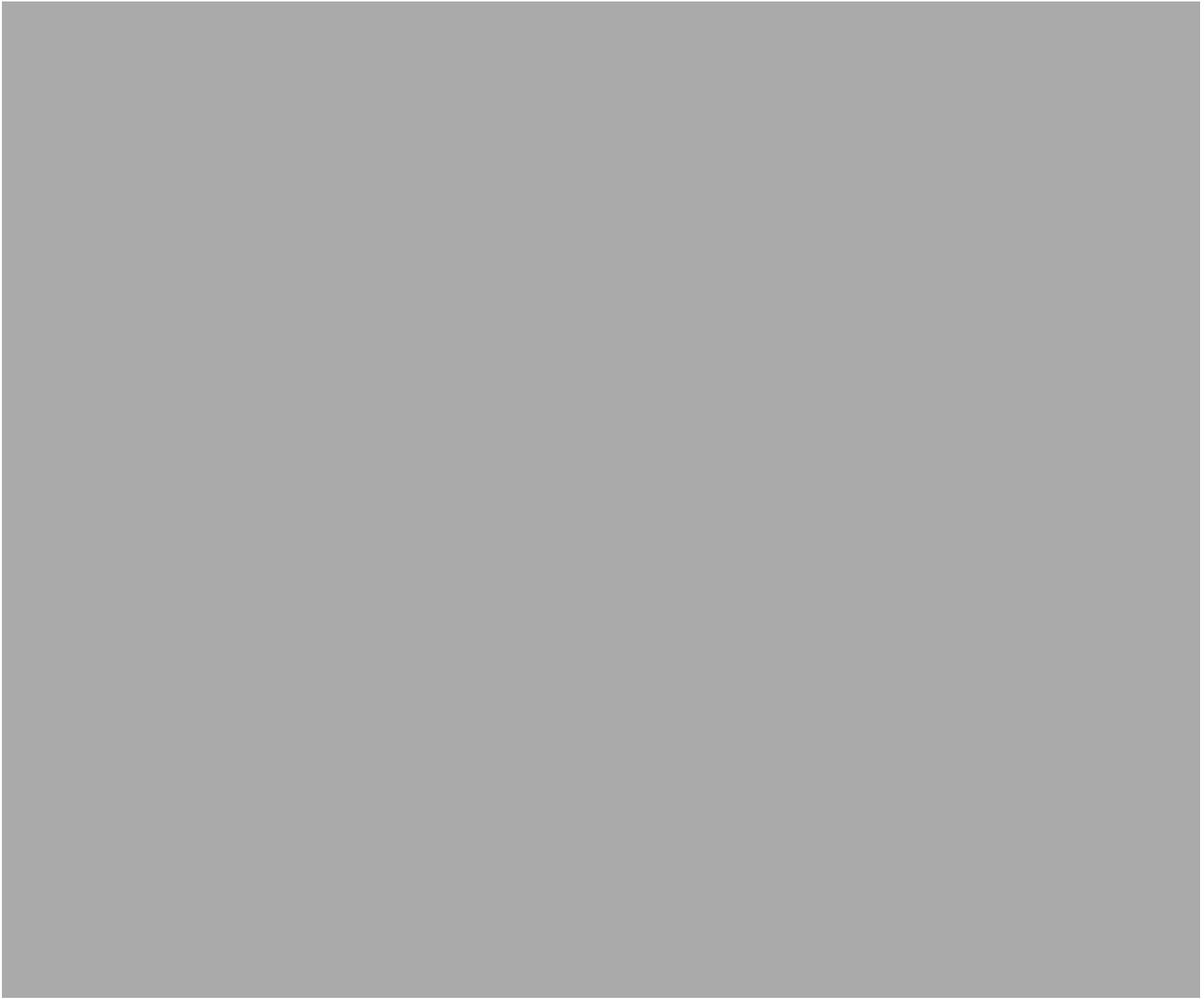
## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX 1: Participants and Pseudonyms**





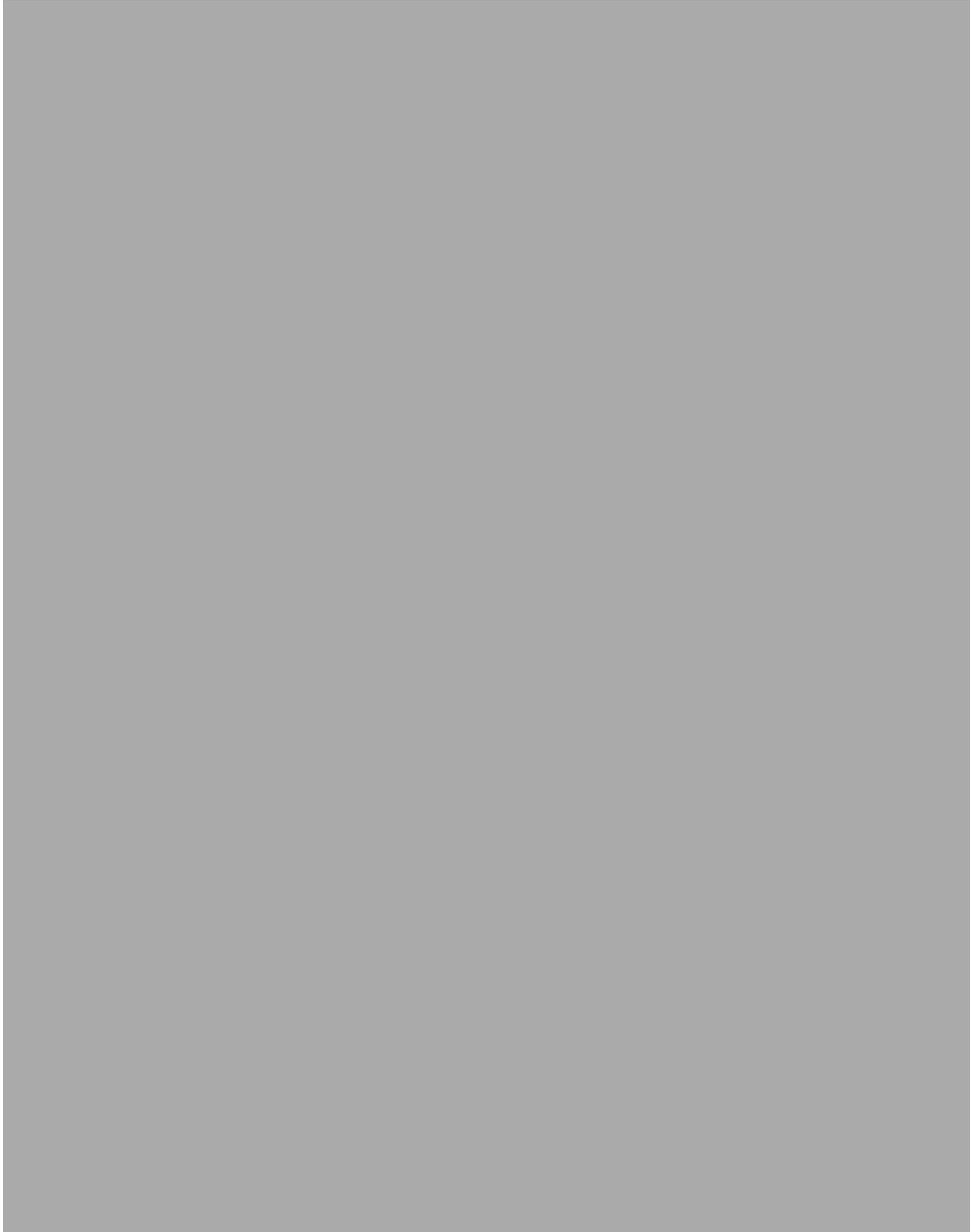




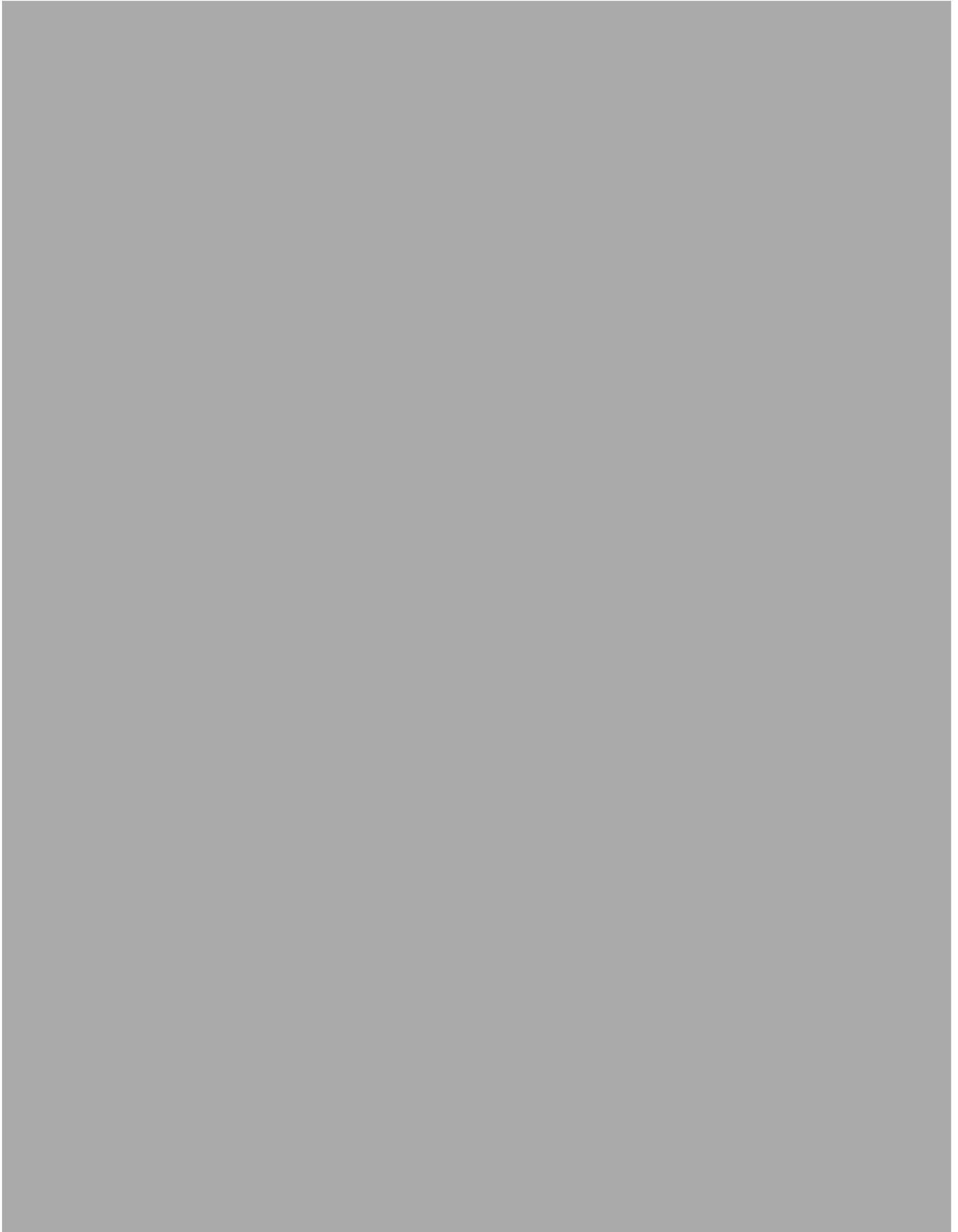
**Second-Generation Members Interviewees Chosen at Random**



## **Selected First-Generation Participants**



## APPENDIX 2: Consent Form



## APPENDIX 3: Questionnaire

### 1. Your gender:

Male  Female

### 2. Age. Please circle

18-25          26-30          30-40          Over 40

### Part 1:

#### 3. Where were you born?

In the UK

In Ghana

Elsewhere in Europe (please specify?)

.....

*Somewhere else (please specify specific country if not born in UK or Europe):*

.....

#### 4. How long have you lived in the UK

All my life

Most of my life (18 + yrs)

For a few years (5-17yrs)

Not very long (0-5yrs)

#### 5. Where were your parents born?

In the UK

In Ghana

Elsewhere in Europe (please specify?)

.....)

Somewhere else (please specify specific country if not born in UK or Europe):

.....

**6. How often do you visit Ghana?**

Annually

Bi annually

Occasionally (i.e once in 3 to 5yrs)

Never

**7. How would you describe yourself?**

Ghanaian

British

European

Ghanaian-British

British-Ghanaian

European-Ghanaian

Ghanaian -European

Any other: please state \_\_\_\_\_

**Part 2**

**8. Why do you attend your church?**

***Please tick the top two reasons***

I attended this church with my parents when I was younger and have stayed here

Because it's close to where I live

Because the people are loving and supportive – they are my family

Because I specifically felt God called me to be a part of it

Because there are people from a similar background to me

Because my spiritual needs are met here

Because I feel the presence of the Holy Spirit here

Other: please specify

**9. Do you know anyone/a friend who has left this church in the last 2 years?**

Yes

No

**10. Why did they leave the church?**

***Please tick all that apply***

Because they moved location

Because they felt God calling them to attend a new church

Because they felt they were not growing spiritually

Because they struggled with the way the church was run

Because they wanted to attend a more diverse church

Because they were hurt by people here

Because they didn't have opportunities to serve and lead

Because they thought the church was too African?

Other (please specify)

**11. Do you go to any other church or fellowship specifically for prayers?  
Please circle.**

**Yes      NO**

**12. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?**

	Agree A lot	Agree A little	Disagree A lot	Disagree A little	Unsure
My church is influenced by Ghanaian culture					
I feel older people in my church struggle to relate to me					
I feel my pastor and leaders understand my issues and address them well					
I am often frustrated with my church and think of leaving					
I enjoy going to church					
I feel the presence of the Holy Spirit during worship					
The adult church prays too much about evil spirits					

**Part 3**

**13. write down one word that best describes the Holy Spirit in your opinion?**

**14. What do you think is the purpose of Baptism in the Holy Spirit?**

Power

Protection

Prayer

Spiritual gifts

**any other? Please specify**

--

**15. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?**

Statements	Agree A lot	Agree A little	Disagree A lot	Disagree A little	Unsure
The Holy Spirit enables me to witness to others					
The Holy Spirit helps me to be a better Christian					
I feel the Holy Spirit more in church than outside church					
The Holy Spirit gives me supernatural gifts like prophecy					
Speaking in tongues is the <b>only</b> evidence of Baptism in the Holy Spirit					
Baptism in the Holy Spirit gives me power over Satan					
Evil spirits can cause sickness and misfortune in my life					

## **APPENDIX 4: Interview Protocol**

Date:

Time of interview:

Place:

Interviewee:

### **Selected questions for Interviews**

Do you see yourself as British or Ghanaian or both? Or other?

Do you have any links with Ghanaian culture outside church?

What will you say are your main reasons for going to church?

Are there any specific reasons/practices/ beliefs that you feel are not helpful to your engagement in the church?

Are there practices that you identify as exclusively Ghanaian/African in the church?

What comes to your mind when you hear spirits?

How about evil spirits? (do you think sicknesses; misfortune is caused by evil spirits?)

When you think of the Holy Spirit what comes to your mind?

What do you think is the purpose for baptism of the Holy Spirit?

Do you think the church is meeting the needs of the young people?

Have you invited your non-Ghanaian friends to church? If so why?

Have you thought of leaving the church in the last year? If so, why?

What do you like/dislike most about the church? And why?

How would you describe the church?

---

### **Discussions for Focus Groups**

What is *Af*?

What are some of the *Af* practices in the church?

Is there or are there anything within church practices that makes you feel you want to leave?

What do you think are the main challenges facing young people in CoP-UK?

Do you know anyone/ has any of your friends left the church?

What are some of the reasons why these people are leaving or left?

Do you think the church is meeting the needs of the young people?

Do you think the church is affected/influenced by Ghanaian cultural practices?

If so what are these practices?

Who is the Holy Spirit?

What is the purpose of Baptism in the Holy Spirit?

### **Survey on COP- GLOBAL MINISTERS CONFERENCE**

Did you watch the 'All ministers global conference' online?

Did you know there is a CoP All global ministers conference?

What did you think of it?

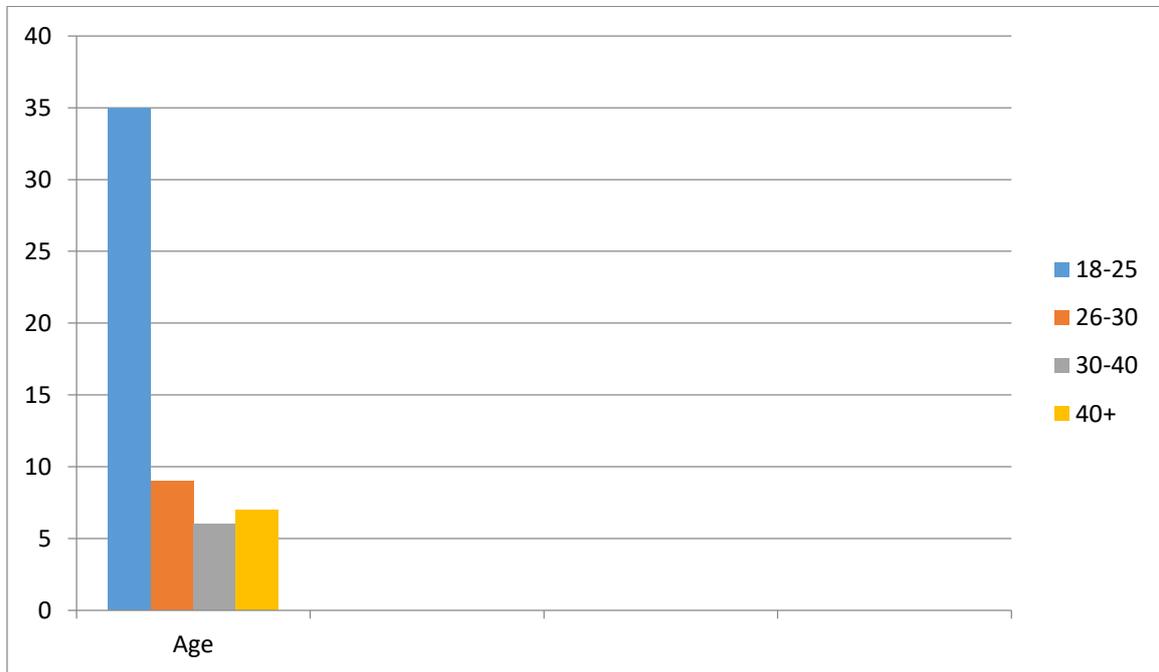
What did you gain from watching it?

What did you like most about it?

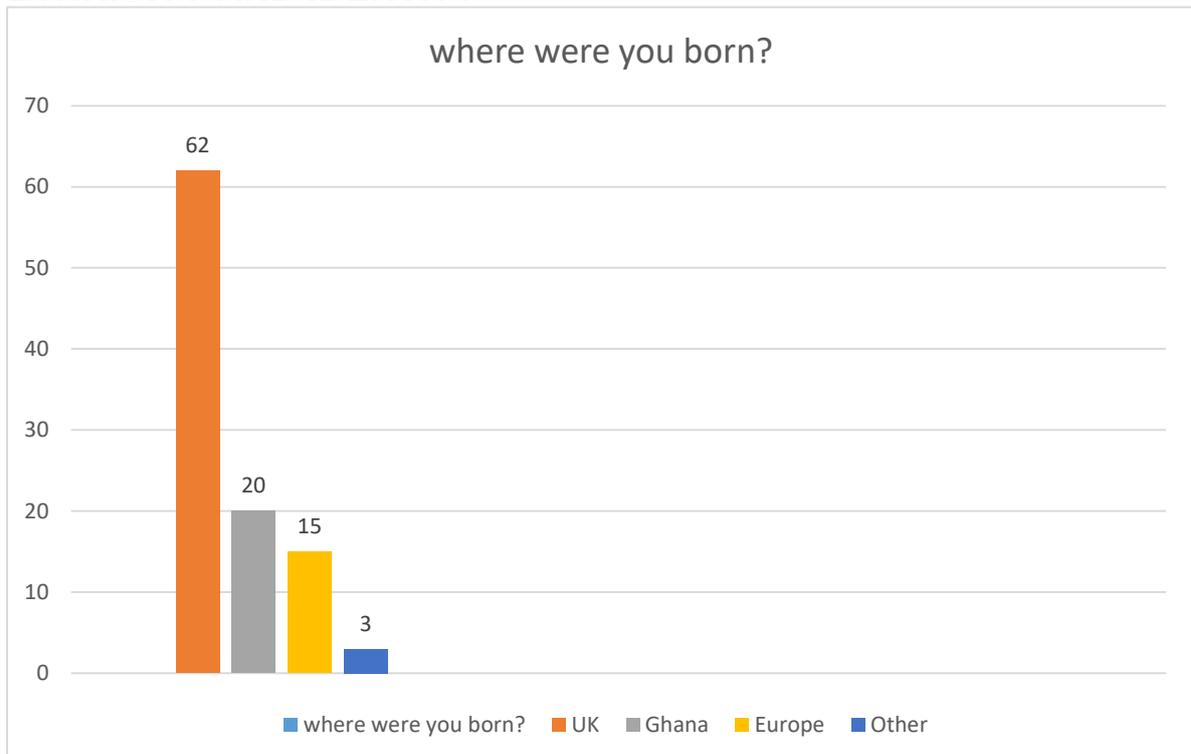
What are your overall thoughts about it?

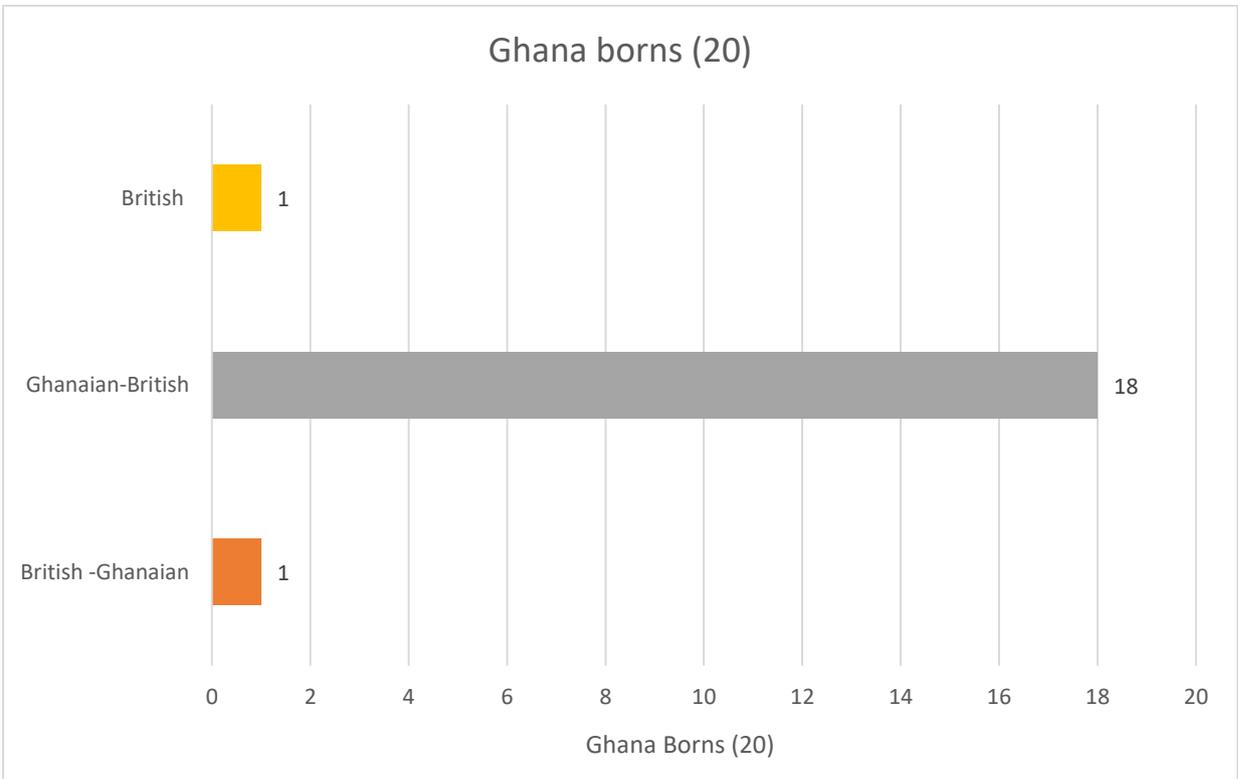
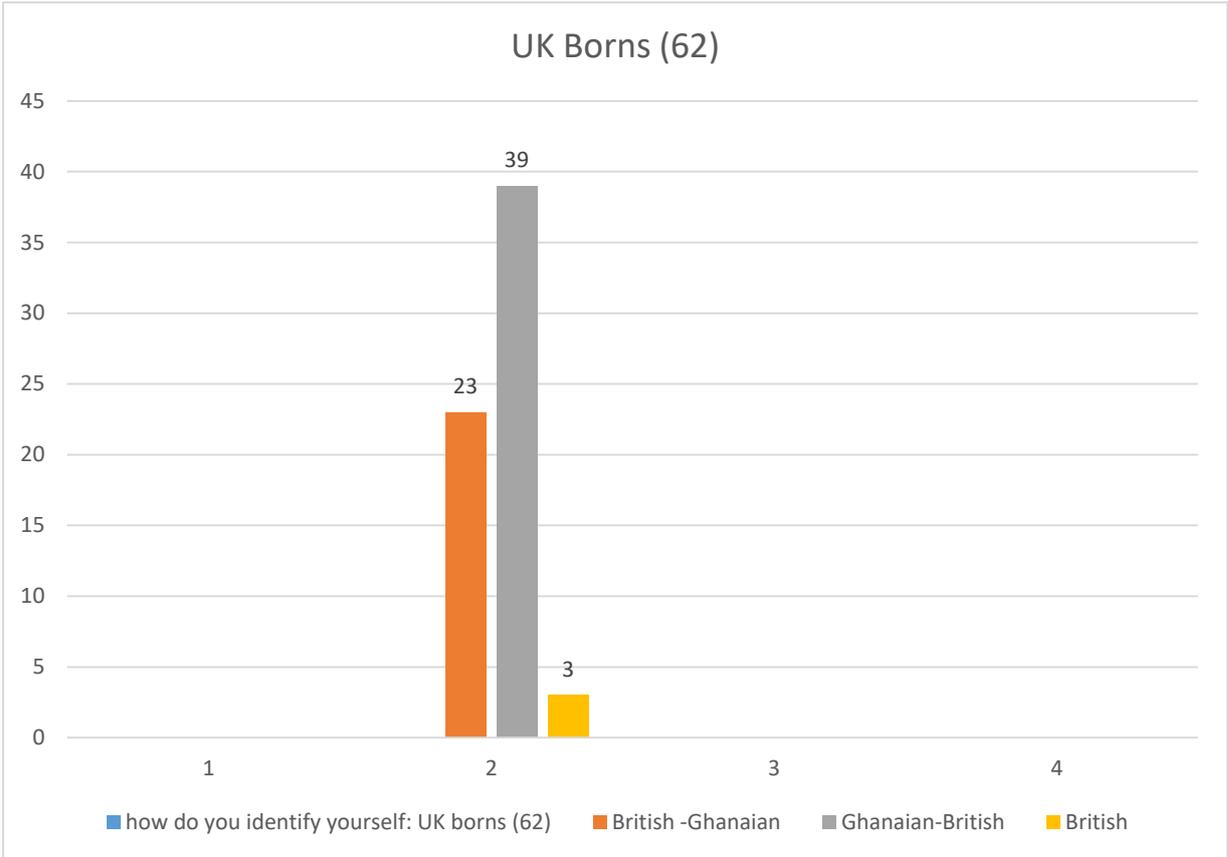
## APPENDIX 5: Data from Suvey and Questionnaires

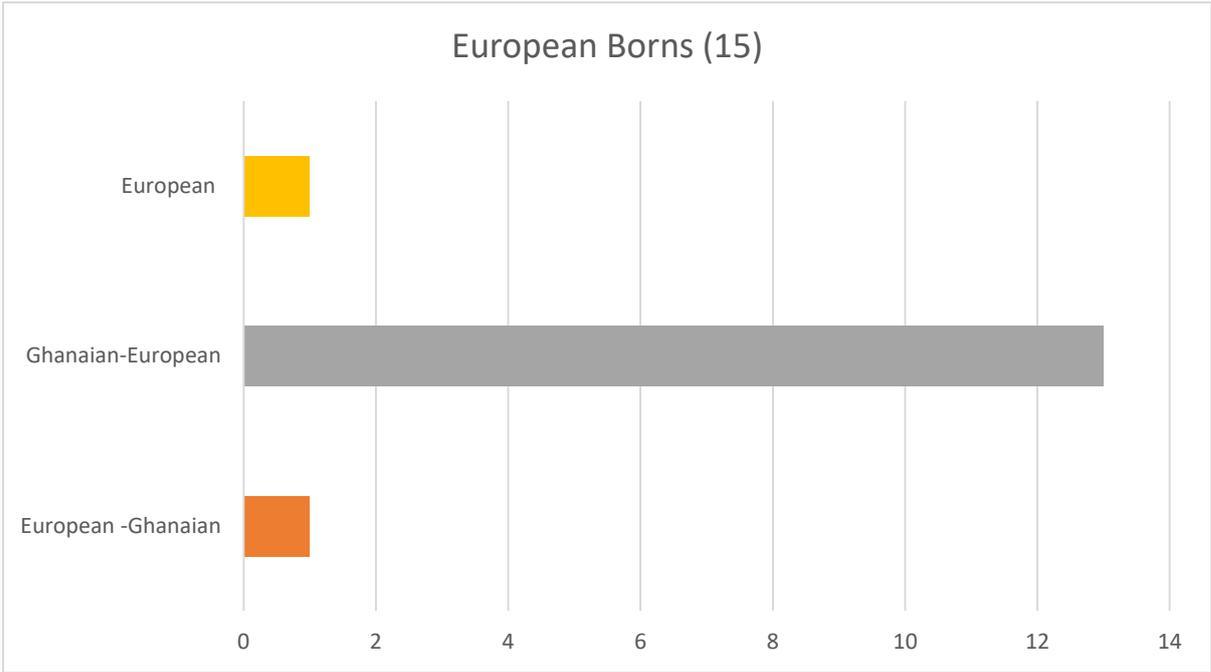
### Second Generation Participants



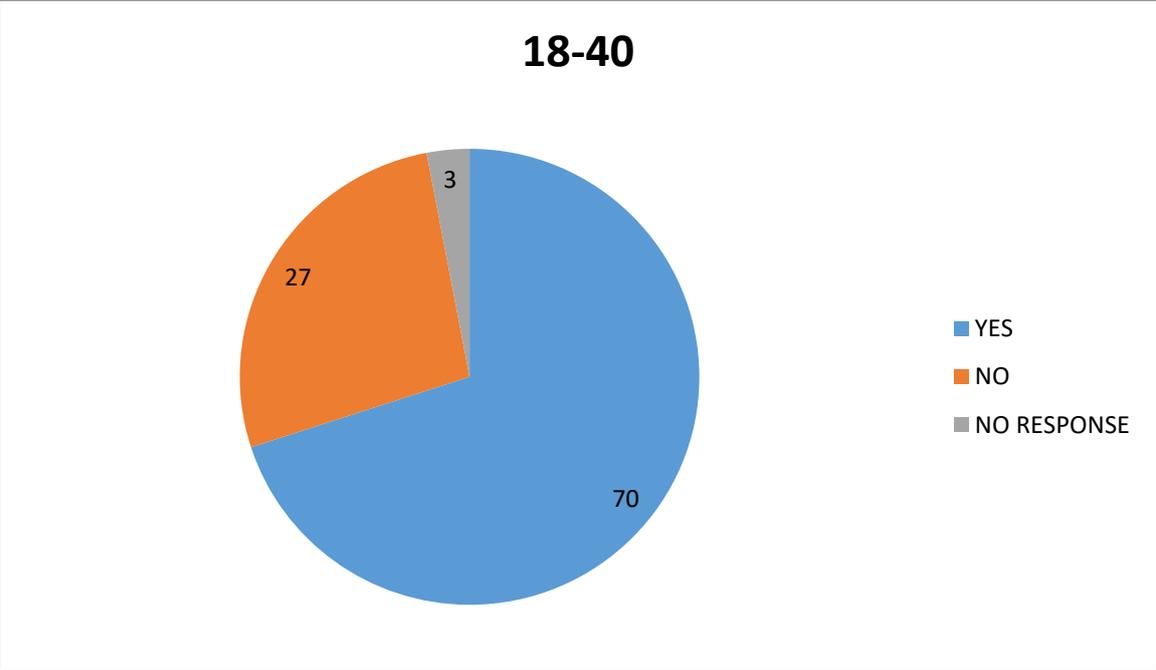
### ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY



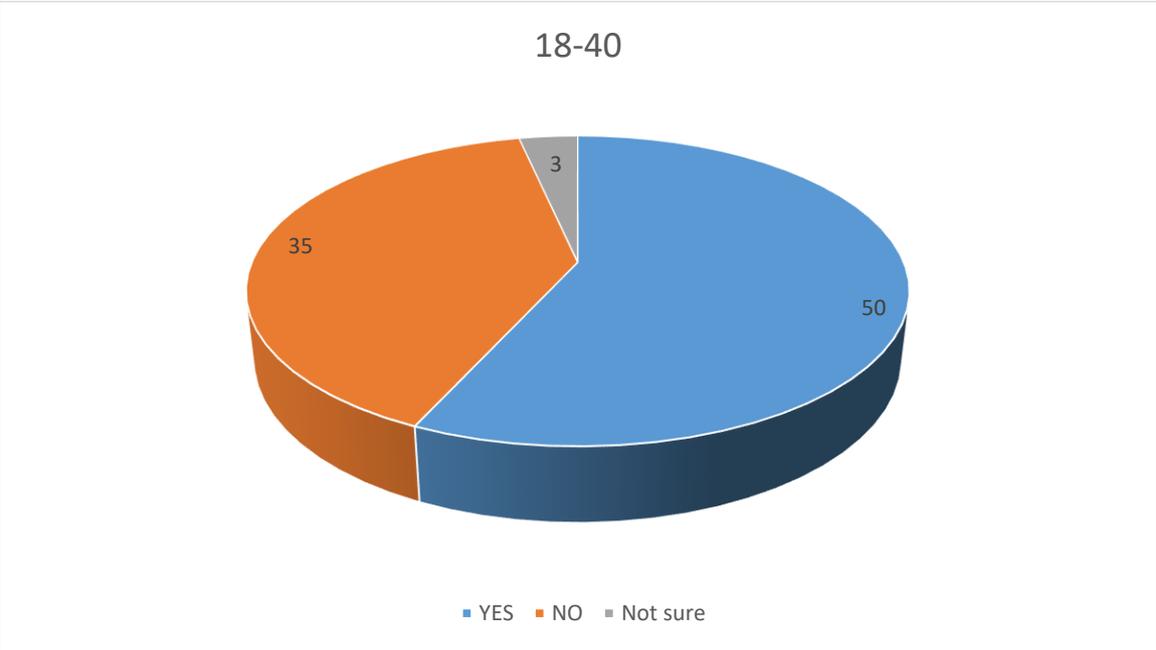




**DO YOU KNOW ANYONE/FRIEND WHO HAS LEFT CHURCH?**

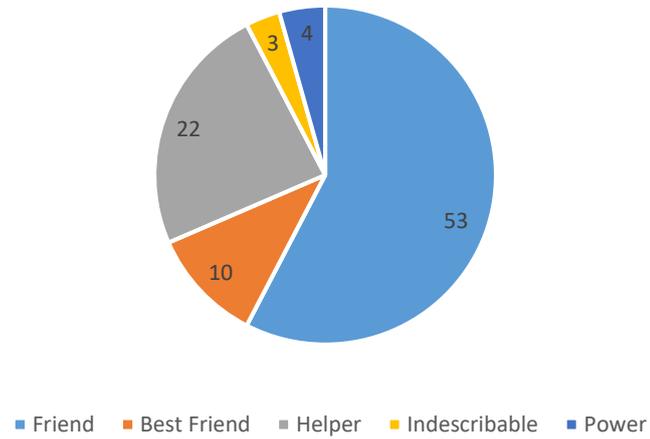


**In the past year, have you thought of leaving the church?**

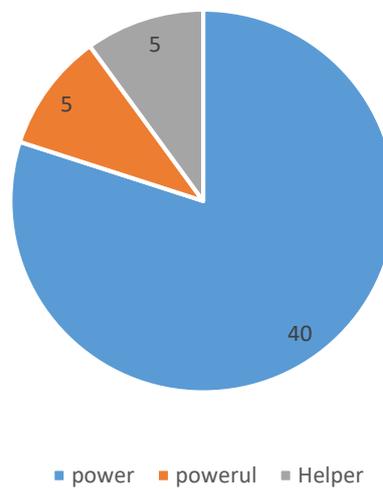


## one word to describe the Holy Spirit:

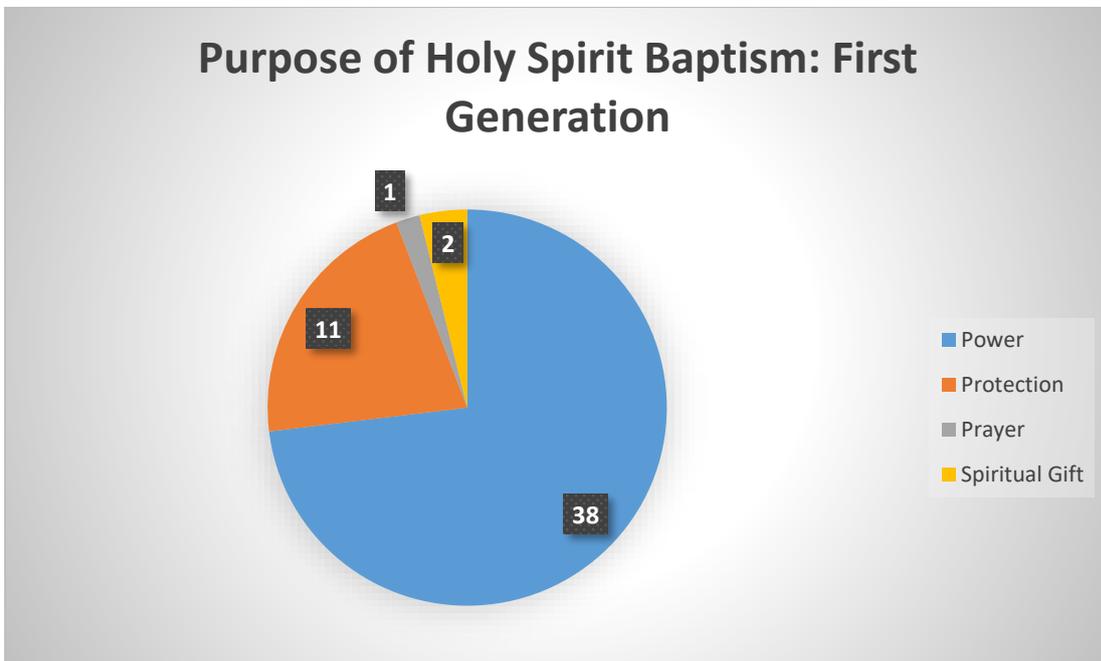
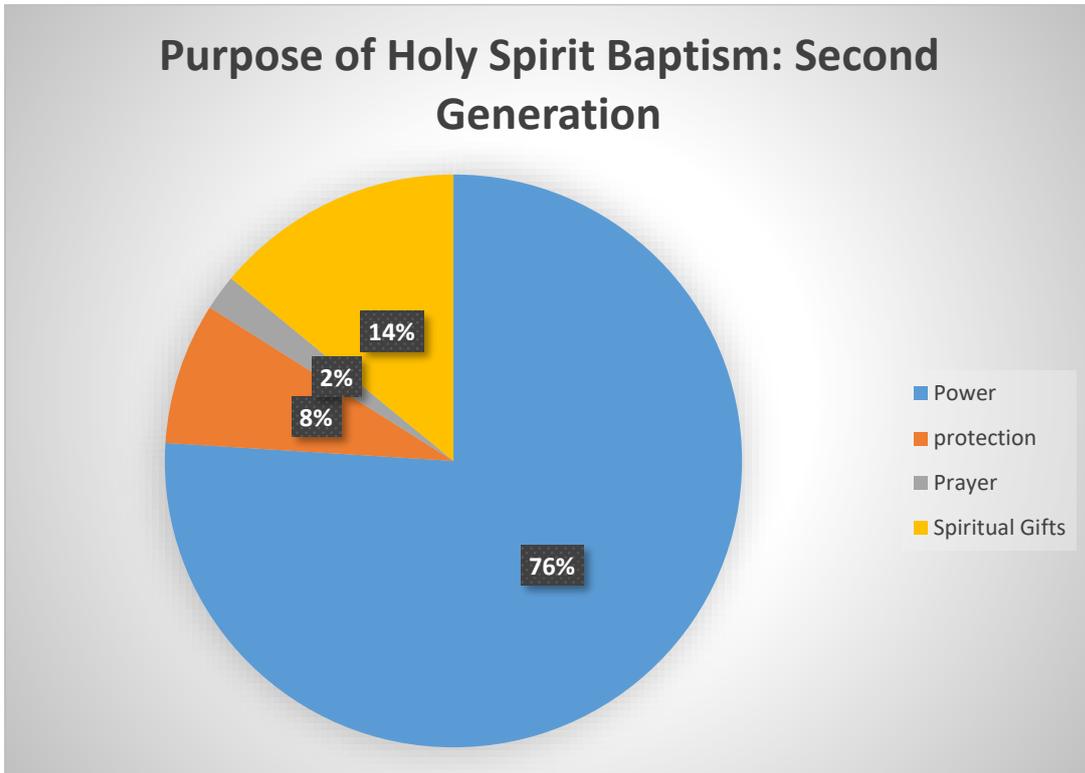
Second Generation words to describe the Holy Spirit



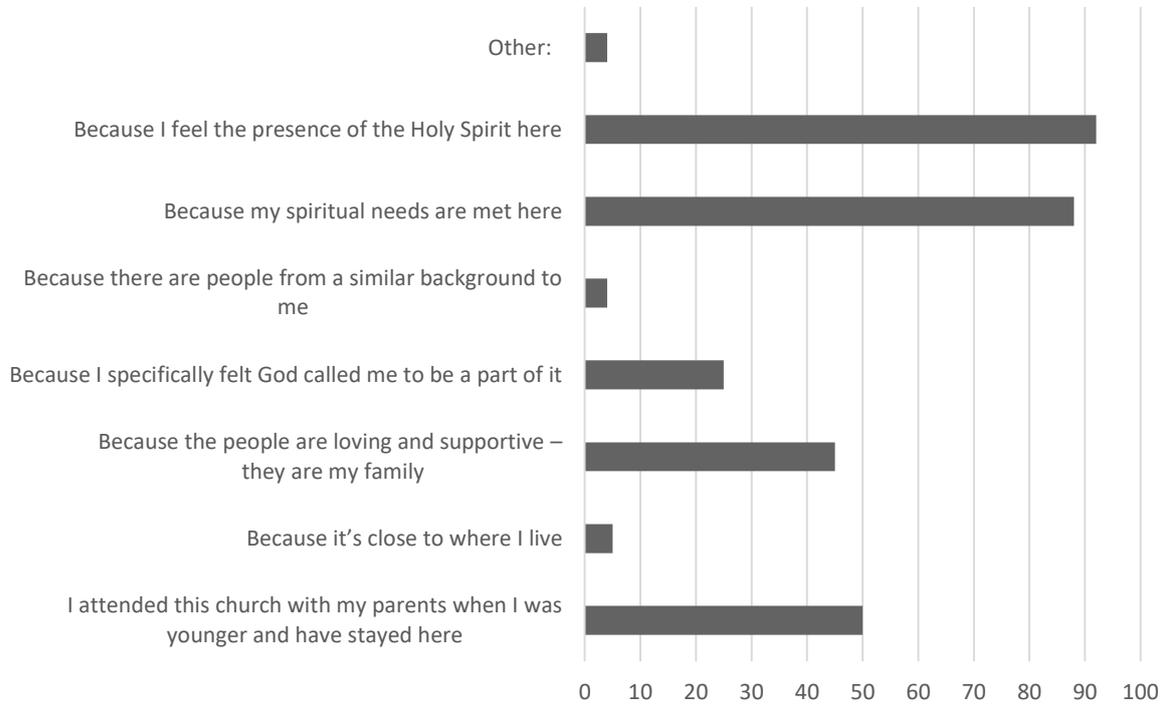
First Generation Words to describe Holy Spirit



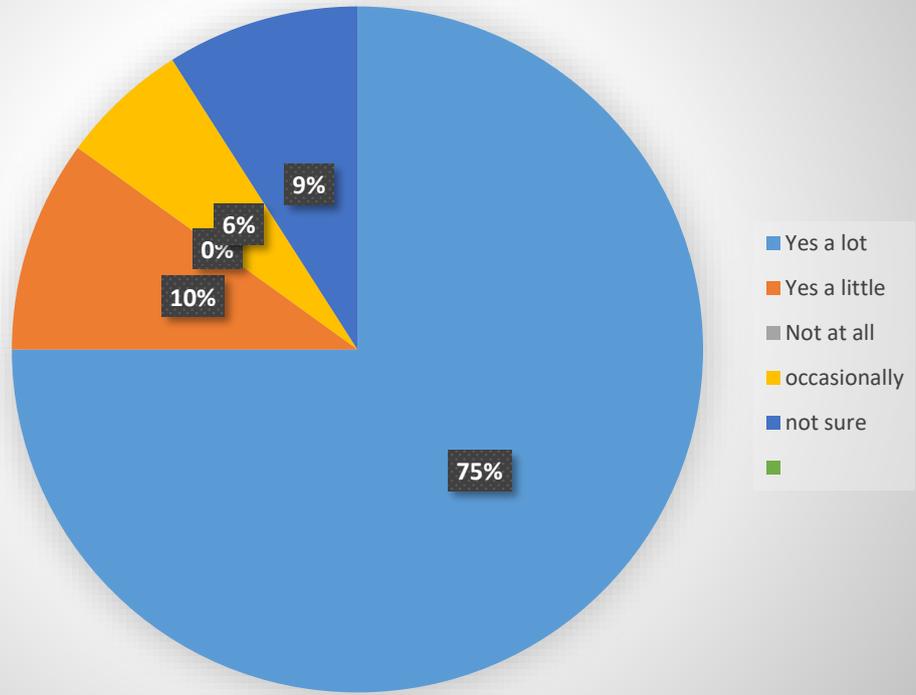
**On purpose of baptism of the Holy Spirit:**



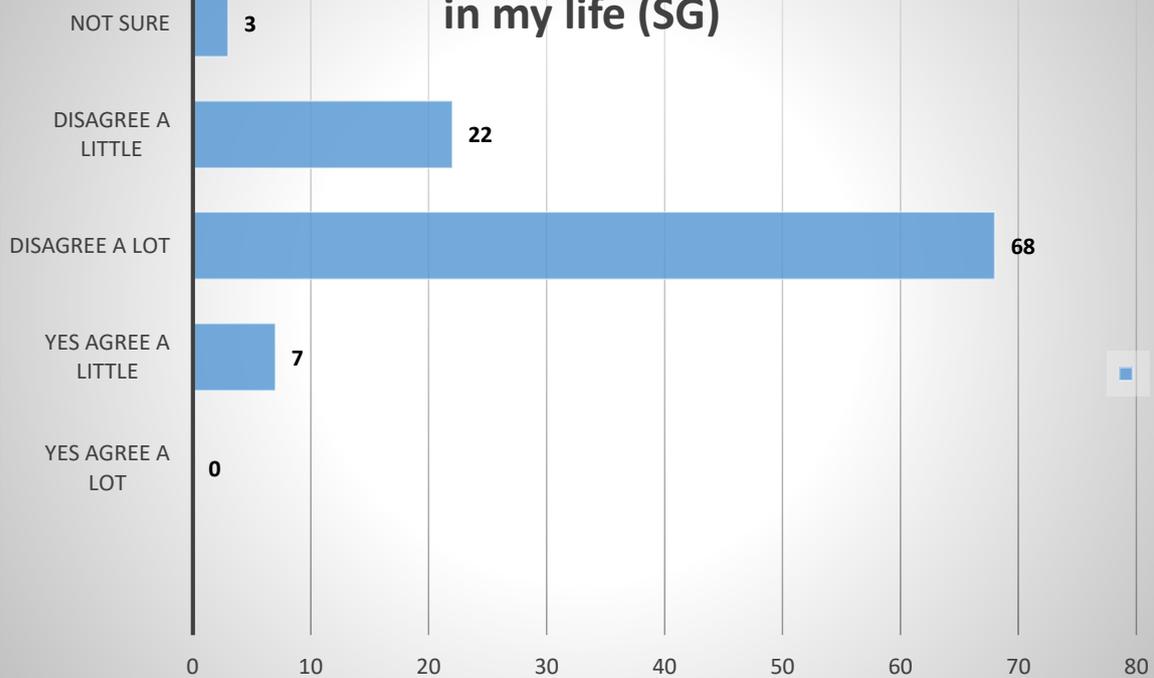
## Why do you attend church (SG)



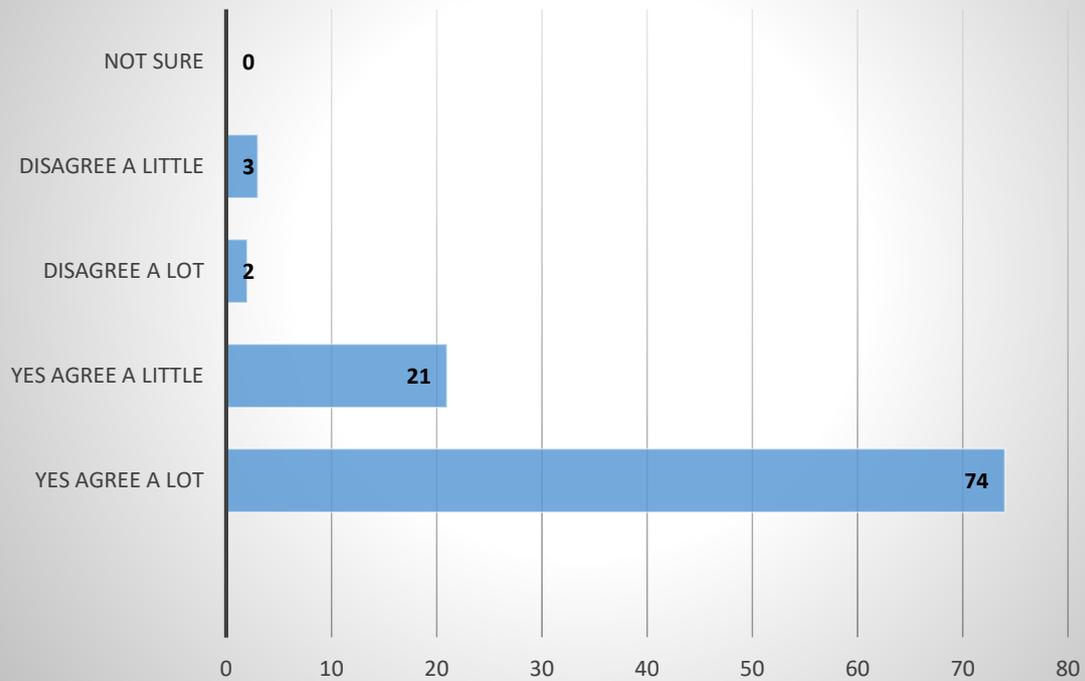
### Do the Akan services pray too much about evil spirits?



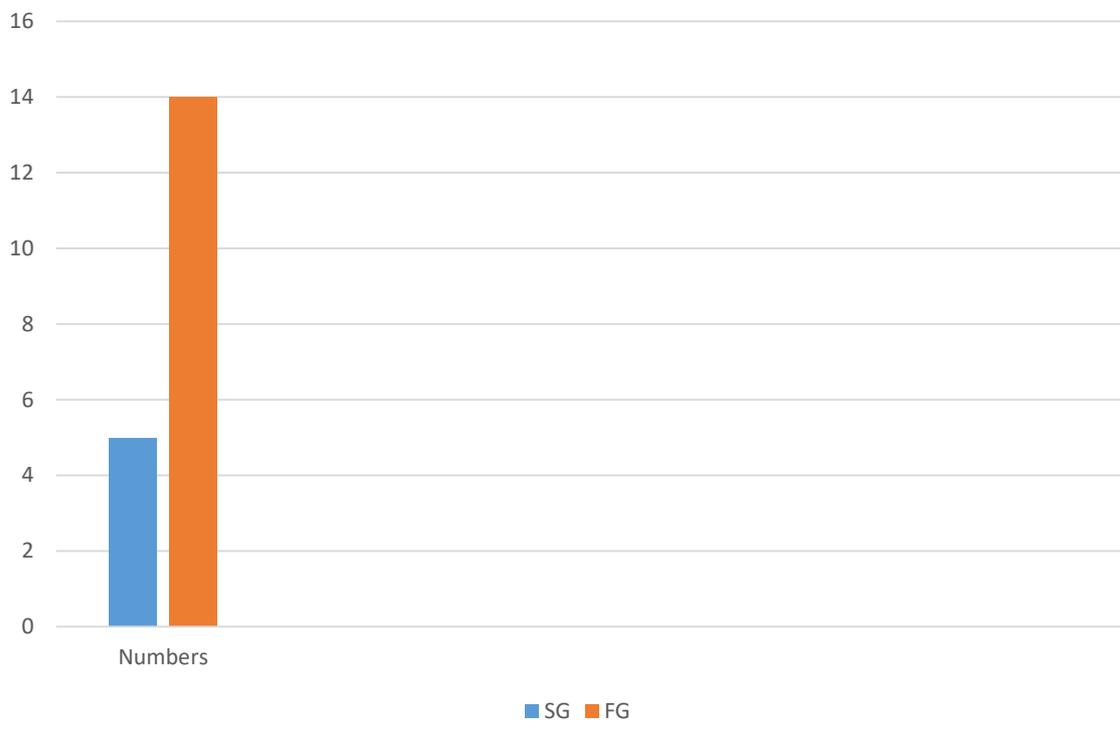
### Evil spirits can cause sickness and misfortune in my life (SG)



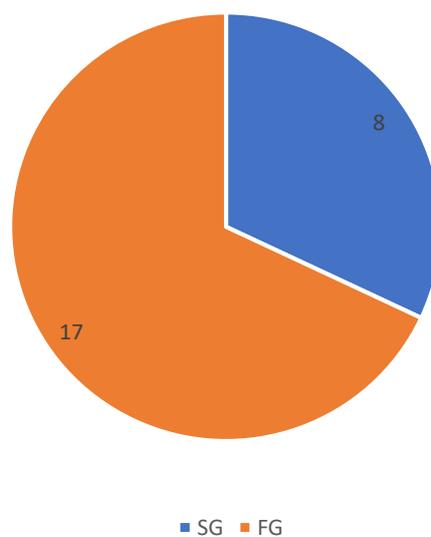
## Evil spirits can cause sickness and misfortune in my life (FG)



**COP- All Ministers Global Conference 2017**  
Did you watch the conference online? (20 respondants)



Did you know there was a CoP All Global Ministers Conference?



## APPENDIX 6: Akan Names



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