Socio-Religious Factors Influencing the Increasing Plausibility of Faith Healing in Ghana

Thesis

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DECLARATION

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I hereby declare that this Ph.D. thesis entitled 'Socio-religious factors influencing the increasing plausibility of faith healing in Ghana' has been compiled by me under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Richard Rottenburg, (Seminar for Ethnology), Prof. Dr. Sackmann Reinhold (Institute of Sociology), Martin-Luther-University, Halle-Wittenberg.

I declare that all the material presented in this thesis is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the form of reference.

I declare that this is my first time of writing this thesis and it has not been previously submitted for the award of any diploma, degree, fellowship or its equivalent to any other University or Institution.

Adadow Yidana   Halle, 02.08.2013

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my children, Michael Mam-mariba Yidana, Manal Pam-maliba Yidana and Mubarak Puumaya Yidana.

ABSTRACT:

This study sought to explore the increasing plausibility of faith healing in Ghana. It was approached using phenomenological images of religion and economic model of rational choice theory and qualitative research model. Social problems and illness create tension, where witches and sorcerers are mostly blamed. Traditional healers continue to perpetuate this explanatory model as a pragmatic response to dealing with such fears, and as a means of maintaining order in society. The study revealed that the apparent increase in the plausibility of faith healing in Ghana is due to Pentecostal ability to appropriate local belief into their activities, which helps them entrench their positions in society. This study argues that consumers' choice of one healing system over another is rational in view of the fact that the providers of these services do so in line with their plausibility structures. Moreover, it is speculated that once societies continue to share these beliefs, the activities of faith healers will continue to thrive.

Key terms: Religion, Faith, healing, Pentecostalism, Plausibility, Charisma, Innovation, Ghana, Divine-industry, Divine-actor.

KURZFASSUNG:

Diese Studie bemühte sich um eine Erkundung der steigenden Glaubwürdigkeit von Geistheilung in Ghana. Dies erschloss sich mittels phänomenologischer Eindrücke von Religion, des ökonomischen Theoriemodells von *rational choice* und qualitativer Forschung. Soziale Probleme und Krankheit erzeugen Spannungen, für die zumeist Hexen und Magier verantwortlich gemacht werden. Traditionelle Heilpraktiker halten solche Erklärungsmodelle als pragmatische Antwort im Umgang mit auftretenden Ängsten aufrecht, wie auch als Mittel, um gesellschaftliche Ordnung zu bewahren. Ein Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung liegt in der Enthüllung, dass der offenkundige Anstieg einer Glaubwürdigkeit von Geistheilungspraktiken auf die Fähigkeit der Pfingstgemeinde-bewegung zurückzuführen ist, lokale Glaubensmodelle in ihre Handlungen mit einzubeziehen, entsprechend die eigene gesellschaftliche Stellung tiefer einzugraben. Die Position dieser Studie lautet, dass die Wahl, welche Konsumenten für ein Heilungssystem gegenüber einem anderen treffen, als rational betrachtet werden kann angesichts des Umstandes, dass Anbieter solcher Dienstleistungen im Einklang mit Plausibilitätsstrukturen handeln. Des Weiteren wird spekuliert, dass die Tätigkeiten von Geistheilern weiterhin ansteigen werden, sobald Gesellschaften solche Überzeugungen teilen.

Schlagworte: Religion, Glaube, Pfingstgemeinde, Glaubwürdigkeit, Charisma, Innovation, Ghana, Göttliche Industrie, Göttlicher Akteur.

Zusammenfassung

Der Schwerpunkt dieser Arbeit war es zu untersuchen, die sozio-religiöse Faktoren verantwortlich für die zunehmende Plausibilität des Glaubens Heilung in Ghana. Dabei untersucht die Studie die Beziehung zwischen Pfingst-und traditionellen Heilmethoden in Ghana und die Umstände, unter denen Pfingstbewegung Heilung auf dem Vormarsch ist in Ghana, ein Entwicklungsland in Westafrika. Daher untersucht die Studie diese drei Bereiche: 1) die jüngste Explosion der Pfingstbewegung in Ghana, 2) warum Heilung ist ein Kern von fast allen Pfingst göttlichen Branchen in Ghana und die Umstände, unter denen die Dämonisierung der indigenen Heiler schwingt so stark unter den Menschen vor Ort, und 3) die Umstände, unter denen Pfingstbewegung Anhänger und die breite Öffentlichkeit gleichermaßen glauben an Geistheilung im Allgemeinen und Pfingstkirchen Geistheilung im Besonderen.

Ich stellte die Hintergrund-Informationen durch die Überprüfung der Verwendung von traditionellen Heilweisen in Ghana und die Umstände, unter denen diese Systeme eingesetzt werden. Als Teil der Überprüfung habe ich gezeigt, dass individuelle und kollektive Rückgriff auf Religion zu erklären Gesundheit und Krankheit verbundenen Probleme in ghanaischen Gesellschaften eine tägliche Angelegenheit ist. Dieses Phänomen erklärt, warum viele Menschen zum Glauben Heiler zurückgreifen, wenn sie Krankheit oder Unglück in ihrem Leben erfahren. Ich zeigte auch, dass die Beziehung, die zwischen den kolonialen Missionare und traditionellen Ärzten bereits vor der Einführung der herkömmlichen Gesundheitsversorgung in Ghana weder freundlich noch friedlich war. Dies war aufgrund der Haltung der Missionare zu den Praktikern der traditionellen Medizin, die man von Hass und Verachtung war. Die Bewertung zeigt auch, wie die Missionare, um die Aktivitäten der lokalen Heilern in ihrem Versuch, das Christentum zu verbreiten und warum sie nicht erfolgreich waren ersticken versucht. Die Unfähigkeit der Missionare an die Adresse sehr braucht die Religion, sie wollten zu ersticken wurde Adressierung teilweise erklärt, warum sie nicht erfolgreich zu sein. Ich fügte hinzu, dass die Einführung der herkömmlichen medizinischen Praktiken und der Existenz anderer religiöser Organisationen - Islam, African Initiiert Kirchen und Pfingstkirchen basierte göttlichen Branchen - Mehrzahl der Heilmethoden in Ghana eingeführt. Als Ergebnis war Heilung nicht mehr nur auf traditionelle medizinische Praktiker. Diese Situation führte zu Wettbewerb, da diese neuen Systeme der Heilung ähnlich wie bei traditionellen System der Heilung sind.

Ich benutzte die rationale Wahl des religiösen Marktmodells als theoretische Grundlage für diese These. Ich habe ausdrücklich stützte sich auf das Modell von Rodney Stark und seinen Zeitgenossen. Dieses Modell wurde am besten zu meiner Diplomarbeit geeignet, da der pluralistischen religiösen Umfeld I untersucht wurde. Es bietet Einblicke, wie die Menschen machen religiösen Entscheidungen - sowohl in der Angebots-und Nachfrageseite. Beziehe ich es neben den phänomenologischen Bilder der Religion durch Young (1997), die geeignet war, angeboten, weil Glaubensheilungen Erlebnispädagogik sind. Der Antrag wurde von der Überzeugung, dass die Entscheidungen, die Menschen machen, im Hinblick auf die Auswahl eines Heiltradition über ein anderes von Dir informiert werden (im wirtschaftlichen Sinne) das Verhalten der beiden Hersteller (religiösen Institutionen) dieser Heiltradition einerseits informiert und die Verbraucher (Anhänger / Clients) von dieser Tradition. Die Entscheidungen, die Menschen machen, gelten als rational, weil sie die Kosten und Nutzen, bevor sie ihre Entscheidungen zu berücksichtigen. Es war auf der Grundlage dieser Überzeugung, dass diese Theorien am besten geeignet sind, um Erklärungen, warum der Einsatz von Pfingstkirchen Heilung gewinnt deutlich an Boden in Ghana, obwohl traditionelle Medizin war in Existenz vor seiner Gründung zu stellen.

In Bezug auf die Methoden, habe ich mich auf der Grounded Theory Methode für meine Datenerhebung und-analyse. Die Wahl wurde unter der Annahme, dass es keine objektive Realität einer in Bezug auf Krankheit und Krankheitsursachen (Charmaz, 2000:509-510) basiert. In den Prozess der Datenerhebung, habe ich Beobachtung, Interviews und Fokusgruppen als Techniken in der Datenerhebung. Bei der Analyse der Daten, habe ich mich auf die Technik der Codierung, um die verschiedenen Themen, die die Reihenfolge der Kapitel und Abschnitte innerhalb der Kapitel informiert zu konstruieren.

Kapitel zwei diskutiert die historische Entwicklung der Pfingstbewegung in Ghana, den Hinweis auf die verschiedenen Stufen, die Pfingstbewegung hat sich weiterentwickelt. Diese Entwicklung war das Ergebnis einer rationalen Handlung einiger afrikanischer Propheten, die durch göttliche Inspirationen in der Ausführung der Aufgabe unterstützt wurden. Die Aktionen waren sowohl rational als auch religiös, gleichgesetzt mit instrumentalen Gründen, weil es an Mittel-Zweck-Beziehung und in den Dienst der Selbst-Befriedigung ausgerichtet. Während Pastoren ihre göttlichen Segen, um das Leiden der Gesellschaft zu lindern, nutzen die Dienste von Anhängern Pastoren haben ihre Probleme gelöst. In anderen Worten, als die Anhänger die Dienste der Pfarrer als logische Mittel zur Heilung oder Empfangen Sicherung, was sie wollen. Diese Aktionen wurden akzeptiert, weil viele Menschen hatten Vertrauen in

den orthodoxen Kirchen, die es versäumt, sie mit sozialen und spirituellen Sicherheit bieten verloren hatte.

Faktoren, die zu diesem Phänomen beigetragen umfassen die Verwendung von Englisch als Sprache des Evangeliums, die eine unterstützende Rolle bei der Nutzung der amerikanischen Gospel Bücher und Kassetten, deren Nachrichten wurden vor allem auf Wohlstand und Reichtum zentriert gespielt. Das Phänomen erreichte im Jahr 1979, als Ghana erlebte Reihe von Staatsstreichen und Wirtschaftskrisen, die zur Einführung des Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). Weitere Faktoren sind der Wunsch nach individuellem Wachstum durch die sozialen Leiter, Armut und soziale Benachteiligung und den Wunsch, reich zu werden. Dies ist in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass die Pfingstkirchen als Surrogat Familien für viele Menschen in den Städten serviert. Die Aktivitäten der Kirchen geben Anlass zu Bedenken, vor allem auf die Sicherheit des Staates. Dies führte zu der Formulierung von Gesetzen, die bisher erlassen wurden, um den finanziellen Zufluss der Kirchen überwachen geführt. Die Kirchen haben auch freiwillige Vereinigungen gegründet, um Frieden Einheit des Landes zu gewährleisten.

Herausforderungen der Kirchen zählen die Zersplitterung und die Unfähigkeit ihrer Verbände, alle Mitglieder zusammen zu bekommen. Dies hat zu einer erhöhten internen Politik und Rangeleien unter ihnen führten. Andere schließen ideologischen Herausforderungen zwischen der Pfingst-und den orthodoxen Kirchen einerseits und jener zwischen den Pfingstkirchen und der traditionellen afrikanischen Religion auf der anderen. Einige der Pfingstkirchen sind oft gezwungen, mit traditionellen Normen und Werte der Gesellschaften, in denen diese Kirchen befinden entsprechen. Strategien die Kirchen verwenden, um diese Herausforderungen zu überwinden und gegen andere religiöse Organisationen konkurrieren gehören Dämonisierung, Nutzung der öffentlichen Zeugenaussagen und Medien, um ihre Botschaften zu verbreiten weit und breit, Zeichen und Wunder, die Heilung sowie soziale Maßnahmen für die schwächsten Mitglieder der Gesellschaft.

Kapitel drei diskutiert, wie Pfingstkirchen unternehmerische Idee verwenden in ihrer Tätigkeit. Pastoren sind Social Entrepreneurs wegen ihrer sozialen Zweck Interventionen in der Gesellschaft verglichen. Ihren Betrieb um sozialen Zweck Prinzipien drehen, und sie übernehmen Innovation und Flexibilität in ihrer Tätigkeit. Viele Pastoren sind beschäftigt mit Fortschritt und hasse es, Stapel an einer Stelle die ganze Zeit. Pastoren sind verantwortlich

für kulturellen Wandel in ihren jeweiligen Kirchen. Die Visionen und Ideen von Pastoren sind oft im Einklang mit dem Niveau der Ausbildung der Pastoren, stattet sie mit einer besseren Kenntnis der sozialen und spirituellen Bedürfnisse der Gesellschaft. Somit Kirchen arbeiten wie die Zusammenarbeit mit ihrer sozialen Verantwortung oft gebunden an ihre Evangelisierung, um Anhänger zu ihren jeweiligen Kirchen zu gewinnen. Sie bieten Ausbildung ihre Anhänger frei ohne jegliche Kosten.

Die Manifestation von Wundern und Zeichen des Staunens zusätzlich zu ihrer sozialen Verantwortung gibt Pastoren ihre Ausstrahlung. Das Charisma bauen sie ruhen auf den Gehorsam ihrer Anhänger auf ihren Glauben an ihre Macht und ihren Erscheinungsformen. Das Charisma verringern kann, wenn die Anhänger, um ihre Loyalität zu zeigen scheitern. So Pastoren versuchen oft, ihre göttliche Macht, ihre Anhänger und die Gesellschaft, die auch versucht, die Kraft und Ausstrahlung der Pastoren legitimieren beweisen. Bei all dem ist die übernatürlichen Aktivitäten der Pastoren zentrale und sehr nützlich während Situationen des Glaubens, vor allem in das Weltbild der Gesellschaft, wenn die Anwesenheit von solchen Dingen als Teufel, Geister, Dämonen und Götter anerkannt werden.

In solchen Situationen finden sich Pastoren in einem Kampfgeist, um potentielle Anhänger zu gewinnen. Sie verwenden ökonomischen Prinzipien in ihre Aktivitäten. Obwohl sie konkurrieren, sondern auch in Teilen von Ideen zusammen, weil sie sich selbst als Menschen des gleichen christlichen Familie. Eines der Themen, die den Wettbewerb führen ist, dass sie alle wollen auf die Erfüllung der wahren Unternehmer wachsen, und beinhaltet gehen durch fünf Ebenen des kirchlichen Unternehmertum. Die Kirchen erhalten ihre Finanzierung durch individuelle Spenden und Zahlungen und Investitionen der einzelnen Kirchen, je nachdem, welche Ebene des unternehmerischen Entwicklungsstadium sie sich befinden.

Kapitel vier behandelt Glauben Heilung in der Pfingstgemeinde, zeigt, wie die Menschen vor Ort verstehen Bedrängnisse und die Maßnahmen, die sie ergreifen, um damit umzugehen. Was informiert Kunden Wahl einer Therapie oder ein anderes ist die Ideologie und Wirksamkeit hinter der Therapie. In diesem Fall scheinen Pfingstler, um einen Vorteil gegenüber den traditionellen Heilern wegen ihrer Fähigkeit zur Synthese lokalen Glauben und biblische Wissen in einem neuen System der angemessenen Kenntnisse für den lokalen Gebrauch haben. Pastor die Nutzung Heilung als Beihilfe Technik, um ihren Marktanteil in der Kirche bekommen nachdem erkannte, dass Heilung ist so sehr am Herzen ihrer Anhänger. Bei der Bereitstellung dieser Bedürfnisse, haben sie ihre Produkte in solche, die

geistige Probleme und diejenigen, die kümmern sich um physikalische Probleme zu lösen eingestuft.

Der Wunsch der Menschen, Pastoren beraten wird der wahrgenommenen Einfachheit mit Kirche Heilung und die angebliche kostenlose Behandlung des Leidens Pastoren bieten assoziiert getragen, obwohl es indirekte Kosten durch Spenden und Opfergaben kanalisiert. Im Gegensatz Verdacht, dass charakterisiert Anhörung traditionellen Heilern, wird kein Verdacht mit Beratung Pastoren verbunden. Außerdem glaube Pastoren nicht sagen, die Quelle von Leiden, vor allem diejenigen zuzurechnen Hexen, damit sichergestellt Einheit und Frieden in den Familien. Die Heilung Dienstleistungen in den Kirchen gehören Heilung von körperlichen, sozialen, geistigen und psychischen Leiden. Techniken im Heilungsprozess eingesetzt werden, umfassen 'Handauflegung' und Befreiung, televangelism und Heilung durch Fernbedienung. In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass Pastoren die gleichen Leiden mit traditionellen Heilern behandeln, ist die Haltung von Pastoren zu traditionellen Heilern eine, die nicht als die beste bezeichnet werden kann. Als Teil von Strategien, um Kunden von der Beratung über traditionelle Heiler zur Behandlung abhalten, zu verunglimpfen Pastoren lokalen Heilern als Agenten des Satans. Diese antagonistische Haltung erklärt, warum Pastoren nicht überweisen Patienten zu traditionellen Heilern. Sie argumentieren, dass Dämonen und Hexerei in den Aktivitäten der traditionelle Heiler eingebettet sind. Diese Ideen Resonanz so gut mit Pfingst-Klientel, die ständig für die Erlösung, gegen diese Dämonen und Hexen führen suchen.

Kapitel fünf beschreibt die zunehmende Plausibilität des Glaubens Heilung als Ganzes und Heilung innerhalb der Pfingstkirchen im Besonderen. Die Plausibilität Heilung zieht sich in dem Glauben, Struktur der Menschen dient verwurzelt. Pfingstkirchen sind in der Lage, ihre Relevanz in der Gesellschaft zu halten, weil sie in der Lage sich anzueignen und stellen ihren Unterricht an die sich ändernden Anforderungen der Menschen, die sie dienen. In diesen Gesellschaften werden Menschen geboren und sozialisiert in bestehenden Glaubenssysteme, und das macht es einfacher für sie, zu den Idealen zu halten, ungeachtet ihrer pädagogischen und finanziellen Leistungsfähigkeit. So ist der Glaube an die Realität der Heilung auf den kulturellen Erklärungen Pastoren beimessen wie Leiden basiert. Die Plausibilität der Heilung in den Pfingstkirchen in Pastors Nutzung der Glaube Struktur der lokalen Bevölkerung verwurzelt.

Erfahrung der Heilung in den Kirchen hat eine weitreichende Interpretationen und Perspektiven. Bestätigung der heilende Erfahrung oder Ansichten wird oft durch das soziale Netz, in dem der Glaube gehalten wird ausgedrückt. Diese Bestätigungen verfügen die meisten während der Heilung Kreuzzüge oder während der regulären Gottesdienste der verschiedenen Kirchen. Während dieser Zeiten können Menschen, die noch nicht die Erfahrung gemacht, versucht zu versuchen und sehen, wie es funktioniert, während diejenigen, die ihre Erfahrungen berichten werden die Verwendung der Heilung Dienste der Kirchen zu intensivieren würde. In den meisten Fällen Menschen, die diese Zeugnisse beobachten von außen nach Zweifel an seiner Glaubwürdigkeit haben, neigen, obwohl, können die Pastoren und die Kunden glauben, was stattfindet. Die Außenseiter manchmal die Praxis als Placebo-Effekt. Selbst wenn das wahr ist, wie würde dann erklären, den Glauben, sowohl in der kurz-und langfristig über die Plausibilität der göttlichen Heilung wie behauptet von Stolz (2011)? Tatsächlich gibt es Kunden, die die Tatsache, dass nicht alle Heilung bei den üblichen Einrichtungen des Gesundheitswesens erreicht werden konnte annehmen. Während diese Menschen, ihre Meinungen bleiben kann, gibt es diejenigen, die oft nicht sicher sind, was zu tun ist, als ein Ergebnis, neigen sie dazu, spirituelle und konventionelle Heilung gleichzeitig zu verwenden.

Es gab auch eine Fallstudie der Zeugenaussagen von drei Personen, die angeblich in den Kirchen wurden geheilt, um anzuzeigen, wie die Plausibilität der Heilung aufrechterhalten wird. In allen Fällen ist der Sinn eines ihrer Leiden ist, dass sie alle waren geistig durch dämonische personifizierte menschliche Einwirkungen verursachte. Dieser Glaube an einen Außenstehenden kann seltsam aussehen, sondern weil die Menschen vor Ort ihre Welt in diese Richtung bauen, sie zu heilen und zu erklären die Bedrängnisse in diesen Zeilen wird plausibel. Ihre Zeugnisse geben weiteren Glauben, was die Hirten behaupten, sie zu tun.

Während Zeugnisse, geben Kunden verschiedene Formen von Rückmeldungen auf die Heilung und Prophetie. Zwei Kategorien von Menschen im Hinblick auf die Plausibilität des Heilungsprozesses werden zur Kenntnis genommen. Diejenigen, die in das, was sich an den heilenden Websites sagte kaufen, teilen die gleichen sozialen Realität und diejenigen, die nicht die gleiche Wirklichkeit aber oft zu überzeugen, wenn glaubwürdige Personen Zeugnisse geben, um den Effekt, dass sie tatsächlich geheilt worden. Ein größerer Teil des Heilungsprozesses ist Erlebnispädagogik und als solche nicht manifest extern für andere zu sehen oder zu fühlen. Es ist auch wichtig zu betonen, dass bestimmte Bedingungen oft wesentlich vor Erfüllung der Heilung in den göttlichen Branchen. Die erste dieser

Bedingungen ist die Anwesenheit eines Geistes gefüllt (s) Mittel zur Heilung und religiöse Erfahrung zu erleichtern. Die zweite Bedingung betrifft den Glauben der Person in der Heilung beteiligt. Glaube und Vertrauen durch Mühe, sie in die Tat umzusetzen begleitet idealerweise schafft ein Gefühl der Hoffnung, Optimismus oder Erwartung, das Vertrauen auf den Gegenstand des Glaubens führt. Die dritte Bedingung ist die Fähigkeit von Pfarrer und Clients mit dem Verfahren für die Heilung haften identifiziert. Das Kapitel weist ferner darauf hin, dass es symbolische Kräfte innewohnen Pfingstbewegung rituelle Heilung, und die Verwendung von rituellen Worte der Heilung spielt eine wichtige Rolle in der Interaktion zwischen Pastoren und Kunden. Ritual Worte werden benutzt, um normale Gegenstände in sakrale Gegenstände wie gesalbt Öl und Wasser sehr mächtig zu verwandeln und auch objektiviert die göttliche Kraft innewohnt Pastoren. In seiner transformierende Rolle, stellt es Sinn an einem Ende und die Realität dieser Bedeutung an einem anderen Ende. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass es spielt auch eine Rolle in Performative dem Sinne, dass die Menschen davon überzeugt sind, dass solche Worte wirkliche Macht, die das Potenzial, die Welt des Alltags auswirken haben.

Mit Blick auf die aktuellen Trends der Pfingstbewegung Wachstum, ist es unklar, was die Zukunft der göttlichen Branchen könnte wie in Bezug auf das Management und die Ausstrahlung nach dem Untergang der Vorfahren der dritten Stufe sein. Mit dem aktuellen Trend der Bewegung, kann man nicht mit Sicherheit, was die Zukunft aussehen wird, vorherzusagen. Die Existenz der Pfingst-und charismatischen Ghana Rat gibt einen Hinweis, dass es möglicherweise ein Monopol in der nahen Zukunft sein. Aber was würde dies aussehen kann jetzt nicht ermittelt werden. "Niemand kann die Zukunft vorhersagen, unsere Bewegung (Pfingstbewegung) ist wie Wellen, die sich an der Küste brechen, wenn die derzeitige Welle verblasst, wird Gott zu bringen ': Allerdings gibt es Raum für Spekulationen als eine göttlich-Schauspieler wurde mit den Worten zitiert, dass eine neue Heimsuchung" (vgl. Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:18). Tatsächlich kam der erste ging hin und wich dem zweiten, als die zweite wich der dritten. Wird Pfingstbewegung in Afrika und für diese Angelegenheit Ghana, an einem gewissen Punkt zu stabilisieren und danach fallen? Vielleicht kann ein Bereich für die zukünftige Untersuchung.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

In many societies around the world, especially Africa, knowledge regarding potential threats associated with invisible forces creates situations where people give priority to ways and means of ensuring that their communities enjoy good health, prosperity and goodwill. This is achieved through the promotion of good interpersonal relations between human beings, on the one hand, and between human and the spiritual entities on the other (Twumasi, 1975:39). This is based on the assumption that healthy relationships can only be achieved if there is reciprocal exchange of good gestures between individual human beings, and between human beings and deities or gods. If these regulations and rules are adhered to, the expected outcome is good health, peace and harmony in society (Mohr, 2009). However, any manifestation of social disequilibrium has the potential to bring about misfortunes and other forms of calamities if not properly managed. When situations like this occur, interventions are sought from a variety of spiritual and associated ritual practitioners using a host of interpretative alternatives within the framework of their respective religious institutions. The nature of intervention in a given society determines which, if any, of the alternatives could be used in their attempt to provide a logical explanation for a particular occurrence (Bernard et al., 1985). These views reflect situations in Ghana, where sicknesses are not only seen as pathological changes, but are tied to the supernatural, which is often seen as the causal agent (Twumasi, 1975:39). This presupposes that healing depends on fostering good relationships between the social environment and the spiritual realm. This is a prerequisite for achieving good health according to the local cosmology. This presupposes that the concept of etiology of health and illness is skewed towards behavioural than biological. This further reinforces the assumption that health and illness cannot be separated from the magico-religious fabric that seeks to determine treatment regiments during crisis situations (Twumasi, 1975:39).

In the Ghanaian cosmological structure, disease and misfortunes are conceived to have socio-religious foundations; as a result, the treatment process has to include not only discovering the deep-seated causes but also how to prevent recurrence. Establishing links between diseases, illness and religion enable people to trace the source, often conceived to be evil and demonic personified within the magico-religious realm. In Ghana, as in other parts of Africa,

people do not only believe in witches and wizards, but frequently attribute misfortunes and afflictions to them. It is a widespread belief that cuts across the social and political divide irrespective of a person's position in society. Consequently, most diseases and misfortunes are handled with suspicion and uncertainty, clouded by questions such as: 'Why is this happening to me?', 'Why this time?', and 'Why me?', among others. In answer to these questions, the blame is often placed on the shoulders of alleged witches and wizards (Colson, 2000). It is important to understand that belief in witchcraft dates back centuries. The concept literally means 'the craft of the wise' (Osei, 2003). The accolade 'craft of the wise' was attached to wizards and witches because they were the wise men and women of their respective communities before the arrival of the colonial missionaries. They were and still are very knowledgeable in the art of healing, in legal matters, and spiritual fulfilment. Their roles were multifaceted, qualifying them as religious leaders, doctors, lawyers and psychologists in their respective communities. They were consulted for protection against the threats of invisible forces (Osei, 2003). Commenting on the witchcraft phenomenon in Ghana, Ward E. W.E.F. (1967) intimated that forces that were perceived to have superior powers were consulted on daily basis for purposes of combating occurrences that were allegedly orchestrated by evil forces. The superior forces, he asserted, were:

> *...sought for protection against witchcraft and sorcery, particularly by barren women or those whose children were continually sick or dying, by impotent men, by anyone sick of an apparently incurable disease, by those who had any reason to fear economic failure or failure in examinations, all of which misfortunes, as well as most others are ascribed to the evil intention of others. (cf Assimeng, 2010:170).*

Individual and collective response to threat of witchcraft and sorcery in a traditional African setting are revealed by their veneration of shrines or deities within their respective localities. These deities and shrines provided them the needed social and spiritual security. It is important to understand that shrines or deities are not only to provide a cure, but also to serve as guardian spirits of the people (Mohr, 2009). It is in light of this that traditional Africans' response to situational challenges usually involves invoking countervailing 'positive' spiritual forces as protective measures against the effect of 'negative' spiritual forces, or what could be described as voodoo or black magic (Smith, 2001). As a consequence, before any diagnosis is undertaken, the parties involved must accept this view in its entirety. Accepting any treatment takes into account the plausibility derived from the relationship between the treatment and the affliction. In the event that there is a shift in focus with regard to the alleged causal agent(s), the whole relationship field also changes. In this context, new causal

agents are identified, pointing out that 'this person', not 'that person', is the cause of the misery. An important point is that explanations provided must always be acceptable to all parties – sufferers, supporters and healers (Colson, 2000). In many of these societies, strange events are often interpreted as gods showing their displeasure about certain practices. Some of these allegations may be confirmed when the fetish priest who serve as an intermediary reveals that the gods or guardian spirits have indeed been wronged. The fetish priest or intermediary will then prescribe what ought to be done to appease the gods (Twumasi, 1975:41). Persons in charge of these deities or shrines sometimes double as medicine men or specialists in the treatment of afflictions, sickness and social disruptions (Mohr, 2009). This is consistent with Laurenti Magesa's assertion that:

> *African religion recognises various ways to deal with afflictions and has different religious experts whose task is to discover the reasons for disharmony in the universe. These experts are generally expected not only to know the causes of calamities, but to prescribe antidotes or cures for these problems. Their responsibility is to advise on measures to be taken to restore the force of life. (cf Omenyo, 2011)*

These experts are exceptional people in their areas of operation and have the capabilities to mediate between the seen and unseen worlds, and to uncover the alleged agents responsible for the afflictions. In situations like this, traditional medicine is not only a consumable or applied object, but is also tied to the spiritual agents. It is this spiritual component that makes traditional medicine and traditional religion inseparable. It is also on this basis that traditional African medicine is conceived of as a socio-economic and socio-cultural heritage, providing a wide range of services to a great number of people.

In spite of the knowledge and wisdom exhibited by the traditional medical practitioners, their mode of operations and healing systems were frowned upon by the colonial missionaries who 'invaded' the Gold Coast (Ghana) as part of their quest to evangelise. Part of their evangelisation drive was to stifle the veneration of idols by the local people. In this regard they were successful and were able to separate quite a number of people both physically and spiritually from indulging in these practices (Mohr, 2009). To sustain the separation, living quarters called Salems, modelled on the ancient town of Jerusalem, were put up to accommodate the converts. This was a strategy to sustain the physical separation of the converts from the non-converts. Spiritual separation was marked by baptism (Sackey, 2006). Other measures included attempts to suppress witchcraft accusations and all associated protective devices such as charms and idols. Unfortunately, these attempts were rarely

successful in view of the fact that the colonial missionaries failed to appreciate the metaphysical background of the local people (Assimeng, 2010:171). Instead of instituting measures that could deal with the perceived problems that confronted local people, the missionaries rather resorted to the use of force, challenging the beliefs with animosity, labelling them as primitive and witchdoctors (Elujoba et al., 2005). The missionary's impression of the traditional practitioner was evil and demonic. Considering that the main pre-occupation of the missionaries was centred on the saving of souls, many of the converts felt the churches were not interested in addressing their genuine spiritual and social problems (Anderson, 2001:36). This impression, coupled with the fact that some of the colonial authorities had developed reservations about the way the missionaries were handling the colonial situation stifled their efforts. Correspondence that appears to have worked to the advantage of the belief in magic and witchcraft was written by Mr. K. Kewar, an Assistant District Officer who was stationed at Katsina in Nigeria. He remarked that:

> *This chief raison d'etre for the belief in witchcraft is that it offers an explanation for the fact that misfortunes may befall a society or individual whose conscience is clear as far as the supernatural world of gods, spirits and ancestors is concerned. As such it serves the following purpose; (i) it reduces the fear of the unknown to the far less sinister fear of the known and explicable. As a result in the place of inaction in the face of disaster, the psychological effect of which are notorious, it gives an opportunity not only for action, but for a type of action which has an especial appeal to the primitive mind. (ii) It gives the priest an opportunity to place on other shoulders the blame for the apparent failure of his prayer and ritual (cf Assimeng, 2010:173).*

Though some of the elites saw the practice as a feature of primitiveness, people like Kewar had contrary views. He was concerned about the implications of the actions of the missionaries, and the role witchcraft played in both reducing tension in society and giving hope to the people. Based on this conviction, he sent a word of caution to his colleagues stating that:

> *Interference with tribal methods of witch – finding and witch – punishing may be expected to produce certain undesirable effects; and unless these effects themselves can be adequately countered, such interference may well afford an example of the remedy being worse than the disease (cf Assimeng, 2010:173).*

What is important is that, in spite of the efforts of the missionaries to discourage the local people from engaging in traditional healing and witchcraft related activities, many people did not relent in their effort to consult these practitioners when they felt it was necessary.

The core of witchcraft belief in indigenous societies is to acquire extraordinary powers that enable them to withstand people with evil intentions and destruction. In other cases, it is aimed at preventing a phenomenon from falling into the hands of evil and destructive individuals. Witchcraft serves a useful purpose in providing explanations to complex and difficult events within the local context. It is in this context that the desire for services of witches and wizards becomes very high. Max Assimeng (2010:181) has indicated that people who wanted the services of these 'witchdoctors' had to send messages to them in advance, in either verbal or written form, depending on the literacy level of the 'witchdoctor'. Even those who could not read and write had secretaries who were there to assist. Assimeng asserts that these messages were meant to pre-inform the practitioners about their impending visitors and the assistance they would be seeking. Below is an excerpt of a letters that was written to a particular witchdoctor. A male student by the name of X wrote:

> *I will let you know when we shall be doing all those examinations and the filling of our station forms. I hope and know that by your guidance, everything will be done coolly….. I would also like you to help me in my studies because we, the 4 years students are competing with the post – secondary students, therefore I need your help greatly ……. During the next vacation, I will like to come and discuss some matters with you about my studies, but before then, I would like to hint you about it. It is this. When I am studying I find it difficult to concentrate on what I am doing. This is something which worries me greatly. I would therefore be very happy if you can help me to overcome this trouble….. It is very essential (cf Assimeng, 2010:181).*

As indicated, witchdoctors provide security to the vulnerable including those allegedly suffering from strange afflictions. It is important to note that with the increasing level of formal education and acculturation, the demand for witchdoctors and medicine men seem to be dwindling due in part to acculturation to what may be considered modernity. According to Patrick Twumasi (1975:129), the advent of formal education in Ghana has led to a conflict between old, traditional ideas and the new, modern ideas. Indeed, the inception of modernity has made the search for a belief in witchcraft a rather difficult task. This is in view of the fact that some educated elite's associate a belief in witchcraft with primitiveness, cultural backwardness, and psychological infantilism. With this viewpoint in mind, it is evident that only few people would respond openly and honestly to questions of whether they belief in witchcraft or not (Assimeng, 2010:169). However, it is very easy to understand people's attitude towards witchcraft through observable manifestations of the belief in specific and concrete crisis situations. When people find themselves in crisis situations, inquiry ought to

stress not only on belief or disbelief, but also the attitudinal and behavioural patterns they adopt in dealing with these types of problems.

Also important is that, the development of Christian, Islamic and conventional systems of healing have created a pluralistic healing system in Ghana as is found in other parts of Africa. This gives people a choice of healers when challenged with sicknesses and inexplicable misfortunes. Conventional medical practitioners are the accredited official healthcare providers in Ghana just like in other parts of the world. However, as Stacey Langwick (2008) has argued; conventional medicine's inadequacies and inability to deal with numerous afflictions in parts of Africa shapes conditions under which people seek interventions. One other consideration is the fact that in every society, people are guided by their worldview in the determination of which healing alternative can best address a given problem. Before a healer is chosen, his or her practice must be known to be consistent with the belief and expectations of the parties concerned. This often involves shopping around to find healers that are able to provide answers to most of the mind-boggling questions. In some conventional health care facilities, patients and their kin often negotiate with health officials, especially nurses, who, though they may have a different worldview and training in disease etiology, sometimes act consciously, using past experience and the belief that for some type of sicknesses, the use of traditional healers outside conventional practice may be more effective than conventional practice (Langwich, 2008). These decisions are often arrived at when they are filled with uncertainty with regard to which therapy best serves as an alternative. This sometimes leads to simultaneous use of all available alternatives that lie outside the conventional medical practice, even when the patients are still on admission at a hospital. This is what often leads to calls for additional explanation and interventions in order to avert the undesirable events.

It is worth noting that apart from the perceived spirituality, the current phenomenon of globalisation, with its baggage of rapid socio-economic change have impacted negatively on many local communities, exposing people to new worldviews with strange values, tearing the youth away from their cultural bonds. Modernity has made many people strangers to their own bodies. Interestingly, some find themselves in spiritually confused societies. This, coupled with the economically marginalised society they find themselves in, heightens their quest and expectations for material things. As a result, they feel a religion that has been placed to provide explanation to events should be able to provide them with answers and solutions to economic and social misery (Sackey, 2002). This is against the conviction that

economic disparities in Africa are linked to and explained in terms of the supernatural, including witchcraft and black magic. It is on the basis of this that the growing influence of emerging religious institutions such as Pentecostal movements is associated with a pervasive fear of witches. This phenomenon has become more powerful and less inhibited by the actions of human beings (Colson, 2000). Pentecostals construction of evil as associate of all forms of occult practices, and the conviction that the battle of good and evil in the human world is a battle between God and the devil (Smith, 2001) finds expression in their activities.

Adherents of the emerging Pentecostal faith believe that even though certain misfortunes may have natural causes, every event has a spiritual dimension and almost invariably witches, wizards and their allies - the devil, demons and Satan - are allegedly behind all the afflictions and misfortunes society is saddled with. Pentecostal pastors (divine-actors) also allude to the fact that there are limits to what conventional health care practitioners can do in terms of treatment of afflictions. This conviction is premised on the belief that certain afflictions are exclusively for God to cure, and people challenged with such afflictions can seek salvation from God, for their social, economic or spiritual challenges, caused by globalisation or modernity (Dilger, 2007). This assertion corroborates Paul Wong's claim that though there may be many drugs in conventional health care facilities to combat and reduce many afflictions, the same drugs cannot control the daily anxieties of alienation, loneliness, rejection, and fear of death (Wong, 2004). Nahashon Ndung'u contends that persons who are entangled in this state of confusion often try to find explanations and answers to the social and spiritual challenges they face. In the face of these uncertainties, these new religious movements emerged with promises to provide people salvation to enable them escape the daily agonising situations (Ndung'u, 2009).

An interesting development in relation to this phenomenon is that, when people become convinced that religion has great influence on their health and well-being, they engage in behaviours that have the capacity to relieve them of the daily miseries. Some of these behaviours are often religious in outlook and are often aimed at securing protection against unexpected complications in the near future (Frenk et al., 2010). The desire to choose one system of religion over another is dependent upon the level of belief and the credibility of the particular religious product on demand. In relation to Pentecostal divine-actors, what usually happen is that they engage adherents in prayers to avert physical, mental or social afflictions. The term divine-actor refers to pastors, prophets, evangelist and Christian healers. It is the conviction of divine-actors that it is God that heals and not man. As a result, whatever they

do, it is directed by God. The experience of afflictions and suffering of all grades are the primary incentives that drive potential adherents into the Pentecostal divine-industries (Dilger, 2007). Divine industries as used here refer to all churches in the Christian fraternity. The positive results of what they do boost their confidence as divine-actors and how they use the Holy Spirit to impact the lives of adherents. Some of them alleged that they often ask adherents on conventional medication prior to healing to stop the medication the moment they testify that they have been healed.

The activities of these divine industries have led to a noticeable surge in their existence throughout Ghana. This quantitative increase is consistent with an increase in the number of adherents. Faith seekers are mostly seen moving from one Pentecostal divine industry to another in search of solutions to their physical and social problems (Sackey, 2002). In Accra and Tema alone about 492 of these divine industries exists (Assimeng, 2010:245). Unofficial estimates put the number at over 7000 nationwide. Moving through some of these divine industries during healing sessions reveals the wide range of people who go to the divine-actors for healing. Adherents cut across gender, education, age and class divides, all yearning for the resolution of one problem or another. It is therefore not surprising to notice that divine industries that were urban based have spread to rural and peri-urban settlements in Ghana (Sackey, 2002; Meyer, 2004a). For one to become an adherent, one has to break with their traditional past by distancing themselves from the traditional and cultural practices, including their extended family in their respective villages. It is alleged that extended family poses a threat to the progress of the converts. Traditional healers are also vilified and demonized for allegedly worshiping Satan. Arguably, the divine industries owe much of their appeal to their ability to tie their gospel into the worldview and popular understanding of the people, and take seriously, anxieties about the evil machinations of demons and witches, which are presented as vassals of Satan (Meyer, 2003, 2004a).

1.1 Traditional medical practice in context

The World Health Organisation (WHO) has defined traditional African medicine as 'the sum total of knowledge or practices whether explicable or inexplicable, used in diagnosing, preventing or eliminating a physical, mental or social diseases which may rely exclusively on past experience or observations handed down from generation to generation, verbally or in writing' (WHO, 1978a). From this definition, the sense one gets is that any treatment outside conventional health care in an African context is considered traditional medicine. The WHO

went further to define traditional healers or traditional medical practitioners as people who are recognised by the communities, in which they live as competent to provide health care by using vegetables, animals and mineral substances along with certain other methods (WHO, 1978b). Other methods, as used in this definition, may include all other sacred symbols used by other healers including faith healers. Takawira Kazembe (2007) has argued that traditional medical practices and the underlying beliefs are repositories of empirical observation and insight accumulated over a long period of practical experience. The wealth of knowledge accumulated is often gleaned, articulated, and reinterpreted further, brought in line with social expectations by newer experiences and knowledge and in accordance with the more sophisticated and analytical methods and technologies. Currently in Ghana, four groups of traditional healers are identifiable: Traditional Birth Attendants (TBA) who focus attention on pregnancy related problems; faith healers who mostly belong to Pentecostal divine industries and who use the Bible and sacred symbols (Holy water) as their source of power; Diviners (spiritualist) who employ the methods of possession, divination and other ritual means to diagnose illnesses; and herbalists whose approach to healing involves the application of herbs (Twumasi, 1975:27). For the purpose of this study, the term traditional medicine will be designated for both diviners and herbalist collectively whereas faith healers (divine-actors) will denotes all church-based healing.

1.1.1 Becoming a traditional healer

In indigenous Ghanaian settings, one does not choose to be a spirit medium in traditional medical practice. It is alleged that the spirits make their own choice with regard to whom they want to become a spirit medium and the person chosen cannot object (Kazembe, 2007). It is important to understand that they become a traditional healer because they have experienced possession by some spirit influence. As soon as a person experiences spirit possession, the relatives may call in a qualified traditional healer to interpret the episode. According to Twumasi (1975:31) the qualified traditional healer may say that it is the spirit of a particular god in the lineage who wishes the possessed person to enter into the practice. In view of the allegation that these calls by spirits to enter the practice of healing cannot be refused, the family ponders over it and makes preparations for the commencement of the training. The person then spends years of apprenticeship under a renowned and experienced spirit medium – usually an established healer who mediates between the spirits and the living until such a time that the apprentice can practice and also train others. As a novice, they enter the 'training school', an informal but organised setting, to get the qualification as a traditional

healer-spiritualist. The individual then enters the service of a fully-fledged practitioner of the said god; whose spirit he has been told has manifested in him. Throughout the 'training', the 'school' provides them with their professional knowledge, skills and identity, so that at the end of the training, they can think, act and feel like a traditional medical practitioner.

During the training, the trainee has to observe many taboos. The person is usually not supposed to break the vow of celibacy, but if they do, they must make a sacrifice to the god at the shrine, and begin their training all over again (Twumasi, 1975:31). They must observe the taboos of their own god. According to Twumasi, the trainee is often admonished not to drink alcoholic beverages, not to gossip, not to quarrel or fight, to salute his elders, never to adjure their god to kill anyone, never to attend the chief of the village or any chief's court on his own accord, and not to go out at night to join the other young men or women. The training ideally lasts for three years and within this period the trainee is under strict observation. The first year of training is for orientation and during this period the trainee is not told anything of significance. It is a period during which both trainee and trainer get to know each other well. The second year of training is used to learn the names of trees, plants, and ferns and the spiritual properties of each. They learn the therapeutic techniques including instructions on properties each plant contains and where they are located growing in the wild. In the third, or what is supposed to be the final year, the trainee is taught the art of water-gazing and techniques of divination. They are taught how to 'impregnate' charms or make charms potent with various spirits, how to understand and interpret the voices they hear. At the end of this training, they enter into the status of a fully trained traditional medical practitioner (Kazembe, 2007; Twumasi, 1975:31).

1.1.2 Becoming a Pentecostal healer

Healers in the Pentecostal divine industries include Pastors, prophets and evangelist (divine-actors). Divine-actors contend that working as men of God is a response to divine directive from God to fulfil certain missions (Lauterbach, 2008). It is alleged that these missions cannot be refused, and any attempt to refuse God's directive - places the person in an uncomfortable situation. It is believed that divine-actors receive divine directives in two forms; a direct directive where visions come to the recipients in the form of dreams, and the other, an indirect where the vision passes through a knowledgeable third party spiritualist. Each call comes with a specific task - pastor, teach, prophesise, evangelise, or act as an apostle. These five different tasks that are usually bestowed upon divine-actors are described

as the 'five-fold ministry' (Lauterbach, 2008), and points to the multitude of ways Pentecostal divine-actor work. To become a divine-actor in the Pentecostal divine industries, it is expected that the chosen person has gone through both theoretical and practical training in the 'word of God'. Two routes are opened to prospective divine-actors in the Pentecostal divine industries in Ghana involving formal and informal training.

The formal mode of training involves biblical knowledge acquired through formal classroom instruction in an established Bible training school or college. Formal training is a major step towards becoming a divine-actor, though it is not a requirement for some divine industries. Training schools are sites where potential divine-actors begin pursuing their careers (Lauterbach, 2008). The training equips them with a sense of attachment and belonging to their school and creates a platform for them to continue participating in workshops, seminars, and other activities in the school even after their graduation. Just like the traditional medical practitioners, the training they receive often reflects the ideologies and standards of the divine industries they are affiliated with. As a way of preserving ideologies, some Pentecostal divine industries have established training schools to train their own divine-actors. Attaching a training school to divine industry gives divine-actors additional status among their peers and society at large.

The training schools admit two streams of students, those with basic qualification in literacy and those without practical literacy. Those enrolled with basic literacy spend two years in pastoral courses whilst persons without literacy spend three years, with the first year devoted to acquiring literacy skills, for those who arrive without them. The majority of the trainees are sponsored by their affiliated divine industries while others receive sponsorship from their families. After the training, some go back to their sponsoring institutions to work under senior divine-actors. Self-sponsored divine-actors have the choice of establishing their own divine industries or attaching themselves to established divine industries for more experience.

The second mode of training is informal, and is associated with people with university degrees and other related higher qualifications. By virtue of the fact that they have higher qualifications, they acquired their training by working under senior and experienced divine-actors as apprentices. They observe how experienced divine-actors conduct themselves and interpret verses in the Bible. Many of them write notes as the senior divine-actors preach, in addition to reading texts written by renowned divine-actors for additional insight. Among the numerous books cited by some of the divine-actors as source of inspiration, include among

others, books written by Mensah Otabel, Easthood Anaba, Duncan Williams and Dag Heward Mills all of whom are divine-actors of high social and spiritual repute in Ghana. These personalities only serve as mentors as many divine-actors were emphatic that their spiritual powers are divine gifts from God and not their mentors, though they admitted that their success as divine-actors could be traced to the mentorship they received, adding that individuals have to be creative in coming up with their own skills. Becoming a successful divine-actor in society involves a great deal of apprenticeship and entrepreneurship as well as networks.

1.2 Problem statement

The current activities of Pentecostal movements in Ghana are nothing but complex in outlook and dominant in social visibility. The movements' visibility and complexity is borne out of the fact that it continue to change with rapidity. The rate at which it grows, multiplies and innovates is staggering. Its presence in different parts of the country also contributes to the current changes in the religious landscape including belief systems. This is especially so with regard to how Pentecostalism appeals to the youth and the poor, and even people in middle income brackets. A cursory look at the operations of the Pentecostal divine industries in the country shows that their activities revolve around individuals as founders, and whose ideologies and visions determine how these divine industries are run.

What they provide, apart from the gospel, is healing services to people who allegedly suffer from physical, spiritual and emotional afflictions. In the opinion of divine-actors, invisible forces cause the afflictions and related misfortunes that people suffer. It is important to note that combating afflictions purported to emanate from these forces was previously under the purview of local traditional healers. These healers occasionally employed the services of their deities and other powerful spirits to cure people of their afflictions. It is however interesting to indicate that there has been a gradual shift in focus from the local healers to Pentecostal divine-actors, though all of them tackle similar afflictions. One of the core messages of Pentecostals to afflicted persons is often an admonition to break bonds with ancestors and deities. Not only are they to break from traditional and cultural practices, but also cut links they have with their extended family members that many rely heavily upon for healing and other services. In the Pentecostal view, the ties that people have with ancestral forces including extended family members is the cause of the numerous social, economic and physical afflictions they suffer. The alleged invisible forces in the Pentecostal view serve as a

catalyst for the very afflictions they struggle to combat. Another area of interest is the antagonistic attitude of the Pentecostals towards traditional healers whose ideas they are gradually usurping. In addition to the vilification of practitioners of traditional religions, Pentecostals are also sceptical about Islam and orthodox Christian faith. They describe Islam as occult, and the mainstream orthodox divine industries as colonial and backward in thought. According to Pentecostals, the orthodox divine industries have failed to adapt their doctrine to fit the changing social needs. Adherents of Pentecostal divine industries are advised not to use traditional healers, even at the verge of death since the divine industry itself is conceived of as a site of healing.

Though Pentecostals openly admonish adherents to distance themselves from traditional healers, the ideas that propel the movement are carved from the same local beliefs and ideas that revolve around the reality of evil spirits, demons and witches. While some divine-actors might advise adherents and others seeking cures to seek care at orthodox facilities and only resort to divine healing when it is established that the affliction is purely spiritual, other Pentecostals stressed the need for all afflictions to be brought to them for cure, with the conviction that God never fail in His bid to provide cure. This raises concern among some members of the public with regard to what the actual positions of these movements are and whether they practice what they preach. Consequently, there is a growing suspicion among the public that some divine-actors allegedly draw their powers from the very demons and evil spirits they preach against. It is important to indicate that this practice has the tendency of alienating Pentecostal adherents from their kinship relations as divine-actors continuously admonish adherents to break with past practices including their extended family relations and traditional values. This has the potential of not only disrupting their cultural identity as a people but also encouraging individualistic tendencies.

It is expected that this exploration would reveal the complexities that surround the Pentecostal explosion and healing, and the process through which they negotiate with other actors including religious leaders for their status as divine-actors. Establishing networks with other organisations and institutions including the role each one plays in enhancing their activities in Ghana in terms of influence, finance, power, and healing. In light of this development, this study seeks to focus on the shaping of Pentecostal healing in Ghana as an interaction between Christian values and indigenous systems of knowledge for dealing with affliction, highlighting the mediating agents in this process in both occult and non-occult

domains, and how Pentecostal divine industries grow and entrench their positions using faith healing as a vehicle.

1.3 The objectives of the study

1. *Explore the recent explosion* of the Pentecostal movement in Ghana taking into account how they strive for power and recognition using healing as a tool. In doing so, this study will delve into *what it takes to become a prophet* or a Pentecostal divine-actor. It also tries to uncover the *dynamics in the social, political and economic* spheres as well as how it influences the operation of these churches in Ghana.

2. *Investigate why healing is at the core of almost all Pentecostal churches* in Ghana, and the circumstances under which the demonization of indigenous healers resonates so strongly among the poor and the middle class who profess Pentecostalism. It will also explore *why the local and traditional healers are losing their legitimacy* and perceived efficaciousness in treating the same illness causing spiritual and occult threats that Pentecostal divine-actors address.

3. *Explore the circumstances under which adherents and the public alike believe in faith healing* as a whole and Pentecostal faith healing in particular. It will explore the *modes of delivery of faith healing* and how it allegedly protects members against the evil machination of invisible forces. This will include *how they provide meaning* to the unexplainable events and misfortunes. *How the reality of the power of evil and the making of the witch as an ally of Satan are dealt with* in terms of resolution of tensions surrounding sicknesses.

1.4 Justification for the study

The rising prominence of Pentecostal divine industries in Ghana as a whole, and in the northern region in particular is a recent phenomenon. This is especially so with regard to the level of acceptance of the movement by the ordinary people. The Pentecostal presence in the northern region creates a window of opportunity for researchers, especially sociologists and anthropologists to explore the underlying factors that account for this phenomenon. This will reveal the level of knowledge dissemination and activities of the divine industries that only seem to make sense to insiders. The outcome would unearth the dynamics involved in the activities of these divine industries for the benefit of people with both emic and etic views. The zeal with which Pentecostal divine industries demonise the use of traditional and

indigenous medicine, as a strategy to protect, project or entrench - their activities and ideologies has been explored for the benefit of readers.

This study also serves as a spring-board for future research for those who may want to attempt similar lines of study to explore the practices and recent explosion in the activities of Pentecostal churches. How the activities of the movements promote or retard development in the study area in particular, and the country as a whole has been explored. It is also important to add that this research serves as a supplement to the existing literature in health seeking behaviour of Ghanaians, and eventually contributing in a significant way to the body of scholarship. It further serves as a guide for policy makers and stake holders in health and religion for the formulation of appropriate programs for national development in line with the religious beliefs and practices of the country's population. One cannot also under estimate the position of this study as a base line study in the northern region, as it is important for case studies to be commissioned to focus on specific localities in order to provide a broader view for effective and specific program implementation.

1.5 Background information on the study area

The field work for this study was conducted in Ghana, a country located in sub-Saharan Africa. Ghana is a relatively small country located in the centre of the West African coast and shares borders with Côte d'Ivoire to the west, Togo to the east, and Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) to the north (see Figure 1.1). The country covers approximately 238,533 square kilometres, about the size of Britain with an estimated population of 24.6 million people (GSS, 2012). The population is comprised of over 50 ethnic groups dotted around the country each with its own unique language and culture. However, English is the country's official spoken language. Out of the above mentioned population, Christians in Ghana constitute about 71.2% of the population; 17.6% are Muslims, whilst the remaining 11.2% is made up of people who adhere to indigenous traditional religion (African Traditional Religion) or who claim no affiliation with any religion. Of the Christian population, Pentecostal constitutes 28.3%, Protestants 18.4%, Catholics 13.1%, and other denominations 11.4% (GSS, 2012). It is based on these figures that many people portray Ghana as a religious country with Christianity having taken a dominant position in the country.

The study was conducted in the Northern Region's city of Tamale, the administrative capital of the northern region of Ghana. Tamale, the capital of the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly in the Northern Region is located at the centre of the Region and shares common boundaries

with Savelugu/Nanton District to the north, Tolon/Kumbungu District to the west, and Central Gonja District to the south west, East Gonja District to the south and Yendi Municipality to the east. Tamale Metropolis occupies approximately 750 square kilometres, about 13 per cent of the total area of the entire Northern Region. Tamale became a District in 1988, was elevated into a Municipality in 1994, and finally to the status of a Metropolis in 2004. Figure 1.1 below shows the administrative regions of Ghana, the administrative districts that constitutes the Northern Region and the Tamale Metropolis.

Administrative regions of Ghana   **Administrative dist. of northern region**
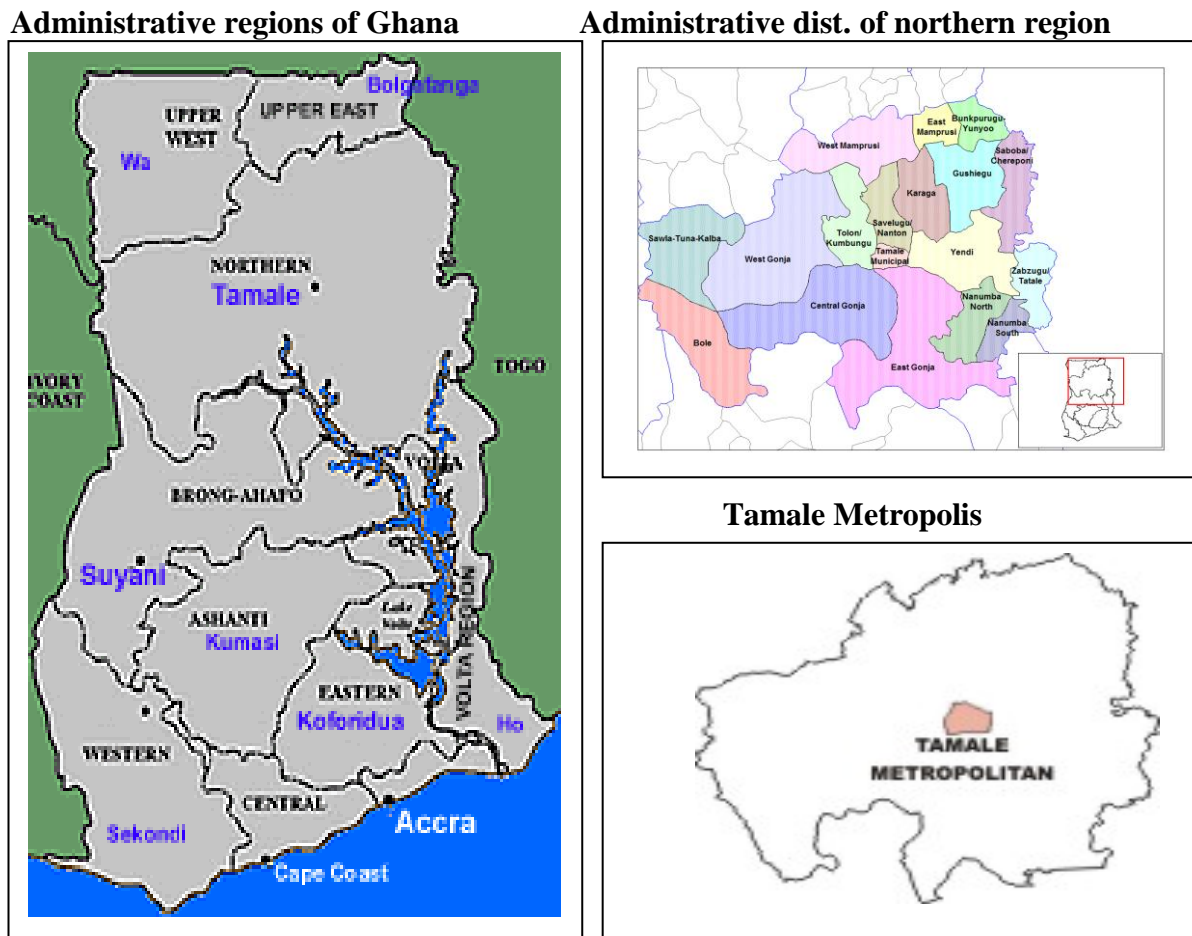
Tamale Metropolis

Figure 1.1, Maps of Ghana, Northern Region, and Tamale Metropolis

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012), Tamale Metropolis has a population of 371,351, and is believed to be the fastest growing city in West Africa with a higher population growth rate. The growth rate is attributed to migration of people from villages and towns to the city to do business or search for work.

Dagombas, the indigenous ethnic group in the town, constitutes about 80% of the total population in the Metropolis. Apart from the Metropolitan centre where there is broad ethnic

diversity, almost all people in the surrounding villages and towns are Dagombas. Before the advent of both Christianity and Islam, Dagombas were mostly traditionalists with powerful shrines and deities. Their culture was, and still is, deeply enshrined in their customs and beliefs. The result of this is manifested in the numerous traditional festivals still practised by the indigenes to showcase their cultural identity. These practices are not so pronounced in the Metropolis due to the ethnic diversity and the influence of both Islam and Christianity. On the religious front, the population of the Metropolis is mostly Muslims. This is because the region was first exposed to Arab traders from North Africa. Christianity arrived later from the south and was mostly practised by non-Dagomba ethnic groups. Festivals are not often celebrated in the Metropolis compared to the villages. One of the most important festivals in the area is the fire festival celebrated to commemorate the occasion the time one of the beloved sons of a powerful chief of the ethnic group went missing and the chief ordered his subjects to search for the boy. History has it that torches were consequently lit in the night and the child was found. This marks the beginning of the fire festival as practised today. Another festival that is much cherished by the Dagomba is the Damba festival. This is celebrated to commemorate the birthday of the holy Prophet of Islam, Mohammed.

1.6 Theoretical considerations

To effectively address issues in this thesis to their logical end, the rational choice theory of religion (Stark, 1997) with an emphasis on religious economy, as well as the phenomenological images of religion (Young, 1997) are used as the theoretical foundation to guide this study.

1.6.1 Rational Choice Theory

The usefulness of the rational choice theory of religion for this study is borne out of its suitability in the analysis of the behaviour of religious adherents in religious institutions. Proponents of the theory believed that human beings exhibit different behaviours at different times. These behaviours are accordingly guided by conscious decision-making in terms of cost and benefits with regard to different alternative course of actions. The rational choice theory was applied to the study of religious behaviour by Rodney Stark and his contemporaries. According to Rodney Stark, religious behaviours are rational responses of adherents to their spiritual and social needs (Stark, 1997).

It is an undisputable fact that religion plays a crucial role in the lives of many people, especially persons who see themselves as adherents to one form of religious institution or another. The collective and individual choice with regard to which religious denomination to profess is informed by individual belief and ideology, which determines the choice the individuals make. Choices are made with the conviction that the chosen religion has what it takes to provide them with answers to their daily questions and explanations to events. Rodney Stark (1997) has indicated that human desires are numerous, and in view of the limited resources at their disposal to meet these needs, men and women act rationally in their attempt to fulfil their numerous needs with the limited resources available. The actions people take, according to the theory, are rational in so far as it is aimed at ensuring that the costs they incur in meeting these needs are as low as possible. In keeping faith and maintaining hope in the face of these limited resources, religious institutions have positioned themselves to provide adherents with their desires (Stark, 1997). In fulfilling these desires, the focus is both on the supply side of the religious products in terms of structure of the religious organisations, and on the demand side in terms of the preference of clients of the religious organisation (Lyer & Tirthankar, 2012). In keeping with the economic theory of supply and demand, the concept of religious goods and religious markets can best shed light into how adherents consume religious goods and how these goods are provided by these religions.

1.6.1.1 Religious goods

According to Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge (1985 cf Stolz, 2006) religious goods are defined as supernatural, general and non-verifiable compensators. Compensators denote the belief that the rewards adherents seek are not easily obtainable in the distant future or in a context that cannot be immediately verified (cf Stolz, 2006). Rewards denote things human beings would incur a cost to obtain. Compensators in the lexicon of the rational choice theory of religion are promises that are not necessarily religious in nature but serve as substitutes for the desires that human beings aspire to achieve. The various religious institutions provide explanations and guidelines on how the desires and expectations of adherents could be obtained. An important desire of adherents in the divine industries is the desire to be rid of afflictions and misfortunes. This constitutes their expected desire which has to be 'here and now' or what may be described as worldly desires. There are other desires that take the form of seeking God's favour in the hereafter (Stark, 1997). In view of the uncertainty in knowing when these needs would be met, people often settle for substitutes that provide meaning and explanations to everyday anxieties. To this end, individuals are rational consumers of the

explanations provided and decide whether or not to believe, and what to believe based on the cost implications (Lyer & Tirthankar, 2012). What adherents expect is usually very difficult if not impossible to ascertain in advance. For instance, it is not practicable to have advance knowledge regarding when a miracle or a divine healing is going to take place. As a result of these uncertainties, compensators are treated as if they are real rewards. This thus presupposes that because the ultimate desire of adherents is reward, they exchange compensators for rewards (Stark, 1997).

It is important to understand that these compensators may be secular or based on supernatural assumptions (Stolz, 2006). Supernatural compensators are specific and could be falsified, in which case they are described as 'magic'. They may also be general and non-falsifiable, in which case they are described as 'religion'. The experience of miracles in relation to the healing of afflictions, people securing well-paid jobs or loans, defeating opponents in competition or winning back their loved ones are all experiences that fall under magic. They are magical because they come miraculously, and it is based on these desires that adherents accept the compensators. However, getting explanations for the meaning of human existence, the hereafter, and what one has to do to enter heaven, all fall under the category of religion. In Stark's (1997) view, fasting, praying, or offering sacrifices to the gods or ancestors all constitute compensators for rewards. Adherents undergo fasting and prayer to improve their social and psychological wellbeing, good health and prosperity. It is important to indicate that rewards denote what adherents want and compensators represents what they have to do to get what is wanted. In many cases, moral codes are encouraged for people who want to enter paradise. Because compensators are conditions for rewards, Stark argues that regardless of the social status of individuals or groups in society, religious compensators are accepted for rewards that do not exist in the human world (Stark, 1997). Irrespective of what they do, all adherents have the desire to enter heaven. According to the theory, one has to enter into an exchange relationship with either divine industries or traditional religions and follow the instructions on how to achieve these rewards (Stark, 1997).

It is important to add that the theory provides general religious compensators that are supported by supernatural explanations. Supernatural compensators are explanations provided in place of actual rewards or secular goods (Stolz, 2006). These compensators take the form of friendship, social ties, or social identities produced by belonging to religious organisations. It is reasonable to state that actions adherents undertake are often aimed at obtaining rewards. Consequently, what adherents want in their religious pursuit is genuine

explanations of the meaning of real life situations, and how to overcome affliction and death. Irrespective of where one is located in the universe, everyone needs explanation for difficult and complex daily challenges in life. Most often those explanations are embedded in religion and what are actually provided by religious institutions are compensators in the form of religious goods, to explain the social and spiritual predicaments.

Individuals, groups and institutions in their pursuit of solutions to their numerous problems in the face of competing needs and limited resources resort to cheaper and simpler ways of achieving them. As rational actors, they try to avoid alternatives that are very cumbersome and costly to achieve. It is also worth emphasising that as society grows from simple towns and villages to cosmopolitan cities (Stark, 1997), behaviours and lifestyles becomes complex and diverse, and the tendency for adherents to enter into relationship with deities they think are powerful enough to provide them their needs is high. Under these circumstances, adherents try to avoid gods that are less powerful and show a preference for the most powerful. In the worldview of many Africans, both good and bad gods exist and people enter into relationships with either of them for the achievement of their desires - good or evil. What this suggests is that as older traditions lose credibility in terms of generating credible compensators in the ever-changing society, new forms of religions with culturally innovative beliefs, ideology and practices emerges, providing the basis for new religious traditions.

It is important to indicate that most of the services provided by religious institutions are experiential. Experience leads to imagery in the imperfect attempt to communicate and preserve the experience in testimonies or stories (Young, 1997). The phenomenological images of religion provide explanation for religious experience and rational choice. According to this model, the effect of adherents keeping to or failing to keep to the rules, regulations and ethics of religious institutions is dependent upon their experiences in the consumption of religious goods (Young, 1997). The theory assumes that religious experience is an event that cannot be empirically verified. However, religious experience can be known by human actions as absolutely real. What is important here is that one cannot appreciate religious experience prior to its consumption. This is explained by the fact that religious experience is unique and individualistic in character (Young, 1997). This corroborates an assertion made by a participant in Brigid Sackey's study when she stated that:

> *My experiences are unique to me - they indeed are mine, and communicating them is not the same as experiencing them. It is sometimes said that non-religious people*

cannot possibly understand religious events because they do not share religious experience. While it is true that the agreement we reach, the recognition that occur when we hear other people's reports of experience, all point to a common existence of perception memory, there is no guarantee that anyone will experience the same thing as anyone else. (cf Sackey, 2006:75).

Before anyone can appreciate the value of religion, one has to first and foremost have an experience of it. By religious experience, emphasis is placed on 'the most intense experience which a human being is capable of' (cf Sackey, 2006:76). Religious experience symbolises a manifestation of spiritual authority as well as a decisive factor in all mystical experiences. Experiencing religion is a thing-in-itself and equips adherents with spiritual capital. In view of this, it clarifies the religious experience's status as a reward or benefit that can induce willingness to bear significant cost. According to Laurence R. Iannaccone (1997), religious experience enhances the real or perceived value of religious activities, increasing the rate of individual participation. According to Lawrence A. Young (1997), the consumption of any religious experience brings with it religious capital, which comes in the form of non-rational knowledge of experience. Religious capital denotes an accumulated stock of religious knowledge, skills and sensitivities (Iannaccone, 1997). It is an abstraction that encompasses religious rituals, doctrinal knowledge and faith. The acquisition of this knowledge leads to a continued pursuit of the experience, making its consumption rational. Rationality here is borne out of adherent's prior experience, which influences their continued consumption of the religious product. Before adherents have prior knowledge of the consumption of any religious commodity, the determination of its worth is not possible; consequently, people would often invest their time and energy, including their emotions, in the uncertain pursuit. What must be understood here is that pursuing what is not certain makes it a risky commodity (Young, 1997). As Iannaccone has argued, risk arises whenever the attributes of a commodity cannot be fully determined prior to its purchase (Iannaccone, 1997). In this case, it is only after a religious experience that adherents can testify during crusades about how it feels to consume religious goods. The idea of testimonies is necessary conditions for adherents to pursue faith healing services prior to the first experience of its consumption. There is no doubt that values people place on the consumption of religious commodities may increase following an adherent's testimonies and subsequent recommendations to friends and family relations. In the same way, in the event that there are constraints attached to these behaviour in the form of punishments, adherents desire to consume the commodity may fall. A great

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deal of importance and value may be attached to religious experience in such a way that some adherents may depend upon these commodities for symbols and rituals to facilitate the religious experience. Young (1997) has maintained that as long as the supply of religious commodity remain stable, its demand is likely to remain constant as well.

What the theory seeks to suggest is that if religious experience is conceptualised as a benefit, religious attachment may be higher among adherents reporting positive religious experiences. The favourable experiences adherents report may entice others into increasing their faith in a manner that they will continue to receive favourable results from the religious institutions. The theory posits that as much as experience continues to appear as a risky commodity prior to its consumption, the value adherents place on its consumption will increase after self-reporting of initial consumption. In the same vein, adherents who depend on the experience to legitimize the risky commodities - will have a higher rate of self-reporting of religious experience. Young (1997) did not lose sight of the fact that religious experience is a deeply personal affair that is self-legitimating. As a result, the experience is associated with multiple possible interpretations. Religious institutions that encourage the pursuit of religious experience will try to exercise greater control over religious symbols and stories and have a tendency to experience a higher rate of sect formation.

Iannaccone (1997) has argued that testimonies are more likely to be believed when they come from trusted and credible sources. In his view, testimonies may be more credible when the testifiers have relatively little to gain or lose from having their claims heard and believed. However, it is important to note that these testimonies are never the same. Drawing upon Alfred Schutz's concept of multiple realities, Young (1997) maintains that individuals do not experience reality as a single unified whole. Reality is composed of zones or strata with greatly differing features. As a result, the reality of ordinary everyday activities constitutes 'paramount' or 'mundane' reality because it has the strongest plausibility structure and most of the time adherents experience it as the most real of the realities they encounter (cf Young, 1997).

1.6.1.2 Religious markets

The concept of a religious market is very useful in the analysis of religious behaviours as exercises in a marketplace. This is in view of the fact that divine-actors are culturally innovative with diverse religious ideologies. As noted by Iannaccone (1997), religious institutions act like firms in an economic space regulated by discernible laws and logic.

Central to this theory is the treatment of religion as a commodity, an object of choice. Religious economy according to Stark is a market consisting of all religious activities, a 'market' of current and potential adherents, and one or more religious institutions that seek to attract adherents and also maintain the religious culture offered by the institution. In the religious market, religious firms are made up of the various religious institutions that produce and sell religious goods in order to satisfy the religious needs of their clients (Stark, 1997; Stolz, 2006). The choice of which religious products to consume is made in accordance with individual preference, taste and budgetary constraints. Using the principles of supply and demand, the presupposition is that firms who produce affordable and more attractive religious goods stand to benefit by attracting potential clients including first time consumers to their products. It is interesting to note that when there is price increase in a society with high unemployment and its associated poverty rate, rationally, and all things been equal, people will turn to patronize goods which their meagre income can meet but which nevertheless satisfies their needs (Stolz, 2006).

Religious consumers or clients, depending on their taste and preference, shop for religious commodities for which they are ready and willing to purchase and pay after going through proper bargaining and negotiation. Similarly, religious firms are producers and business-minded persons whose actions represent a rational response to the constraints and opportunities found within the market (Iannaccone, 1997). Along with the existence of a free religious market as found in Ghana, there is often freedom of choice and association as stipulated in the Ghana 1992 republican constitution. Such an environment breeds plurality and competitive markets, and the various religious firms compete amongst themselves for potential adherents. As consumers exercise their discretion in the choice of religious commodities, producers of these products also produce commodities that appeal to the clients. It is important to indicate that religious firms do due diligence in the assessment of the existing market as part of their business strategies to come up with innovative and strategic plans to enable them produce attractive goods for their clientele.

The theory contends that in societies where state power is not used to enforce religious institutions, new religions emerge (Iannaccone, 1997). As indicated by Stark (1997), any society where religious activities are unregulated, free market systems emerge in which different religious firms compete amongst themselves for the attention and interest of the consuming clients. In the same manner, if the markets are regulated with stringent entry

requirements, fewer firms will be able to enter the market and such environments do not encourage competition.

In a religiously pluralistic society, competition amongst firms leads to specialisation, where firms who specialise in the production of the most needed religious products stand to gain by keeping their market share (Stark, 1997). Under these conditions, firms who are able to identify the most pressing needs of the public and produce in accordance with these needs stand to benefit. As firms specialize, more consumers are attracted to the goods they produce and firms who are not able to take advantage of the prevailing market situation may lose their cherished clients to other firms. In this situation, it is the consumer's preference that shapes both the content of religious commodities and the structure of the institution that provides the commodities. In a highly competitive religious environment, existing religions firms have little choice but to discard inefficient modes of production and unpopular products for more attractive and profitable ones (Iannaccone, 1997). It is worth noting that more effort is needed to market these religious products by the firms in order to make them attractive to the religious consumers in view of the fact that the products are intangible (Stark, 1997).

In order to face the competitive market environment, the individual religious firms have to be innovative if they are to maintain their market share and keep their clients. To achieve this, they need to be divinely innovative (Lyer & Tirthankar, 2012). The concept of innovation is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon that is still on the agenda of many researchers (cf Ismail & Abdmajid, 2007). Understanding innovation requires taking account of a religious culture of change, and the social and cultural components of innovation (Lyer & Tirthankar, 2012). Proper innovation in any institution requires the development of opportunities for exploration and experimentation (Ismail & Abdmajid, 2007). Religious institutions create cultures for the generation of new ideas. Innovation, as used in this study, refers to a combination of both old and new ideas, how adherents provide services for members, how resources are secured, and how support is given to members. Others argue that innovation is anything perceived to be new by the people doing it. W.K.W Ismail and R. Abdmajid (2007) have indicated that innovation is a process of commercialising one or more ideas that can be exchanged for something of economic or competitive value. Innovative activities occur in the specific social and economic context and the cultural and religious tradition of the people concerned. The culture of any institution is an important factor in the management of innovation. A more participatory and supportive culture is favoured in

environments where teamwork is optimal and where structural flexibility, taking risk taken and occasional failures and improvements accepted (Ismail & Abdmajid, 2007).

Culture is a stable, conservative and resistant force that is likely to change only through the intervention of actors. It is important to note that the culture of any institution will likely remain stable until actors within that institution institute changes or modification through innovation. The outcome of actions taken by actors produces innovative core values across the entire institution. These values are mostly embedded in the institutions culture. What needs to be understood is the fact that innovation is the work of actors in management positions. It the responsibility of firms to devise plans with detailed descriptions of the strategies to adopt. It is worth noting that the goals and objectives of the organisation have a great influence on innovation. Strategies are tasks induced by the leaders. This is so because they have the vision of the organisation with regard to where they want to direct it.

1.7 Methodology

1.7.1 Grounded theory Method

Grounded theory as a methodology is one of the most utilised and advanced methods across research disciplines especially in qualitative methodologies. Different studies and reviews of the theory indicate that it falls primarily within the constructivist paradigm (Charmaz, 2000:509). Consequently, a lot of assumptions with regard to this theory have become apparent. For instance, the theory assumes that there is no single objective reality in existence, rather what is out there in the world is the existence of multiple subjective realities. Embedded in this reflection is the conviction that individuals have their own way of constructing reality. As a constructivist theory, the grounded theory celebrates knowledge of empirical world, and takes a middle ground between postmodernism and positivism, and provides a method that takes qualitative research into the 21st century (Charmaz, 2000:510). The goal of this methodology is to understand first and foremost what constitutes reality from the perspective of ordinary men and women in a social collective, and secondly, its assumption that in-depth information exchanges between researchers and participants permit the exploration and subsequent understanding of participants' experiences within the societies in which they live in.

1.7.2 Rational for using grounded theory

In view of the fact that grounded theory is constructivist or interpretivist, participant's perspectives in any given situation are sought and valued for their interpretation of reality. Also found in this methodology is the recognition that reality is subjective and is amenable to various societal factors. As the theory acknowledges and expects variation in individual conception of reality, it is well suited for the investigation of the current study, the purpose of which is to further understand the socio-religious factors responsible for the plausibility of faith healing in Ghana.

1.8 Literature search methods

The researcher made use of scholarly literature on Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in Ghana, written by both local and foreign authors. The search was extensive and was conducted based on the various aspects emphasised in this study. The documents that were consulted include books, journals articles, monographs, dissertations both published and unpublished, books written by Pentecostal divine-actors, newspaper reports, and radio and television reports that were related to the activities of Pentecostal and Charismatic divine industries in Ghana.

1.9 Sampling method

In grounded theory, sampling is conducted according to the principle of theoretical sampling where sampling choices are usually dictated by the categories of emerging theory. As soon as a project begins, the researcher brings to it some idea of the phenomenon of interest (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Under such circumstances, there is often the need to link the gathering process of qualitative information and interventions to the analysis and coding of information. Thus, in theoretical sampling, the researcher collects codes and analyses his data simultaneously. The initial data analysis informs what data to collect next and where to find it. The benefit of this method is that it yields data that produces categories of phenomenon until new categories are found (Khiat, 2010).

In this study, I used open sampling to discover initially emerging theoretically relevant categories that served as the basis for the theoretical sampling that followed. In open sampling, participants are selected based on their expert knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation, and here, I selected two groups of people, divine-actors and patients. The divine-actors were selected because of their experience in faith healing. With regard to the

patients, they were selected based on their personal experience of the healing. I initially selected four Pentecostal adherents to help recommend divine-actors who conduct healing services in their divine industries. Through them, I was able to contact four pastors in four churches for the initial interactions. The data I gathered was transcribed and analysed before my second field visit. This was to avoid missing the chance to sample and collect more information regarding new emerging concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

1.10 Ethical issues

In social science research, the code of ethics that academic and professionals are supposed to adhere to is the conventional format for moral principles (Clifford, 2000). In keeping to these moral principles, permission was sought from all the churches before the commencement of the research. Informed process consent and confidentiality were all addressed in this research. The necessary rapport was established between the researcher and the participants. The researcher also provided explanations with regard to the essence of the study. They all agreed to the purpose for which the information was to be used without any coercion. Another critical area was the protection of their confidentiality. The researcher and the participants all agreed that no participant would be identified without their approval. I took notice of those who did not want their identities revealed. This and other relevant measures were taken to ensure the accuracy of the data collected.

1.11 Data collection process

The data collection was done in three phases in Tamale, the capital city of the Northern Region in Ghana. The first phase was a pre-field exercise that was designed to test the research instrument and also to establish rapport with the key stake holders who were to form part of the research exercise. The first visit spanned from the middle of February 2011 to the end of April 2011. The second phase was when the actual data was collected, spanning from the middle of July 2011 to the end of September 2011. After analysing the data, I realised that certain issues needed to be followed up on to gather additional information. Based on this, a third field visit was conducted to enable the researcher double check his facts. The third visit was between February 2012 and March 2012.

1.11.1 Setting and participants

As there were other equally important towns that could also be studied, the study could not be extended to cover all of them because of a lack of time. Tamale was chosen because of its

strategic location in the region, taking into account the vastness of the region in terms of land size. Tamale as the regional capital is at the centre of all the districts in the region, making it a melting point of all activities. Other determinants apart from its location were the quantitative proliferation of Pentecostal divine industries both in the metropolitan centre and its suburbs. This inroads into a society that is a known strong hold of Muslim and traditional religions was at the core of the reasons for its choice. This Muslim dominance was due to the early contact the region had with the Muslim traders from the Arabian Peninsula through the North African dessert. There is therefore, a mix of traditional belivers, Christians as well as Muslims in the Tamale metropolis, though the dominant culture is that is the indeginous Dagomba speaking ethnic group.

The sample for the study was drawn from selected Pentecostal churches within the Metropolis. Four churches were selected based on the number of years they have been in existence for a range of older and established divine industries to newer divine industries. The selected divine industries are the Winning Life Chapel, Kings Christian Ministry, Reach Chapel World Outreach, and Powerful Jesus Outreach Ministry, which were 10, 6, 4, and 1 year old respectively as at the time of the interview in 2011. The sampled participants were drawn from these four divine industries. They were made up of Pentecostal divine-actors and their associates, patients and clients of the divine industry who were healed by the divine-actors, members of Pentecostal church associations and some staff of their training schools. The divine-actors and their associates were briefed on the purpose of the study. Interviews of 11 divine-actors, 10 healed patients, two training instructors and two executives of the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council served as the main source of data for this study. It is important to note that data for the writing of this thesis was not limited to the above-mentioned people; other divine industries were visited when their activities were deemed relevant, and focused group discussion organised. In the data collection, different tools were employed in the field exercise to ensure that very rich and credible information was secured. The tools used included interviews, observations and focus group discussions.

1.11.2 Observation

Participant observation is a commonly used method for qualitative data collection, well established in anthropology and ethnography. In this method, outsiders immerse themselves in a particular context and observe the activities in it. Using this method requires that the researcher becomes a participant in the context he or she observes. This method afforded the

researcher the opportunity to take part and observe a number of activities that took place in the selected churches in their natural settings. Some of the activities observed included the healing services, usually on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays. Other events included youth conventions or ministries and healing crusades that were organised by these churches on a regular basis. Being an active participant in these events afforded me the opportunity to observe how people were exorcised of demonic and spirit possession, including those healed of physical afflictions. Other important areas observed include confessions and testimonies of patients and adherents of the Pentecostal denominations about their healing experience. Most of these testimonies centred on miracles that happened in their lives and the cures they have experienced either directly or indirectly. The techniques used in the healing and deliverance were all noted, especially the use of anointed oil and water (olive oil and blessed water) and how these objects are transformed from ordinary objects to powerful sacred symbols by the pastors for the purposes of divine work. Some photos were taken during the observation with the permission of the pastors concerned. The sermons were recorded and later transcribed for analysis. The body language of both the divine-actors and the members were all very important and were all noted to avoid missing important information that would be vital in the analysis.

1.11.3 Interview

An in-depth interview session was conducted to solicit information from the individual respondents. An in-depth interview as a data collection technique involves one-on-one, face-to-face interaction between an interviewer and an informant or participant. The usefulness of this technique is that it seeks to build an intimacy that is required for mutual self-disclosure (Johnson, 2002:103). As a data collection tool, it affords the researcher an opportunity to get a deeper understanding of real-life experiences that participants in the research have in their everyday activities. The technique is used to attain knowledge that is hard to extract through regular interview techniques. It has the potential of opening up new fields of information for the researcher as a consequence of the non-probable and less structured nature of the interview. It begins with common sense explanation and understanding of some lived cultural experience. The tool enables researcher to have a deeper understanding of how the common sense assumptions, practices, and ways of talking and acting in any given society partly constitute their interest. Using the technique helps researchers grasp and articulate the multiple views and perspectives of participants (Johnson, 2002:106). As a useful technique for this research, the tool was used to elicit information from Pentecostal divine-actors,

associate divine-actors and other leaders holding positions as teachers at the Bible training schools including those who constitute the executive arms of the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC) and the Local Council of Churches (LCC) in Tamale. Also included on the list are patients who were cured or healed by some of the Pentecostal pastors and prophets. The healed patients were identified with the help of pastors during healing services and healing testimony. Other participants were traced using the records the divine industries keep of the patients they heal. This category of people was purposively selected because of their wealth of information and their individual experiences with Pentecostal faith healing. The technique helped the researcher to get a more complete understanding of the lived world of the people as they construct it. An interview guiding questions were used during the interview with occasional probes from the researcher for clarification on issues that were not very clear. This included information that appeared contradictory.

The technique provided the researcher a deeper knowledge regarding the participants' experiences and viewpoints (Turner, 2010). In view of the desire to get adequate information from the participants, the researcher acted as a passive learner taking knowledge from experienced participants in the field of study. To ensure that all information gathered was not forgotten, two research assistants who were adherents of the Pentecostal churches were engaged at different stages of the data gathering process. Their services were employed to help in gaining access to persons who were healed. Their role was to act as persons coming from the divine industry where the participants had experienced their healing. It was anticipated that many of them would not want to discuss their sicknesses with people they do not know. Going with a member from the divine industry as a follow up visit paved the way for me to ask the questions that were relevant to my study. Through the assistants, the healed patients obliged to give information to the researcher. Accessing them would not have been possible if insiders from the church had not accompanied me. All interactions were tape recorded on audiocassettes and the content was later transcribed and edited by the researcher.

1.11.4 Focus group discussion

The third method that the research employed to ensure that he gathers as much information as possible was focus group discussion. Because of the difficulty involved in getting all the desired people together at a common spot for a discussion, the researcher organised two focus group discussions, a group of five and seven, respectively. The groups were made up of only members of Pentecostal churches because the non-Pentecostal church members who

happened to receive healing at these sites were unable to agree to one specific time and venue for a meeting. Persons in the discussion were made up of those who were converted through healing and those who joined voluntarily. The technique afforded the researcher the opportunity to gather additional information on healing experiences of patients and other church members. In the discussion, an equal opportunity was given to all group members to speak. This was to avoid a situation of a 'group think' where the most vocal tend to speak for everyone in the group. The discussion equipped the researcher with additional understanding about the participants' perspective regarding Pentecostal church healing and other forms of healing systems in their localities (Basch, 1987). All participants in the discussion were encouraged to exchange ideas and viewpoints on their experiences to facilitate a blend of the emic and the etic views in the analysis of this research. An assistant was engaged to assume the role of recording the narration of the participants' whiles the researcher was doing the moderation and taking notes on vital body language and gestures. All the recorded information was later transcribed for analysis. The language of communication throughout the research was both English and Dagbani, the local dialect in Tamale. These two languages were chosen because almost all of the participants could speak and understand at least one of these languages.

1.12 Data analysis procedures

The analysis of this data is based on grounded theory, an approach in which the data is grounded in the field. The technique proceeds systematically from empirical data collection to generation of theory. It consists of systematic inductive guidelines for collecting and analysing data to build a middle range theoretical framework that explains the data collected (Charmaz, 2000:509). The analysis phase is the stage where the data are analysed, conceptualised and creatively assembled into a theory (Khiat, 2010). It provides researchers a set of clear guidelines from which to build an explanatory framework that specifies relationships between concepts. The basic methods of grounded theory are content analysis, coding, and theoretical sampling. The aim for using this technique to generate theory is grounded in the evidence collected in the field. Its relevance is derived from its ability to offer analytical explanations of actual problems and basic processes in the research setting. Other relevance includes its durability and flexibility in view of the fact that it gives accounts of variations and the fact that researchers can modify their emerging analysis (Charmaz, 2000:511).

1.12.1 Coding

Grounded theory suggests the development of theoretical concepts from data through coding, which means taking an individual piece of data, in this case a transcribed sentence, one at a time and examining it. It starts with a definition and categorisation of data. The process starts with a line-by-line examination to avoid missing out important aspects, which might escape in a quick reading (Charmaz, 2000:509). Three types of coding were employed in this study – open coding, axial coding and selective coding. I decided to use the three because I believe that grounded theory methods are most productive when all three coding types are used.

1.12.1.1 Open coding

The first level of coding, the transcribed data, was reviewed closely and then divided into analytical concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The purpose was to get a new insight into the data generated. As a result, the concepts were then given labels and then examined carefully for alternative explanations and meaning. Through coding, one is able to define and categorise the data collected (Charmaz, 2000:515). Many concepts were generated including 'economic needs', 'spiritual needs', and 'health concerns'. Emerging concepts were then compared with other concepts and grouped similar with concepts to form categories and subcategories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). A category is a theme, which makes sense of what the informants or participants have said.

1.12.1.2 Axial coding

In axial coding, categories are related to their subcategories, and the relationship tested against data (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). From this level, other key categories emerged: 'evolving understanding of healing', 'understanding of aspects of healing', 'understanding of rituals', 'understanding of the relation between different healing systems', and 'understanding of motivating factors for church growth' among others. During this stage, the researcher utilised the method of comparison where he compared and connected subcategories with relevant categories, compared categories to new data, describe the characteristics and organisation of categories, and considered alternative interpretation of the data. Each time data was reorganised, alternative explanations of the data were considered and the data was interrogated to confirm that participants' voices were being expressed accurately because it helps to remain attuned to the participant's view of their realities. As indicated in Charmaz:

the theory 'recognises the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aimed towards interpretive understanding of subject meaning' (cf Charmaz, 2000:510).

1.12.1.3 Selective coding

Selective coding refers to the integration of the categories to structure the initial theoretical framework so as to analytically come up with the grounded theory from the data. According to Corbin & Strauss (1990), selective coding is a process by which all categories are unified around a 'core category' and categories that need further explication are filled-in with descriptive detail. The core variables are those generated during coding that, in addition to other qualities, is theoretically saturated and centrally relevant (Larossa, 2005). The core category is in fact, the conceptualisation of the storyline about the central phenomenon of the research study. The category is the main theme of the data such that it can explain the whole phenomenon investigated. It is worth noting that the other categories must be able to relate to the core category in the description or explanation of the entire phenomenon.

1.13 Clarification of terms

1.13.1 Defining Religion

Many of the early interpreters of religion theorised that religion is the result of a rational effort to understand basic questions of human existence (Ibrahim, 2008:73). These ideas have changed overtime as man travelled through different civilizational stages, even though religion remains rooted in his advancing intellectual effort to understand his world. Diversity associated with cultures and civilisation has made it very difficult in getting a universal definition for religion, especially in anthropology and sociology where there is often disagreement on how to distinguish between religious behaviours and non-religious phenomena. This is so because in certain society's religion is so deeply embedded in the social structure that it is very difficult to distinguish religious behaviour from economic, political, or kinship behaviour (Ferraro, 2008:338). In this regard, religion has to be defined in accordance with the people under study. It is on the basis of this that Assimeng asserts that 'definitions of religion vary according to the perspective of the analysts' (2010:8).

Different authors have given different definitions to religion. For instance, J.B Pratt defines religion as 'the serious and social attitude of individuals and communities towards the power or powers which they conceive as having ultimate control over their interest and destinies (J.B Pratt 1920, cf Assimeng, 2010:6). This apparently is referring to the supernatural, which

is assumed to have power to control the lives of the supplicants. K. Dobbelaere & J. Lauwers (1973) indicates that every definition has two elements, the substantive and the functional. The substantives say what religion is whereas the functional says what religion does. These two elements are both found in the famous definition of Durkheim, who defines religion as 'a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them' (cf Assimeng, 2010:6). The substantive aspect of the definition has to do with the essence of religion 'a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things.' The functional element in the definition has to do with 'which unite into a single moral community, all those who adhere to them.'

Clifford Geertz gave a definition of religion which states that the concept is: 'a system of symbols which act to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting modes and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the modes and motivations seem uniquely realistic' (cf Asad, 1983). The arguments raised by Geertz are to the effect that the anthropological definition of religion is stagnant and therefore has to be looked at in terms of culture, which according to him would revive it. Though this definition received criticisms from different angles, it is not the intension of this work to explore that. This is just to indicate that there has never been a satisfactory definition of religion. For the purpose of this work, I will adopt Sotlz's (2010) definition of religion which has it that religion is the entirety of cultural symbolic systems that respond to problems of meaning and contingency by alluding to a transcendent reality, which influences everyday life but cannot be directly controlled.

1.13.2 Pentecostalism

The term 'Pentecost' is taken from the day of Pentecost experience of the second chapter of Acts (Anderson, 2001:18). Anderson further explained that though the healing churches in Africa differ fundamentally from the western Pentecostal churches, both of them have the Holy Spirit as their central theme, and as such, they qualify as African Pentecostals. Pentecostalism as a movement began in Africa just over a century ago and continues to expand into the 21st century. It is based on this knowledge that Anderson has described it as a big business in Africa (Anderson, 2004:103). The term is used to include a whole range of divine industries, which emphasize the continuous reality of the power and manifestations of

the Holy Spirit in church life. According to Anderson, 'African Pentecostalism' is a term used broadly to include 'Pentecostal mission churches' started by white Pentecostal missionaries in the early twentieth century, 'independent Pentecostal churches' founded by native Africans, and 'indigenous Pentecostal-type churches' who have historical, theological and liturgical links with the Pentecostal movement, all of which emphasise the power and manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the church (Anderson, 2004:104). In keeping with this position, Pentecostalism as used in this study is an all-embracing term that includes charismatic, neo-charismatic, and nondenominational divine industries among others.

Pentecostalism in Ghana has similar characteristics involving western mission initiated or western sponsored churches such as the Assemblies of God Churches, the Apostolic Church and the Church of Pentecost. Most of these churches are prophet healing or indigenous churches initiated by Africans (Anderson, 2001:17). Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (2005), in keeping with the general Ghanaian designation lumps all these cacophony of 'Pentecostal' churches into one group, whose ethos puts them under the epithet 'spiritual churches' even though the term can best be used to describe the more syncretistic African Initiated Churches. It is important to note that the Pentecostal related churches have claimed the largest following in many parts of Africa, including Ghana, moving into every part of the continent. In view of the rapidity with which it has expanded, it has become one of the most significant expressions of Christianity in Africa to the extent that the continent's Christianity cannot really be understood without an understanding of this movement. This achievement in a short period from its inception has been made possible by its response to the existential needs of the African worldview, by providing a personal encounter with God through the power of the Spirit, healing of diseases and deliverance from evil in all its manifestations.

1.13.3 Faith healing

Faith as a concept is part of every age and culture. As Jeff Levin (2009) has rightly observed that 'nothing in life is more wonderful than faith.' Faith serves as cement that binds individuals together in relationships. Within a religious context, faith denotes belief, trust, and obedience, joined together and directed to God or other divine beings. The life of believers of the various religious organisations is built on the knowledge that God or gods are there to solve their problems. Healing on the other hand, denotes all manner of wonderful and disparate phenomena - the laying on of hands, full recovery from a disease state, the process by which recovery, or remission occurs or all of the above (Levin, 2009).

Faith healing as a concept is founded on the belief that certain entities, people or places have the ability to cure and heal, that someone or something can eliminate disease or heal injuries through a close connection to a higher power. Faith healing can take the form of prayer, a visit to a religious shrine, or simply a strong belief in a supreme being. According to Sackey (2002), faith healing is usually the hope people have in the alleviation of sicknesses and socio-economic problems through either the intercession of Jesus Christ, the power of the Holy Spirit of God, the Divine Word, and prayer, or even trusted charismatic human beings. The concept is understood to involve the intervention of some divine or universal power in the health condition of one or more people. Others understand it as an event that takes place when the conditions are just right for the supernatural healing to take place. Even though healing requires faith from both the healer and the one expecting the healing, it is the faith of the healer that is paramount. He or she needs power as a believer so that they can direct it to heal others. Depending on the people involved, healing power could come from angels, Christ, deities, or the Almighty God. Generally, faith healing as a term has become synonymous with the non-medically based cures. Therapies that are assumed to be spiritual in outlook all form part of the faith healing enterprise. In such circumstances, they are often designated as divine healing, and there may also be some structure to the ritual that seeks to bring about spiritual healing. Often, the rite is administered by one or more people who are authorized to officiate in the essential ordinances of the particular religion, and may include both touching the person on the head or shoulders, as well as the use of some sort of liquid, such as oil or water. In some cases, the rite or ritual will have proscribed words that are to be spoken, while other approaches may have a traditional form, but leave the exact verbiage up to the person or persons who are administering the rite.

1.14 Structure of thesis

The study consist of six chapters

Chapter one presents the background information of the study, the problems statement, the research questions, the relevance of the study, and ethical issues. It also discusses the data collection methods, the application of the tools of data collection, theories that guide the thesis analysis, and operational definitions of concepts.

Chapter two is devoted to the discussion on the development and explosion of Pentecostal movements in Ghana. The discussion is in two parts; the first part deals with development of Pentecostalism, the historical antecedents including factors that account for its explosion. The

second part discusses the regulatory mechanism of the Pentecostal movements in Ghana, the challenges the movement faces and how these challenges are tackled. It also discusses the features and evangelical strategies within the movement.

Chapter three focuses on the entrepreneurial Pentecostal churches in Ghana. It discusses the entrepreneurial endowment of divine-actors and their ability to use charisma as a vehicle to lead their members. The chapter discusses how Pentecostal churches compete and cooperate amongst themselves, and how they also compete with other religious institutions. It also looks at the developmental stages of Pentecostal churches, mode of financing the movement, how churches become autonomous or gain their independence, and the place of divine-actors' wives within the divine industry.

Chapter four is devoted to discussing Pentecostalism and faith healing in Ghana. The chapter looks at the concept of faith healing, and how healing is used as an aiding activity in the growth of Pentecostal churches. It discusses how disease and illness are contextualised within the movement including the classification of disease and illness. Also discussed in this chapter is why pastors are consulted for healing, and the healing services available including the types of healing that takes places in these churches. The last but not the least in this chapter is the attitude of these churches towards traditional religious practices and why they do not refer patients to these healers for treatment.

Chapter five devotes attention to the discussion of situating faith healing within the local belief structure. This section discusses worldview in a broader context and within the context of the socio-religious realms. It considers how the Pentecostals appropriate the local ideas to their advantage, and how perceived healing outcomes are confirmed during healing crusades and other healing services. It looks at how individuals can make sense of the plausibility of healing, plausibility in the context of the local cosmology, how divine-actors and adherents experience the divine, and the symbolic power inherent in ritual words.

Chapter six analyses the overall picture of the thesis as concluding remarks.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT AND EXPLOSION OF PENTECOSTALISM IN GHANA

2.0 Introduction

Over the past few decades, scholars have observed a dramatic shift of Christianity from the global north to the global south. This situation was evidenced by the changing demographics that indicate that Europe, which used to be home to 'two-thirds' of the world's Christian population in the 1900s, is now home to less than a quarter in the 21st century. This declining trend in Europe is predicted to result in a further fall to below 20 per cent by 2025 (Jenkins, 2007:2). Indeed, it appears the centre of gravity of Christianity has really shifted towards developing nations such as Latin America, Asia and Africa. In sub-Saharan Africa, for instance, Christian activities have increased tremendously over the last few decades, marking it out as 'the heartland of Christian faith in our time' (Bediako, 1993). Reports from Pew have indicated that the share of the population that is Christian in sub-Saharan Africa has increased from 9% in 1910 to 63% in 2010 (Johnson, 2010), and of all the Christian denominations in Africa, the Pentecostal faith is leading in both membership and prominence.

As the Christian faith continues to gain grounds, indications are that in sub-Saharan Africa, West Africa is one of the hot spots of the world as far as Pentecostalism is concerned. Within this sub-region, Pentecostalism stands out as one of the most prominent and influential religious movements and Ghana is noted as one of the countries that continue to blaze the path formed by the movement (Anderson, 2004:115). The Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2012) indicates Christians constitute 71.2% of the population. Almost 18% (17.6%) are Muslims, whilst the remaining 11.2% is made up of people who cling to indigenous traditional religion (African Traditional Religion) and those who claim no affiliation to a religion. It is worth noting that out of the 71.2% Christian population, Pentecostal faith constitutes 28.3%, Protestants account for 18.4%, whilst 13.1% and 11.4% respectively represent the Catholics and other Christian beliefs (GSS, 2012). It is on this basis that Ghana is being touted as a religious country with Christians in the majority.

This changing phase of Christian tradition is strikingly becoming the standard norm of the present generation of Christians, and the general conviction is that it is Pentecostalism which is being used as a standard form of Christianity, thus placing the faith on a new trajectory (Okyerefo, 2011). In almost all the divine industries in Ghana, belief in the Holy Spirit,

healing of sicknesses, and deliverance from evil spirits form part of the activities of their divine industries. This is in contrast to the earlier criticism by the orthodox denominations about the workings of the Holy Spirit. As a result, many of the orthodox divine industries now have charismatic renewals in their denominations, a phenomenon that is associated with the doctrine of Pentecostalism. This development is a response to the Pentecostal position as an engine that is propelling Christianity in Ghana into prominence. This situation seems to threaten the visibility of the orthodox divine industries in the public sphere. It is in the light of this observation that Paul Gifford contends that there is a paradigm shift in Christianity in favour of the Pentecostal divine industries, taking into consideration the latter's mediation in public life (Gifford, 2004:24-43). As a way of maintaining their visibility, some of the orthodox divine industries are gradually changing their style of worship to synchronise with the more popular and growing Pentecostal movement (Sackey, 2006). This is so because a careful examination of the terrain of the 'religious-game' within Christianity as experienced in Ghana points to the direction of the emerging Pentecostal faith as a key player on the socio-religious landscape. 'Religious-game', as used here, denotes the spiritual and social engagements each of the different strands of Christian faith in Ghana engages in, to remain useful to their clients.

This chapter discusses the development of Pentecostalism in Ghana and factors which account for its explosion. The discussion is centred on the circumstances under which the movement continue to maintain a dominant position as a leading Christian faith in Ghana, focusing on historical antecedents, and the factors that contribute to the explosion.

2.1 Historical antecedence

As a religious nation, Ghana has witnessed different waves of Pentecostalism that swept through the religious landscape over the past century. Some of them have perished while others have waned in enthusiasm and prominence, but to a larger extent each has nevertheless left traces of its influence on the religious scene of the country. The emergence of these waves is attributed to the actions of specific religious actors that triggered the evolution of the different waves of the Pentecostal movement that have been witnessed over the period. The evolution came with new movements and ideas while the existing ones became renewed and energised (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:18). With the current trend of the movement, one cannot predict with certainty how its future will look. However, there is room for speculation as one divine-actor was quoted as saying that; 'No one can predict the future; our movement

(Pentecostalism) is like waves which break on the seashore, if the current wave fades, God will bring 'a new visitation'' (cf Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:18). This seems to suggest that the emergence of a new wave often has a specific problem to solve. It is important to note that these new visitations or visions that characterise Pentecostal movements are charismatic in character and are often driven by the visions of rational actors of specific societies at a specific point in time, bringing about similar rational responses from other actors in the religious field. These actions are purpose based, and are in response to the needs of majority of the population at each appointed period, especially when existing institutions seem to fail in their bid to provide these needs.

In Ghana, the orthodox divine industries in their evangelisation drive felt that the type of belief that preoccupied the minds of the local people (spirit-forces such as gods, fetishes, dwarfs, and witchcraft) were superstitious, pointing out that it was devils and demons that were behind these forces. The double postures exhibited by the orthodox divine industries reinforced the local people's belief in witchcraft. Meanwhile the orthodox divine industries were apparently doing little to provide them with a syncretic approach aimed at reducing the fear of these forces (Sackey, 2006). Consequently, many local people became disenchanted, considering the fact that the orthodox divine industries had failed to deal with their perceived daily threats of witchcraft and misfortunes. In the midst of this disaffection, came waves of local and foreign prophetic ministries, announcing the emergence of a new phase of Christianity. Since its inception, the movement have gone through three evolutionary phases.

2.1.1 First wave

The first wave of Pentecostalism in Ghana started with the growth of indigenous and independent religious phenomena that emerged in spontaneous response and in parallel to the activities of a number of African prophets whose unique personalities and campaigns of revival and renewal drew masses into Christianity. In Ghana, this conversion campaign started around 1914 as a result of the activities of a man nicknamed 'Black Elijah' of West Africa, a Liberian Prophet, named William Wade Harris's and his visit to the coastal towns of Ghana (formerly Gold Coast). Two conflicting views or explanations are provided regarding the circumstances under which he received his revelation and became a man of God.

With regard to the first explanation, proponents of this view contend that Harris had his revelation when he was serving a prison term in Liberia after he was arrested for his involvement in an insurrection by his people to protest against repressive policies by an

Americo-Liberian government towards a tribe of Kru - a tribe Harris had affiliation with. Harris suggested that Liberia become a British colony rather than being suppressed by the Americo-Liberian settlers. He was arrested for pulling down a Liberian flag and replacing it with the Union Flag and for his role in leading an uprising (Anderson, 2001:70). While Harris was in prison in 1910, certain events took place that allegedly changed the course of his life and eventually made him a prophet of God. The experience came to him in form of a trance-visitation in which the Angel Gabriel was allegedly instrumental in his call to the ministry. Subsequent trance-visitations in his ministry were believed to have been between him and Moses, Elijah and the Angel Gabriel (Amanor, 2004). This divine power was believed to have been bestowed upon him to start a campaign to win more souls for the glory of God, especially those who were disenchanted, using an evangelistic technique that was different from the ones used by the colonial missionaries. He is purported to have said that the Spirit came on him as on the day of Pentecost and he started speaking in tongues (Anderson, 2001:71).

The alternative explanation posited a connection between Harris's divine inspiration and the emergence of the Azusa Street Revival that started in the United States of America in 1906. Few years into its inception, the Azusa Street mission had spread to cover many parts of the world, and Africa received the largest number of first time missionaries who went out as far as Liberia in West Africa, the destination of the first batch of African-American Azusa missionaries two years into its inception. It is speculated that some of these missionaries were able to minister in the mother tongue of Liberians – the Kru language. Apparently, because Harris himself was a Kru, it is believed he might have had contacts with the Azusa Street missionaries who ministered to the Kru-speaking ethnic group. The plausibility of this argument is grounded on the premise that there was no Pentecostal activity in Liberia prior to the arrival of the Azusa group, and that it is likely their presence might have had some bearing in his call to the prophetic ministry, even though it may be possible for a person without previous contact to get experience just as it happened at the Azusa Street mission. Regrettably, no evidence could be found to prove that Harris had contact with the Azusa Street missionaries within the short period they were in Liberia. This corroborates Allan Anderson's observation that some of the first missionaries from Azusa Street, including Lucy Farrow, who were in Liberia in 1907, did not live long, and little is known as to whether the activities of the mission survived their departure (Anderson, 2004:115). Figure 2.1 below is

Harris holding his cross and a Bible. These tools were the source of his powers and were used in the healing and deliverance he was noted for.

Figure 2.1 Wade Harris with his cross and Bible

As Harris continued his evangelistic crusade along the coastal towns of the Gold Coast (Ghana), he demonstrated the uniqueness of God that manifested in the use of his divine power in dramatic conversion, healing, prophecy, and deliverance from evil spirits and faith in material symbols of traditional religiosity. To those who listened to him and accepted his message to abandon their visible signs of traditional religion, Harris promised them deliverance from a future judgement of fire (hell) and a time of peace, brotherhood, and well-being which was expected during the second coming of Jesus Christ to establish his kingdom. In a short period, Harris was able to convert an overwhelming number of people that the orthodox Christian missionaries could not reach in many years. As Jones Amanor has rightly indicated:

> *One man preached the Gospel in West Africa for nine years and only converted 52. But another man preached the same Gospel just for two years and 120,000 adult West Africans believed and were baptised into Christianity. (Amanor, 2004)*

This is indicative of the prophetic and great performance of Harris in his evangelistic drive. The majority of the people he converted were disappointed persons who had lost hope in the orthodox Christian missions due to their inability to provide similar proof of healing and deliverance. As Birgit Meyer (2012) has indicated, the people were also prepared to believe

in a God that could produce convincing and visual evidence of His powerful presence. Harris was evangelical in every sense of the word but, in addition, was spirit baptised that manifested in the gifts of the Holy Spirit. He could foretell with accuracy events in the future, he spoke in tongues, and could heal the sick and cast out demons from their victims. As the first prophet to preach in a typical Pentecostal style in Africa, Gordon M. Haliburton observed:

> *Harris claimed to be a prophet with all special powers that God bestows on those He chooses. These powers enabled him to drive out demons and spirits, the enemies of God. He cured the sick in the body and in mind by driving out the evil beings preying on them. Those who practiced black magic had to confess and repent or he made them mad. He had all the power of the fetish men and more: with his basin of holy water he put God's seal on those who repented and accepted baptism. (cf Omenyo, 2006).*

This demonstrates that Harris was well equipped to solve many problems that were put before him, including those that were similar to the ones the traditional religious practitioners were providing people, making him their preferred choice because of the simplicity. It is important to note that Harris was not alone doing this popular work. Whilst he was busy along the coastal towns, there were other prophets who also became very influential. Mention is made of Samson Oppong, an indigenous prophet, and John Swatson, a former convert of Harris who were instrumental in evangelisation in the country. Oppong and Swatson focused mainly in the hinterlands of Ghana, where they also turned out spectacular numbers of conversions. Some of the converts of Harris campaign, Prophetess Grace Tani and Prophet John Nackabah, former traditional priest, became the main inspiration in the formation of the Twelve Apostles Church, one of the biggest independent churches in Ghana following the Harris revival (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:20). The formation of the Twelve Apostle Church was informed by Harris instruction that Twelve Apostles be appointed in each village to look after his flock (Anderson, 2004:116). Harris is believed to have left his insignia with Tani, and in African cosmology, authority is passed on from one person to another through an official handing over of the person's insignia to serve as a symbol of authority and power to act. One important thing about Harris is that, as an evangelist, he did not take delight in founding divine industries, instead, he asked his followers to join any divine industry of their choice, especially the mission divine industries, or built houses of worship if there was no divine industry around (Anderson, 2001:72). However, Tani and her group decided to found the Twelve Apostles Church. This development together with the zeal, passion, and innovation

exhibited by the pioneering prophets initiated a shift away from the formal and staid spirituality and theology that had characterised orthodox divine industries.

Subsequent developments led to a myriad of independent divine industries springing up, mainly as alternative 'spiritual homes' for disappointed members of the orthodox divine industries. As Anderson has observed, 'If people perceive their teaching (orthodox divine industries) and practices as powerless to meet their everyday felt needs, then these churches cannot continue with 'business as usual' in the face of obvious short comings' (Anderson, 2004:122). The orthodox divine industries did not actually thrive much in the face of actions and deeds of the new prophets who positioned themselves to solve many of challenges faced by the ordinary people. According to Anderson, the successes of the prophets seem to lie in their identification with ordinary people, and their ability to make converts without creating tension (Anderson, 2001:73). Divine industries that emerged out of the activities of these prophets are often termed AIC, an acronym that means different things to different people, in view of the different names it attracted - African Independent Churches, African Initiated Churches, African Indigenous Churches, African Instituted Churches, New Religious Movement, Spiritual Churches, African Christian Churches, among others. All of them denote the independence of these divine industries both in their origin and their operations. It also points to the fact that they were the first of their kind to be formed in Africa through the initiative of African people. They are variously called spiritual divine industries in Ghana, Aladura divine industries in Nigeria, and Zionist divine industries in South Africa (Sackey, 2006). This religious phenomenon and its emergence is an indication of the extent to which Africans became disenchanted and found themselves between tradition and change. They entrench their activities through the Africanisation of the Bible – translating it into local languages, to aid local conception as well as facilitate its merger with traditional cosmological ideas and practices (Meyer, 2004a). As Anderson has indicated, the prophets accepted the African spirit world as reality, but regarded spirits as the work of Satan to be cast out (Anderson, 2001:73). The blend of both ideas was evidenced in their emphasis on speaking in tongues, a feature found in both Pentecostal practice and fetish priests, often used to invoke the spirits (whether Holy Spirit or spirit of the gods). This blend of traditional religious practice and Christianity served as fertile ground for the reintegration of religion and healing - where religion was used to solve the myriad of social problems including misfortune and physical ailments.

Even though these divine industries did not achieve much in terms of global popularity and fame in view of its indigenous character, its pioneers were able to appropriate the Christian message in a distinctive way that provided locally meaningful answers to problems in accordance with information as provided in the Bible, while preserving their cultural heritage and identity. The legacy these pioneers left for Christianity is the clear understanding of the spiritual universe of Africans and the zeal and passion with which they penetrated it (Omenyo, 2006). These efforts, coupled with the commitment to freeing people they ministered to from the power of evil spirits, made the gospel relevant to their deeply felt needs and aspirations. In light of this development, it is safe to argue that these divine industries in a nationalist perspective are embodiments of true independence for African Christianity as they were perceived to have evolved indigenously and were structured on African social and political systems.

2.1.2 Second wave

The second wave in the development of Pentecostalism in Ghana comprises divine industries known as the classical Pentecostal denomination. Its origin in Ghana is traced back to Apostle Peter Newman Anim, formally called Kwaku Anim Mensah, who was born in the Volta region of Ghana. After his basic education, Anim is believed to have worked with the Basel Mission factory in Ghana as a weighing clerk (Larbi, 2002). The second wave has its roots traced to the historical event of the descent of the Holy Spirit of God and its consequent manifestation of speaking in tongues and prophecy, among others (Sackey, 2006). This therefore suggests that this wave can partly be traced to the Azusa Street revival. It is also important to understand that, the classical Pentecostal divine industry in Ghana is partly rooted in the indigenous initiatives, dating back to the late 1930s. As has been pointed out, Anim is believed to have developed a great deal of interests in the Christian periodical, *The Sword of the Spirit,* from the Faith Tabernacle Ministry. This was made possible because the periodical was in circulation in Ghana at the time, and its editor, it is believed, was Pastor A Clark, founder of the Faith Tabernacle Ministry in Philadelphia in the United States of America (Larbi, 2002). An important observation is that the Faith Tabernacle Ministry was not a Pentecostal denomination, but had a strong emphasis on faith healing and holiness, and was able to furnish Anim with an in-depth knowledge of faith healing and holiness. Anim found the teaching of the ministry a real blessing and the knowledge he gained from reading their teaching was eventually incorporated into his daily evangelisation. During this period, Anim was also suffering from chronic stomach trouble and guinea worm disease. Out of

curiosity, he decided to test the efficacy of Clark's teaching on healing. Fortunately for him, he was intrigued when he realised that the chronic stomach disorder and guinea worm he was battling with had simultaneously been cured apparently miraculously. He developed trust in it and decided to resign from the Presbyterian divine industry of which he was a member because, he believed for the long time he had been with them, they could not cure him.

An important feature marking this wave out from other waves was its rejection of medicine, with strict adherence to only faith healing. This development earned adherents of the faith the name kyiri bentua (haters of enema) as enema is a known healing method in Ghana (Sackey, 2006). Amongst the classical Pentecostal denominations, it is the Church of Pentecost that most easily comes to mind because of its indigenous roots. Even though the Church of Pentecost is identified with the Classical Pentecostal tradition, its unique indigenous character marks it out from Assemblies of God whose American imprint after decades of existence in Ghana is still quite obvious (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:23). The divine industry is one of three 'Apostolic' divine industries to emerge from the initiative of Anim whose quest for more biblical knowledge about the working of the Holy Spirit brought him into contact with British Apostolic missionaries James and Sophia Mckeown (Onyina, 2002). Using his own personal experience in the power of prayer in healing, he embarked on an evangelistic gospel and healing crusade in Christ around 1917 (Onyinah, 2002). It is believed that many people joined him after receiving healing. After healing the first people who contacted him, the news of his personal cure, the patients as well as his divine power went viral, attracting several other sick people to him searching for healing (Larbi, 2002). Having been convinced of Clarks teaching, Anim adopted the name Faith Tabernacle to establish his own ministry in Ghana around 1922. All along it is believed that Anim was corresponding with Clark, and in 1923 Clark issued him with an ordination certificate empowering him to recruit his own workers. Later in 1926, controversy developed among the Faith Tabernacle believers when it was reported that Clark was excommunicated for alleged adultery. As a consequence, a lot of his followers wanted to resign from that divine industry.

But as Anim continued with his evangelisation to spread the message of holiness and faith healing, his attention was drawn to yet another periodical, *The Apostolic Faith,* a Pentecostal periodical based in Oregon in the United States of America. Information contained in the periodical was about the working of the Holy Spirit, and apparently, as he continued reading it, he became attracted to its tenets. What is believed to have won his admiration was the doctrine of Spirit Baptism, with its evidence of speaking in tongues, referred to as *Holy Spirit*

Outpouring. Anim incorporated this knowledge into his daily preaching and soon it became a widespread practice among his followers, earning them much popularity both near and far. To sustain his interest about the working of the Holy Spirit, they expressed the desire to learn more about the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and subsequently, they were linked to the Apostolic Church of Bradford, England. In view of their admiration for the teachings of the Bradford church, they became affiliated with it and adopted the name in 1935. Subsequently, the Apostolic Church of Bradford sent James McKeown and his wife Sophia to Ghana in 1937 to help Anim and his followers enrich their knowledge and understanding of the Holy Spirit (Onyinah, 2002).

Though the visiting missionaries were not much enthused with healing and deliverance, the practice of healing and deliverance that was part of Anim and his followers did not wane. However, the missionaries did not encourage the practice even though they knew it formed an important part of African traditional religion. Their focus however was on speaking in tongues as an evidence of baptism of the Holy Spirit, and as a powerful weapon for evangelisation. It was only after the appearance of the Holy Spirit that manifests as speaking in tongues that healing and deliverance was to occur. In view of this development, they opposed healing and deliverance, even though Anim and his followers denounced all forms of medicine except healing through prayer (Onyinah, 2002). Regrettably for them, McKeown who was sent to help them, contracted malaria shortly after his arrival and had to be taken to a European health facility at Kibi, a community in Ghana for treatment. This move did not go down well with Anim and his followers. With their experience of the wonders of the Holy Spirit, Anim and his followers felt McKeown should have been prayed for to recover just as Anim recovered from his chronic stomach and guinea worm diseases. As soon as McKeown was discharged, he faced some opposition from Anim and his followers apparently because they felt McKeown had betrayed them the moment he accepted the alternative treatment, a practice their divine industry was strongly against. All attempts to reconcile them by the mission in Bradford did not yield the desired outcome because they felt their position on *no medication* was non-negotiable. McKeown on his part described the action as unfair and disgusting (Sackey, 2006). Consequently, because of these entrenched positions, Anim and his team subsequently seceded and a new divine industry, the *Christ Apostolic Church* was formed while McKeown's group maintained the old name *The Apostolic Church of Gold Coast*.

Around 1953, a movement known as the Latter Rain from the United States of America, visited Ghana (Onyina, 2002). Their mission to Ghana was to revitalise the Pentecostal movement that they felt was experiencing dryness of faith and needed to be reactivated. It is believed this team was part of the Azusa Street revival, in view of their striking similarities. Having realised the dormancy of healing and deliverance the Pentecostal divine industry had experience because of the struggle between Anim and McKeown, they felt the need to revive it. Their presence in the country is believed to have rekindled the activities of the movement, and as such, lay prophets and prophetess emerged in their midst, and began delivering people from afflicting spirits. But again, this style of ministry was short lived due to crises that rocked the church leadership. By 1958, almost all the lay prophets and the prophetesses had left the classical Pentecostal movement to establish their own divine industries.

There was a subsequent split within the divine industry, increasing the number of primary classical Pentecostal divine industries to four - the Apostolic Church and Church of Pentecost, then Christ Apostolic Church and Assemblies of God Church. Unlike the other divine industries that came through the coast, the Assemblies of God church entered Ghana through the north. The missionaries were formally in Upper Volta (Burkina Faso); their first place of settlement was in Yendi in northern Ghana, before they later opened branches in Accra and other parts of the country. This second wave was dominant in Ghana, especially the Assemblies of God until in the early 1970s when a new breed of denominations started emerging. What distinguishes this wave from the first wave is the fact that while the first wave was purely made up of local people who did not even have much interest in planting divine industries, the second wave was made of local people who used ideas of foreigners and subsequently collaborated with them.

2.1.3 Third wave

The third wave started in 1979 with the rise of interdenominational fellowships across educational institutions in Ghana. Its emergence was led by a group of graduate elites, who's identification with it (the movement) seems to have enhanced their social rating. What is observed is that the increase in formal education provided a platform for the emergence of young, upwardly mobile educated professionals, having realised the social ills, decided to appropriate modern marketing techniques to project the image of the movement. Two trends have been identified in the development of this third wave. The first within this period is the use of books and cassettes from western preachers, especially Americans, including Oral

Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, Kenneth Copeland, Reinhard Bonke and Benny Hinn. Out of these, the most listened to, was one from Roberts on the, seed faith principle, which focuses on prosperity, and Hagin's faith healing (Onyinah, 2002). The second trend, in the later part of 1979, was filled with interest in books and video-cassettes whose content created people's awareness about the presence of demons and the possible ways these demons could be exorcised. During this period, the books and video-cassettes of Derek Prince were very popular. His teaching points to the effect that a Christian could be baptised in the Holy Spirit and speak in tongues, yet still harbour demons, ancestral and other curses in his or her life until the Holy Spirit reveals them to be dealt with. This view is significantly different from the classical Pentecostals who were sceptical about whether a Christian could be possessed by a demon. This doctrine was highly embraced because within that period, Ghana was experiencing social and economic distress due to the World Bank Structural Adjustment Program and over-liberalisation of the economy.

The experience of hardships coupled with the prosperity teachings of the divine-actors led to an increased desire of some of the educated elites in the various tertiary institutions and other professional bodies to appropriate what were considered goods of modernity. As a result, many of them were able to blend this new knowledge with existing knowledge to carve new religious messages in line with the desires of local consumers. Some of these elites, who were professionals, decided to resign from their jobs to take up the challenge of restoring hope and dignity in a society that was losing hold of its responsibilities. Among these professional were Dr Seth Ablorh and Dr Dag Heward Mills (Medical Doctors), Rev Eastwood Anaba (Pharmacist), Doe Tetteh (Receptionist), and Joys Aryee (a politician) and others. The term divine-actor is used in this dissertation in place of pastors, prophets, evangelist, apostles and bishops. The ideas of these divine-actors were drawn from the imported books and cassettes, especially those that dwelt on prosperity, wealth and faith healing. Not only were they preaching of faith healing and prosperity, they were also designed to increase public awareness about the presence and reality of demons and witches, and how divine-actors could exorcise victims of these evil forces (Onyinah, 2002). The expression 'neo-Pentecostal' is designated for this wave, and encompasses Pentecostal renewal phenomenon associated with trans-denominational fellowships, prayer groups, scripture unions, ministries and other churches that came into existence and rose to prominence over the last four decades (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:26). It has been argued that the presence of this wave is due to the

plural religious scene - the existences of the AICs against which these new movements are defined (Meyer, 2004a).

One other observation in connection with this period is the marked increased in the integration of liberal ideologies, characterised by rapid movement of people and materials including growth of the mass communication industry. The interplay of all these served as a watershed of religious change in Ghana, a phenomenon described as laissez-faire, 'anything goes' type of prophetism (Sackey, 2006). The zeal and vigour with which the movement started served as a catalyst against the mainline mission inspired Pentecostalism that had been in existence since before the Second World War (van Dijk, 1999). Its sustenance is informed by the ability of Christian intellectuals and non-intellectuals alike to add a cultural dimension to their sermons, with interpretations that are culturally acceptable both locally and internationally. This development is in keeping with Anderson's observation about the need to 'give special attention to the hitherto neglected area of the relationship between the Christian gospel and the traditional pre-Christian religion that continues to give meaning to people's understanding of life' (Anderson, 2004:215). Apparently, one such innovative action was its successful incorporation of local ideas and practices pertaining to old gods, witches, and water spirits popularly called *Mami water* in the Ghanaian context, confirming the realities and existence of supernatural entities (Meyer, 2004b). As an evolving faith in the history of Christianity, the movement has come to represent one of the most significant expressions of Christianity in Ghanaian societies.

One other important observation about this movement is that they have a specific doctrine which separates them from other groups of Christian faith - the belief that they constitute special servants of God who alone are saved and favoured. They conceptualise a saved Christian to be one who is born-again with sanctification and complete change of the inner person, with an inward feeling of holiness (Meyer, 2004a). To be sanctified is to be cleansed of all forms of sins and evil deeds. Thus, prophets and members of Pentecostal prayer warriors often seek to cast out demons by invoking the Holy Spirit to turn the demonically possessed into born-again Christians. The presence of the Holy Spirit is evidenced externally in the form of speaking in tongues, having visions, deliverance, and prophetism (van Dijk, 1999). To be born-again is to change radically, from one's past sins. While Meyer and other scholars contend that born-again Christians break ties and links with extended family members and their village of origin (Meyer, 2004a), others maintain that the break emanates from the notion that African culture and tradition breeds jealousy among people, preventing

them from making progress in their lives if they continue living with their extended families in their respective villages. Van Dijk has categorised this break into two levels; one is the person's immediate, undesirable past life-style including drinking, stealing, and other forms of wrong-doings. At the other level is deliverance of persons from their relation from ancestral worship (van Dijk, 2001). It is however important to note that in as much as people move away from their families to the cities for obvious reasons, it does not mean they have cut ties. People travel in and out of their villages regularly and take part in traditional celebrations that symbolise their identity as a people regardless of one's religious affiliation. It is thus important to point out that the third wave is experiencing a steady growth across the country (Ghana), especially amongst the urban dwellers (Okyerefo, 2011) as it represents the face of Christianity.

2.2 Factors that account for Pentecostalism explosion in Ghana

The growth and explosion of the Pentecostal movements have been attributed to several factors including political, economic as well as religious (Sackey, 2006). Just as its development took place in different phases, it would be necessary to attempt the discussion by considering these factors in the context of previous and current factors to get an understanding of how circumstances during a particular period accounted for the occurrence and escalation of the movement. In doing so, it is important to note that since the inception of the Pentecostal phenomenon in the 19th and 20th centuries, most theories explaining the explosion were opinions expressed based on the perspectives outsiders (etic) whereas others were opinions of insider's (emic).

2.2.1 Previous account of Pentecostal explosion

2.2.1.1 Socio-political factors

The earliest account of the explosion of Pentecostalism was nationalistic in outlook and was centred on resentment of the local people against colonialism. According to Anderson (2001:24), it was the impact of colonialism in the latter part of the 20th century that resulted in a situation where many people felt oppressed, marginalised and disoriented. In their effort to gain their dignity and respect as human beings, they decided to form groups with the aim of acting against colonial influence and domination in their respective divine industries. It is in view of this that people chose to describe the actions as nationalist protest and in some cases revolutionary (Sackey, 2006). Two views have been expressed with respect to this

opposition. The first view indicates that the actions of the local people were in response to racial discrimination in leadership position between the local people and their western counterparts in the divine industry. As has been alluded to by Anderson (2001:25), little attempt was made to give positions to African leaders in the divine industries they worked in. According to Jean Comaroff, the Zionist and African healing divine industries were the ones that exerted significant pressure on the missionaries (cf Anderson, 2001:25). The second view contends that the development was in response to a new social order, resulting from deprivation of security, leadership, and the economic role traditional societies provided the local people. This view is also expressed by Anderson when he indicated that the formation of the prophet healing divine industries was a response to the breakdown of African traditional society, providing security and order in the new social grouping (Anderson, 2001:25). Be that as it may, people felt that there was the need for them to also assume leadership positions in the divine industry so that they could facilitate the provision of these desires that were denied them. In keeping with these views, it is important to note that the emergence of these divine industries was due to acculturation, partly as a result of the invasion and domination of local culture by imported Christian culture. As a result of the dominance that was backed by colonial power, the local culture could not be totally reconfigured. Consequently, a new synthesis has to occur, taking elements from both the traditional and foreign cultures.

2.2.1.2 Translation of the Bible

There is also another school of thought that posits that the situation emanated as a result of the desire of the local people to worship God in their own languages using their local belief systems. This, it is argued, called for the localisation and de-westernisation of the gospel to make it meaningful for the local masses (Sackey, 2006). According to Anderson, the translation gave the local people a sense of what the Bible contained (Anderson, 2001:31). Local people were able to criticise the missionaries for not being biblical enough, in view of the many things they said that were not consistent with what the Bible said. These calls on moral grounds were genuine concerns expressed in response to their dissatisfaction with 'the white man's' way of doing things that alienated them from what they were used to. Anderson asserts that after the translation the Bible became central in the people's faith and they felt that the missionaries concealed the proper message of the Bible from them (Anderson, 2001:32). When it was made known that the Bible supported several customs that the missionaries condemned, they objected. A case in point is polygyny, an integral part of the

people's culture, but which the missionaries sought to prohibit by imposing sanctions on members. They were much convinced that the Bible was much more sympathetic to their tradition than the missionaries had wanted them to believe. According to Anderson (2001:32), the AICs allowed the practice of polygyny because they saw it as a fundamental feature of African marriage.

2.2.1.3 Religious factors

Harold Turner has argued that the wave of prophet movements that rocked the colonies of Africa was led by Africans prophets and was fundamentally spiritual (cf Anderson, 2001:34). The way and manner the orthodox missionaries handled issues relating to the Christian faith made it look like a religion with a list of taboos that sought to discredit most of the things the local people engaged in. It has been alleged that the inability of the Christian faith to be relevant to the daily struggles of the local people, especially in the area of sickness and healing, where the divine industries failed to provide convincing messages. The claim however is that these orthodox divine industries were providing answers to questions the local people were not even interested in (Anderson, 2001:34). It must be remembered that healing and religion in the local context are intertwined; as a result, all those who were converted to Christianity were made to denounce their association with the traditional religion, and by extension, African traditional medicine. It has been observed that prior to conversion, these people were promised better healthcare as a result of which they were made to abandon their traditional practices. This promise of healthcare was not fulfilled, putting a lot of them in difficult situations. While African indigenous religion and medicine was suppressed and taboo for Christians, biomedicine was also denied them. Under this precarious situation, they were no longer recognizable, practicing members of their African traditional customs; neither could they be counted as full Christians with equal rights and privileges (Sackey, 2006). This influenced many of the converts to reassess their relationship with the wider society, in that being alienated from familiar cultural and religious traditions they were used to they began to subscribe to religious syncretism or re-contextualization. It is based on this re-contextualisation, some experts claimed, that the culture and traditional religion in Africa have long been acknowledged as the womb out of which African theology will be born (Essien, 2010). Thus the pioneers of this phenomenon articulated aspects of African and Christian religions in a new synthesis, which corroborates assertion made by Anthony M. Essien that churches in Africa and its theology must bear an African 'stamp'. Indeed, it appears the local people are giving legitimacy to this 'stamp' in African

Christianity. However, the degree of synthesis is dependent upon the sway of dogma of individual churches, whether they lean more towards African or Christian culture.

2.2.2 Current account of Pentecostal explosion

The current account of the Pentecostal explosion varies and dates back to the 1979. What led to this phenomenon is explained in terms of socio-political, socio-religious and economic factors. Before attempting each one of them, it is important to point out that there are two dimensions to the current spread and explosion of Pentecostalism in Ghana. The first is what I will describe as a unilinial explosion and the second a multilinial explosion. The unilinial explosion here denotes a case where the new divine industries sprung up from existing divine industries as branches and continue to maintain the ideology and vision of the 'mother' divine industry. The headquarters or the 'mother' divine industry could either be local or foreign, serving as a reference point for all other divine industries that qualify as branches, planted in other parts, locally or internationally. The multilinial-explosion is used to denote an explosion resulting from secession, where the divine industry in question starts as an autonomous entity, with an ideology different from the industry from which it seceded. They serve as their own reference points (but take glory from the old when it fits them). After some time, these divine industries also start planting their branches in different localities to disseminate their ideologies. It is worth noting that all of these churches, whether unilinial or multilinial, recruit their members through healing crusades and 'aggressive' evangelisation. Figure 2.2 illustrates how a typical Pentecostal divine industry expands both vertically and horizontally.
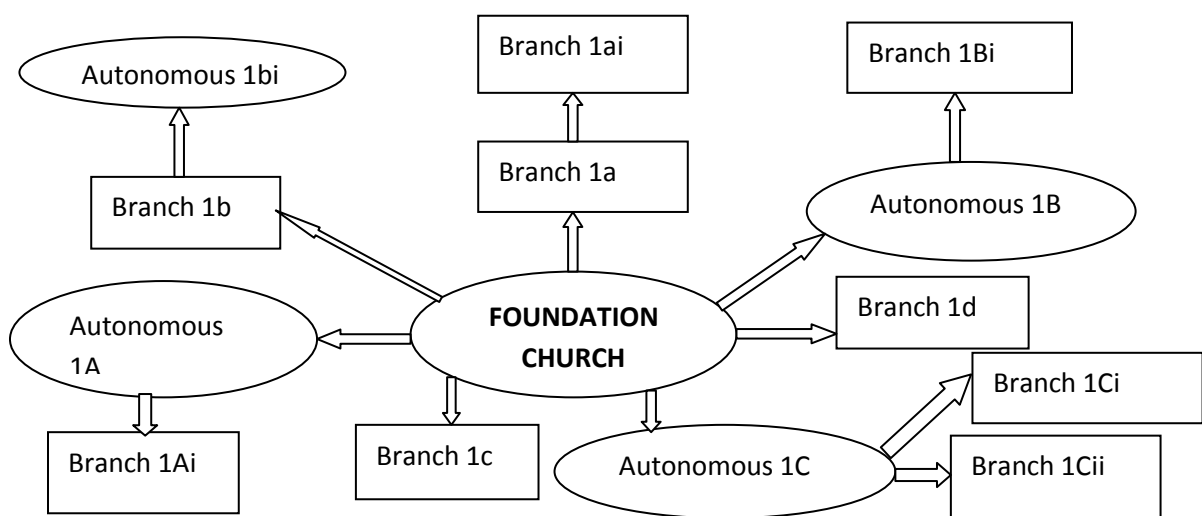
Figure 2.2   *Growth of a typical Pentecostal divine industry*

As is shown in Figure 2.2 above, the foundation divine industry is a reference point as it is the first industry planted under this case. As it expands, the first branch 1a was planted, then branch 1b in that order. For obvious reasons which are discussed below, the divine industry experienced secession and the first autonomous divine industry 1A was planted, then 1B in that order. Each of these divine industries also starts as a foundation divine industry on their own and also start planting branches, or as the case may be, experiencing secession. Some of the branches also have branches under them like the case of 1a, or they could also experience secession like the case of 1b.

What account for the unilinial explosion is the self-propagation and dynamism of some Pentecostal divine-actors who see a good working relationship with their associate divine-actors as a priority, and operate an 'open-door' type of dialogue where issues relating to the members of the congregation are dealt with in an atmosphere of respect, openness and transparency, a development which serves as a recipe for Pentecostal growth. Such leaders finds it easier planting new divine industries in other parts of the country and beyond within a short period. This observation was made during interactions with the Kings Christian Ministry's founder, Rt Rev Luguterah, who emphasised that he deploys many of his associate divine-actors, mostly young men with university degrees, to new communities to manage their branches as full divine-actors. This deployment is not only meant to convince disenchanted associate divine-actors who may have challenged his legitimacy or secede if things were not working well, but also helps the founder entrench his legitimacy and authority. He maximises the potential of his associate divine-actors through the deployment to new branches to give them some level of autonomy, even though they still owe allegiance to him as the senior divine-actor and founder of the divine-actors. Similar deployments coming from similar but autonomous divine industries all contributed to the explosion.

The multilinial explosion results from situations where grievances are not well managed, and a subsequent challenge of the legitimacies of the senior divine-actors by associate divine-actors. Though the confrontation is often conceived of as pride and the quest for power and money on the part of these associate divine-actors, most senior divine-actors do not often take it seriously. When the threats become serious and they attempt to discipline the disgruntled members using the industry's internal structures, they secede to plant their own. It is important however to note that calling oneself a divine-actor, without any additional back up vocation anywhere, becomes an issue especially when it turns out that these actors only work for their superiors without earning any reasonable income in a country with escalating cost of

living, a phenomenon that places many of them in tight financial situations. For such people, any attempt to act against their interests leads to secession, borne out of frustration and a quest for autonomy, legitimacy, and survival.

An ideological conflict is not a new phenomenon, and continues to linger on in many Pentecostal divine industries. This struggle leads to a deliberate 'bending of rules' and regulations by persons who preach the gospel for 'change and innovation', with the view that when society is developing from simple to complex, the divine industry must also adapt to these changes by putting measures in place to address its changing demands. Divine-actors with this mind-set argue that the old doctrines restrict them from exploring their divinely gifted talents, and when divine industries fail to take advantage of the changing circumstances, it goes against the interest and wishes of the divine industry and its clients. One of the divine-actors by name Jonathan recounted his difficult moments with his superiors after attending a conference of Pentecostal churches in the United Kingdom to improve his knowledge regarding the gospel, and the penalty he suffered, as he put it:

> *Establishing this church was not preconceived. Formerly I was with the Assemblies of God as a head pastor of one of the branches. It was in my absence to the UK to attend a conference that leaders attempted bringing another pastor into the church to replace me. Members and leaders of my branch did not agree and information was sent to me while I was still in UK. When I returned, I thought they would review their decision, but they persisted and even withdrew my credential as a pastor of the Assemblies of God church. Having no way out.., I had to start somewhere. So I went with most of the members to form a new church called 'Elshadai Love International Ministry (ELIM Gh)'.*

According to most of the divine-actors, the behaviour of some of the senior divine-actors is out of fear of losing their legitimacy to the young and dynamic divine-actors who appear very vocal with chains of university degrees, and the ease with which they blend theory and practice. Indeed, when these strategies of 'pin-them-down' (issuance of queries and threat of dismissal) backfire, tempers rise and the resultant effect is often resignation and subsequent planting of new breed of churches as in the case of Jonathan as stated above.

A leader was said to be spiritually inspired through which he was able to attract a following of relatively respectable people to his divine industry. A problem ensued much later in one of his branches, concerning the appropriateness of paying all tithes and thanks-giving offering (donations) to the headquarters. Later the founder and General Overseer became offended with this development and wrote a letter to dismiss the executive council of this branch. His

reason for taking such drastic action was that his appraisal report showed that they were no longer competent to continue as elders, deacons, and deaconess. Enraged by this action, the affected persons openly recounted how they made the leader who he had become and vowed to establish their own divine industry to teach him a lesson. One of the aggrieved persons is reported to have expended several thousand of Ghana Cedis (a thousand Ghana Cedi is equivalent to 500 euro) on the leader and his movement. In solidarity with the disaffected members who found themselves in this 'religious collision', some of the members of the divine industry joined them to establish their new divine industry (Assimeng, 2010:135). It is obvious from the above that these persons were discharged of their post because they were perceived to have challenged the authority of the General Overseer when they questioned why all the money they accumulated should be sent to the headquarters. In addition to this internal dynamics, the underlying factors responsible for the current Pentecostal explosion are socio-political, socio-religious and economic.

2.2.3 Socio-political factors

For a successful evangelisation of the gospel of any kind of Christian denomination, the type of language used by the evangelist plays a very important role. In Ghana, Pentecostal faith thrived and grew to its present state because of the use of the English language. Both the classical and the neo-Pentecostals movements 'newcomers' as Gifford (2004:23) would describe them - trace their roots to English-speaking nations (UK and USA), making evangelisation in Ghana very successful. This is in view of the fact that English is an official language of Ghana. Even though much of the preaching in Ghana is done in the local languages, the evangelical missionaries penetrated the country using English as a language of evangelisation before the various scriptures were later translated into the local dialects. One other important development was the use of gospel books and cassettes that were developed by the western evangelist, mostly from the United States of America and the United Kingdom. These materials were very easy to read and understand, especially among the elite group in urban towns and cities because all of them were written in English.

It is obvious when one observe the recent religious intolerance in some African nations that religious organisations are striving for control of the religious and political spheres of the human endeavour, a situation which does not augur well for peaceful co-existence of people with different religious affiliations in a pluralistic religious society. The rapidity with which the Pentecostal movement is growing is indicative of the effort it is making to 'religiously

colonise' Ghana which may subsequently lead to religious monopoly. They assert that Ghana will only prosper and progress as a country under a God-fearing leader, and would experience challenges if the country is entrusted to leader relying on occult forces (Meyer, 2004b). In view of this development, the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (both religious associations) are very influential in the politics of the country. As Christian associations, they have a stake in the direction they think policies in the country ought to go before they are implemented. This is in view of their numerical strength and the freedom of choice and association of religious organisations as stipulated in the 1992 constitution of Ghana. It is in the light of this influence Gifford asserted that Christians in Ghana, in the wake of the drafting of the 1992 constitution, wanted to influence stake holders working on the constitution to declare Ghana as a Christian nation, and advocating the need for traditional religious practices such as public pouring of libation (alcohol) during national functions to be discontinued (cf Meyer, 2003).

These divine industries have equally been used as avenues for gaining social mobility as well as providing status and power for its leaders (Assimeng, 2010:153). These aspirations coupled with the relative peace and stability of the country is partly responsible for the steady growth of the movement. This type of development is expected in an environment of pluralistic religious organisation that learns to mutually co-exist with each other. Unlike the neighbouring West African nations of Nigeria and Mali which are currently experiencing a series of confrontations between the two major religions (Islam and Christianity) that dominate the sub-region, and who constantly battle each other physically for control of both the religious and the political spheres, in Ghana, the battle is one centred on ideas and strategies on how to woo a majority to their side without necessarily resorting to mass physical confrontation, a situation that serves as a fertile ground for the Pentecostal faith to thrive without fear of repression or intimidation.

The quest for leadership and control as a characteristic of many individuals was also found as a factor influencing the multiplication of the Pentecostal faith among the well-established divine industries. In many of the responses gathered, the quest for autonomy, independence and freedom to rise through the social ladder came up prominently in many of their responses. Some of the divine-actors find it uncomfortable working and taking instructions from colleagues who do not respect their feelings even though they have similar qualifications. Rt Rev Luguterah remarked about his former spiritual father in trying to suggest how autonomous and free he is now: 'Now when we attend meetings, Agyin Asare

(his former mentor) addresses me as a colleague and not his 'boy' as was the case when I was working under him'. This desire for autonomy and independence especially among persons with a university education is a contributing factor responsible for the increasing rate of Pentecostal phenomenon in Ghana. Some of the prominent divine-actors in Ghana advocate that the bench mark for qualification to minister a Pentecostal divine industry should be a first degree from a university.

Other observations point to the African response to the new social order, resulting in deprivation of the security and leadership role traditional societies used to offer. As Assimeng has observed, 'Men and women who assume religious leadership positions have in several instances, previously been denied prestigeful positions in secular spheres of society' (Assimeng, 2010:153). The changing phase of society as a result of the development of towns and cities has led to a 'divorce' of the youth from their families, due to their migration to towns and cities in search of greener pastures. When they do not find lucrative jobs, these divine industries serve as buffers for the frustrated young men and women who for obvious reasons, become disenchanted. The Pentecostal divine industries often assume the role of surrogate extended families, typically in the large divine industries where members are surrounded by people who care for them like family. The contextualisation of cultural beliefs in Pentecostalism as a necessary institution in handling these existential problems - poverty, marriage, healing and the general alleviation of fear, finds expression in the actions people take. This development ties in with Anderson's observation that, 'One of the reasons for the growth of Pentecostal divine industries may be that they have succeeded where orthodox divine industries have often failed – to provide a contextualised Christianity in Africa' (Anderson, 2004:122). Emphasising this further, Rev. Wuni of the Baptist training school in Tamale indicated that:

> *Africans have always known poverty as a threat and attempts are often made to explain and deal with the problems from a religious perspective. When they read or hear the promises of spiritual power that can deal with issues of wealth and prosperity, and protection of people from the devastating effects of poverty and evil forces in an ever-changing society, then this becomes dominant in their minds.*

2.2.4 Socio-religious and economic factors

Inequality and poverty associated with developing countries continues to be a burden for government and civil society groups and Ghana is not an exception. The appeal and prominence of Pentecostal divine industries in recent times is explained with regard to the

role the movement plays in dealing with deprivation, disorganisation, and defection that have bedevilled developing societies. Societies that are faced with difficulty in meeting their existential need resort to alternative means of meeting these needs. The Pentecostal faith asserts itself as an alternative, and eventually makes its influence stronger as the state, quite contrary to the spiritual development of its citizens, failed to live up to its expectations (Meyer, 2011:149, 2004b). The movement is highly embraced in view of the fact that it has been able to carve messages that are appealing, self-authenticating, and community validating religious experience of members. The revealing reality of disorganisation and deprivation due partly to unemployment in society, coupled with the unwillingness of some orthodox divine industries to address these problems 'scripturally' by offering pragmatic hope to society, contributes to the explosion of Pentecostalism. In many instances, these divine industries are positioned as alternatives to moral legitimacy (Jesse, 2009). The mass defection of youth from the orthodox divine industries to the Pentecostal movement is an obvious sign of disenchantment about the way these orthodox divine industries have gone about addressing the spiritual and material needs of their younger followers. This growing disillusionment is an indication that the swelling number of Pentecostal Christians does not consider it enough when divine industries just make critical statements about worsening social and economic conditions, and in many cases condemning the few who live in obscene opulence while the majority wallow in misery and poverty, but they want such comment to be backed with action that yields results.

In the 1979, Ghana experienced one of its worst economic challenges due to corruption and an eventual series of coup d'états that plunged the country into an 'economic-coma'. In search of survival and descent living, many Ghanaians migrated to other West African countries to make ends meet. Whilst the military intervened to instil stability by taking control of state affairs, religious organisations also contributed their share towards this fight against corruption and injustices in the country through sermons and interviews with journalists. However, with all its good intentions, the strategy regrettably did not yield the desired results. This prompted the need for external influence to revamp the ailing economy that was nearing collapse. Thus the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), a World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) economic recovery policy was introduced during the reign of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government in the early 1980s to save the ailing economy from total collapse (Meyer, 2003, 2004a; van Dijk, 1999; Sackey, 2006). The conditions set by the IMF were to lay off some of Ghana's public sector workers

and also privatise some state industries. This directive created additional hardships for the poor and the middle-income earners to the point that persons who could not cope with the hardships committed suicide, whilst others committed crimes that sent many of them to prison. The recommended state-owned industries, factories and warehouses were put on the divestiture list, rendering many of the people who were employed there redundant. Some divine industries were able to purchase some of these warehouses, turning them into spacious divine industries for worship (Meyer, 2004b). More people joined the divine industries where drumming and dancing took place because the unstable political climate at that time led to an imposition of a curfew and people were not allowed to go out to night clubs and other entertainment centres for well over two years (Sackey, 2006). The situation put cinema halls in bankruptcy because many of the night entertainments centres were obstructed.

Some of the people who committed crimes did so with the notion that when sent to prison they were going to be fed a free meal, a meal they could not get in the 'free world'. Interestingly, some of the convicts were converted to Christianity while they were serving their prison terms, and upon their release, they founded new divine industries to demonstrate to Ghanaians the influence of God in their lives. This development provided platforms for new divine industries with their roots in western countries to emerge in the country. These new divine industries have their messages centred on promises of hope, prosperity, wealth and health (Amanor, 2004). This ultimately boosted the moral and aspirations of many local people. The educated elites, most of whom had finished university and who also found themselves in economic difficulties, eagerly appropriated what was considered to be the 'goods of modernity', and were able to blend their knowledge to create new religious messages that were good for local demand. More people were energised to take up the challenge when they realised that many people were embracing the faith, with some leaving their jobs to concentrate on their new-found careers. In explaining why the gospel was embraced by the so many people, Rev Wuni pointed out that;

> *Africans appropriated Christian teaching on prosperity and wealth not because they were gulled by the evangelists, but because the evangelists were addressing important issues in the indigenous world view.*

These important issues are related to poverty and unemployment, the root causes of many people's problems, and how they could overcome them. Many youth finish school and find there are no jobs for them. Out of frustration, they migrate to the cities with the hope of finding jobs. Because the jobs are not forthcoming, the messages from the divine industry

provides hope to the hopeless and disenchanted who thought they had no purpose in life. In fact, because of the American civil war and the Azusa Street phenomenon, these inspirational messages that had existed for many decades in the United States of America were imported to Ghana and other countries that were facing similar crisis. In his submission, Rev Abdulai of the Assemblies of God training school at Kumbungu indicated how this experience was brought in by Pentecostal and charismatic evangelists, who had their roots in the United States of America:

> *Pentecostalism begun as and continue to be a complex, heterogeneous and eclectic movement in both theological and social composition. During the period that ran roughly from America Civil War to the Great Depression, American Society was caught in the vortex of change as mass immigration; urbanisation and industrialisation re-sculptured the North American landscape. As a result societal problems became much more complicated and acute. Yet most public-spirited Christians still felt that the key to better life together lay in personal moral and spiritual reform. Thus the most prevalent evangelical attempt to reform urban life was based on the principles of private action and personal responsibility.*

With this as a case reference, the remarkable influx of people to urban towns and cities with its unanticipated hardships calls for a sober reflection on the reality of private responsibility and the renewal of society. With the growing suggestions in research circles that Pentecostal Christianity is mainly an urban phenomenon (Okyerefo, 2011; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:1), with its continuous emphasis on wealth and success, many young men and women who find life in the cities and towns unbearable get attracted to these movements, an attraction associated with people suffering from what Durkheim described as anomie in the cities, contrasted against their birth place where they have stable life with social norms that serve to guide their daily activities, they experience the opposite in cities.

There is also the concern for divine-actors to decentralise their churches to serve the needs of the majority of the population. The contention is that decentralisation would send the gospel down to door-steps of the people and would also help avoid a situation where many divine industries are concentrated in the national capitol and major towns and cities, which ultimately denies the under-privileged access to the benefits of these religious movements. It does appear that, once each and every autonomous divine industry wants to found a branch in a place they consider as under-served, the net effect is often an explosion. Many of the divine-actors work under the assumption that the wider they 'cast their nets', the more likely it would be for them to win more souls. This partly explains why well-developed Pentecostal

divine industries have established their own Bible schools to train their own divine-actors to enable them to reach out to many people. Hundreds of divine-actors are trained yearly from different Bible schools (Sackey, 2006). However, because many of the divine-actors earn their living out of the divine vocation, many of them plant their own divine industries upon graduation from the Bible schools, adding to the already exploding Pentecostal market. In light of this development, it is not uncommon to find divine industries located in close proximity to each other with two or more divine industries all housed in the same building. This explains why many people speculate that one of the lucrative industries in Ghana today is the founding of divine industries provided that divine-actors are able to prove their divine power, manifested in healing and performing wonders. It is only through this (proof) that potential consumers of the religious product would get attracted enough to the divine industry to worship with them.

There is a rising speculation that the Pentecostal explosion is due partly to the desire for economic gains and self-fulfilment. This is against the backdrop of the ostentatious lifestyles of some men of God such as the self-styled bishops who are alleged to have conferred to themselves honorary doctorate degrees (Sackey, 2006). They further contend that founding a divine industry is not costly but rather rewarding and enriching, once the divine-actor can lay claim to divine calling and a spiritual gift, eloquence and confidence with a few verses they can memorise from the Bible. They are of the opinion that these are the ingredients for access to religious economic prosperity. In the light of this, divine industries are seen as avenues for making quick money to resurrect individuals from economic dogma and the bitterness associated with poverty. Contrary to this, investigations revealed that some of the divine-actors invest their life savings into founding these divine industries. Throughout the interactions that form the basis for this research, no divine-actor confirmed the assertions that they are into divine industry for economic gains. What is important is that many of them invest a lot before reaping the rewards, a development that leads to the assertion that Pentecostal divine industries are materialistic in orientation, with their gospel centred on prosperity, which reveals their external origins and capitalist inclination.

Because of the publicity divine-actors get from making prophetic pronouncements, many of them create a market for themselves by getting attached to and supporting politicians to win their favour and funding, and many divine-actors are even becoming 'religious celebrities'. As Meyer (2011:150) rightly indicated, politicians use Pentecostal divine industries for ritual cleansing and for votes. It is speculated that many politicians sponsor divine-actors to do this

prophesy for them. This development entices others into the 'prophetic ministry' to win favour from politicians and many stake holders who need for their services.

2.3 Structure of Pentecostal divine industries

The structure of authority in the Pentecostal divine industries is complex. However, it appeals to most members because of its apparent flexibility and democratic manner of administration. One interesting development within the Pentecostal divine industry is that there are opportunities for most members to hold reasonable positions or at least be given the opportunity to exercise their leadership skills in small groups (Okyerifo, 2011). Though democracy is seen as practiced within the divine industry, it appears that the only position the perceived democracy does not affect is the seat occupied by the founder. The founder is neither appointed into office nor nominated by anyone, and as such, is hard to remove from office. Like traditional rulers, he holds office for life unlike other divine-actors under him who could be transferred, demoted or sacked as the case may be; his position is fixed until his death, making his position an embodied authority. Quite apart from his or her post, some would argue that the whole operation within the divine industry revolves around one person (van Dijk, 2001), the structure and working of the Pentecostal divine industry visited indicates there is some level of democracy in their operation. The way the divine industries are organised is in response to the need to accommodate its rapid expansion. The division into units or departments is to decentralise responsibility and also prepare young divine-actors who are heading these units with managerial skills for future assignments.

Within the internal structure of a typical Pentecostal divine industry, the divine-actor often serves as the administrative head and Chief Executive (CEO) or what others describe as the president, or General Overseer, of the divine industry. The position of the founder is sacrosanct, for he is regarded as God's representative whose authority is legitimate and supreme; his orders are rarely challenged and appear final in most cases because they are assumed to be divine. He superintends the overall running of the divine industry, provides spiritual welfare, directing and making sure that adequate measures are put in place for the general wellbeing of every member of the industry.

Under the administrative head of the divine industry is the board of directors of the divine industry who are mostly members of the divine industry, with the divine-actors serving as its chairperson. The selection criterion to serve in this board is based upon the qualities and lifestyles of the persons. To qualify to become a board member, one must be of high moral

standing, live an exemplary life and have character worthy of emulation with an unquestionable reputation. One observation about these board members is that many of them are wealthy individuals and could easily raise funds to support the running of the divine industry. This board together with the founder manage the affairs of the divine industry. The board functions basically as an advisory committee to the founder on important matters that border on doctrine, discipline, property acquisition, appointment and promotions. Issues that border on divine revelation through the founder are discussed with the board before it is announced to the public.

Under the governing board of the divine industry is the 'Asofo Maame', the wife of the founder, and other functional departments such as the prayer force, the youth, finance, music, children, women, welfare and media which are headed by associate divine-actors. The 'Asofo Maame' has the responsibility for activities that are rarely performed by persons other than the founder, and in practice, her position is next to the founder. She coordinates all the activities of women in the divine industry, working through the women's department with the responsibility of providing social, psychological and moral advice to her colleagues, especially women with marital problems and those with problems that relate to their health and physical wellbeing. The 'Asofo Maame' and wives of associate divine-actors take non-professional women in their congregation through business initiatives to empower them to be economically independent from their husbands. Moreover, the women play an instrumental role in convincing their husbands to join their religious organisations. Typically, it is often the woman as mother of the family who gets converted first, followed by children and then the husband.

The prayer force department helps the divine-actor to discover the extraordinary power to help ordinary men and women in difficult situations through healing, deliverance and exorcism. Because of the nature and responsibility of this department, they spend most part of their time in intensive fasting and prayer to receive God's favour, in order that they could use such favour to help address problems bedevilling ordinary men and women of their congregation. The constant search for divine power makes them specialists in healing and deliverance.

The youth department oversees the needs of the young men and women in the divine industries. This department is in charge of giving advice regarding individual development and how to become responsible persons in life, career prospects, and many issues that border

on the life of the youth. The choice of careers among members who are in school is provided here.

The welfare departments of the Pentecostal divine industry take care of social issues including bereavement, marriage and any other social problem that befalls any member of the divine industry. During these occasions, members come together, take donations from other members of the divine industry, either in cash or in kind, and present them to the needy individuals, on behalf of the divine industry. The same thing is done for all members who find themselves in similar situations. This is similar to the case in Latin America where Pentecostals have a home cell at the centre of social activities, encouraging social services such as collecting food items for the underprivileged (Martin, 1990:147). Though there is no law that makes it mandatory for members of the divine industry to contribute for persons in need, on moral grounds the practice has become a convention within the congregation that everyone now perceives it as an obligation to give when another person is in need and to expect and receive gifts when they are in similar situations.

The music department is very important in all Pentecostal worship. Whether the divine industry is operated under trees, class rooms or giant auditoriums with sophisticated sound systems, the heart of Pentecostalism is the music. Each divine industry has a distinct characteristic of musical tradition employed in worship. The entertainment provided by this department gives an opportunity for members of the congregation to dance and enjoy (van Dijk, 2001). Every occasion has its style of music that go with it. During donations and offering, praise and worship including healing and deliverance, solemn music is provided by the divine industry's choir. Thus, this department is responsible for taking care of musical instruments, and composing music that endears most to the congregants. Because of the blend of educated, uneducated, women, children and the elderly in the congregation, conscious efforts are made to compose music that enables everyone to relate it to their worship. Expertise in playing the right kinds of music is highly esteemed and considered crucial for this important experience of charismata, the benevolent spiritual gifts (van Dijk, 2001).

The media department is in charge of publicity of the divine industry's events and how the messages are sent out to the public domain. The department is the mouth-piece of the divine industry; they have a stake in what the divine-actor says on a radio ministry and how it is said. They create websites where many things about the church are advertised. Making use of the knowledge they have acquired in journalism and information communication technology

(ICT) at the various universities, it is interesting how, as Meyer puts it, the Pentecostal divine industries have successfully manifested themselves in the public sphere, often by making use of both new and old mass media, and how the mass media offers a stage for religion (Meyer, 2004b).

The finance department is the life-blood of all Pentecostal divine industries in Ghana, in that all activities revolve around money. Consequently, there is the need for an efficient management of the finances of the divine industry. This involves appointing people with financial expertise in the department to be able to account to those concerned, the in-flows and out-flows of their finances. Apart from accounting for tithes, offering or donations, it also ensures that the divine industry's investment in other projects is managed in a manner that yields dividends. Figure 2.3 is an organogram of a typical Pentecostal divine industry.
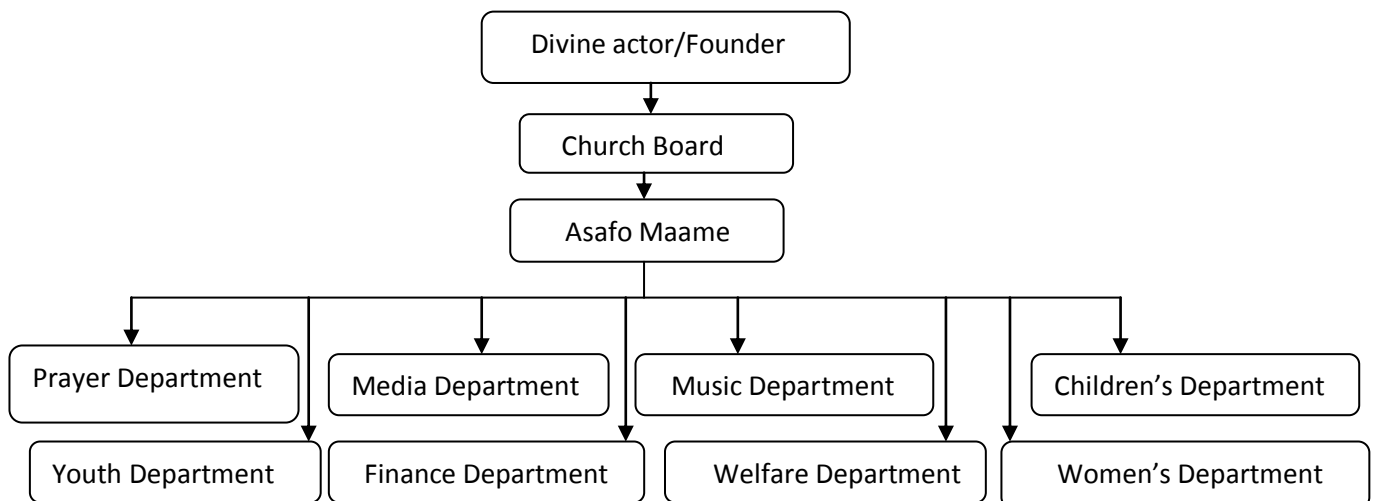
Figure 2.3 Organogram of a Pentecostal divine industry

2.4 Regulatory mechanisms of Pentecostal movement

The growth in prominence of Pentecostal divine industries in sub-Saharan Africa is accompanied by a growing regulatory challenge for governments and policy makers, with respect to how some divine industries conduct their businesses. Though it is an indisputable fact in Ghanaian society that this brand of Christianity has gained a lot of ground, it is not everyone who sees its development as healthy (Gifford, 2004:40). There are enormous social services Pentecostal movement provides to the public through their complex network of established contacts, support systems, and individual initiatives not to mention of the instrumental role they play in the political and social sphere (Meyer, 2011). In view of this

enviable role, Ghana as a secular state, tries to maintain a careful balance between cooperating with these institutions and establishing a dividing line between religion and state. This idea as enshrined in the national constitution creates an avenue for persons to associate or dissociate themselves from any religious institution at will without any social or political consequence. Consequently, this results in a decline in the regulatory capacity of the state. However, this relaxed role notwithstanding, efforts are made to ensure that order is maintained in the religious field in the interest of the state and other citizens within Ghanaian society.

2.4.1 Previous state intervention

Before the 1992 constitution of the republic of Ghana, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government that was in power at the time passed a law, the Religious Bodies (registration) Law of 1989 (PNDC 221). This law was instituted against the backdrop of the escalating nature of religious organisations especially the Pentecostal divine industries in the country. The mandate of the law was to monitor their activities and also address the eminent threats the activities of these religious movements posed to the nation's stability and culture. The state also saw it as a duty to regulate the divine industries financial relations in view of the fact that many of their financiers were foreign-based divine industries mostly from the United States of America, whose preoccupation was wealth and prosperity as a positive and normal attribute. The chairman of the Ghana National Commission on Civic Education was quoted as saying that the phenomenal proliferation of Pentecostal divine industries is a threat to national development (Gifford, 2004:41). Indeed, it was the conviction of the state that western countries could be hiding under the cover of these new breed of divine industries to sow seeds of discord aimed at destabilising the country, especially so when the country was under a military regime, a regime that was not serving the interests of the west.

Two bodies were tasked to oversee the registration of religious bodies: the Religious Affairs Committee and the National Commission for Culture. Persons desiring to found or establish any divine industry were obliged to apply to the committee for provisional approval. Qualification for registration was dependent upon the issuance of a certificate of approval by the commission upon recommendation of the committee. For a divine industry to be granted a certificate of approval, section 6(1) (2) of the law provided that any person seeking approval for the registration of a religious body must apply in writing to the committee on a form

prescribed by the commission, and only after the committee has done an inspection of the places of worship. It is after the receipt of a certificate of approval that an application could be made to the Registrar General for the registration. The registration policy was however misconstrued as an infringement on the right to freedom to hold religious belief and practice, and lack of interest on the part of government in liberalising and recognising individual religious rights.

Worried that this policy was going to be used as a political tool to manage dissent, the older divine industries that were established by colonial missionaries described the move as a complete infringement on their fundamental human right to freedom of religion. The agitating groups were the Christian Council of Ghana and the Catholic Bishops Conference who openly opposed the policy, emphasising that it had the potential to promote religious and ethnic discrimination. In a letter to government, the two bodies argued that the policy was in contravention to the freedom of religion enshrined in the United Nations Charter on Human Rights which Ghana adopted. They were however quick to propose to the government that they vigorously implement existing policies on immorality and noise abatement relating to religious groups, requesting that the attention of the divine industry should be focused on particular issues of concern for corrective action (Hackett, 2011).

In view of the growing divide between the orthodox divine industries on one hand and the Pentecostal divine industries on the other, the Pentecostal divine industries became suspicious of the orthodox divine industries, accusing them of having underhand dealings with the state to hatch policies intended to curb the activities of the so called 'mushrooming' divine industries of which they were part (Gifford, 1994). Though the law died a natural death with the coming into force of the 1992 constitution, the Pentecostal divine industries did not give up their quest to register their respective divine industries, for they saw some advantage in the policy, since it conferred on them official recognition from the state. It has been observed that the law and practice with respect to recognition and registration of religious organisations is a crucial test for evaluating a country's performance with respect to freedom of religion or belief (Hackett, 2011). The current regulatory mechanisms of the Pentecostal divine industries are at three levels; state regulation, regulation by divine industry's associations, and a hybrid of internal and/state regulatory measures.

2.4.2 Current state intervention

Registering a divine industry provides it with legal recognition and all the privileges associated with registration. For instance in ordaining divine-actors and other leaders of divine industries, their recognition by the outside world is dependent upon the type of institution they have affiliation with. With this legal recognition, as Rev Azeka put it: 'An ordained minister of Winning Life Chapel should have all the courtesies that are given to ordained ministers anywhere in the country and beyond'. Once registered, the divine industry becomes a legal entity recognised in Ghana as legal and established. All divine-actors, who are heads of this legal entity, also get legal support and recognition. The divine industries register as companies limited by guarantee. It provides them with a legal basis to operate, open bank accounts and conduct many other legal matters. Registration is a legal foundation on which all Pentecostal divine industries operate and rescue divine-actors out of the mentality of 'one-man-show', in that before a divine industry is registered, the founder must put in place a required board of directors and in doing this, he or she is directly involving other people. This requirement compels the new divine industries to put some basic structures in place before they commence operation. Involving others and having to draft their own constitution to work with as a requirement, provide a check for divine-actors who may be tempted to do unacceptable things. Once the basic structures are put in place, and rules spelled out clearly, they are bound to abide by these rules and are careful not to deviate from the agreed upon rules.

To ensure access to quality health care irrespective of location and age or religion, the laws of Ghana guarantee freedom of choice of any medication during ill health. Article 28(4&5) and Article 30 of the 1992 constitution states explicitly the following provision: 28(4) states that no child shall be deprived by any other person of medical treatment, education or any other social or economic benefit by reason of religion or other beliefs; with (5) defining a 'child' as a person below the age of eighteen years. Article 30 goes further to indicate that persons who for reason of sickness or any other cause are unable to give their consent shall not be deprived by any other person of medical treatment, social or economic benefits by reason of religion or other beliefs. This implies that as far as adults are in their full conscience and are mentally sound, they can use their religious beliefs as grounds or reasons to seek medical treatment from anywhere. However, in regards to children and other persons incapable of giving or withholding their consent, the law frowns on those who use their religious beliefs as sufficient grounds to refuse them medication or medical treatment.

2.4.3 Intervention of church associations

There are many associations of divine industries in Ghana but the prominent ones are the Christian Council of Ghana, Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council, among others. For the purpose of this study, emphasis will be placed on the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC). Like other associations, the GPCC is a voluntary association that creates a set of standards and monitoring mechanisms to which participating divine industries agree to adhere. One of its objectives is the provision of good reputation for all participating divine industries; creating standards that are sufficiently strong enough to signal its position on quality to the state and the public. They have criteria for screening entrants, a process which keeps many people who are unable to meet their criteria out of the association.

As part of the requirements for admission to the association, the name, location and personal information of the divine industries must be known, along with the calling history of the founder, date of ordination and the denomination of the divine-actor who took him through the ordination. Other requirements include brief history of the officiating minister and contact details, the number of branches of the divine industry both local and international, number of employee and total membership of the divine industry. Evidence of officers of the divine industry, tenets of faith and by-laws, the organisational structure, certificate of registration (with the Registrar General Department), and their social development projects (schools, hospitals, orphanages etc.). These measures are to maintain standards and to prevent 'charlatan' divine industries from infiltrating their ranks thereby tarnishing the image of the association in the eyes of the public. As the chairman of the GPCC put it, 'We have concerns that because of current issues, people may want to rush our corridors'. The issues he is referring to are related to the fact that many divine industries have been criticised for the wrong reasons, and having affiliation with the GPCC vindicates them. He was however emphatic that some divine-actors refuse to join the association because they probably have something up their sleeves, saying 'Some of them will not join any Christian Council but what they do is that they try to find anybody in the system and say we want to submit to you to father (mentor) us and we take them along but they need to come into an association'. From this account, it becomes apparent that the younger divine industries that have their mentors somewhere as their 'mentoring' divine industries might not find it expedient to join any association, especially if they feel they have nothing to lose by not joining. However, divine-actors in divine industries who have not joined the association maintained that one must be seen to be serious when he or she joins the association. For them, there are series of

meetings that are often organised by the association and, as some of them put it; 'If you join them and happen to be the only divine-actor in your divine industry, activities would grind to a halt when you are somewhere attending meetings'.

The GPCC is trying tirelessly to maintain standards and protect its reputation. Reports from the council indicate that out of a total of 15 divine industries that applied to join the council in 2011, only one divine industry, Omega Evangelistic Ministry headed by one Reverend Dr. Quarcopome Sackey was admitted. The remaining 14 could not be admitted because they did not meet the requirements set by the council. In the opinion of the chairman, many of the applicants want to join the council to enhance their credibility and status, but meeting the basic requirements is a barrier, since a majority do not have the basic structures put in place to secure them admission. There are monitoring mechanisms and sanctions meted out for non-compliance. As the deputy chairman of the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council in Tamale indicated; 'We went on our usual monitoring and we got to church and a particular divine-actor did something that was unchristian and we had to excommunicate him. After visiting his church we realised that he had slaughtered a cat and put it under his seat.'

Apart from ensuring that Pentecostal divine industries work within the frame-work of the gospel, the council promotes unity among members especially in an environment where competition among divine industries use all manner of techniques and strategies for recognition and membership, and to get their products consumed. The association receives complaints from individual divine industries especially when they have problems with their divine-actors. The association does not give financial assistance; rather, it takes contributions from members for administrative purposes and also as a sign of commitment on the part of the participating divine industries. The council invites member divine industries for meetings and workshops and sometimes organises joint services and an end of the year get-together (party) for all participating members during which a lot of issues that border on their activities are discussed. They have a collective interest at the national level and have lawyers to fight for members who happen to find themselves in trouble in the line of their work.

2.4.4 Hybrid of internal/state interventions

Internal regulation is used here to refer to a case where standards and rules of conduct are formulated by individual divine industries, rather than the government or association of divine industries. These individual divine industries put mechanisms in place to shape or constrain institutional behaviour in order to provide a measure of institutional quality to the

public. The divine industries present critical problems of collective action for participants, and information provided by internal regulation is a public good for participants in that all members benefit from the positive reputation, and none can be prevented from enjoying it. Thus members try their utmost to avoid compliance with costly standards, but live to enjoy the benefits of enhanced reputation.

Moreover, some of the divine industries rely on their own members to solve their numerous problems. One important observation is that divine industries have not just gathered people to constitute their congregations, but have succeeded in gathering quality and efficient people with the economic and social resources that count in contemporary society. These include top police, military, and political office holders. The political office holders and the various security agents are used when they need something or when a member wants to secure a job which requires the involvement of people in the higher circles, as one of the divine-actors put it; 'We prevail upon our members who are in government to lobby for us'. Help is sought from members who are security experts when an action of the divine industry has some security implications. When they need land to put up a project, they rely on their local assembly-men and the chiefs to secure it for them. In fact these personalities serve a good purpose when the situation at hand requires their intervention. Though most of these personalities may be seen as conniving with the divine industries to engage in acts that are likely to lead to a conflict of interest, they do not see it in that light. For them, they are ordinary members of the divine industry and anything they do is done in the name of God. This therefore exonerates them from running into any problem. Some of the divine-actors even indicated that though they have such personalities in their congregations, they tend not to magnify their association with them. As Rev Kingsley pointed out: 'Wherever you find yourself working; you are a child of God when you are in the divine industry, we do not magnify or esteem those things, my associate divine-actors is a bank manager of Apex Bank, and another is a secretary to the regional minister. Once they are members of this divine industry, whatever they need to do to promote the interest of the divine industry and its members, they do'. Thus it is the wish of many divine industries that they have such personalities in their congregations.

2.5 Challenges for the Pentecostal movement

Even though regulatory mechanisms are in place at different levels within the Pentecostal faith, the movement is not without challenges. Considering the rapid expansion the

Pentecostal faith has experienced, they are so fragmented in Ghana that unity is a significant challenge. It is for instance, difficult to unify the membership of one divine industry, who certainly represent and adhere to one doctrinal line, to wholly accept and unify with members of other congregations. The different facets of fragmented church association such as the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council, Christian Council of Ghana and the Catholic Bishops Conference among others that represent different strands of Christianity is of concern. These differences make consolidation of their activities as well as imposition of unity amongst them very difficult. Each group has its interests to serve, creating room for politics and inter-group conflicts, especially as is observed between members of the Pentecostal and Charismatic fraternity and those of the orthodox divine industries, and as Anderson has rightly pointed out there are indeed several lingering problems that are yet to be overcome in many Pentecostal movements as a result of this continuous rivalry which makes ecumenical co-operation difficult (Anderson, 2004:215).

In many of the Christian associations, administrative impediments have limited the desire of some divine industries to officially join their respective associations, especially the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council. The desire for standards has led to an imposition of stringent measures that all aspiring members have to meet before they are admitted. Some of them, disappointed as they may be, contend that the requirement for admission are too demanding, whereas others have made it a policy not to join the association simply because they have the impression that the leaders are deliberately side-lining some category of members. They believe the association has reserved the presidency and the vice presidency for only the founding member of divine industries, a practice they describe as un-democratic. As an association, there are alleged reports of exploitation and hypocrisy on the part of some divine industries that warrant disciplinary measures. However, it appears the association does not do much in terms of getting the right people to impose sanctions. Politicians in the country and some high-ranking law enforcement agencies are members of these divine industries and wield a great deal of influence, helping some divine industries to escape institutional sanctions. This concern discourages many Pentecostal divine industries from joining the association, a situation not good enough for Pentecostal unity. The fragmentation has also made it very difficult to get the true picture regarding the total number of divine industries that fall under the Pentecostal family nationwide. Although the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council, is a well-organised association, that is voluntarily constituted to

oversee the activities of these divine industries, the association lacks knowledge of the total number of divine industries that fall under its umbrella nationwide.

Many deviant divine-actors and their divine industries escape sanctions partly because the association as a regulator of these divine industries is also guided by the national constitution and so has its limits as far as sanctions and prosecutions are concerned. Once a divine industry is registered as a state recognised institution (Registrar General's Department), it becomes difficult for any divine industry association to sanction them for deviance apart from the state institutions. The worst the association can do is to excommunicate the said divine industry but cannot stop it from operation. It is this challenge that makes it difficult by law for the Pentecostal and Charismatic Council to impose sanctions – by suspending their operations. To show how frustrated they become sometimes in view of the numerous calls for them to act decisively about the deviant divine industries in the system, the 2009 chairman of the Christian Council of Ghana, Rev Yaw Frimpong-Manso, in addressing a congregation declared:

> *The Council has no power to formulate a religious Code of Conduct for Pastors, Prophets, Church Leaders, and any Christian groupings. We have no power to interfere with the operations of any church, ...all the other associations and Christian bodies also have their own Code of Conduct, enforcement is another issue, in any case we expect the laws of the land to continue to deal with all pastors who cross the line'.*

This is against the backdrop that many of the Pentecostal divine industries do not register with any recognised association that obliges it to operate in accordance with its code of ethics. Under this circumstance, the state institutions only intervenes when it is clear that the activities of these divine industries or divine-actors infringes upon fundamental human rights, or when acts that are deemed criminal in nature are committed.

Planting a new divine industry comes with its own structural problems especially in Ghana where new divine industries are perceived as individual projects. The beginning often comes with challenges involving sacrifice, in that people are not often willing to commit their resources (money) into developing the divine industry. Divine-actors have to prove their worth by convincing the public that the divine industry they are planting is not a business venture or for financial gains, but a response to a divine call. Inculcating in potential converts the real ideals of the divine industry requires effort and resources. Even with these efforts, the public still brand them as, 'one-man divine industry' because it is one person (a divine-actor)

who uses their vision to steer the affairs of the divine industry, directing everyone regarding how things concerning the divine industry ought to be. Divine-actors have a duty to ensure that all the departments function in accordance with their set visions. There is also a challenge involving raising leaders to effectively manage the departments. It even becomes more challenging when divine-actors fill the leadership position of the divine industry with their wives and few friends, getting the right people to serve in the governing board, register the divine industry, draft by-laws and a whole lot of other tasks make it very cumbersome. Per the rules at the Registrar General's Department, one cannot register a divine industry without a constitution, and getting the right officers to help in the administrative demands, like any human institution, come with its own problems.

The high incidence of secession has not helped matters. It appears that the Pentecostal democratisation of access to spiritual power sometimes backfires when individual Pentecostals protest against the authority of their spiritual mentors by claiming to have enough 'spiritual capital' to start their own ministries. The rate of secession puts a constraint on the ability of some divine-actors to retain most of their members in their respective divine industries. People join the divine industry and somewhere along the line, they leave, often due to internal wrangling between divine-actors and some of the supporting staff (Anderson, 2004:215). There are situations where churches conspire to out-do their competitors by 'cooking' or making up stories to malign them. Though some divine-actors take it as a normal practice to plant divine industries in any normal competitive environment, it nevertheless tends to delay the progress of the divine industries in question.

Pentecostals also face opposition from the orthodox divine industries like the Catholic and the Presbyterian divine industries considering the fact that the practices and perceived unacceptable behaviours of some Pentecostal members, earn them such strong labels as 'charlatans', 'fundamentalist' and others. It is however important to note that despite the fact that most of the divine industries are led by unscrupulous manipulators, hungry for wealth and power, does not mean all of them are the same. Many of them are well-educated and responsible people who continue to keep the Pentecostal 'fire' blazing. It has also been observed that the Pentecostal faith has a sour relationship with practitioners of Traditional African Religion that places healing and spirit-possession at the core of its practice. It is in light of this that some observers consider the Pentecostal practice of deliverance and divine healing as an adaptation from traditional healers. Many of the converts to Pentecostalism have as part of their conversion narratives, indicated their past relations with this traditional

religion. There are diverse ethnic groupings in Ghana, each with its norms and value systems, and depending upon the location and the cultural setup, Pentecostal divine industries are often obliged to adhere to rules and regulations of the societies within which the divine industries are planted, regardless of the industry's ideologies. A classic case is a ban on drumming, dancing and other forms of noise-making in the Ga communities in Ghana for a number of months every year to achieve silence required for their gods to make the yams mature well on their farms (Meyer, 2012; van Dijk, 2001).

Financial difficulty has been one other factor hindering the growth of the faith. A good number of the converts are from the lower social class and with low financial status, and as such they contribute only small sums of money that can be used in the running of the divine industry and evangelization. They need financial resources for evangelization and infrastructural development, which most of the divine industries find difficult to access at the initial stages. The well-established divine industries have resources coming from well-established branches. With this they re-channel the extra resources to nurture their new branches. There are other situations where the challenges involved payment of workers, especially when the divine industry is not well established. It becomes a headache to get people to work full time when the income level of the divine industry is very low. Once situations of this nature exist, it then would suggest that people will have to work part time, and living on only small stipends because doing God's work 24 hours a day and 7 days a week and not getting paid becomes very difficult.

2.6 Features and evangelical strategies of Pentecostal divine industries

In addition to its appeal and prominence, there are certain distinguishable features that separate Pentecostal divine industries from other Christian denominations. The international self-representation and 'global-claim' of these divine industries (van Dijk, 2001), with terms such as International, Global or World, attached to the names of individual divine industries as a prefix or suffix, to showcase their global character (Meyer, 2004a) is one feature of many Pentecostal divine industries. Many of them have established networks with their 'mother' divine industries located abroad, and those with local roots also have established foreign branches and networks (van Dijk, 2001). This global character is used as a symbol of prestige in the midst of other divine industries that have no global links (Sackey, 2006).

Other observations include the tendency of these divine industries to reconstruct religious geography through the construction of religious camps or giant divine industries with

sophisticated media techniques (Meyer, 2011:161). Many of them are influenced by the mega divine industries in the United States of America; coupled with the long-term vision most of them have to include other institutions to the activities of the industry. They buy large pieces of land, in some instances 10 or 15 square kilometres, where they construct a range of facilities including auditoriums, schools, hospitals, dormitories, and the primary divine-actor's residence. These facilities sometimes look like model cities, showcasing the charisma and the claim to divine authorisation of the divine-actor whose duty, as it were, is to share this vision and word with his followers. Those who put up mega divine industries are divine-actors who have attained the status of true entrepreneurs (see Chapter Three). Being influenced by mega divine industries from the United States of America, these industries have large parking lots and sanctuaries that are able to accommodate the large number of worshipers they attract. An average mega divine industry has weekly attendance of thousands of people from different localities. They grow to their great size within a very short period of time, usually in less than ten years, and under the tenure of a single senior divine-actor or founder. Nearly all divine-actors of mega divine industries are male, and are viewed as having considerable personal charisma. They have an authoritative style of preaching and administration and are nearly always the singular dominant leaders of the divine industry. Supporting them are team of associate divine-actors, and often hundreds of full-time staff. These divine industries host a multitude of social, recreational, and other important facilities for adherents.

One of the doctrines of the Pentecostal divine industries is that, they constitute special servants of God who alone are saved. These are people who have accepted Christ and have become 'born again' with a sanctification of inward feeling of holiness. Sanctification means to be cleansed of all forms of sins, and evil deeds. Anderson has indicated that all the widely differing Pentecostal and charismatic movements have important common features: 'They proclaim and celebrate a salvation (or healing) that encompasses all of life's experiences and afflictions and they offer an empowerment that provides a sense of dignity and coping mechanism for life' (Anderson, 2004:216). Indeed, their gospel revolves around the Holy Spirit which manifest externally in the form of speaking in tongues, a standard measure for judging God's chosen persons from ordinary members of society.

Evangelisation means going out and reaching the 'lost' for Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit (Anderson, 2004:214). With the power of the spirit, Pentecostal messages are designed to offer hope and provide solutions to personal problems including social, mental, economic

or health, provided the person is a 'born-again' with faith at the centre. They must be seen as somebody who gives generously to the religious leaders and the kingdom of God in exchange for material and spiritual rewards - healing, wealth, abundant life, successes and earthly promotions. It is interesting to note that since these divine industries are founded by individuals and in many cases husband and wife with most activities revolving around them, defection of members within them is fluid and many Pentecostal divine industries are experiencing secession, leading to the planting of new divine industries, with autonomous structures and ideology. Most Pentecostal divine industries easily establish their own Bible schools to train pastors in line with this ideology to manage their churches. This development is also a way of showcasing the success of these divine industries in society.

In the cosmological setup of Africa, religion and healing are intertwined, and religion functions to bring order and happiness to social and spiritual relationships with others. As a way of fulfilling this function, Pentecostal divine industries practice faith healing and deliverance in addition to their 'Wealth and Health Gospel'. Healing as conceived of by Pentecostalism is a total restoration of a believer's entire health status bestowed on them as a result of their faith. Healing and deliverance is at the very core in their activities (van Dijk, 2001). It is important to indicate that healing is not restricted to diseases alone but includes other areas as morbidity or disability – physical, material, mental, financial or spiritual (Hunt, 2002). Pentecostal divine-actors are divinely endowed to bring physical healing to their followers as proof of divine empowerment. Consequently, the desire for plausibility, and the fact that competition amongst them is rife, with each making frantic efforts to carve out niches that provide service through a well-defined set of religious products. Specialisation enables them to cultivate and maintain their respective niches. Divine-actors devote much of their precious time experiencing the divine, and it is through this they constantly improve upon their knowledge that surrounds the experience and their vested interest in esoteric knowledge.

For effective competition with other divine industries in the same business environment, Pentecostals engage in the production, distribution and pricing of religious and non-religious commodities with the primary motives of making gains and maintaining market share. As some of their activities revolve around husband and wife as founders who claim special divine authorization with a specific mandate with global ramifications, he is a 'bank of divine grace', a repository of charisma, and a special bridge between his followers and God. His word is legitimate and is law. He is an oracular instrument and initiator of doctrine and

orientation, because it is he alone who has the special privilege of interpreting the will of God to the people. Divine-actors act as mediators between God and their people and invoke spiritual powers to provide success and protection against evil forces. Experts have argued that the practice is the re-invention of African prophetism because of the centrality of individuals.

In Pentecostal divine industries, women and children are accorded a great deal of respect and visibility, with departments of women's affairs created to oversee how women's social and psychological needs are addressed. Some of the founders are women while others come to take up leadership positions when their husbands who apparently were the founders die. It is speculated that some Pentecostals create products that cater to the needs of women in order to proselytise a specific segment of the population. Knowing the power of women to attract men into religious organisations, some divine industries exploit this opportunity by giving women duties as divine-actors to draw men into their fold.

Attracting people to the divine industry is done in a competitive environment, and divine industries apply economic principles in their daily activities. Most leaders are media friendly, and with the help of their university education and background, they incorporate commercial practices to their organisations and the production of their religion goods. What is important is that the divine industries do not just appropriate the metaphor of the direct selling economy in its discourse, but has also recruited the professional expertise of economic actors and corporate marketers to organise, package and sell its programs to the public. Sermons are not limited to the four walls of the divine industry but are produced in DVDs, VCDs, VHS, CDs and audio-tapes for sale to the public (Lauterbach, 2010). Their religious products are advertised on the internet especially books written by these divine-actors where 'customers' could make a purchase using debit or credit cards. This advertisement constitutes a specific form of communication, and has increased significantly over the last four decades. They employ different methods of advertisement simultaneously, with the most popular being posters, banners, handbills, billboards, branded vest, caps pens, books, etc. The affluent divine industries own broadcasting stations (television or radio) whereas most Pentecostal groups purchase airtime on some commercial broadcasting stations to market their product (Meyer, 2011:150). This strategy shortens the search time for persons looking for religious commodities to buy. Advertisement has a double effect of marketing their religious products on one hand and marketing the divine industries to the public on the other. As is depicted on

Figure 2.4 below, the respective divine industries were marketing a healing crusade whiles the post to the left depicts the 'products' that are offered at a particular divine industry.

Figure 2.4 Advertisements of divine industries

The healing crusades are often organised in communities and towns not only for healing purposes, but also as evangelical techniques to convert people to the word of God. It is through these platforms that divine actors in question exhibit their divinely endowed capabilities. The willingness of people to join them is dependent upon the way they prove their legitimacy as divine messengers of God. A large part of the crusades they organise is used to demonise the practices of the traditional religions. This demonization gospel coming from divine-actors makes it difficult for their followers to seek spiritual and other forms of help from the traditional practitioners in an open and transparent manner.

Associate divine-actors are often assigned to head different departments such as music, prayer force, youth, and marriage counselling, among others. This gives the divine industry an organisational set up with division of responsibilities. However, people rarely question the power of leading divine-actor since he acts as the sole proprietor (Lauterbach, 2010) and can 'hire and fire' at will. In view of this, knowledge transmission regarding the word of God is linked to being someone with spiritual power. One divine-actor commented that he would rather have a senior divine-actor from another divine industry preach in his church if he was not around than allow an associate divine-actor do so. Permitting an associate divine-actor to preach is perceived as a potential threat to the position of the senior divine-actors, which

could lead to confrontation and disrespect. However, this has its implications said another divine-actor. Allowing a divine-actor from another church to come and preach in one's divine industry equally poses similar threats if that divine-actor is spiritually powerful, he could lure some of the members of that divine industry to his. Thus divine-actors apply this technique with tact and are careful about the people they invite to preach in their divine industries.

2.7 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the historical development of Pentecostalism in Ghana, describing the different waves of the movement that have swept through the country at different points in time. It emphasised that this development was the result of rational actions of some African prophets, who were aided by divine inspirations in the execution of the task. The actions were rational as a whole and religious in particular, both of which are equated with instrumental reasons because it aimed at means-ends relationship and in the service of self-satisfaction. Whiles the divine-actors used their divine blessing to alleviate the suffering of society, and adherents used the services of divine-actors to have their problems solved. In other words, the adherents considered the services of the prophets and pastors as a logical means to receive healing or securing well-paid jobs or careers. These actions at each point in time were hailed by the disenchanted masses, many of whom had lost faith in the orthodox churches that had failed to provide them with security against threats of witches and misfortunes.

The rate at which the movement has been embraced has resulted in an explosion of the Pentecostal faith in Ghana. Several factors contributed to this phenomenon among which were English as the language of the gospel, which played a facilitating role in the influx of American Evangelist and the gospel books and cassettes whose messages were mainly centred on prosperity and wealth. It indicates that this phenomenon peaked around the 1979 when Ghana was experiencing series of coup d'états and economic crises, a situation that subsequently led to the introduction of a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). This and other factors including a desire for individuals to climb the social ladder, poverty and social deprivation, and the desire to get rich quick, all account for its continued growth. This is in view of the fact that the Pentecostal churches played the role of surrogate families for many people in urban towns and cities. The chapter points out that each church has a structure that functions internally to ensure stability and growth of the divine industry.

It also point out that because of the explosion, certain concerns were raised regarding the activities of some of the Pentecostals, especially issues that bordered on the security of the

state. This development subsequently led to the formulation of regulatory measures that were previously put in place to monitor their financial inflow and their operations. It also discussed the plurality of religious organisations in Ghana and the current constitutional provisions that guide their activities to ensure cordiality. How the movements have formed voluntary associations (GPCC) to sustain this cordially, as well as ensuring quality and unity among the participating members, and above all, how the churches themselves with the help of members with diverse expertise help to ensure internal control and quality.

It indicates that just like any human institution, the movement still faces challenges notwithstanding the internal and the external regulatory measures that have been put in place. These challenges range from its fragmented nature and the inability of the GPCC to get all potential members to join. It shows that this phenomenon has deepened the existence of internal politics and conflicts amongst them. Also mentioned is the ideological challenge between the Pentecostal and the orthodox divine industries on one hand and that between the Pentecostals and the African Traditional Religion on the other, emphasising that some of the Pentecostal divine industries are often forced to comply with traditional norms and values of the societies within which these divine industries are located.

Additionally, the chapter discussed the features of the Pentecostal divine industries and the strategies they have devised to surmount the challenges that were discussed. These features include having been born-again, speaking in tongues and their desire for healing and deliverance. Some of the strategies they devised to surmount some of the challenges they face, as well as market their products in the face of competition from other religious organisations include demonization of traditional religion, use of public testimonies, use of the media to disseminate their messages far and wide, miracles and wonders, healing, as well as social interventions for the vulnerable in the congregation and society at large.

CHAPTER THREE

ENTREPRENEURIAL PENTECOSTAL DIVINE INDUSTRIES

3.0 Introduction

The Pentecostal movement has been consistently described as a Christian denomination characterised by the prominence of the Holy Spirit as the source of empowerment in all their engagements. Giving consideration to their source of empowerment, it has been observed that the movement's attempt to understand and work through the dynamics of entrepreneurship cannot be trivialised. This is in view of the fact that the ambition of every divine-actor after successfully planting a divine industry is to nurture and groom it in line with the vision of its founder. But the realisation of this vision involves engaging in a competitive religious market with other religious actors who harbour similar visions. This presupposes that for any divine-actor to survive in such an environment, they have to be skilful with innovative strategies in whatever they do. Divine-actors as religious firms in a religious market place have to be entrepreneurially oriented, with skills that enable them to boost the fortunes of their respective divine industries (Pearce et al., 2009). The metaphor and concept of a religious market-place attempts to describe the social side of religious practice. The multiplication of divine industries, which corresponds with the expansion of the number of founders of divine industries, has thrown into stark relief the unmistakable character of the founders of these divine industries, as religious entrepreneurs and the aggressively entrepreneurial character of Pentecostal evangelism which is a constant search for a niche for potential clients and consumers.

It is worth emphasising that the use of skills and entrepreneurially related innovations alone in a competitive religious market place is not enough. Industrial and entrepreneurial skills are needed to be able to turn challenges of clients into opportunities. It is through this process that divine-actors can effectively compete in any given market environment. The idea behind using the concept of religious innovation and entrepreneurship is to establish a link between being a leader and being an entrepreneur with the understanding that entrepreneurship is a subset of leadership. As Anderson (2003) asserts, a leader is seen as a person with more 'power' than the people they lead. The common agenda for innovative leaders and entrepreneurs is that they have an ability to get things done by setting achievable task. They do this with the help of their 'other people' most of who are either volunteers or employee. It

has been observed that in discussing innovation of divine-actors, reference is made to their leadership activity (Jensen & Luthans, 2006). This observation suggests that their type of leadership transcends the conventional understanding that tries to limit the activities of a leader to the holding of high ranking positions and authority over others. The scope of leadership is broadened to include assertiveness in every situation, and the ability of the actor to forge ahead with innovation in the midst of challenges. In his attempt to reduce the ambiguity embedded in conceptualising leadership, Ralph Stogdill (1974) has indicated that leadership is a process of directing and influencing task-related activities of a group. What this suggests is that, for one to be a divine leader, they must have followers and subordinates whom they will be able to influence and direct using their divinely inspired vision and innovation. These divine-actors presumably have authorised divine agency to represent divinely guided interest and actively manage the rules of the social and spiritual environment around this interest (Meyer, 2010).

In view of the diverse opinions expressed about what makes an innovative leader and entrepreneur, one thing that comes up clearly is that an entrepreneur assumes such position when people are attracted to their ideas. With this consideration in mind, coupled with the contemporary social and spiritual challenges people in the developing world face, Pentecostal divine industries in Ghana, like many parts of Africa, are adapting leadership and managerial techniques to promote diversity in the cultural milieu, attracting wider publicity and appeal within potential clients (Brown, 2012). This development, coupled with the fact that these divine industries are rationally managed, and are being used by these divine-actors, who in the course of performing their divine obligations, gain competence through innovation, and eventually legitimate their positions in all their endeavours (Meyer, 2010). The legitimacy is borne out of the conviction that God give vision to Pentecostal divine-actors and they manage these visions with their innovativeness (Carter, 2009). Because these visions are purportedly divine, divine-actors use it to inspire potential clients to do the service of God.

It is also important to note that the activities of Pentecostal divine-actors in recent times can be likened to the operation of social entrepreneurs (Mair & Marti, 2006). In understanding social entrepreneurship, two perspectives come up; one broad and the other narrow. On the broader perspective, a social entrepreneur is someone with an innovative foresight and a socially beneficial vision, that is aimed at making 'profit' within the social purpose commercial ventures (Dees & Anderson, 2003; Austin et al., 2006) or a person operating in a non-profit sector such as hybrid structural forms which mix for profit and non-profit

approaches (Dees, 1998). On the narrow perspective, a social entrepreneur is conceptualised as someone with business-minded expertise and market-based skills, which are applied in the non-profit sector just as when profit organisations develop innovative approaches to earn income. With regard to the Pentecostal divine industries, the central driver of their activities is the social and spiritual problems they seek to address. To be able to address these challenges, the divine-actors must possess some spiritual capital and authority that characterises God's anointed persons who upon the experience of divine power use it to influence the needs of clients (Carter, 2009). These engagements are purportedly divinely guided, and are based on the right format that effectively mobilises the needed resources to address the given social problem. It has been observed that social entrepreneurship is an innovative, social value creating activity that occurs within and across the non-profit, business and government sectors (Austin et al., 2006). This observation corroborates Johanna Mair and Ignasi Marti (2006) assertion that social entrepreneurship is a practice that integrates economic and social value creation. This thus suggests that, using the above argument, divine-actors as social entrepreneurs are people with not-for-profit initiatives in search of alternative innovative management schemes to create social value (Austin et al., 2006), though one is mindful of the fact that others still conceive of it as a socially responsible practice of commercial business engaged in cross-sector partnership. This chapter discusses how divine-actors in the Pentecostal divine industries blend their enterprising, innovative, and entrepreneurial qualities to carve out charisma for themselves, thereby playing the role of divine-actors in the religious field in order to propagate the activities of their respective divine industries.

3.1 Divine-actors as entrepreneurs

Pentecostalism has been consistently described as a religion characterised by the prominence and presence of the Holy Spirit as the source of empowerment (Anderson, 2004:20), validated by evidence of a deep spiritual experience with God. This is often informed by the desire of clients to see that their divine-actors are different from divine-actors found in other religious establishments (Carter, 2009). Without evidence of spiritual depth in divine leaders, their operating principles and experiences may not be distinguishable from other forms of leaders within the secular sphere. With this unique spiritual gift, activities that surround the behaviour of divine-actors in the Pentecostal faith are based on the notion of charisma, the gift of the Spirit, which manifests in practices of healing, speaking in tongues, deliverance, and prophetism, among others. Thus, the structuring of leadership among various actors of

Pentecostal faith involves constant mutational work through which 'symbolic capital' of spiritual gift is turned into position of authority (van Dijk, 1999). The structure and actions of the divine-actors in position of authority is akin to that of innovative entrepreneurs, especially from the point of view of individual actors, and how they acquire and use resources for and on behalf of clients.

This development presupposes that Pentecostal divine-actors are 'social entrepreneurs.' As a concept, social entrepreneurship has several associated meanings, but essentially involves a mission to create social value in an innovative and energetic way by individual divine-actors who, in the words of Gregory J. Dees (1998), are referred to as 'reformers and revolutionaries.' In pursuance of their divinely inspired missions, it is important to note that divine-actors first seek autonomy or independence to facilitate the establishment of their own places of worship. They take these actions in order that they would be able to pursue their intended visions (God's work). It is on this note that Anderson (2001:208) asserted, that these divine-actors are often motivated by compelling desire to innovate initiatives, to preach and experience new message of the power of the Spirit. This is in view of the fact that in many instances, many of them are seen first and foremost as members of existing divine industries, and though they may be enterprising in the religious market, they are often protected by, and innovate on behalf of the affiliated divine industries. Most often, the visions they aspire to fulfil are embedded in social and spiritual purpose principles. It is in pursuance of these visions that phenomenon in related areas has experienced a significant rise in recent decades (Austin et al., 2006). This is evidenced by the growth in the numbers of Pentecostal related organisations, with its unique dynamic and more robust form of social purpose mission, almost matching up with those occurring in other non-profit organisations.

Within the past few decades, Ghana has witnessed a proliferation and multiplicity of initiatives by Pentecostal divine industries, many of who use mass communication media in the dissemination of ideas, images and other religious products, and also draw the public's attention to topical social and religious issues with the hope of effecting change in the social and spiritual milieu (Meyer, 2011:154). Having this viewpoint in mind and the fact that it is the divine-actors who spearhead these initiatives, they truly bear resemblance to what Sandra A. Waddock and James E. Post (1991) described as 'catalytic social entrepreneurs'. This phenomenon is mainly attributable to the fact that these divine-actors are endowed with, charisma and with knowledge that helps them in the management of their respective divine industries. As pertains to other parts of the world, there is currently a 'boundary-blurring'

between government, non-profit and business sectors in the execution of social purpose activities (Dees & Anderson, 2003), with a noticeable improvement in employment, social and economic growth through individual innovation. In addition to their involvement in innovative not-for-profit ventures, Pentecostals engage in social purpose business ventures such as for profit community development organisations, mixing not-for-profit elements such as charitable organisations that set-up businesses to train and employ some of their clients.

Part of their entrepreneurial capabilities emanates from the conviction that the greatest fear of most enterprising divine-actors in the Pentecostal faith is the feeling of being stuck right at where they are and not being able to make positive progress in their individual endeavours. With this observation, many of them make frantic efforts to surmount this fear by challenging the status quo of their spiritual mentors. This strategy, when successful, serves to mark the beginning of their social and spiritual entrepreneurship; a development that enables them to put their divinely inspired innovations and spiritual capital to the test. It is in reference to this, some have argued, that every divine-actor in the Pentecostal faith is characterised by an attitude of not giving up in the face of challenges. This attribute in Pentecostal circles is described as the 'spirit of the overcomer.' As has been observed, actors in possession of this attribute have the distinct but related characteristics of innovativeness, competitive aggressiveness, risk taking and autonomy (Pearce, 2009). Divine-actors presumably have the agency that is authorised or otherwise, to represent self-interest and also to choose interest and actively enhance the management of the rules of the social environment (Meyer, 2010). It is important to note that in the pursuit of their ambitions, divine-actors experience constraints and limitations in the realisation of the needed innovations, especially in their effort to balance the need for individual support to their existing clients with the desire to attract new ones. With the legitimate and collective authority possessed by the actors as divine leaders, they use their enterprising skills to keep the 'burning flame' of their respective divine industries alive, bearing in mind, the cardinal need to provide emotional sustenance to the existing clients.

In each Pentecostal congregation, it is the divine-actor who is responsible for implementing social and spiritual initiatives, focusing not only on ministry and the spiritual needs of clients, but also the management of these needs. This is in keeping with the economics of their institutions and the changing needs of clients in an ever-changing society. This situation has become imperative such that divine-actors have to device new mechanisms to be able to address the changing demands. It must be noted that though divine-actors may be gifted

divinely, not much could be achieved if they lack strategic enterprising skills and the vision needed to successfully effect the desired social and cultural change. The possibility of introducing the desired change rest on the belief that life is built and legitimated in society on the choices of people, and assessed in terms of the benefits they derive (Meyer, 2010). In this regard, acting as social and spiritual innovators demands that they generate ideas that offer promise and hope to their audience. Through the ingenuity and initiatives of divine-actors, these ideas are developed into attractive opportunities for the good of the public. However, fashioning the ideas in a systematic manner is based on critical observation, experience, reasoning, and creativity. It is through experience and long-term observation that some of the ideas are framed as crises needing resolution, setting an important part of the agenda-setting process of which the ideas initiated are part (Waddock & Post, 1991).

The activities of the divine-actors begin with the ideas and visions they generate, mostly rooted in the experience they acquire and the purpose the idea intends to serve. Even though this might not be the only factor that motivates the innovativeness in handling some of the issues, the recognition of the existence of societal needs and the availability of social and spiritual capital and assets to meet these needs often sets the stage for other things to follow. This automatically leads to the generation of other sets of ideas and the cycle continues. To sustain the process, the divine-actors see it as their responsibility to ensure that they choose the right actions at each given situation after studying the religious market situation. Studying the religious market enables them to produce goods and services that would be needed at any given point in time. It has been observed that the actions taken by divine-actors are divinely guided. This view is based on the numerous prayers and fasting they undergo for God to grant them wisdom and ideas to be able to approach challenges with efficiency. One interesting observation however is that the problems identified by the divine-actors frequently do not directly affect them as divine-actors. They are usually problems of clients or beneficiaries who are partially removed from the divine-actors (Waddock & Post, 1991). The efficiency of these divine-actors in managing these problems is facilitated by the experience they acquire from their former divine industries and in some instances from their training institutions where the inspiration and motivation that inform the ideas they generate are acquired.

One other important observation about the recent activities of the divine-actors is that the ideas and innovations they generate are directly related to the level of education of the actor. As was emphasised in the previous chapter, the majority of the current Pentecostal divine-

actors are university graduates, with a minimum qualification of first university degree or higher. This provides them with an in-depth understanding of social and spiritual challenges that exist in society. To carve a niche and maintain it, a section of the elite divine-actors are proposing that a bench-mark for a divine-actor in any divine industry should be a university degree. One reason for this current development may be attributable to the worldwide explosion of formal education that equips persons with the privilege and obligation to incorporate their rationalised knowledge system in their daily endeavours (Meyer, 2010). The desire to incorporate their initiatives is borne out of the feeling of disenchantment with the status quo of their former divine industries in particular, and other religious organisations as a whole. Developments of this nature motivates many young divine-actors into exploring alternative approaches to problem solving to ease the numerous frustrations many of them face personally on the job, including what they witness amongst friends or families. The individual experience and the knowledge of prevailing social problems guide them to come up with better ways of solving most of the problems identified. It is also worth emphasising that the higher educational credentials of many divine-actors removes them from the traditional family and community influence, and links them directly to universalistic and rationalised cultural rules of modern society (Meyer, 2010). With the blend of this knowledge system, in addition to the charisma, and enterprising qualities, divine-actors are able to handle social and spiritual problems with some degree of efficiency, through the integration of theory and practice in their daily encounters.

The sound and purposive ideas that are carved out of individual visions are designed to respond to the genuine social and spiritual needs of society. As social entrepreneurs, divine-actors explore beyond the core principles guiding the establishment of their respective divine industries (provision of spiritual wellbeing) by moving a step further to provide promising ideas based on their understanding of social and spiritual needs of their clients (Waddock & Post, 1991). Social and spiritual needs in this context are needs that ordinary men and women desire to live a decent life in the social and spiritual realm. Providing these needs is grounded in personal values and a sense of moral imperative, and serves as a powerful motivator for enterprising divine-actors with a considerable amount of spiritual capital. It is important to note that the efforts of these actors are achieved through a network of support from other related religious institutions, and the realisation of the effort is dependent upon the values, vision and commitment of the divine-actors in addressing a particular social and spiritual need, often shared by network of relations with key stakeholders.

Through these innovative initiatives, divine-actors play the role of agents of change in the social sector. They engage and reengage in a process, and acting continuously through adaptation and learning with innovations, acting boldly without being limited by resource constraints. They preoccupy themselves with the feeling that the time has come for 'Men of God' to decentralise the help they render to the poor using the gospel, both within and outside the divine industry, and ensure that the divine industries decentralise their activities to provide the needed assistance to all their clientele. They contend that poverty is both spiritual and socio-economic in nature, having the features of oppressive and dependency in all aspects of life (socially, economically and politically). It is the conviction of many actors in the divine industry that the divine-scripture of the Bible is concerned with the economics of the poor and their well-being, and one possible way actors professing this scripture could represent God's plan on earth is to be entrepreneurial and innovative with the divine message. On the basis of this, divine-actors initiate business organisations that are rooted in the desire to use the gospel to transform society. Living in poverty prevents people from participating in 'markets' due to the weakness or complete absence of supportive institutions. Poverty here is not limited to financial poverty, but also includes spiritual poverty with regard to the working of the divine industry. Actors and their respective divine industries are thus strategically positioned to help the faithful to develop to fulfilment, their spiritual capital. They also create the enabling environment for adherents to meet their basic social and spiritual needs.

Pentecostal divine industries in Ghana function like corporate entities both in structure and in legal provisions. They rationally tie their corporate social responsibilities to winning more souls to the kingdom of God. Some of their engagements are mostly outside the core principles establishing the divine industry, but which nevertheless impact positively on the health and wellbeing of society. They initiate social, educational and health service programs that help clients and surrounding communities in various ways including development initiatives, income maintenance, youth programs, and job training. Much of this organised assistance is of immense benefit to the vulnerable non-church members in society. One of these observations was made at the Kings Christian Ministry that is associated with the Grace Outreach Ministry in the United States of America. Through this collaboration, they distribute on a regular basis a lot of goods including children and adult clothing and shoes to some deprived communities in the Northern Region of Ghana. Similar developments were observed at the Winning Life Chapel, which also takes the responsibility to provide food items and used clothing to prison inmates and other vulnerable members of society in and

around the Tamale metropolis. Led by its senior divine-actor, Rev Azeka, the divine industry donates passionately to the underprivileged in society. Figure 3.1 shows Azeka and his followers presenting some food items to several of the beneficiaries in Tamale.
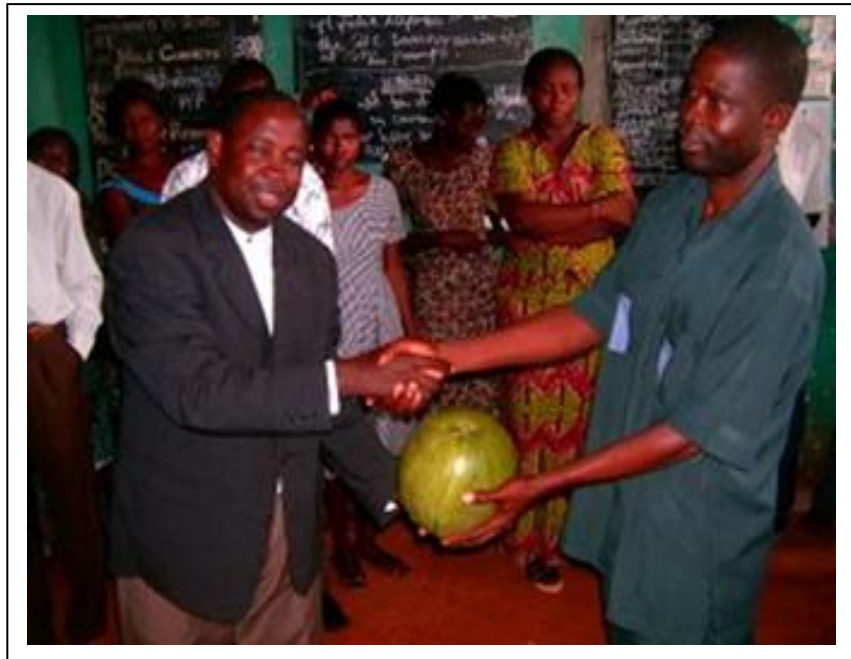
Figure 3.1 Presentation of fruit to prison service in Tamale

What was observed at the Reach Chapel World Outreach Ministry is that Rev Kingsley, the founder, has attached an NGO called the 'Living Waters Community Rural Aid' to his divine industry to reach out to the needy in society with basic social amenities. The context, within which these donations are given, coupled with the multiple and competing ideologies amongst these divine industries, signifies humanitarian ideals, social justice and human rights, or goodness for its own sake (Assimeng, 2010:127). However, these gestures go with the same passionate appeal from the divine-actors to the recipients of these donations to accept Christ as their saviour for a better future. Some of the actors contend that it is their wish to draw people to the faith by publicly demonstrating their commitment to meeting their communities social and economic needs, as one divine-actor put it: 'We want to turn people on to Jesus Christ through this process.'

Providing material assistance to the needy is a common practice. However, some of the actors are of the view that charitable organisations and civil society pays too much attention to the provision of social and spiritual needs of society, leaving out the possibility of exploring social and spiritual assets to provide these needs. They advocate for the development of

innovative ideas to empower individual adherents to be able to take care of their own social and spiritual needs. In their conviction, the antidote to this is through mental empowerment and the provision of training to adherents to equip them with employable skills. This, in their view, would ultimately provide them with cover against the shackles of poverty and illiteracy. In recognition of this latter view, one of the divine-actors indicated that: 'Giving them fish all the time to eat does not help. Instead they should be provided with fishing nets and taught how to fish for themselves.' This clearly shows that some of them support the idea that adherents need to be resourceful to be economically independent. Though some of the divine industries may be experiencing resource constraints, their understanding of how to solve social and spiritual problems, taking into account their strengths and weaknesses, helps them in the development of innovative ideas. They create a sense of personal self-reliance, self-worth and positive attitude to help adherents to work through unpredictable events that requires the application of enterprising initiatives, self-motivation, and flexibility with which to face an insecure future (Maxwell, 2005:28). With their enviable record in the provision of hope to the hopeless using the wealth and health messages, divine-actors educate adherents to think differently in ways that gives them the wisdom to confront social challenges with courage. Using the spirit of the 'overcomer,' some of the actors recounted how they sold their personal belongings to ensure that they experience their divinely inspired visions. For instance, Rev Kingsley of Reach Chapel World Outreach was emphatic that he had to sell the personal car he and his wife were using to see to it that his divine industry was not resource constrained.

Just as they look for adherents, they also take steps to keep their existing members from defecting to other divine industries. This is achieved through the creation of an enabling environment for the adherents to learn new skills or develop the existing skills. Many adherents are involved in the activities of the divine industries, while others are linked to external stake holders. Some of the skills are administrative and relational in nature, and are aimed at improving their capacity to work as part of a team through which interpersonal skills are acquired. Other divine industries engage the services of stake holders (organisations and divine industries) to take adherents through skills development workshops and seminars. As Rt Rev Luguterah indicated:

> .....Pastors do not know it all, so bringing people with different expertise help the pastors to keep their congregation and even attract new members. So when you find somebody who has something you can benefit from, you invite him.'

It has been established that divine-actors allude to the fact that divine work is about managing people's lives, emphasising that preaching in a divine industry is not like working in a theatre with a set of fixed rules, instead, flexibility and innovation is needed to achieve the desired results. This fits in well with the observation of Joseph L. Suico (2005) that the time has come for men of God to conduct on regular basis seminars and workshops that are designed to promote healthy social and the spiritual lives of adherents and other members of society as a whole. It is the view of many divine-actors that as individual actors in the religious field, they are fallible and cannot know everything. However, they do not compromise on what they stand for. In trying to legitimise their status in a rational and efficient manner, they invite people to provide training to adherents through seminars and workshops in areas they consider relevant to their welfare and progress. What was observed and subsequently confirmed by many of the divine-actors is the fact that this practice is an effort to keep their congregation from defecting to other divine industries.

The invitation is not only limited to stake holders, but includes other divine-actors who are invited on regular basis to preach in their respective divine industries. In explaining this practice, they indicated that some divine-actors are more gifted in healing and deliverance whiles others are blessed with prophecy and teaching. Indeed, even though each divine-actor has his way of attracting adherents, when they are invited by their colleagues it is an opportunity for the invitees to market themselves by proving their worth. Rev Kingsley claims his strength is in healing and deliverance, though he is also a good teacher. Luguterah claims he is a planter of divine industries, whereas Azeka alludes to the fact that he is a teacher and healer. However, what was emphasised is that, any successful divine-actor ought to have competence in all these areas, if they want to keep their adherents from defecting to other divine industries. As innovators and 'revolutionaries' preaching the gospel of change and progress in the religious field, Pentecostal divine-actors are stimulated when they notice progressive change all around them. Their desire to generate change through promising ideas keeps them abreast of relevant changes. It is worth noting that the rate at which this change occurs is dependent upon the audience and the type of knowledge they impart to them.

3.2 Divine-actors as embodiments of charisma

In the Weberian sense, the term charisma put emphasis on the supernatural endowment of a leader. In this regard, the said leader is one endowed with a divine gift which they use to demonstrate to their followers through such manifestations as miracles and signs and wonders

about their divine backing. Such proofs of miracles serve as testimonies of their divine authority. However, it is important to point out that this manifestation is not done in a vacuum, but involves the obedience of the followers as it plays a vital role towards their belief in the leader's divine powers and manifestations. The possibility of divine-actors losing their gift and by extension their following is high if they fail to prove such gifts or obey the divine rules (cf Spencer, 1973). Building up divine authority and charisma is not a one-day affair or a one way process; instead, it is a dual process. On the one hand, the divine-actor in his claim to divine leadership has to prove his access to spiritual power and charisma, and on the other hand, the congregation he ministers to and other members of society have to legitimise this charisma. Divine leaders with charisma are those who are able to communicate effectively and in ways that provides adherents basic emotional needs including the ability to inspire and motivate. The fulfilment of proof and legitimacy are important conditions that give the leader his appealing personality. When the divine leaders fulfil these conditions, then their presence before the followers inspires awe. It is worth noting that the charisma of the office the divine-actors occupies also endows them with reverence in view of the service they render to society.

The 'captivating' features of such divine-actors make their followers move along with them without any question. It has also been observed that actors with charisma appeal strongly to the values of their followers and it is this 'psychological bond' between the two that makes many charismatic divine-actors succeeds. The personal charm, negotiating skills, physical appearance, sermonic fervour, and the level of convincingness all add to determine the appeal of divine actors to adherents (Poutvaara & Wagener, 2004). Also important is the credibility, traits and behaviours of the actor in addition to followers' perception, all providing indications that determine the successes and failures of divine-actors. Traits typical of divine-actors within the Pentecostal faith include a strong need for power, high self-confidence and strong convictions. Other behaviours typical of these personalities include problem and impression management, articulation of an appealing vision, innovation, and communication of high expectations as well as expression of confidence in followers. Divine-actors within the Pentecostal faith have powerful voices, an abundance of energy, and a capacity for empathy.

One important observation about divine-actors that is worth noting is the fact that their supernatural activities become useful only in situations of belief, where the attitude of awe is conceptualised in the worldview of society with the existence of such entities as devils,

spirits, demons and gods. It is during situation of this nature that charisma as a divine gift is seen to be flowing in and out of divine-actors, and in such circumstances, magical and supernatural power becomes the source of awe. Pentecostal divine-actors embody charisma in view of the unique qualities inherent in them. They are endowed with supernatural exceptional powers and qualities that are not accessible to their ordinary followers.

It is worth reiterating that charisma as applied to divine-actors within the Pentecostal faith is a compound product of three factors: the actor and his attributes, the social situation which demands such an actor, and the interaction between him and his followers. Divine-actors as an embodiment of charisma represent adherents and provide them with satisfaction and order. As divinely inspired as some of them may appear, they structure a universe of values for their followers to satisfy their deeply felt needs (Anderson, 2003). As revered religious actors within the Pentecostal faith, they initiate innovations in which new values in the classic form are introduced. They set a vision that creates value and provides answers to the needs of agitated followers. They articulate what people wish to hear by seizing upon diffused and intense, but articulated, sentiments and by giving people a voice, they acquire a charismatic following. The way they articulate social views draws them closer to the values they represent and therefore they do not appear to be creating them. The actors are also symbolisers and bear the most passive relationship to the values they represent and in most instances, stand for what they represent. In light of this, they serve as perfect examples and role models for their followers.

The fulfilment of the divine gift grants them full control over their followers. In view of the dual process, charisma is not just an attribute, but something divine-actors build through social relationships. One thing that is particularly important about these divine-actors is the way they use their spiritual mentors as a point of transference to build their charisma. By speaking and behaving like their spiritual mentors, they gradually take form in charisma and related attributes of leadership (Luaterbach, 2008). During the field exercise that informs this work, it was observed that a section of the Pentecostal divine-actors claim the public likens them to some other spiritual leaders because of the way they preach and the relationships they have with such personalities. Some of the names that featured prominently were Duncan Williams of Action Chapel International, Eastwood Anaba of Fountain Gate Chapel, Dag Heward Mills of Lighthouse Chapel International, and Agyin Asare of Word Miracle Church International. Although charisma is conceived of as a special grace or a personal characteristic, actors build up their charisma, not only through the recognition they get from

their adherents, but also claiming it from 'religious celebrities' or big 'Men of God' as Karen Luaterbach (2008) describes them. By religious celebrities, I am referring to divine-actors who founded their divine industries in the 1980s and have since gained some respect in sections of society in view of their valuable service to society.

Moreover, through these relationships, divine-actors establish their 'spiritual lineage'. They explicitly refer to whom they descend from spiritually. This involves those who mentored, trained and ordained them. Establishing links to these powerful 'Men of God', adds to their credibility and status as divine-actors (Lauterbach 2008). During the investigation, it was observed that some of the divine-actors trace their spiritual lineage from Idahoza of Faith Miracle Centre, a Nigerian based divine-actor, through whom Agyin Asare and Duncan Williams had their training. As the divine-actors interviewed had their training from Duncan Williams and Agyin Asare, they immediately claimd to be spiritual descendants of Idahosa. This gives them considerable legitimacy since Idahosa was an internationally revered apostle of the gospel who did quite well. Clearly, this way of carving out one's spiritual lineage creates room for innovation and flexibility regarding who one can establish links to, as there are no formal rules to follow, and because these relations do not need to follow institutional ideologies, claiming spiritual lineage is a way to build up positions and status as spiritual actors.

In view of the ever-changing nature of society and uncertainty that has engulfed the minds of many people in societies in transition; any change produces a differential response within the Pentecostal following and sections of society. The divine-actors make a point to act to resolve individual and collective problems by probing the deepest common layers of sentiments that binds their followers together. In a disenchanted society, though the sage may work with the personal revelation of the divine-actor, his charisma is essentially of the same character and importance as it is used to resolve the existential chaos of reality, and structure a cosmos that serves as guide for action and promise for the future. It is the religious beliefs, and possibly the ideas they generate, that informs the way social, economic and spiritual circumstances are perceived, interpreted and acted upon in a specific social context, and lived reality often paves the way and shapes these beliefs and ideas.

Confidence is a hallmark of becoming a Pentecostal divine-actor, even though not all are born with confidence, it does not mean a lack of capability. Many men of God gain their sense of self-esteem and faith in their ability to greet challenges by acting – even when they

lack the confidence – and then gaining strength and belief in what they do by seeing the results and gaining the praise and respect of others. They take responsibility, and ensure that things are done with care and attention. Instead of perceiving problems as someone else's, divine-actors conceptualise challenges as their own and take pride in finding solutions, leaving things in better shape than they were before. They work to improve upon situations rather than leaving them unattended, bearing in mind that the goal is not to be owned by the enslavement of too much responsibility. They recognise that the most important part of any divine business is the human element whether in the form of employee or client – is what makes or breaks a business, and communication is the key to successful relationships with people.

3.3 Competition and Cooperation amongst divine-actors

3.3.1 Competition amongst divine-actors

Competition, a concept used in a religious market place and the idea of comparing religious services to ordinary commodities has a particularly relevant implication in explaining how religious institutions entrench their positions in society (Sanz, 2007). Regardless of the differences in their ideology, their survival and growth is dependent upon how they access resources from the external environment (cf Miller, 2002). Resources, as used here, are not limited to only financial and physical assets, but also include the number of adherents in a divine industry and how they contribute to the growth and development of these divine industries. The loyalty of adherents is one area divine-actors do not take lightly, and as such, each divine industry strives within its means, using its available resources, to ensure that it keeps its existing adherents and possibly attracts new members. The 'mad-rush' for adherents sometimes leads to rivalry especially in a pluralistic religious environment like Ghana where each religious institution constantly devices new techniques to remain in the religious business. The spirit of competition amongst the divine industries enhances both static and dynamic efficiency through motivation and innovation. Dynamism as observed within the social context, characterised by pluralism, and the changing gender roles facilitates and determines the direction and nature of competition amongst these divine industries (Miller, 2002). In any religious competitive environment as a whole, and the case of Ghana in particular, Pentecostal divine industries operate like religious firms, aspiring to sell their religious products to the consuming public. This leads to a perceived rivalry, borne out of the

strategies each institution employs to compete for adherents. This brings to light Peter Berger's assertion that:

> *... The religious tradition, which previously could be authoritatively imposed, now has to be marketed. It must be 'sold' to the clientele that is no longer constrained to 'buy.' The pluralistic situation is, above all, a market situation. In it, the religious institutions become marketing agencies and the religious traditions become consumer commodities. And at any rate a good deal of religious activity in this situation comes to be dominated by the logic of market economics (Berger, 1967:138, cf Miller, 2002).*

From this observation, it means in a religiously competitive market, people often have variety to choose from, and making this choice is dependent upon which of the numerous religious denominations can best provide the social and the spiritual needs of the consuming public. Thus, as divine industries compete in the religious market, their successes or failure is dependent upon how they package their religious consumer commodities to win the souls of the numerous and potential adherents. Attracting potential consumers involves the adoption of different strategies in their competitive drive, including radio adverts, the packaging and the branding of their products, and how they relate the gospel to the real life situations of ordinary men and women. As Iannaccone (1990) has observed:

> *We hear and talk these days of 'religious markets' and 'religious entrepreneurs'. 'Religious consumers' are said to 'shop' for churches much as they shop for cars: weighing costs and benefits, and seeking the highest return on their spiritual investment. 'Religious producers', the erstwhile clergy, struggle to provide a 'commodity' at least as attractive as their competitors. Religion is advertised and marketed, produced and consumed, demanded and supplied' (Iannaccone, 1990)*

The effect of healthy competition becomes apparent in the Pentecostal religious market not only when several firms compete in the same market environment, but also when they are able to differentiate between the very different products and services produced by these institutions. The term healthy is used here to indicate that the competition does not lead to conflict but rather improvement in their activities. Religious competition amongst the various actors in the divine industry, as the case may be, could be: inter-divine industry, intra-Pentecostal and inter-religious competition. To put it another way, competition is faced from within Pentecostal divine industries in particular and orthodox divine industries as a whole and competition from outside where they compete with other religious bodies such as the traditional African and Islamic religions. In the case of intra-Pentecostal competition, the engagement is between members of the Pentecostal family. Often, they deploy different

strategies with regard to their engagement with adherents and the public on how to solve their social and spiritual needs. The rapidity with which a divine industry grows is determined by how they engage existing and potential adherents with respect to how they respond to their needs. The existence of inter-divine industry competition comes to light when the Pentecostal divine industries are seen as competing with the orthodox faith, with similar products and services. This has led to orthodox divine industries like the Catholic and the Presbyterian divine industries instituting charismatic renewals groups within their institutions to maintain their market share. With regard to inter-religious competition, the Pentecostal movement engages with other religious organisations such as Traditional African Religion and Islam as is the case in Ghana. As Meyer (2012) has indicated, they are able to offer people concrete religious forms and patterns to act on and access the power of the Holy Spirit. It is based on this engagement that, as a strategy, the Pentecostal faith continues to vilify the traditional religious practitioners and Islamic healers for their use of animals in their rituals, thus questioning the authenticity and efficacy of their products (Meyer, 2011:154). There is always competition with regard to the ideas each sells to potential clients. Those with the best ideas win the day. Active and innovative divine-actors benefit from increased competition from new entrants, because the increased competition by less innovative and charismatic leaders results in lower membership cost, thereby encouraging entry of other potential competitors into the market (Poutvaara & Andreas, 2004).

It has also been observed that the activities of Pentecostal movements revolve around their product quality, innovation, reputation, and the reliability of the individual divine-actors, and the brand names of their respective divine industries including the services they provide. The divine industries have exclusive rights to an identifiable brand name, which is an important way to signal the product quality. The brand name reduces the customer search cost and facilitates loyalty (Miller, 2002). Some of the Pentecostal divine industries gain their appeal through brand names including names such as 'Powerful Jesus Outreach Ministry', 'Christ Physicians Church', 'Holy Healing Church', and 'Pure Fire', among others. A careful choice of name is part of the strategies divine-actors devise to achieve a competitive advantage over their co-competitors, creating opportunities for their clientele with enduring product quality. There are also notably aggressive advertising and marketing techniques, and above all, the incorporation and marketing of spiritual healing and deliverance in such a manner that people are attracted. How they are able to sustain the appeal of their respective divine industries in the eyes of the general public is where the development of trust and credibility begins. As is

the case in other business entities, the key to marketing religion is the creation of perception of credibility (Miller, 2002). Credible commitment on the part of religious suppliers fosters confidence not only because they prove the efficacy of their claims, but also because they signal the supplier's convictions. Their credibility is also boosted when their predictions and prophecies attain some measures of accuracy with many people proclaiming positive testimonies about them. The development of confidence in the activities increases and more adherents get attracted when trusted persons make testimonies. These pronouncements further foster the perception that religious experiences are broadly shared among religious adherents (Miller, 2002).

One common belief held by all Pentecostal divine-actors is the fact that prophecy and healing is a gift from God and they use it as an aiding practice to propagate his word, to compete amongst their peers, strive for adherents, and to prove that they have divine authority for what they say and do. Thus, in addition to the provision of social services, healing through deliverance and prophecy are employed as strategies to attract potential adherents to their respective divine industries. Because of the widespread competition as found amongst the current breed of Pentecostal divine industries, a journalist in Nigeria was quoted as saying that: 'Nigeria is fast becoming a pagoda of prophets and prophetesses each of whom pretends to be a lighthouse capable of illuminating the country from Atlantic to Sahara' (Assimeng, 2010:140). This development is borne out of the fact that, for one to survive in any competitive environment such as the Pentecostal market in Ghana, one has to prove to the adherents, one's capabilities in any given situation. One concern that came up from divine-actors was the fact that the stiffer competition results in a situation where 'charlatans' infiltrates the ranks of the chosen men of God. It is however difficult to distinguish the alleged 'charlatans' from the genuine ones since each divine-actor claims his activities are under the influence of God. Moreover, given the fact that each divine-actor tries to be innovative, one can argue that, whether 'charlatans' or divine, all the actors are in a competitive market to win potential adherents, and therefore proving who is a genuine or charlatan is not the focus of this study. What is important however is the fact that each actor claims to be an agent of God, sent to fulfil certain objectives on earth, but because the supply of these agents appears to be increasing by the day, these agents have to compete amongst themselves to fulfil their set missions.

Additionally, the continuous reference to the Holy Spirit as a source of power makes it quite difficult for one to judge whose actions or inactions are divine and whose are not. However, it

appears a great part of their activities is in the interest of society, and since in any competitive environment, people constantly innovate to stay in business, such accusations and counter accusations would continue to be part of their daily activities. Part of the challenge they confront emanates from the fact that certain actors take credit for the good work and blame a lack of results on the individual's lack of faith. It is this development that has convinced many people that a career as a divine-actor is the easiest path to amassing wealth since social problems are ever increasing, and form part of the strategies many people employ to provide cover for themselves (Luaterbach, 2008). There is no doubt that some of them genuinely accept the fact that it is not possible for God to touch all people at the same time to ameliorate their problems. Considering the diversity of opinions and perception, there are some divine-actors who do not want to be associated with such difficulties, and it is the distaste for such excuses that it is speculated, some of them allegedly resort to other worldly mediums to make their 'package' attractive for their clientele.

In light of the competitive environment, it is not uncommon to see Pentecostal divine industries in Africa as a whole and in Ghana in particular being planted like family businesses, with unique characteristics that allow them to strategically organise their activities in an effective and efficient manner to face the market. Their activities are controlled with priority given to close associates in top management and other sensitive positions as well as being selective in their recruitment procedure. This strategy allows them to have lower recruitment and human resource costs at the initial stages, rendering them more efficient than other types of institutions. It also creates a unique and flexible work environment that inspires other religious actors (employees) to be motivated, committed and show loyalty to the business. Focusing on the well-being of their clientele, in order for the business to implement an efficient and effective management strategy is part of the divine industry's priority.

By contrast, a key insight from the dynamics of religious competition is that an institution by itself or in coordination with other players can make strategic moves to reshape the nature of competition. Administrative and political strategies and cooperation highlights the role of institutional distinctiveness in gaining and sustaining competitive advantages, specifying how different institutional characteristics lead to different cooperative patterns. A state policy towards religious institutions is a critical determinant of relative competitive position and the resources available to the sector as a whole. It has been observed that 'The capacity of a single religious firm to monopolise a religious economy depends upon the degree to which

the state uses coercive force to regulate the religious economy' (Stark & Iannaccone, 1994). However, this is not the case in Ghana. There is open competition in Ghana and it is not hard to find evidence that dominant religious organisations influence government regulations in ways that favour their own interest. Certain religious organisation views their prospect for shaping the legal environment more favourably than others. In particular, Christianity constitutes a large segment of Ghana's population and is more likely than the minority religions to sway government policy decisions in its favour.

3.3.2 Cooperation amongst divine-actors

Even though there exists competition, most of the divine-actors see themselves as actors within one family and as such finds it necessary to share ideas. It is assumed that, by not exchanging ideas with each other, they would not only cut themselves off valuable talents, but they will also lose out on intelligence, feedback and experience. In view of this development, Pentecostal divine industries exchange knowledge through the established network of local relationships that exists between divine industries that conceptualises their members as one stock belonging to a unique Christian faith. Within the Pentecostal divine industries in Tamale, especially amongst the four major divine industries (Winning Life Chapel, Kings Christian Ministry, Reach Chapel World Outreach Ministry, and Powerful Jesus Outreach Ministry), a seemingly cordial relationship exists amongst them. Ideas are shared and feedback from their activities as a whole is taken. In some instances, these relations are traced through their spiritual lineages. For instance, Rev Azeka and Rt Rev Luguterah co-founded the Winning Life Chapel, and then parted ways due to ideological differences, yet they still consult each other on matters of mutual interest as members of the Pentecostal family. Rev Kingsley was a student of Rev Azeka, and through this a relation was built and is still maintained and Kingsley consults Azeka on matters of importance, especially on the administration of divine industries. When Tufour wanted to plant his divine industry, he was directed to consult Azeka for advice. Thus Azeka has a working relationship with all the major three divine-actors in Tamale and they all relate to each other positively but compete on ideological grounds because they have to stay in business. This local network of relationships is extended to cover other divine industries within the Tamale metropolis, and even beyond depending upon the ideology of the divine industry in question.

Cooperation could be among undifferentiated, related or unrelated religious denominations. The case involving the Pentecostal faith is amongst those with related ideologies. Their

cooperation is an expression of ecumenism in addition to the need for maintaining their institutional resources, which is key to successful involvement in the cooperation. Existence of cooperation amongst related religious organisations like those of the Pentecostal faith is more proactive, with a focus on opportunities for learning for the purpose of advancement. Cooperation based on learning transfers specific knowledge while leaving undisturbed the distinctiveness of participating institutions. This type of cooperation is based more on their coordinated activities than cooperation to achieve economies of scale. In the case of institutions with distinctive beliefs like divine industries with different ideologies as found amongst Local Council of Churches (a body made up of all divine industries - Pentecostal and orthodox), a common or coordinated operation is unlikely. The focus of the unrelated religious organisations seeks to increase their collective influence on broad social and political issues. In this respect, they are similar to trade associations, whose aim is to enhance an enduring interfaith or interdenominational cooperation and to minimise religiously instigated violence in society. Pentecostals meet as a family on a regular basis to share ideas on matters that affect them as members of the Pentecostal family. Figure 3.2 shows a workshop of Pentecostal divine-actors exchanging ideas at the Kings Christian Ministry in Tamale.

Figure 3.2 A picture showing divine-actors at a workshop

Among those at the workshop were the leaders of Winning Life Chapel, the Kings Christian Ministry, the Powerful Jesus Outreach Ministry, and the Reach Chapel World Outreach Ministry. The host church was the Kings Christian Ministry and the divine-actor on stage

leading the discussion is the head of Reach Chapel World Outreach Ministry. In their midst were other actors of the Pentecostal faith in Tamale. As Figure 3.3 shows below, the focus of their meeting was centred on exchange of skills and technology. Though some of these ideas are acquired through experience, many are acquired through local and international workshop and conferences they attend. When there are issues that borders on Pentecostalism as a faith, they always feel such information is worth sharing. The cooperation between them is basically centred on learning from each other.

Divine industry **C**

Structure, strategy & operation

IDEOLOGY

Divine industry **A**

IDEOLOGY

Structure, strategy & operation

Cooperation in related skills and technology transfer

Divine industry **B**

IDEOLOGY

Structure, strategy & operation

IDEOLOGY

Structure, strategy & operation
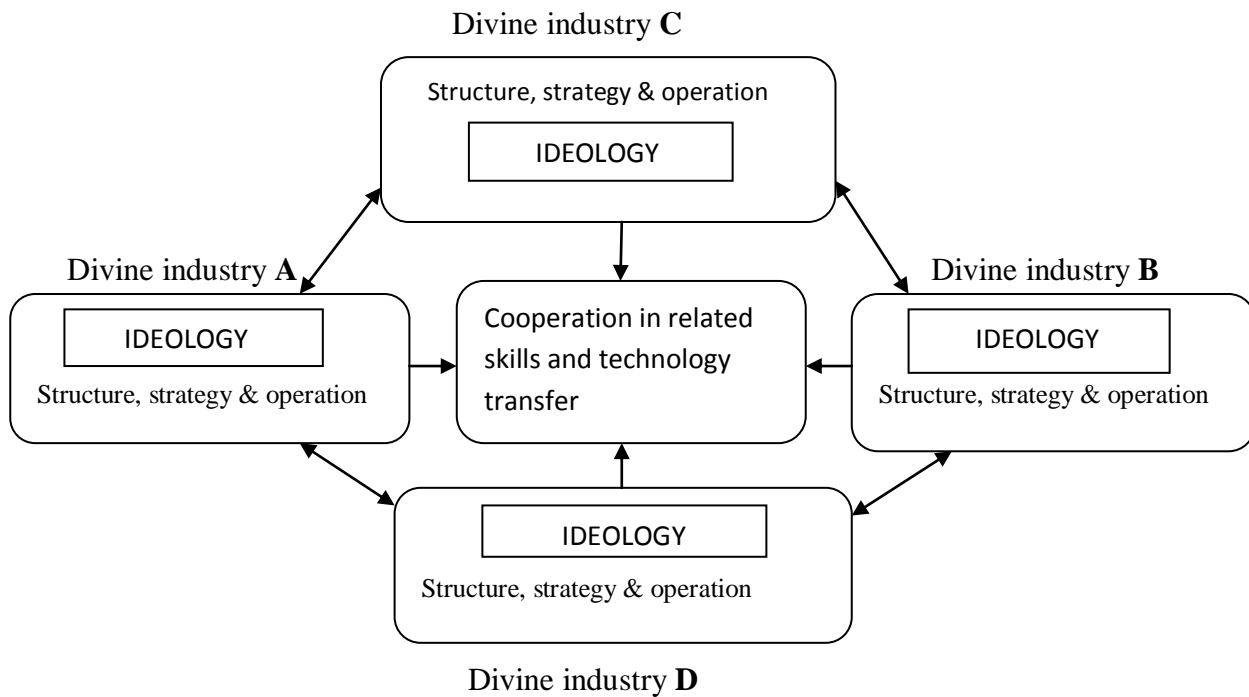
Divine industry **D**

Figure 3.3 Cooperation model of Pentecostal divine industries

As the above indicate, the divine industries have similar doctrines or ideologies, which make them first and foremost, members of the Pentecostal family. However, how they structure their divine industries, and the strategies they employ in their daily operations is for the individual divine-actor to decide.

Considering the ways in which the Pentecostal divine industries are cooperating under the banner of belong to the same family, there is the likelihood a monopoly could emerge out of this practice in favour of all Pentecostal divine industries and against other divine industries. The same could be said of those who are Pentecostals but have not joined the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council. The umbrella body, the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council, is becoming so powerful that the likelihood of such monopoly being created in the near future cannot be ruled out.

3.4 Developmental stages of entrepreneurial Pentecostal divine industries

With the rapid development of Pentecostal entrepreneurial divine industries, it has been observed that the ambition of every divine-actor is not just the planting of divine industries for the sake of planting, but to ensure that the divine industries grow to attain the status of full entrepreneurial divine industries also known as mega churches. It is this desire that has put a lot of Pentecostal divine industries in a competitive spirit. Moreover, young divine-actors entrusted with the responsibility and control over the lives of segments of congregations, who consciously or otherwise are also nursing the ambitions to develop themselves, muster courage to experiment the possible ways of rising from being employees, to the status of planting divine industries and nurturing them to grow to fulfilment. That is, to attain the status of a mega divine industry. Rising through these stages in the planting of divine industries however, is dependent upon the flexibility and innovation of the actors in question and how they apply their enterprising skills.

The first phase in the development Pentecostal divine industries is evangelisation. At this stage, divine-actors employ different techniques including the door-to-door evangelisation, distribution of leaflets, and preaching in moving vehicles. During this stage, the divine-actor is pre-occupied with the mind-set of a self-employed person. Generally, what motivate most of them to develop the desire for self-employment are emotional forces. Some of these forces are partly based on the quest for individual security, even though it is important to add that the desire to take control over one's life, career, and destiny also plays a major role. The quest is often preceded with the feeling that relinquishing control of a divine industry to a spiritual mentor all the time is not in the 'dictionary' of happiness as far as some actors are concerned, and their conviction is that with the little experience they acquire as mentees in the spiritual enterprise, they could execute and manage the task of a divine industry on their own. This phase of divine industry's development marks the defining moment in the lives of many divine-actors, considering the fact that the actions they take are mostly aimed at getting autonomy to do things in line with their visions as is divinely directed. The platform is often created for them to do the same or similar activities they did while they were employee, but here, they figure out how to do it by themselves and for themselves with innovation.

Upon a successful evangelisation with the self-employed mind-set, they enter the second phase of developing the divine industry with a managerial perspective. What pre-occupies the mind of the divine-actor at this phase is the thought of how to succeed in the management of

the divine industry. Apparently, the actor engages the services of other people he thinks can help him to attract loyal adherents. Here, they acquire a building, and in most cases, a school building for their Sunday services with the few members they are able to convert. In working with these people as part of a team, the divine-actor is in a greater position to succeed as divine entrepreneur. Before appointing members to preside over the different departments of the divine industry, the divine-actor runs the divine industry as a manager, and gives orders with great skills and precision as a divine leader. Using the charisma and other leadership traits he is endowed with, he inspires and trains others to rise to become managers in other sectors of the divine industry. With these leadership qualities, the actors succeed in their endeavour by virtue of the fact that they are able to accept the challenge and responsibility of ensuring that others in their congregation also succeed and flourish. By getting the most out of their associated actors; they are able to delegate aspects of the running of the divine industry to these actors and devote their attention to higher goals. It is important to note that the chances of the divine-actor to move beyond this stage depend upon their ability to, not only manage but lead; this enables the divine-actor in question to rise to assume the role of owner and leader of their divine industry.

After successfully planting the divine industry and assuming the role of a divine leader and manager, the divine industry enters the third phase of the entrepreneurial development. At this stage the divine-actor is able to boast of owning the divine industry in question. It is this stage that they starts enjoying some remarkable benefits, and can afford to step back a little and allow the activities of the divine industry and people that are engaged as associated actors to run the divine industry as a 'profit' centre that does not need to rely upon owner's constant hands-on participation. The divine-actors who find themselves here, open branches at others locations with established networks, which all help to boost the fortunes of the industry. This technique makes the divine industry a bit more self-sufficient and self-sustaining with opportunities to create more wealth, personal freedom and free time for the founder. The founder delegates some of his responsibility and expertise to others who now enjoy for themselves a greater level of career achievement in many sectors of the divine industry. The founder does not focus much on sales and revenue of the religious products, but on net profits. Whiles the business of the divine industry continues to run smoothly, and generates more transactions, the founder's attention is drawn to how he could institute changes with innovation and flexibility to enhance their profit margin, and allowing subordinates take care of the day-to-day operational details.

The fourth phase of the divine industry's development, as was observed, is where the divine-actor starts investing the profits/returns of the divine industry in other establishments, aside from the activities of the divine industry. As they generate additional returns, the founder as a purposive actor with a rational mind in the entrepreneurial business, begins to incorporate other exciting challenges through prudent management of the financial and human resources to generate more returns. Investing in other ventures for maximum returns involve smart leverage of assets, and many founders create additional institution based on the same model or system. Through the engagement of other investments, they get into the career of not just selling basic religious products and services, but also selling an entire business. The additional institutions many of the divine industries incorporate include hospitals, schools, and supermarkets among others. At least some of the divine industries at this stage that have financially formidable congregations add residential development to their holdings. In order not to fall into the trap of an administrator or manager, founders at this phase of the development of divine industries appoint people as CEOs, while the founder becomes the director or silent partner, sharing in the returns whiles enjoying the relief of not having to share the routine responsibilities of running the activities from the inside. They achieve this objective through the broad and comprehensive strategies they incorporate, in addition to the fact that they deal in all sort of products and services.

The fifth and final phase is where the divine industry reaches the stage of a mega divine industry or true entrepreneurship. At this stage, the founder, having learned new things through these different phases of accomplishment and insight, is able to boast of reaching the ultimate goal, and dream in a really life changing way. At this stage the dreams of the founder or entrepreneurs has been achieved, and their income earned is passive. Money comes automatically from profitable ventures that feed success with more success but do not require a snowballing effect. Figure 3.4 below illustrates how the Pentecostal divine industries pass through the different phases.
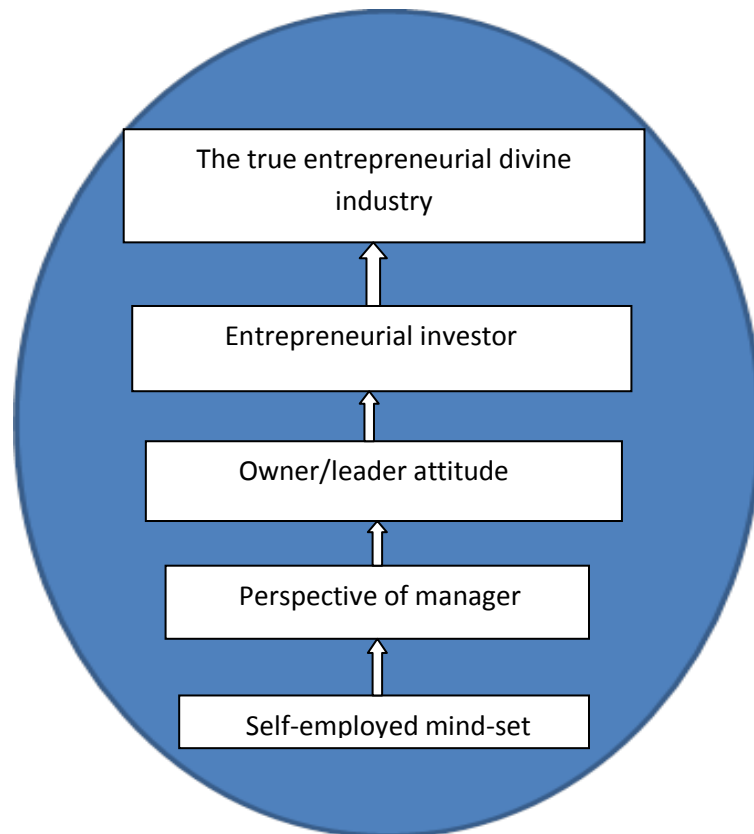
Figure 3.4   Developmental stages of Pentecostal divine industries

3.5 Financing entrepreneurial Pentecostal divine industries

The sustenance and survivability of Pentecostal divine industries depends upon the generosity, benevolence and goodwill of adherents with a large chunk of the funding coming from voluntary donations (Sanz, 2007). Pentecostalism in Ghana, like other parts of the world, is financed through internally generated funds (IGF). Sourcing funding through this process, points to the self-governance and self-propagation of most of the Pentecostal divine industries. They rely on the donations of adherents for the growth and enhancement of the divine industry. The mega divine industries or true entrepreneurial divine industries with a well-structured network of relationships, both local and international, get financial assistance from these counterparts in one way or another. Most of these networks are established with divine industries they share same or similar ideology, and through collaboration, they provide mutual assistance to each other for the enhancement of the Kingdom of the Lord.

Another form of internal sourcing of funding is their reliance on 10% payment of tithe, a ritual taxation from the monthly earning of adherents who are full-fledged members of these divine industries (van Dijk, 1999). Pointing out how the tithe plays a key role in their

financing, one of the divine-actors indicated that: 'If you have about ten people working in a bank, ten working as politicians and ten from universities, the divine industry can rely on the tithe of these persons to function.' By implication, the more adherents a divine industry has working in well-paid institutions, the richer the industry becomes with the 10% tithe as contribution. They structure their activities and operate as profit maximisers and earn their revenue by charging contribution from their adherents, but only long after they have attracted them to their respective divine industries (Poutvaara & Andreas, 2004). During the research, it was observed that all the new adherents were introduced to the congregation and had their personal details noted including their work place and the positions they occupy in their respective institutions. The reasons for such an exercise was simple; for record keeping, even though an informant had indicated that such details are often used to check how much each person earns as a monthly income so that they will know how much to expect from them as 'ritual taxation'.

Tithing remains highly identifiable and personal in that they are displayed on tithing cards that indicate the value of the tenth of the person monthly income pledged (van Dijk, 1999). The cards are sensitive and access to such confidential information by leaders of the divine industry turn to dominate an element of members' identity. Before they donate during service at the divine industry, members of Pentecostal congregation anticipate return and reward, whether material or immaterial, and expect improvement in their position and fortunes. As part of the strategies to ensure that adherents donate as well as reduce the rate of free riders, during the usual offertory (donations) on Sundays, some divine-actors and their aides consciously ask adherents to raise their donations (currency notes) for prayer before it is giving to God, in order that God will give them back twice of what they have given. From whatever they get, 10% is paid to the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council for administrative purposes for those who have registered with it. As has been emphasised, a threat of afterlife punishment is seen as credible and no adherent wants to be a victim of such situation (Poutvaara & Andreas, 2004). The additional investment in schools and clinics all serves as additional income generating ventures to inject more funds to the running of their divine industries. For a financial sustenance, some divine industries have established charitable NGOs that they use to mobilise funding from external sources, some of which go to support the divine industry. While some of them are satisfied, the new entrants to the Pentecostal business are yet ready to 'stand on their own feet.' Support for divine-actors and the supporting staff, as well as the needy in the divine industry come from these

contributions. As a result, efforts are often made to ensure that it is done well. One of the actors indicated that though they are winning souls for Christ, they also have families to feed, and observed that:

> *I always tell my people to reconsider the way they give offering (money donation) so that it will come up and be useful for me, so that I will be able to express myself and get the energy to work hard.' Many of them are 'babies to Christ' they do not know how to give; we are now teaching them how to give to Christ.*

In his view, individual maturity in the Kingdom of God and for that matter Pentecostal divine industry is judged by how generously they donate to the industry of which he and his family are part. Other sources of income for the divine industry come from the benevolence of individuals who for one reason or another donate money to assist these divine industries.

It has been observed that because of elections in many of the developing nations, most politicians especially in Africa are often careful not to offend voters by interfering in religious affairs, especially regarding imposition of taxes on religious institutions (Hackett, 2011). Though this assertion may seem plausible, it is important to understand that in the spirit of encouraging religious freedom, the state has provided a tax waiver for divine industry donations or 'collection or offering' as it is locally referred to in Ghana. In accordance with this consideration, the Internal Revenue Act of 2000, Section 10(1) (Act 592), exempts from payment of tax any income accruing to or derived by an exempt organisation including persons who, or that function as religious, charitable or educational institutions of a public character. The implication of this provision is that so long as a religious organisation is engaged in an ecclesiastical, educational or charitable activity that is not aimed at making profit, it is exempted from payment of taxes.

However, if a religious organisation engages in an activity or venture that is income-generating or businesses as a divine industry that has achieved their true entrepreneurial status, it is obligatory for them to pay taxes on those activities in accordance with the tax rules of Ghana. Though this may seem ideal, most of the Pentecostal divine industries vigorously operate companies that actively transact business with their members and the general public, operate public transport services, and promote financial and insurance companies in addition to their primary goal of winning more souls to God. The tax laws of Ghana also require all paid staff of religious organisations whether they are divine-actors of different grades, to pay taxes on their monthly or yearly income. Many employers within these institutions do not adhere to the provision for a simple reason that their employee are on

part time and depend on allowances, which are not taxable according to the tax laws. It is on the basis of this that Rt Rev Luguterah of Kings Christian Ministry put it that:

> *It was a blessing for us when our general secretary left his bank work in Kumasi and came here (Tamale) to do God's work without any salary. It is now that we have put some allowance for them to be able to take care of some basic needs.*

In such circumstances, payment of tax is out of the question. Ironically, these allowances, depending on the frequency, are sometimes more than the monthly salary of many persons who are gainfully employed in government establishments, who nevertheless have their salaries taxed. They are able to enjoy this because many of them work as full time employees in other establishment and as such, taking allowances from divine industries is an addition to their untaxed income.

3.6 Becoming an autonomous independent divine-actor

The ideals of democracy, inclusiveness and selective non-discrimination have affected the outlook of many Christian denominations across many parts of the world. The best way forward from a challenging past into a future that seems promising has been the ambition of many divine-actors. They work with these ideals in different ways by making attempts to heal past wounds and minimise new ones. Many of the actors currently manning their divine industries were either at one time working under other actors and later planted their own divine industries, or just decided to plant their own divine industries after graduating from the Bible school, to have their autonomy and independence. Developments of this nature were observed amongst the four divine-actors whose divine industries are under study. This section discusses the circumstances under which these actors planted their respective divine industries.

3.6.1 Rev Edward Azeka

Rev Eward Azeka is the senior divine-actor and co-founder of the Winning Life Chapel, based in Tamale. Azeka was born a Christian by virtue of the fact that he was born to a Christian family. In addition to his pastoral career, he is a professional teacher and teaches at the Tamale Senior High School, one of the oldest secondary schools in northern Ghana. As a child at age five, he grew up in the children service of the Baptist divine industry. Then in 1977, when he was in secondary school, he joined Scripture Union (SU) and later became their preacher with his sermons mostly centred on salvation and life in general, marking the

beginning of the manifestation of his leadership qualities. It was around this time that he made a definite decision and accepted Christ and became a born-again. Upon completion of his secondary school program in 1984, he went back to his community and started a non-denominational Christian fellowship and evangelical program which consisted of people with different Christian faith. In 1986, he left the fellowship and went to pursue a degree at the university. Whiles he was there, he joined Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students (GFES), became their prayer secretary and later became its vice president.

In 1987, he left the Baptist church and joined the World Miracle Church (WMC) which started in 1986 in Tamale under the leadership of Agyin Asare. In 1990 when he finished his program at the university, he became a full member of the WMC. He served in various capacities within the church and was promoted to the status of an associate divine-actor of the divine industry in 1992. He attended the Bible school in 1992 at the WMC which had just started its Bible school. Between 1993 and 1994, he became the acting principal of the Bible school for two years. This happened because violence broke out in Tamale between two ethnic groups and all the tutors and pastors had to leave Tamale for safety reasons. He served as an associate divine-actor for the divine industry from 1992 up to 1998 before he was promoted to the status of a full divine-actor. Soon after that, pressure started coming his way from his spiritual mentors to serve the divine industry full time. What started like a joke got serious in 2001, when they felt he was not giving the divine industry his fullest attention because of his additional profession as a teacher. To resolve the crises, he was asked to resign from teaching and give the divine industry his fullest attention. He felt it was unwise to take such a drastic decision. From that period, he started praying to God for divine direction and guidance. His prayer was allegedly answered when one of his colleagues, Albert Luguterah was opting out of the divine industry on similar grounds. The two of them teamed up and the Winning Life Chapel was established in 2001.

3.6.2 Rt Rev Albert Luguterah

Rt Rev Albert Luguterah is the founder and general overseer of the Kings Christian Ministry in Tamale. He was also born to a Christian family and grew up as a Christian. Luguterah is a lecturer at the University for Development Studies based in Tamale. He is also a radio divine-actor on a program dubbed 'WORD OF THE KING' that is widely listened to by many people in and around Tamale. He had his basic and secondary education in mission institutions, but throughout that period, he did not know why he was a Christian because by

then he was not yet a born again. In 1986, he accepted Christ and his Christian life started with a conscious decision to know and serve God. While in Tamale to pursue his secondary education, he joined the Ghana Evangelical Society. Upon completion of his secondary education in 1987, Charles Agyin Asare had started his Word Miracle Church (WMC) in Tamale and he quickly joined. However, when he went to pursue his university degree in Accra, the capitol city of Ghana, he was fellowshipping at Action Chapel International led by Duncan Williams, because of proximity advantage. Just like Azeka, Luguterah had his Bible training at the Word Miracle Bible training school.

He started as a member of the divine industry and rose to become a cadre and later as a leader within the divine industry. His work as a divine-actor started after his university education and his first assignment was to plant a divine industry at Education Ridge, a suburb of Tamale in 1994. He did it alongside evangelistic crusades and visiting of other branches of the divine industry that were located at other parts of Tamale. This was when his leadership qualities started to manifest. Due to his impressive performance, he was eventually prayed for and received into the ministry in 1997. In 1998, he was ordained a Reverend Minister and in January 1999, he was sent to Cape Coast, a coastal town in Ghana to start a new divine industry. He accepted the challenge to go to Cape Coast because many of his peers had refused to go in view of the fact that the place was alleged to be the home of 99 official gods (Deities) and was considered a spiritually difficult place for planting divine industries. Apparently, he took up the challenge and within six months, he was able to get a following of not less than fifty. He left Cape Coast and returned to Tamale because his passion was to work in the Tamale branch.

While in Tamale, a feeling of dissatisfaction filled his mind, and, it occurred to him that God wanted him to do something more than he was doing. He approached Agyin Asare, his spiritual mentor, and told him that he wanted to leave the divine industry to do something else. After praying and reflecting over it for some time, he was granted permission to resign. Within this period, as pointed out earlier, Azeka was also nursing similar sentiments to resign because of crises he was going through. The two of them decided to collaborate to form a new divine industry. Before they collaborated, they both agreed that should the collaboration fail to work, they would not hesitate to go their individual ways. The Winning Life Chapel was formed in 2001. One year after the collaboration, Luguterah felt he got it wrong again because things were not working the way he initially thought. He started pondering over the issue after having realised he had made a wrong decision, but tried and managed the situation

till 2004 when it became clear that he could not bear it any longer; he went and told Azeka that he wanted to leave. His wish was granted and he left with his wife the same year and founded the Kings Christian Ministry. Since its establishment in 2004, Luguterah have been able to plant fourteen divine industries, seven branches in urban towns and seven rural areas where basic amenities are lacking. He had his consecration as a Bishop in 2010 by the Philadelphia Council of Clergy.

3.6.3 Rev Kingsley Agyei-Sarpong

Rev Kingsley (pastor king) is the head and founder of the Reach Chapel World Outreach based in Tamale. Just like his colleagues, he was born to a Christian family and grew up as a Christian. He is a lecturer at the Tamale Polytechnic and also a radio divine-actor in one of the radio stations in Tamale (Fila fm). He had his training as a divine-actor in Word of Faith Bible Institute (Winner's Chapel Bible School) in 1997 and was ordained and licensed by Day Star Bible School, Accra-Ghana as Reverent Minister in 2006.

He worked with the Winners Chapel, a Nigerian based divine industry and rose up to the status of an associate divine-actor. As an associate divine-actor, he used to lead the divine industry in prayers and preaching anytime the senior divine-actor or his spiritual mentor was not around. His style of preaching was admired by a cross section of the adherents. In his estimation, he indicated that when the senior divine-actor realised he was becoming famous, attempts were made to sabotage his work. When he realised all avenues for him to explore his divinely given talent were undermined, he decided to advise himself by seceding with his wife. However, he could not plant a divine industry immediately, and could not also join other divine industries due to the fact that they had ideological differences. He initially used his father's hall (porch) as a praying ground with his wife and some few friends he invited to join him. Later in 2007 when the number increased, he established the Reach Chapel World Outreach divine industry.

3.6.4 Pastor Charles Tufour

Charles is the head and founder of the Powerful Jesus Outreach Ministry. He was born into a Christian family and grew up as a Christian. He had his formal education up to secondary level. He was a business person and was doing well as a sole proprietor. He finished his Bible school and preached on radio for four years. While this was going on, he used to pay regular visits to different divine industries as a guest and sometimes given the opportunity to preach.

Later in 2010, he had a divine directive to plant a divine industry to serve God. To honour this call, he invested his business capital into the divine industry. This marked the beginning of his supposed shift from a profit making enterprise to a non-profit making enterprise. He started the divine industry in 2010 with a young lady and man who got attracted to his style of preaching after he visited their divine industry. They started with evangelism using the house to house and door to door strategy and later, they planted the Powerful Jesus Outreach Ministry. Their membership base as at the time of visit stood at over 45, and they continue to attract more adherents to the kingdom of God.

3.7 Place and role of wives of divine-actors

The issue of women and leadership in Africa's religious sphere has been a neglected discourse in research. For instance in the traditional societies of northern Ghana, the responsibility of a woman to her family included providing the material resources for care, hoping that such provisions satisfy their responsibility as women and wives. These services provided by women are complementary to men's work, and the former gains an impressive status in the economic and social spheres. In the same way, traditional religion placed women as pertinent players in their various communities.

In spite of this important role played in the religious sphere, there are some instances where women are exempted from participating in some core traditional religious practices, subordinating them in the public sphere. An example of this religious practice is found in the pacification of deities when women are not allowed to partake. Only men partake in the rituals leading to all ceremonies and join in the celebration. This is different in Pentecostal and Charismatic movements. Since women in these religious organisations are very active participants, the clamour for recognisable leadership positions in divine industry has recently become a very touchy issue in public discourse (Gbenga, 2012). The current wave of Christianity, especially with the inception of new indigenous divine industries and more importantly, Pentecostal divine industries whereby women establish, lead, and enjoy active control, has shown some improvement in the recognition of women in the religious sphere. Even in male-dominated Pentecostal divine industries, women serve important roles over and above male counterparts. Naturally, women probably believe that since they have been able to compete keenly with their male counterparts in other spheres of human endeavour, leadership position in religious organisations should not be an exception (Gbenga, 2012).

The rise of the current breed of Pentecostal divine industries has brought about a change in this phenomenon where women now assume the role of founders, managers and leaders of some divine industries, presiding over men. For instance, the wife of Rt Rev Luguterah of the Kings Christian Ministry is among those in the top of the hierarchy that is predominantly male in the divine industry and preside over services in the divine industry in the absence of the husband. This is done against the backdrop of the fact that she happens to be a co-founder of the divine industry. In such instances, women have to engage in dual leadership roles with their husbands assuming the role of 'Divine-actor in Charge' while women serve as co-divine-actors. Since some divine-actor's wives are named co-founders, many are psychologically prepared to take over from the husbands in the event that the husband dies. The wives are named in some cases as co-founders and apostles and this should, according to some, enables them to take over leadership of the divine industry if the founder dies. The wife of Charles Agyin Asare has been 'pencilled' down in the constitution of the divine industry as the successor to her husband after his demise (Lauterbach, 2008).

As compared to other religious organisations, women within the Pentecostal divine industries are accorded greater recognition for the role they play. Though some of them do not rise as high as their male counterparts, nevertheless, the role they play is pivotal in the day-to-day management of their respective divine industries. For instance, the wives of divine-actors within the Pentecostal movement play a very instrumental role in the management of their divine industries. Among others, these women ensure that their husbands remain focused (both literally and symbolically) by observing constant prayers for God's guidance against any temptation likely to grind the wheels of salvation to a halt. Fitzpatrick (2003:39) has observed that:

> *A wife who is reflecting God's helping character desires to sustain or uphold her husband; she strengthens, comforts, and seeks to protect him. Because of her love for the Lord and for her husband, she endeavours to dispel his fear by being trustworthy and gracious. She leans for strength upon the Lord so that she might share that strength with her husband. In her heart she finds shelter and protection from the world; he finds a companion who offers him what he really needs: help in his God-given calling.*

It is important to note, however, that most of the women also have their own calling and often take up the functions of their husbands from time to time especially when the husbands are away on official missions. The wife of Rt Rev Luguterah preaches, heals and performs other relevant functions whenever her husband travels to visit some of the branches. Some of the

women receive calls that are *specific* with clear instruction with regard to their own ministry. This type of call or ministry is directed towards the fulfilment of the role of divine-actor's wife. Upon receipt of this divine directive, they prepare themselves for the role. These categories of women are very much involved in the activities of the divine industry they co-found with their husbands as a couple. Apart from the specific directive, other calls come with *general* directives where God does not give women receiving these calls specific roles. With this general calls, the women prepare their minds not just as divine-actor's wives, but individuals opened to whatever task God assigns them to fulfil. Unlike the specific and general call, the third category of call comes *unexpectedly* and is mostly associated with women married to men in different vocations and then the man later felt called to the service of God. These women are always convinced they are called to the men because of the change in career and often filled with mixed feeling about their place in ministry. The last and fourth category is the *impersonal* call where women do not feel called to ministry and they see the pastorate as their husband's job and not their own, which can cause problems not only in the ministry but also in their marriage.

To avoid crises in the marriage, most of the wives of divine-actors are taken on board in the management of the divine industry's activities. As observed by Gifford (2004:187) the wives of leading divine-actors have in many cases been given leadership positions and have been awarded the title 'apostle'. This is a way to entrench the power position of the leaders.

The wives of Bishop Luguterah and Rev Kingsley double as both divine-actors wives and as divine-actors themselves because they have their own calling. However, the wife of Rev Azeka is not a divine-actor because she has not been called to the ministry. Azeka was emphatic that he has no evidence that his wife has received any call and as such, she is not a divine-actor, as he rightly put it; 'My wife is not made a pastor because I think that I do not have the conviction that she is called to be a divine-actor'. Though she is not a divine-actor, there are other important roles that all divine-actors' wives perform in their respective divine industries including acting as the mothers of the congregation (Asafo Maame) or the first lady of the congregation. Because of the association women have with children, wives of divine-actors are made heads of the women and children's ministries as well. They coordinate most of the activities of their divine industries, always the first to hear problems and through them the divine-actors are informed. They also help financially when they and their husbands have to sacrifice by committing most of their family resources into the divine industry. While

people with trouble run to the pastor for help, divine-actors in trouble look to their wives for help**.**

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed Pentecostal churches as entrepreneurial churches, an idea borne out of the fact that their activities in recent times show that they are really entrepreneurs. The chapter likens the divine-actors within the Pentecostal movements as social entrepreneurs, in view of their social purpose interventions in society. It notes that their operations revolve around social purpose principles, with the incorporation of innovation and flexibility as their guiding principle. It points out that a lot of divine-actors are pre-occupied with progress and hate being stuck at one place all the time, indicating that the actors are in charge of cultural change in their respective divine industries.

The chapter points out that the innovation and flexibility that characterises these actors is often done in line with their ideas and visions. These visions and ideas are consistent with the level of education of the actors who sum up to their existing biblical insight and equip themselves with an in-depth knowledge regarding the social and spiritual needs of society. Others involve the experiences they gather and what they witness among friends and families. It points out that the divine industries in their bid to help humanity and operate like corporation with their corporate social responsibility in mind, which they often tie to their evangelisation to attract adherents to their respective divine industries. They provide skill training to their adherents free without any cost, a move to attract more adherents.

The chapter shows that the actors gain their charisma through the manifestation of miracles and signs of wonder. It indicates that the though many of them have their naturally God endowed charisma, the charisma they build rest on the obedience of their followers upon their belief in their power and manifestations. People are attracted to them because of what they offer them. Thus, the artificial charisma is envisaged to wane when the followers fail to show their loyalty. To sustain their authority, legitimacy and charisma, the divine-actors often try to prove their divine power to their adherents and society. For their part, society as well as adherents tries to legitimise this power and charisma after believing in what they do. It went to indicate that supernatural activities of the actors is central and very useful during situations of belief, where the attitude of awe is conceptualised in the worldview of society when the presence of such things as devils, spirits, demons and gods are acknowledged. The fulfilment of the divine gift to surmount these entities gives them full control over their followers.

It also discussed the fact that in view of the presence of these entities, many divine-actors finds themselves in a competitive spirit in order to attract potential adherents. Many of them use the principles of economics in their marketing drive. Though they compete, the chapter indicates that they cooperate in the sharing of ideas because they see themselves as people of the same family.

It points out that one of the issues that guide the competition is that they all want to grow to the fulfilment of true entrepreneurs. The chapter outlined five levels through which all entrepreneurial divine industries and the actors concern aspires to pass through. The divine industries get their financing through individual donations, offering, tithe payments and the numerous investments of the individual divine industries, depending on which stage of entrepreneurial developmental they find themselves. The chapter again outlines how the individual divine-actors in the four Pentecostal divine industries that guide this study gained their autonomy from their previous divine industries. It points out that the wives of these actors have special positions in their divine industries and sometimes act to help their husbands succeed.

CHAPTER FOUR

PENTECOSTALISM AND FAITH HEALING IN GHANA

4.0 Introduction

One of the important observation regarding healing systems in Ghana is the cultural domains within which they are constituted using local systems of knowledge. This knowledge guide how afflictions are conceptualised and the actions people take when they are ill. In Ghanaian society, good health is sought among competing alternatives with the hope that the healing systems they choose will meet their expectations. Health-seeking behaviours, including the choice of a specific healing system are typically goal-oriented and are based on reflective, voluntary, and purposive reasoning (Buetow, 2007). The correlation between belief structures and the general cosmology of any given society feeds into one's personal and collective identity construction. This serves the basis for the legitimacy of actions undertaken by healers and clients within a given society. It must also be indicated that even though the actions of certain healers may be legitimated, this legitimacy stands to be challenged in a pluralistic healing society where diverse healing systems coexist and compete for clients' attention.

Plurality creates competition amongst healers who operate like firms in a market, selling their healing services to potential clients (Iannaccone, 1997). Clients, for their part, also choose healers according to their preferences, usually influenced by their worldview (Stolz, 2006). Irrespective of how ideas are presented in these societies or market environments, a strong connection between the healing system and the core beliefs of a substantial group of the consuming public is very important in the determination of consumption (Harley, 1999). Plurality and competitive healing systems creates a platform for innovation and strategies on the part of healers to entrench their legitimacy and as part of their plans to attract potential clients. Assuming that all other things remain the same, a healing system that creates an enabling environment for clients to explain their afflictions in-line with their worldview has a higher probability of being consumed than a healing system that does not incorporate these popular belief systems. This suggests that the success of any healer hinges on clients' knowledge of the healers, including their therapeutic ideology, as this may have an effect on the efficacy of the treatment. As Stephen Buetow (2007) has rightly indicated, the choice of a healer is considered rational when the consumer's choice is the most efficient means in a given situation. In this connection, unravelling the legitimacy of healers provide a glimpse of

healing systems as it reflects a broader cultural dynamic that serve as a window onto the decisions and actions people take. One should not lose sight of the fact that societies with plurality of healings creates a platform for people to choose the right healing system for themselves with the hope of getting cures for the mysterious afflictions that are allegedly beyond ordinary human comprehension. In view of this, goals and values attached to decisions are assumed to reflect the worldview and reasoning of the decision makers (Buetow, 2007). The choice of one healing system out of a range of alternatives helps in shaping the quality of what is produced by the preferred institution, and the way it is structured to provide the best of services to the clientele (Iannaccone, 1997).

In the face of resource constraints, coupled with differences in ideologies, persons faced with daily challenges of different degrees may make choices that are deemed consistent with their expectations. The actions they take in dealing with their daily challenges may be deemed rational if the outcome of their actions responds appropriately to goals and beliefs in the particular set of circumstances they find themselves in (Buetow, 2007). In such circumstances, there is the tendency for them to choose alternatives that maximise their limited resources, while at the same time, satisfying their needs as consumers. In recognition of individual preferences, information and constraints, healing preferences may remain constant over time due to changes in behaviour that also influences changes in the benefits or costs associated with their behaviours (Stark, 1997). In line with the local belief structure and the fact that most afflictions are attributed to the machination of sorcerers and spiritual beings, healing systems are structured to provide remedies that are able to allay the fears of clients as far as these invisible forces are concerned. Depending on the alleged cause and the symptoms of afflictions, choosing a therapy may be dictated by the cost element and the level of confidence clients have in a particular healer.

It is important to appreciate that the existence of divine-actors and traditional healers within the same society creates an enabling environment for incompatible but similar beliefs and practices to co-exist. As each strives to maintain standards that meet the expectations of the consuming public, divine-actors, in their effort to set greater standards, often try to outsmart their co-competitors with competitive strategies. One such strategy divine-actors apply is the constant admonishing of clients to cut all dealings with traditional healing practices and become born-again Pentecostals. It is the conviction of divine-actors that the spirit entities that allegedly surround traditional healing practices have the capacity to provoke both mental and physical afflictions, often by means of, or in relation to, the environment within which

they are located. Since this is embedded in the belief structure of the local people, divine-actors have appropriated it to their advantage, taking into account the vulnerability of the local people with regard to fears of invisible forces. This has placed divine-actors in a position to compete efficiently with traditional healers who have traditionally been known as providers of these services, especially for clients who allegedly suffer from demonic afflictions. As traditional healers rely on lesser spirits in the delivery of their healing services, divine-actors rely on the powers of the Holy Spirit to deliver their healing services. Actors in each of these healing institutions consider themselves chosen agents entrusted with the power of the spirits or the Holy Spirit to deliver their services (Buetow, 2007). Both actors claim to be equipped with elements of awesomeness, authority and efficiency to solve problems that are purportedly spiritual. This makes them the main contenders with regard to healing spiritual afflictions in Ghana. This chapter explains how divine-actors in the Pentecostal divine industries use healing as a core of their doctrine, why it resonates so well with the population, and how it has placed these industries in a position to compete against traditional healers and other religious denominations in Ghana.

4.1 Faith healing in the Pentecostal divine industries

Of all the activities that divine-actors undertake in the Pentecostal divine industry, healing is one of the activities that feature most prominently. In many of the divine industries in Ghana, clients attend weekly healing services during which all members of the congregation are healed using anointed symbols such as water and oil to provide protection and rid clients of all evil forces. It is the conviction of divine-actors in these divine industries that all sicknesses can be cured by faith, including afflictions that are allegedly caused by evil forces (Bourdillon, 1982). As noted previously, Pentecostal divine-actors rely on the power of the Holy Spirit to heal people of sicknesses and exorcise them of evil spirits in their healing encounters (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). It is important to note that divine-actors' engagement in these acts is borne out of the conviction that they are anointed men and women of God with exceptional qualities, and are entrusted with the power of the Holy Spirit to lead and guide their congregations in their social and spiritual lives.

These divine gifts purportedly equip divine-actors with elements of awesomeness, authority and legitimacy in many of their encounters with their clients. This is evidenced daily, especially when clients are seen apparently thronging to the divine industries for healing. In view of their divinely-inspired visions, divine-actors consider it a moral responsibility to

prove to society, that they are indeed chosen men and women with the mandate to save people from their daily predicaments. However, it must be noted that these predicaments are not fixed but follow the interest and priorities of a given society at any point in time. Consequently, any proof on the part of the divine-actors must follow these interest areas, that is, they execute it in a context that clients can believe and appreciate. This explains why most activities of divine-actors are rooted in local belief system. Put differently, divine-actors are able to synthesise the local cosmology of illness causation with Pentecostal beliefs in the healing power of the Holy Spirit. This innovation enhances their recruitment efforts especially with regard to potential clients who are likely seeking treatment for their ailments. In Ghana, like other parts of West African, Pentecostalism represents an extensive reconfiguration of public discourse on illness and treatment seeking among the many clients, especially the poor and the middle class (Pfeiffer, 2002).

Pentecostals conceptualise healing as a holistic process that involves positive change or improvement in a person's situation in life (health, economic, political or social wellbeing) through the intervention of religion. According to Brigid Sackey (2002), faith healing refers to belief in the alleviation of sickness and socio-economic problems through the intercession of Jesus Christ, the Divine Word or the Holy Spirit with the hope that something positive will happen. Though this definition makes reference to Jesus Christ, one can say that there are other categories of faith healers including religious experts called prophets, diviners, pastors, Muslim clerics, and fetish priests, either male or female. These individuals, in one way or another, engage clients in the resolution of problems that confront them - physical illnesses, psychological, social or economic failures. Some of these problems in the local cosmology are often attributed to the workings of demons; as a result, it is rare under such situations to hear people attribute afflictions mainly to natural causes. The actions they take in ameliorating these situations are often based on the conviction that the root of demonic possession has some cultural underpinning, and as such, all interventions to mitigate afflictions give plausibility to their worldview. Similar observations have been made by Gabriel B. Fosu (1981), Kofi Appiah-Kubi (1981) and Patrick Twumasi (1975:41), who have all suggested that cultural interpretation of illnesses in Ghana plays important role in the determination of treatment. This argument also suggests that healing in local culture is a corporate affair and is greatly dependent upon fostering a correct relationship with one's social environment and the spiritual realm - a prerequisite for achieving good health (Twumasi, 1975:41).

Within the Pentecostal divine industries, the experience of the Holy Spirit serves as the power behind the healing services. It is important to understand that this does not work in isolation. As far as divine-actors are concerned, different considerations, including the totality of the actor, their level of intelligence, emotions, and deep institutional and symbolic structure all have roles to play in the execution of healing services. By this score, a competent and efficient divine-actor is known by their ability to prove the divine gift bestowed upon them evidentially in healing and other miraculous acts. This is crucial because of the importance clients attach to healing in their daily lives. In the execution of this task, both divine-actors and clients rationalises the actions they take with the claim that divine industries are built on examples of Christ who was a known healer, and as such, if divine-actors are to follow this tradition (which they are following anyway); they must heal as well. Faith healing by divine-actors hinges on the belief that the divine industry is a problem-solving institution, with a focus on meeting the health, spiritual and social needs of clients in particular, and society as a whole.

In addressing the numerous challenges of clients in a changing society, divine-actors have creatively incorporated what is termed as the 'foursquare gospel' (Salvation, Holy Spirit, Healing and Rapture or second coming of Jesus) in almost all their activities (cf Belcher & Hall, 2001). It is believed that these four tenets, which form the core of the Pentecostal divine industry, aid them symbolically in the resolution of the economic, social and spiritual concerns of their clients. What necessitates the applications of these four tenets is the realisation that people are sick, possessed, and afflicted, and the divine industry as a problem solving institution in society should be able to address these problems. This corroborates Assimeng's (2010:179) assertion that it is always the wish of many people that religion should be able to solve most of the problems that confront them in society. Addressing these concerns in a holistic manner requires the incorporation of the foursquare gospel. Salvation is conceptualised as a means to an end that the divine industry provides. The means and ends that clients desire are embedded in specific worldview and system of life practices, which are either aspired to by individuals or social groups (Stolz, 2006). When Pentecostals talk about salvation, it is related to more than an esoteric idea of the 'salvation of the soul' (Anderson, 2001:233), and reaches out to things that go beyond the 'born-again' experience; to an experience that permeates their life 'here and now', even though it could also provide them with promises for a better tomorrow or the hereafter (Larbi, 2002; Stark, 1997). Indeed, this explains why Pentecostal clientele in recent times throng to their respective divine industries

primarily in search of salvation that relates to their 'here and now' desires. 'Here and now' desires are desires that relate to material needs of individuals in this world. An important observation however is that these desires are usually not fulfilled without the backing of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is at the core of the fulfilment of both conceivable and inconceivable desires, accessible through the specially anointed people of God (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). In the Pentecostal divine industries, the Holy Spirit denotes God who is believed to be Holy, omniscient and more powerful than other worldly spirits (gods, ancestors and deities). This goes to suggest that belief in the Holy Spirit means belief in the spirit of God who has the power and might to work among humans and nonhumans everywhere. If the desire for salvation is achieved using the divine power inherent in the Holy Spirit, it then presupposes that healing has taken place. It is on the basis of this that healing is conceived of as a transformation from an undesirable state to a desired state. This gives meaning as to why they rely on the Holy Spirit to achieve human desires (Kirmayer, 2004). Once these three tenets (salvation, Holy Spirit and healing) are achieved, the fourth tenet is aimed at seeking favour from God in the hereafter after almost all one's worldly desires have been fulfilled. It is on the basis of this that Stark (1997) has argued that every human being in this world has desire for the hereafter. Indeed, the Rapture denotes a moment when it is believed only the born-again will enter paradise when Jesus Christ returns to take his followers to heaven.

The workings of the foursquare gospel are intertwined and the combined effect enables divine-actors and other religious intermediaries to provide clients with the desired protection from the destructive tendencies of invisible forces. It is important to indicate that the efforts of divine-actors in engaging these tenets is necessitated by the perceived dangers of the ancestry and witchcraft spirits that clients are so afraid of (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). This serves as enough reason for both clients and divine-actors to symbolically rely on the power of the Holy Spirit as an important avenue to limit the eminent fears associated with the invisible forces. According to the Pentecostal ideology, a full protection against invisible forces only becomes feasible if clients are able to dissociate themselves from the traditional non-Christian past. This aspect is in fact an important agenda in Pentecostal self-representation. Be it as it may, these breaks do not always mean that Pentecostals truly make a complete break with the world of spirits (Meyer, 1998). The demand for a complete break with past affiliation with traditional practices is borne out of the Pentecostal conviction that even though some diseases may have natural causes and explanations, every disease and

illness has its spiritual dimensions. Almost invariably, witches, demons, devils, and sorcerers that allegedly serve as allies of Satan are believed to be responsible for many of these diseases and illnesses. Avoiding these afflictions involves transforming oneself from the perceived negative past into a born-again. In explaining why clients afflicted with spiritual attacks are healed by divine-actors, the leader of the Kings Christian Ministry opines:

> *If the sickness is as a result of lifestyle, bad food, the doctors can do something about it. But if the sickness is as a result of supernatural or spiritual forces, there is nothing the doctors can do because, they will do all the diagnosis and yet will not see anything, and yet the person will still feel sick. It is during moments like this that, the power of God is employed to fight these forces. This is exclusively for God, and there is nothing the medical doctors can do.*

This assertion confirms earlier claims that most of the problems that confront society have spiritual dimensions. With such afflictions, interventions are often found outside the jurisdiction of biomedical practice because it is alleged that they lack the spiritual lens to properly diagnose these afflictions. Similar sentiments were expressed by many clients who sought the services of divine-actors. Many of them claimed that they visited the divine-actors because the hospitals could not diagnose their problems. In one of the interviews, one participant had this to say: 'The laboratory tests conducted at the hospital did not produce meaningful evidence to suggest that I was sick'. Even though the doctor may have indicated his inability to find evidence of sickness, the client was still feeling sick.

The inability of conventional health care to provide them with the needed cures explained why they rely on divine-actors for healing. The desire for clients to visit these divine-actors was also based on arguments raised by them (divine-actors) to the effect that all afflictions that are spiritual are meant for God (the Holy Spirit) to heal. This belief seems to resonate well with some clients who still take illnesses that can be treated medically to the divine-actors, with the conviction that healing from God is far better. In their estimation, it is God who directs doctors to treat patients, and as such, nothing is beyond Him as far as healing is concerned. This ideology explains an assertion made by one divine-actor that even when clients are admitted at the hospitals, they still pray for them. It must however be noted that there are instances where clients find themselves in uncertain situations with regard to whether afflictions are natural or spiritual. This often leads to situations where many people consult both systems simultaneously in order to deal with both the physical and the spiritual dimensions of their afflictions.

Other comments that were made by a section of the divine-actors are to the effect that before clients are prayed for, they make sure that clients show proof that they could not get cure at conventional health care institutions. However, due to ideological differences, there was no consensus on this issue as other divine-actors had contrary views. The divine-actors were of the opinion that physical affliction should be treated using only spiritual means, or what they described as 'drugless healing.' Drugless healing is called such because no drugs or concoctions are administered to the clients. This latter viewpoint corroborates Peter Anim's belief that no medication was used in the early years of the classical Pentecostalism in Ghana, a development that led to division in classical Pentecostal churches with McKeown and Anim parting ways (see Chapter One). This viewpoint in contemporary Ghana suggests that the belief system Anim and his followers held are still being practiced as an ideology by some divine industries. When clients express views of this nature, one is often tempted to believe that it is the psychological bondage that divine-actors have established between themselves and their clients that gives rise to the entrenchment of these ideologies (Sackey, 2006). This position is not meant to suggest that what they do is right or wrong, but is meant to suggest that if clients are totally convinced that the assistance they receive from divine-actors is far better than other forms of assistance and that God can do wonders in their lives, they may act according to the dictates and instructions of the divine-actor. One other possibility is that the judgement and opinions clients' form about divine-actors is premised on the conviction that the divine-actors do not fault in the execution of their divinely inspired responsibilities. In such circumstance, the psychological bondage may be reinforced with clients acting in accordance with the leaders' directives. In line with this development, the leader of the Kings Christian Ministry indicated that:

> *... When the patient feels that God can do it better, they can decide to go to God. If the message of the pastor is clear for people to understand. When the pastor proof he is all powerful, the people will decide not to go to hospital or seek treatment anywhere.*

Though this may sound immoral, especially by persons with different opinions and ideological upbringings, a number of divine-actors believe that praying for clients who present themselves for healing is a moral responsibility. Unlike other divine industries, the faith healing which forms the core of Pentecostal divine industries serves as a powerful tool used to provide solution to problems associated with poor health. In the execution of healing services, divine-actors persuade clients to joining the divine industry in order that they will

provide them or their relatives with everlasting security against sicknesses related to invisible forces.

With regard to the social and economic status of persons who use the services of divine-actors, there is often no difference between the educational backgrounds of those seeking help. This suggests that the use of the divine industries as sites of healing is more acceptable in Ghana irrespective of people's educational status. The average and highly educated both show interest and accept the use of spiritual health care service just as often as those with little or no education. This is indicative of the fact that, belief in etiology of disease is considered very important irrespective of one's educational status (Sackey, 2006). This important observation is probably due to the fact that many lives are saved and problems allegedly solved at these healing sites irrespective of whether one is rich or poor, educated or uneducated. The source of inspiration for most clients is that even if the divine-actors' prayer does not heal them; it is prayer that will hasten the treatment they will receive from medical doctors. With all these considerations, Pentecostal divine industries are able to provide a new discourse and healing process where the Holy Spirit is invoked to expel harmful agents and extricate those seeking protection from social conflicts with a proper utilisation of sacred symbols and counselling services to avoid further confrontation thereby offering a world of mutual aid and social support.

4.1.1 Faith healing as an aiding activity in the Pentecostal divine industries

It is believed that the act of healing in the divine industry comes as a grace and gift of God. As a result, if a person is not inspired divinely, embarking on such noble activity may not be possible. A common belief among divine-actors is that, God shares His work among His servants, and everyone has a special gift from God. Some are gifted to teach, prophesise, or heal, while others preach and evangelise (Gifford, 2004:24-26). There are some who can preach well but are not prophets, and some have all the above qualities. God in His divine wisdom distributes these divine qualities for the benefit of ordinary men and women whose needs are as diverse as the religious denominations. Though prophecy and healing are supposedly divine gifts from the Supreme Being according to the gospel of the divine-actors, this gift is nevertheless used as an aiding activity to do the divine work they are tasked to do. In Africa, as Anderson (2001:234) has indicated, a divine industry will be judged deficient if it does not treat healing as a function of religion. In response to this expectation, divine-actors use healing as a tool that enables them to compete effectively amongst their peers, strive for

clients and above all, prove that they have God's backing in what they say and do. The manifestation of healing and prophecy forms part of the strategies employed by divine-actors to attract more clients to their congregation for the benefit of both the clients and the divine-actors. Anderson (2001:252) has indicated that healing is probably the most important factor in evangelism and recruitment to the divine industry. The emphasis on healing and prophecy is the result of individual divine-actors desires to draw as many clients as possible to the kingdom of God. They believe that the only way to convince potential clients that God can give them complete protection when they accept Jesus as their personal saviour is to offer them healing. Commenting on why divine-actors have, in recent times, paid so much attention to healing, the senior divine-actor of Promised Faith Centre International Ministry observed that:

> *Sometimes it is difficult to get them (clients), some of them are not matured and you have to strive to get them…. the healing is part of support we give to the people; the miracle gives the people the confidence that Jesus Christ is still alive and working. …. healing and prophecy convinces them that what we say to them is true, when they come and do not see the wonders and miracles of God, they tend to feel let down by the pastor and will not come again.*

This explanation corroborates earlier submissions that healing as an activity in the Pentecostal divine industry is used to attract clients to the kingdom of God, as well as increase the size of their congregation. As the divine-actors address the eminent problems faced by clients, clients also tout the capabilities of divine-actors and in the process, their credentials as divine-actors are boosted. The conviction of divine-actors is that there is a dispensation for everything, and the recent generation needs healing to enable them to cope with all the life challenges they face in society. Almost all Pentecostal divine industries that aspire to increase the size of their membership plant new divine industries in communities where healing crusades are organised. It is during these crusades that potential clients make up their minds to either join or not to join. During these events, senior divine-actors have to convince the public with healing and miracles that they are indeed the chosen men or women of God. At one such events, it was observed that names of clients healed at the venue were taken and the healed were subsequently asked to attend divine industry's service the following Sunday at a particular location. Thus, as divine-actors heal clients, clients become regular customers thereby increasing the size of the congregation.

Some divine-actors admitted that the keen competition for clients results in situations where everyone has to heal if they are to stay in business and at the same time keep their

congregation. They indicated that the projects they do are divinely inspired and people should not take them as personal capabilities. One of the divine-actors at Winning Life Chapel pointed out that:

> *There were people I personally healed, but this I must say is a gift that comes from God, and I cannot sit here and boast that I have the power to heal. We pray and the Holy Spirit does the healing.*

Weekly prayers are held for their clients with problems of different kinds where they ask for God to intervene. In other places visited, there were special groups constituted for this particular purpose. One such group was dubbed the 'prayer force' and was made up of young divine-actors who have come together to work assiduously with the senior divine-actor in prayers and fasting in order that God would make it possible for them to pray for the sick in the power of the Holy Spirit. Another group that was very visible and was working alongside the prayer force is what they termed the 'Java hour' group. Though the same people serve in these groups, the mandates seem different. Those in charge of the *Java hour* are tasked to pray for clients who are sick including those experiencing social and financial distress. During this hour, the divine-actors do not specify a particular client in their prayers, they pray for all clients, especially those thought to be in difficult situation. One other development was an 'on-call' service, where suffering clients call the divine-actors on the phone and ask the divine-actors to pray for them. It must be indicated that this 'on call' service does not require the physical presence of the divine-actor or the client. The idea is that the Holy Spirit is everywhere and is available to intercede in any difficulty when called upon. One of the divine-actors affiliated to the Assemblies of God divine industry confirmed this in his submission on activities that take place in his establishment, as he opined that:

> *I pray for people on the phone, I ask them to pick 'pure water' (water in sachets) which is used as a point of contact, I pray for them and when the prayer is over, I ask them to use the water and bathe and the problem disappears.*

They advised however that people should not take their ability to heal as a personal project, as claiming ownership has the tendency to place the divine-actor in a very tight situation, especially if clients are not able to get the desired results after healing sessions. Openly admitting to clients that it is God who heals and not man is a noble thing and a moral responsibility of divine-actors since it increases their credibility, and in the event that there is failure, the blame may be placed on the clients who may be accused of lacking faith or on God not responding to their plea. However, when they get excited over what they do, some

tend to forget acknowledging the presence and powers of God. It has been alleged that the driving force behind many of the activities that influence divine-actors to forget God is the evil spirits and not the Holy Spirit.

Giving consideration to the economic and social problems, and the desire for people to blame others for their predicaments in society, many clients are often eager to listen to whatever would please them. As such, they will have open ears to listen to messages that attribute their problems to other worldly spirits. In view that much emphasis is placed on such things as demons and witchcraft, and the fact that divine-actors establish links between a client's problems and how it is related to some family members, witches, or co-workers, there is an ever increasing demand for the services of divine-actors in society. Some of the divine-actors go to the extent of calling the spirits of dead relatives to confess before the living beings about the actual cause of their death and how the living should guard against similar events. In the face of all these developments, clients who benefit from such wonders from divine-actors often stay with such divine industries, and the more clients benefit, the higher the chances of expanding the size of the congregation.

4.2 Contextualising disease and illness

Before the analysis of healing phenomenon, it will be helpful at this stage to distinguish between disease and illness. Disease as used here denotes a biophysical condition that is interpreted through a medical paradigm (McGuire, 1983) or a malfunctioning or maladaptation of biological or psychological processes (Kleinman, 1978). Illness on the other hand denotes an individual's social and psychological response to his or her perceived biophysical condition or disease and the societal reaction to their condition. It also denotes the way sick people, their family, and their social network perceive, label, explain, evaluate, and respond to disease (Kleinman, 1978). What these definitions suggest is that one can have a disease without being ill. That is, one can have a disease without knowing it. In the same vein, one can experience illness without a disease, that is, a person can suffer from an ailment for which there is no medically determinable symptom (McGuire, 1983). Illness as a condition is principally associated with the popular cultural arenas of health, where sickness is most frequently articulated in highly personal, non-technical, concrete issues concerned with the life problems that result from sickness (Kleinman, 1978). Sickness as used here refers to a social condition that applies to people who are deemed by others to be ill or

diseased. It is a status or role in society, often justified by making reference to the presence of disease or illness (Radley, 1994:3).

Contextualisation, it is argued, is concerned with getting to the heart of a culture (Anderson, 2001:211). If this is so, it then presupposes that the Pentecostal idea of disease and illness will very much be a product of this culture. Consequently, traditional healers, divine-actors, and their clientele in the divine industry have similar categories of sicknesses. In all forms of afflictions that confront them, the supernatural plays an important role in causation. Accordingly, sickness categorisation with regard to causation among Pentecostals finds expression in the assumption that God inflicts sickness as a punishment for disapproved human conduct. This assumption corroborates the local belief system, which has it that spirits of the gods and ancestors punish people for social transgression (Twumasi, 1975:41). A common view expressed by these two systems is the idea that there is a spiritual component of every human personality and it is this component that causes people to suffer from poor health. Maintaining good health means making sure that the spiritual and tangible components of human beings are in harmony. If there is disharmony or disequilibrium, the assumption is that the affected clients may have to search for answers to their predicaments in a divine industry, a diviner, or deity, often considered the 'hub' of divine knowledge where answers to life's complexities are sought. In view of the diverse belief systems in Ghana, one may be tempted to construe it with some psychological undertones, especially those with a Western orientation and upbringing where this indigenous knowledge system may be described as primitive. In spite of this, the familiar beliefs and concepts serve as a foundation of their faith, and are taken seriously in the event that they find themselves in a crisis situation. In both the local cosmology and Pentecostal divine industry, there are two explanations to disease and illness causation. One is associated with natural cause and the other associated with the spiritual or supernatural. When clients consult a healer with their problems, the first thing the healer determines is the source of the affliction – locating what is perceived to be responsible for the sickness (Twumasi, 1975:37).

4.2.1 Making sense of physically induced sickness

Physical sickness is identified as one of the most common of sicknesses experienced by local people. One way of distinguishing physical sickness from other forms of sickness is its visibility. Diseases and illnesses that fall into this category qualify as physical because they are visible and can be diagnosed and treated by many health professionals including

biomedical practitioners, traditional healers, and divine-actors. These sicknesses include toothaches, stomach aches, wounds, piles, and organic problems such as jaundice, liver and heart diseases, fibroids, and diabetes, among others. In some instances, afflictions such as paralysis, dumbness, and blindness, are all classified as physical sickness even though among the local people, they may be conceived of as spiritual sicknesses (Phiri, 2009).

One other dimension with regard to physical sicknesses is the ease with which one can predict its occurrence, qualifying it as natural. Opinions expressed by divine-actors in relation to physical sickness are associated with the lifestyle of the affected clients. In explaining this notion, one of the participants gave a simple illustration to buttress his point and had this to say: 'If you put your hand in fire, you will get burnt; if you are a reckless driver, you may get in an accident; if you leave in a filthy environment full of houseflies, you are likely to get cholera; and if you have unprotected sex with strange persons, you may get HIV'. He was however quick to add that these behaviours, though they may appear physical, has spiritual dimensions. From a spiritual point of view, he opined, the cause of the sickness is not relevant, what becomes important is what motivates the person to exhibit that behaviour in the first place, leading to the onset of the sickness. This observation lends credence to the theory that every disease has its spiritual dimension. The spiritual dimension of physical sickness comes with such questions as: Why me? Why this time? Who has done this to me? Even death is not accepted as such without cause since similar questions are often asked. In such circumstances, the bereaved families often consult divine-actors to find the agents responsible in order to get some psychological comfort. In the local context, sickness and death are rarely attributed to natural causes, but to spirits, enemies or both (Phiri, 2009). In almost all Pentecostal divine industries, sermons emphasise these dichotomies to sway clients from lifestyles that are perceived as unhealthy.

4.2.2. Explaining spiritually induced sickness

Spiritual sicknesses are claimed to result mainly from spiritual or invisible forces. The view within the local worldview is that reality of events unveils themselves in forms that are intertwined with spiritual entities (Akrong, 2000). This suggests that sicknesses that are labelled as spiritual emanates from such forces as witches, wizards, ancestors, shrines or deities. Sicknesses that qualify as spiritual include, reproductive disorders (infertility), fibroids, unusual or bad dreams, psychosomatic disorders and especially mental afflictions, epilepsy, and any other misfortune that is not easily explainable in the context of the local

belief structure. From a spiritual view-point, a curse is one of the dimensions of afflictions that local people consider spells with the potential to cause failure in life. The contention is that a curse can cause unemployment, divorce, and infertility among other misfortunes. Curses are greatly feared because it is believed that a curse can bring death to the affected persons (cf Phiri, 2009; Onwona, 2005:11). In line with this observation, Rev Azeka indicated his encounter with a young client who visited him for healing. As he put it:

A young man was purported to have offended his father and the father was not happy with him and apparently said bad things about him (young man). The young man did not know the gravity of this, and for every year, he was getting accident in the month of November and all the year's proceeds would be used to treat him and repair his vehicles. He did not know it was caused by his father's unhappiness. Until he came to us for prayer during which a prophecy was received that he had to apologise to the father before he would be free… The relation was repaired afterwards.

From this account, the indication is that though the father did not openly engage his son in any confrontation, the fact that he was not happy was enough to cause him misfortune. Though accidents could happen anytime, the case of the young client was too much of a burden. Since the accident kept occurring in a particular month for more than three years, it served as sufficient cause for worry. In situations like this, causality is assumed to be ultimately spiritual. Material causality is assigned a secondary role or may sometimes be regarded as irrelevant (Akrong, 2000). With reference to the source and causal perception with regard to these afflictions, healers are sought based on whether their actions would be consistent with a specific worldview and whether they will be able to apply the right spiritual interventions.

Categorisations as indicated above, suggest that it is possible for diseases and illnesses to result from both natural and spiritual agents despite the fact that some may be purely spiritual. Indeed, conceptualisation of causality in relation to external agents is not always easy to uncouple the spiritual cause from a secondary or material cause for the local people (Akrong, 2000). This therefore adds to the already existing difficulty in distinguishing natural and spiritual afflictions by just looking people, especially when both sicknesses manifest similar features (cf Langwick, 2007). The level of uncertainty that surrounds this puzzle prompts clients to consult multiple actors for first-hand information. This may also suggest that the complementary use of faith healing and conventional health care depends on the distinction between the modern treatment of symptoms and the traditional distinction

between natural and spiritual sicknesses (Bourdillon, 1982). Rev Kingsley gave a narration of one of his spiritual encounters:

> *A young lady was brought in to the mission (church) house where we were lodging and was almost dead. Her husband-to-be (fiancé), her mother, and three siblings, accompanied her. They entered the mission house wailing (weeping) for help. According to the siblings, the lady was discharged from hospital after three months of ceaseless medication, all to no avail, and we (siblings) are here because we know it is only God that can help us. As I and one other pastor that was present began to pray. The dear lady's eyes turned upside down with only the white been visible. The pupil (black spot of the eye) had suddenly disappeared and her mother and sibling that accompanied her began to weep and weep. We managed to send them out of the room, and we continued with our prayers. We called in the Master (God). He that has the keys of hell and death to unlock her from the power of death and as soon as that was accomplished, the dying lady started to cough. She came back to life to the surprise of her family.*

According to Rev Kingsley, when they were praying, he received a revelation that the lady in question was betrothed to a deity at birth. The condition that was given before birth was that the lady would not be permitted to marry. The deity struck her because she defied the order and absconded, and was staying with her fiancé. Her siblings confirmed this and revealed that ever since she started staying with the fiancé she had been sick with one form of affliction or another, and because all attempts to get treatment had been fruitless, their last hope was to turn to God, whom they believe has the ultimate power to heal. True to their expectation, she was healed, and since then, she alleged she had not experienced any sickness.

There are times when medical doctors declare certain afflictions as 'home-based' and ask clients to go home for local treatment. Some of these referrals are often taken to divine-actors for treatment through deliverance. In another situation, a young man was alleged to have received similar healing after all attempts to get treatment at other establishments did not work. As the divine-actor of Reach Chapel World Outreach, Rev Kingsley put it:

> *There was an occasion a Muslim brother popularly known as Afa Abdulaih said he stepped on an enchantment (black medicine or juju) and his legs began to rot. We saw him with the rotten legs and told him Jesus could heal him. We then invited him to church. Well, he came and by the prayer of faith and the ministering of the anointing oil, at the next service day (7 days later), he came to testify about his healing and he continued to attend service despite the increasing hindrance by his Muslim brothers until finally he left to his home town.*

The clients initially thought the afflictions were natural, but when it turned out to be the opposite (spiritual), they had to change their strategies for seeking help. They even alleged that a doctor who had Western training once advised them to seek spiritual help to enable her recovers. The numerous tests that were conducted gave the lady a clean bill of health, but she was still feeling sick. This was what convinced them that the situation was more towards spiritual than physical. In a similar vein, my interaction with participants revealed that some doctors affiliated to Pentecostal divine industries have reserved a special room at the 37 Military Hospital and the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, both in Accra where they pray and deliver clients whose sicknesses are suspected to be spiritually motivated. This corroborates Edward E. Griffith's (1983) observation that the success of a hospital he studied in Jamaica was its ability to combine these two healing traditions. Spiritual sicknesses are believed to operate through mediums that are either direct or indirect, with some taking the form of spells or curses.

4.2.2.1 Direct spiritual sickness

A further classification of spiritual sickness into this category is informed by the fact that some afflictions qualify as direct when they manifest in exactly the way the perceived enemies, evil forces, or agents desires (Sackey, 2006). It may be the desire of the evil agent that someone should have an accident, have his leg amputated, and eventually, lose his job or perhaps that a bank worker should be involved in a fraudulent deal which may lead to dismissal. All these scenarios qualify as direct causes because the results manifest just as the alleged perpetrator or evil agents planned them. It is in this light that, in the local belief structure, simple accidents or errors are not taken lightly since all of them have their spiritual dimensions. As a result of this mind-set, even if an action is due to human error, they will still find a spiritual explanation to make it look plausible.

4.2.2.2 Indirect spiritual sickness

Indirect sicknesses are afflictions in which the primary factors causing the affliction are rooted in social stressors that cause distress and affect the mental and psychological equilibrium of the victim (Sackey, 2006). Afflictions that qualify as indirect include social and economic experiences such as unemployment, marital instability, economic failure and a host of related social issues. Though these are not sicknesses per se, the argument is that they have a direct bearing on an individual's health and wellbeing. Information gathered from study participants reveals that social problems like those above can lead to sickness since it

manifests as indirect causal agent of sicknesses. Additionally, cases of unfaithfulness between couples, constant misunderstanding at the work place between the victims and their bosses, all serves as possible causes of indirect sicknesses. They all have the tendency to put the affected persons in a state of psychological distress, and consequently, physical breakdown. Divine-actors argue that this breakdown may be the result of the sleepless nights victims endure in their attempt to find meaning to their predicaments. What this means is that if these symptoms are not checked early, they may lead to serious mental problems and other inexplicable afflictions. Scenarios like this may sound logical and may make sense along with the argument that spirituality provides the practice of healing that is anchored in traditional ideas. The view is that a primary source of spiritual healing is the sacrament of reconciliation with one's neighbours, gods or God. Besides, it also serves to provide relief for persons who are unable to get a cure or healing from other healers. This is premised on the conviction that if all attempts to get a cure find a healing fail, the Holy Spirit will at least provide some spiritual relief. This serves to perform a crucial role as a hedge against failure of other interventions.

4.3 Health seeking behaviour of Ghanaians

In almost all societies, the quest for health and wellbeing shades into matters of morality on religious grounds as a result of the role the latter plays in social life of many people. This is in view of the fact that each society has its cosmological notion that ascribes etiology of sickness, ascribing it to entities far beyond the realm of the conventional health care system, even though they still respect the knowledge and wisdom of doctors. With the wealth of knowledge doctors possess, and the conviction that they can cure almost all sicknesses - provided the right conditions for curing are fulfilled - is not in doubt. Thus, the health seeking behaviour of societies with this mind-set would apparently depend on their understanding and interpretation of the cause of the sickness and what needs to be done to ameliorate it. In situations where the germ theory of disease causation is accepted, attitude with regard to a search for cure will be different from persons who may attribute the same diseases to a supernatural cause (Twumasi, 1975:41). In recognition of this fact, health-seeking behaviour of Ghanaians revolves around three domains. These domains – rooted in popular views, professional views and folk views - define how sicknesses are experienced and acted upon within these societies.

The popular domain principally comprises how families and communities contextualise sickness and subsequently provide care. This domain also includes the social network and community activities and experiences that are used to influence the actions individuals take during sickness. In almost all the communities in the study area, over 60% of sicknesses are managed solely within the popular domain. Moreover, most of the decisions regarding when to seek help using other domains and the right persons to consult, including the question of whether to comply with the popular views and the evaluation of the efficacy of treatment, are made in the popular domain.

The second aspect concerns the folk domain that deals with explanatory theories that speculates that almost all serious sicknesses have a supernatural underpinning. Within this domain, the most frequently evoked agent is the anger of the ancestor spirit, deities and witchcraft. These constitute part of the ordered structure of their cosmology. In their thought system, all living things including human beings supposedly have harmonious relationships with the gods and the spirits. Within this context, what constitutes reality is not found in the relationships between human beings with things, but of human beings with other human beings and all relevant spiritual entities.

The professional domain which constitutes the third element basically consists of conventional or Western scientific medicine and professionalised indigenous healing traditions most of which are becoming integrated into the mainstream healthcare system. The conventional domain helps to construct a distinct form of social reality. In other words, it organises subsystems of socially legitimated beliefs, expectations, roles, relationships, and transaction settings among others. This socially legitimated context of sickness includes how interventions are sought and what constitutes reality in a clinical sense. From the point of the local people however, what constitutes these realities are cultural constructs and the actions individuals take during ill-health at any given time accurately reflects major changes in the underlying socio-religious aspects of health and the ideological structures of the people concerned.

4.4 Determinants in the choice of healing systems

It is an undeniable fact that both traditional healers and divine-actors treat similar afflictions perceived to have spiritual dimensions. It could also be argued that dealing with perceived physical and spiritual afflictions used to be under the purview of traditional healers, who were often consulted to treat persistent and severe health problems thought to have roots in

the spiritual realm. Recent developments suggest the contrary, in which different people, educated and uneducated, rich and poor, men and women - gradually renounce traditional healing in favour of Pentecostal divine healing for the treatment of afflictions perceived to have their roots in the spiritual realm. Anderson (2003) has argued that the number of clients traditional healers or divine-actors have is determined by the extent to which the people perceive the actor's pronouncements to be the utterances of the Spirit. The similarities between these two types of healers arise precisely because both provide answers to the same questions. In combating invisible forces, both seek to neutralize the harmful use of sorcery. The gradual shift from traditional healers to divine-actors probably emanates from the Pentecostal divine industries syncretic nature. As Pfeiffer (2002) has argued, divine-actors are able to provide a cognitive 'bridge' from urban modernity back to rural tradition for the 'disoriented', mostly migrants who straddle both domains. One other possible way of accounting for the gradual shift is the fast eroding social cohesion of traditional societies. It is through this eroding social cohesion where Pentecostalism finds expression, especially in increased fears of witchcraft or sorcery, and new ways of avenging spirits that are alleged to be behind the afflictions they suffer from. The alleged threats of invisible forces sometimes manifest in social conflicts both in families and at work-places. It is against these eminent threats that many people are seeking protection from divine-actors to guard against people with alleged evil machinations, and if possible, avoid crises in their families completely.

Clients who consult divine-actors are often told that the invisible forces or spiritual entities continue to have influence over them and are negatively affecting their lives, causing physical suffering, and at worst, draw them back from the ultimate fulfilment of their individual destinies. In the process of resolving the perceived social and personal problems, Pentecostal clients have to evaluate their identities as Pentecostals free from their traditional past and as individuals who are still connected to the spirits of their past. As Meyer (2011:154) has rightly indicated, the Pentecostals often initiate fierce attack against traditional religious practices aimed at achieving this objective. Whereas traditional healers maintain ancestor rituals, the divine-actors solution is usually aimed at confronting the belief in witchcraft and providing an acceptable alternative to facilitate a deepening Pentecostal commitment (Anderson, 2003). This seems to resonate well with clients because the forces that are being accused of perpetrating this evil are the same forces the traditional healers rely on for their healing. The Pentecostal divine industry represents what may be described as an Africanised version of Christianity, despite its overt rejection of African Traditional Religion as demonic.

The Ghanaian divine industry more than any of the other paradigms of Pentecostal expression in Africa, roots their messages in the very philosophy of the religion and spirituality of the African worldview that it demonises (Meyer, 2004a). Using this 'borrowed' ideology, divine-actors are able to address and speak to the deep needs and aspirations of the ordinary persons, who are caught up in a dynamic past which allegedly rules their lives, and an attractive modern world, which is not yet their own. Divine-actors promise to provide spiritual assistance for all the conceivable problems of clients and the ambiguous relationship with traditional culture and modernity. This partly accounts for its popularity, appeal and attraction to people of different social statuses, especially the youth, women and children.

A number of the social, economic and spiritual challenges people face in Ghana are attributed to demonic possession (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). The critical role of healing in the growth of Pentecostal divine industries is well documented (Anderson, 2001:16) and their success is derived from their ability to effectively manage some of these social ills. Healing as practiced by divine-actors is syncretic in their incorporation of local ideas of social distress and illness causing human agents. This makes them the preferred choice among the poor and the middle class, who are mostly recruited through healing services. The increasing prominence of the activities of divine-actors signals a dramatic and important shift from reliance on traditional healers, known for treating persistent afflictions believed to have links with invisible forces.

Another causal explanation with regard to why people are so attracted to the divine-actors for healing is the increasing fees charged by some traditional healers. It is alleged that the fees charged by traditional healers are beyond the means of the ordinary people seeking prosperity or health. It also serves as an obstacle in their attempt to combat persistent misfortunes in the form of illness, lost jobs, passing exams and all manner of familial problems. Even though the WHO seems to be encouraging traditional healers to improve upon their activities, the attitude of ordinary people who depend on them as primary health care providers is fast waning. Aside the cost elements with regard to consultation, their activities are increasingly received with suspicion as a result of an alleged frightening engagement of these healers in occult forces. They claim these forces are allegedly used to foment confusion, encourage competition and sometimes confrontation within society. This was the observation of Assimeng (2010:176-187) who averred that some of the traditional healers are consulted when people want to defeat their opponents in competition.

Another interesting observation with regard to traditional healers is that their practices in recent times have been tailored towards making people wealthy. In view of this, the services they provide are allegedly sold to the rich and affluent in society, who have no problem paying higher fees to get protection against sorcery, improve their employment fortunes, or undermine co-competitors. Demand for these types of services has grown in societies where people continue to struggle to obtain scarce urban jobs. All this takes place in the midst of wide-spread speculation that traditional healers manipulate indigenous medicine to worsen instead of ameliorating their clients' conditions. The allegation is that they do this with the sole aim of getting clients to return to them for consultation, thereby enriching them financially. Assuming this is true, it suggests that traditional healers are considered too expensive and consulting them also has the potential to attract accusations and suspicion to the help-seeker. This may be borne out of the fear of other people thinking they are consulting traditional healers in an attempt to cause harm to others. They also stand accused of being behind some of the afflictions many people suffer. It has also been alleged that whenever traditional healers are in financial distress, they manipulate the spirits and deities under their control to inflict disease and illness on innocent people and then quickly turn around and charge exorbitant fees for treatment. It is these allegations that motivate many clients to look up to the divine-actors who offer similar services but do not charge fees or foment trouble as traditional healers are accused of.

In the same vein, it is speculated that traditional healers have many prohibitions which are very cumbersome to follow, but are required in the administration of traditional medicine. One of the respondents indicated why he had to go to the Pentecostal divine-actors:

> *I went to a traditional healer to get medicine for an ailment that was troubling me for a long time. The hospital could not treat me because I was told it is spiritual. After providing me with the concoction, the healer told me not to have sex for the next couple of months. He also said only men should prepare the medication for me and that no woman should touch it. The worse of it all, the concoction had such a bad odour that anytime I was bathing, people used to close their doors. The inconvenience was so much that since then I have resolved not to consult them again.*

These prohibitions are considered archaic and very difficult to follow in modern societies. Many clients contend that soaking the concoction for several days produces odour that is unbearable, especially when one is living with neighbours nearby. In contrast to traditional healing, the healing approaches of divine-actors are less divisive and more pervasive spiritual protection offered without payment, reinforcing this with social support in a new collective.

Divine-actors are able to take advantage of these situations by emphasising this contrast and effectively exploiting the already considerable community anxiety over the rising cost of traditional treatment as well as their social divisive treatments in an already insecure society.

In relation to the prevailing poverty and low incomes of the majority of the population, many people are challenged in their ability to pay for the services of traditional healers for the treatment of their afflictions. Rev Kingsley noted this when he made the following observation with regard to people who use the divine industry as their primary health care service:

> *We get the poor coming to us for healing because they cannot afford the hospital bill.... Even though health insurance is there, some of them find it difficult to subscribe. With such people, the moment they are taken ill, the first thing that comes to their mind is that someone is after their lives and it is the pastor who has to save them....*

This development is against the fact that divine-actors' explanatory model for illness incorporates many of the local belief of social distress deployed by traditional healers, which corroborate with the divine-actors' notion of the Holy Spirit, used to provide free holistic and broader healing and protection against relentless occult threats to health and well-being emanating from the volatile social environment against which people are not comfortable. Providing people with clues to the sources of their afflictions alone is satisfying, and one would not need to go to traditional soothsayers for similar words of knowledge, predictions or prophesy. In view of the alleged or potential social divisiveness associated with disclosing the source of afflictions, many divine-actors are of the opinion that when they anticipate that disclosing the source of affliction can cause tension, especially in situations where witchcraft and sorcery is involved, they keep it to themselves. But then they pray with the clients concerned to avert it. As Rev Kingsley in his explanation indicated:

> *We explain to people the cause of their problems when the cause border on human behaviour. But on issues of witchcraft, we do not tell them because that will bring about confusion in the family and society at large....*

The above account suggests that, if the problem at hand is the result of an individual's life style that may include smoking, alcoholism, laziness and idleness, it is very easy to disclose this to them and recommend ways of avoiding the situation. Indeed, by the power of the Holy Spirit, the divine-actors are able to encourage the affected clients to change their life styles since information of this nature will not reflect badly on other members of society. This is

one of the most desirable interventions by divine-actors in the affairs of their clients. It has the potential to influence clients to break from their undesirable past behaviours, and to create a new modern, urban, more individual subject freed from the constraints of rural family demands, and the backward beliefs and unprofitable lifestyles (Meyer, 2004a). However, where the problems associated with invisible forces have to do with human agents, divine-actors do not disclose the identities of the main suspects, though they indicate to their clients that the affliction is spiritual. They go on to advise clients to give their lives to Jesus for permanent protection. Within this context, traditional healers are often vilified and demonised primarily because they are traditional and therefore perceived to keep clients mired in backwardness and poverty, impeding progress towards prosperity and modernity. Additionally, disclosure has the potential that may lead to attacks and killings of suspected witches or sorcerers by relatives of the clients. These destructions, if allowed to occur, may be difficult to repair in societies where the extended family system is still cherished.

Some respondents gave account of their long and frustrating moments in trying to get help from different sources simultaneously (cf Feierman, 1985), including consultation with divine-actors. This was done out of desperation to get treatment for their persistent affliction. Prophesy of divine-actors form an essential part of the activities of the Pentecostal divine-actors. The versatility and accuracy of knowledge they disseminate is very helpful to many people. They foretell the future and prescribe means to avert impending dangers and misfortunes. These prophesy give adherents hope and satisfaction with regard to what they hear and witness. This coupled with the clients at the centre of healing, sometimes makes it unnecessary for deserving clients to shop for alternatives. In line with this, Rt Rev Luckthera has indicated that:

> *The background of the pastor and his/her message dissemination plays an important role. A person's belief may lead to overuse of a practice… The established view amongst the divine-actors is that, certain diseases are reserved for God, and man only works through His power to have them remedied. Man cannot know everything, but God can. There are doctors and nurses in this church and I even encourage some of my church members to go and do medicine. One will not encourage people to do something God does not approve. Once the doctors are treating people, it means God has approved it. What we believe in is how we can balance what the doctors do and what God does.*

Relying on these rich but diverse views enables clients to render the system plausible by individually emphasising different viewpoints that are consistent with their respective

worldviews. This stems from the several viewpoints in the explanation of illness, healing and health. The multitude of explanations, perceived agents and mechanisms of healing is due to the multi-cultural and multi-religious situation in Ghana in particular and Africa in general. In rational terms one may argue that Pentecostal divine-actors create the need for their messages by teaching doctrines that help sustain the belief in invisible forces, while at the same time demonising people who rely on these invisible forces to solve the very problems divine-actors solve. The main attraction of their messages is the way they repackage traditional beliefs in invisible forces as a powerful new Christian perspective that makes it possible to explain all evil in terms of witches and sorcerers (Akrong, 2000). Figure 4.1 contextualises the determinants of the choice of healing systems.
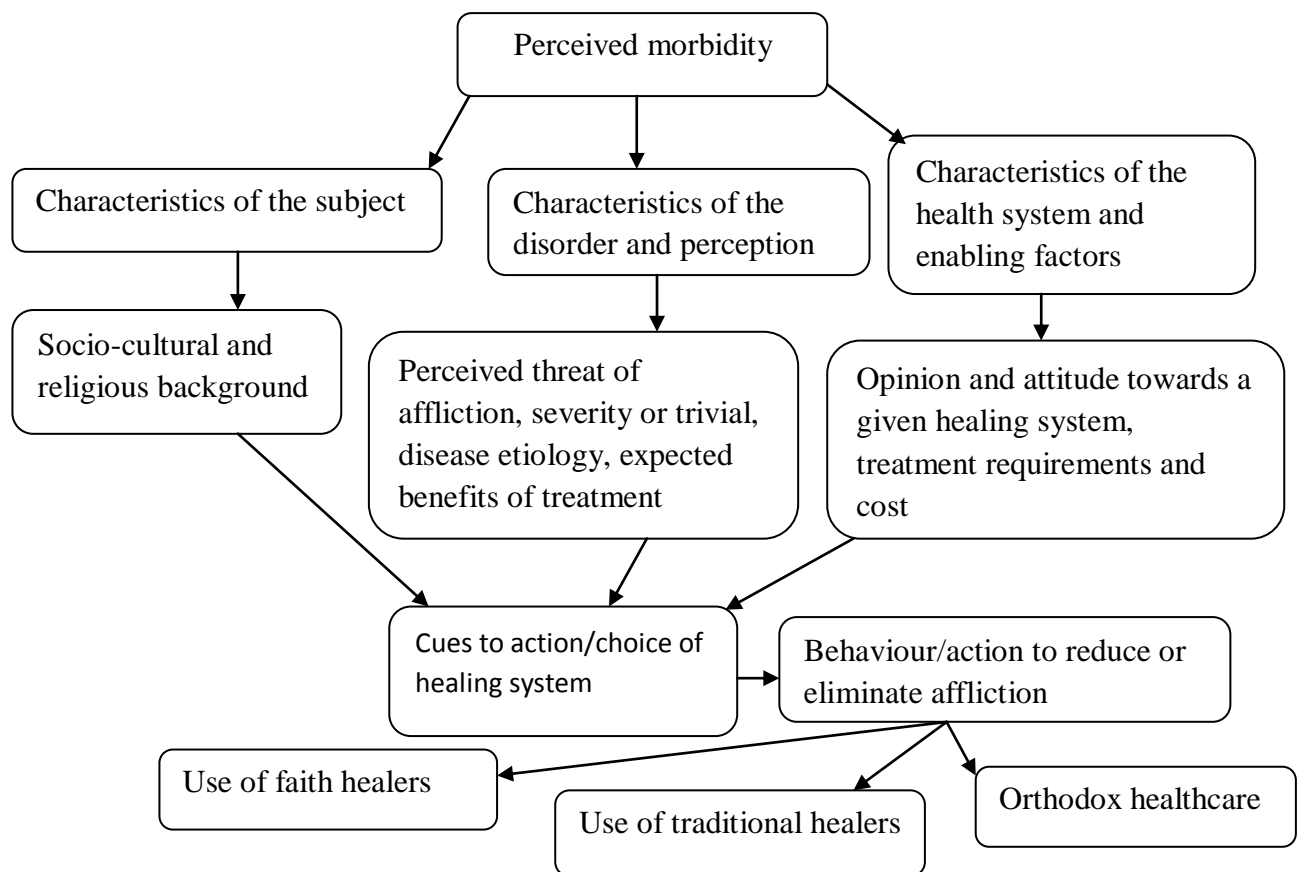
Figure 4.1 - Determinants of choice of healing systems in context

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4.5 Healing services in the Pentecostal divine industries

Healing and protection from evil are the most prominent features of the proclamations and worship of the divine industries (Anderson, 2001:252). Healing services observed within the Pentecostal divine industry take two forms; 'laying on of hands' healing services organised on a one-to-one basis or organised in groups. In either of these, the process starts with songs of praise usually interspersed with brief sermons delivered by associate divine-actors. Starting the process with associate divine-actors appears to be part of the process of training them to become full divine-actors. Sermons usually last between 10 to 30 minutes after which senior divine-actors in charge of the congregation take over to present the main sermon for that particular day or occasion. Because the process is aimed at healing clients, sermons usually centre on the perceived battle between God and Satan (Meyer, 2004a). This is usually characterised by intermittent pauses to ask the congregation to pray for the intervention of the Holy Spirit in whatever problem they may be facing. People do this with a great deal of enthusiasm and vigour, as almost everyone seems to 'pour out' their problems with great seriousness. As the congregation starts praying, a lot of people may be heard speaking in tongues, which signals the presence of the Holy Spirit. After the mass prayers are over, the divine-actor asks for clients who have social or spiritual challenges and who wish to be healed to come on stage. The healing then starts with 'laying on of hands', depending on the type of problem each person presents.

The laying on of hands is undertaken with the application of sacred symbols such as the anointed water which is believed to contain properties and powers that can treat any affliction including driving evil spirits away. If the divine-actor's encounter with clients is done on an individual basis, the sacred symbol (anointed oil) is usually applied on the client while invoking the powers of the Holy Spirit to aid the healing process (Anderson, 2003). However, if it is mass healing, the situation is different. In mass healing, as soon as prayers are over divine-actors ask for clients who feel they have been touched by the Holy Spirit in healing when the prayer happening to step forward. At this point, clients who felt touched by the Holy Spirit in healing may be seen moving forward, one after another, to the senior divine-actor to testify before the entire congregation about what their problems were, and what their experience has been after they were touched by the Holy Spirit in healing. In other instances, there may be no need to call out individuals. What usually happens in these situations is that the divine-actor may decide to spray the sacred symbol on almost every one in the congregation for the desired results to take place. In all these encounters, four categories of

healing take place. These are healing of physical afflictions, social afflictions, mental afflictions, and spiritual deliverance.

4.5.1 Dealing with physical afflictions in the divine industries

Of all the healings that take place, physical healing is the most common that Pentecostal divine-actors undertake. Many clients visit divine-actors when the supposed physical afflictions are not properly taken care of by contemporary medical institutions, though many clients, as indicated by Rev Kingsley, use divine-actors as their primary health care providers. Unlike other forms of afflictions, physical afflictions, until proved to be spiritual are often attributed to natural causes and lifestyle. In dealing with these afflictions, divine-actors rely on the technique of laying on of hands together with the application of anointed oil or water, to pray and relieve clients of whatever problem is presented before the healer. The laying on of hands involves divine-actors placing their hands, palms open, on the clients head, shoulders, or back (Csordas, 2008). Going by the causal agents, physical healing by its nature is descriptive, often directed towards specific somatic symptoms and complaints (Csordas, 1990). The laying on of hands is usually the first technique divine-actors employ. It is a technique that is very common in both large and smaller groups. In view of the belief that the power to heal is inherent in the Holy Spirit, sacred symbols such as oil or water are often prayed over by the senior divine-actor to give it the needed divine power. The conviction is that since the divine-actor's power is divine, that this power is transferred onto whatever they desire via prayer. In the case of divine-actors who operate at other branches of the main divine industries, the senior divine-actor has to export the sacred symbols from the headquarters to all the branches, after they have prayed over them, turning them from ordinary objects to sacred symbols. Figure 4.2 below shows two healing sessions at one of the divine industries visited in Tamale.

A   *Figure 4.2 Laying on of hand healing session*   ***B***

As Figure 4.2 (A) shows, the divine-actor is attempting to heal one of his numerous clients. The woman at the centre claimed she was suffering from a serious headache. She alleged the problem persisted despite the numerous drugs she had taken, and as a result, she wanted divine intervention. The divine-actor started the process with the application of sacred symbol on the forehead amidst prayers. The man in the white gown is holding a bowl containing the sacred symbol (anointed oil), and that is what the divine-actor uses in healing. The other men seen holding the woman are the associate divine-actors. Their reason for holding her was to ensure that she does not fall when the Holy Spirit takes control of her body, or as they put it 'the Holy Spirit starts fighting the evil spirits or demons and any other agent responsible for the affliction.' Additionally, Figure 4.2 (B) shows a man who was also undergoing healing to get rid of an abdominal pain. The same sacred symbol was applied on the part of the body the man was allegedly feeling the pain to aid the healing process. The use of the same sacred symbol for different ailments goes to suggest that the Holy Spirit can heal any affliction. This goes to show the importance they attach to the use of the sacred symbols in healing and the plausibility of this symbol among clients and divine-actors.

Another technique that is widely used in dealing with physical afflictions is televangelism. It is a technique that does not require any physical contact between the client and the divine-actor. Its popularity among divine-actors and clients is due in part to the liberalisation of the

airwaves and improvement in the telecommunication industry in Ghana (Meyer, 2004b). This makes it possible for divine-actors to use radio and television stations as mediums to reach out to as many clients as possible. One observation amongst divine-actors is the fact that televangelism is practiced by both existing divine industries and yet-to-be-established divine industries. Divine-actors engage in this practice in their attempt to get clients to increase the size of existing divine industries or, attract more potential clients to start new ones. An overwhelming number of clients with access to mobile phones call into the live program after listening to the divine-actor on the airwaves, ostensibly to tell the divine-actors their problems and also ask for healing through prayer to alleviate the afflictions. Divine-actors, upon listening to the stories of clients, ask them to touch the ailing part of the body for prayers. While some may be asked to contact the divine-actor personally for more prayers, other callers may be heard confirming that the Holy Spirit has touched them. This is often translated to mean their afflictions have been alleviated.

An additional healing technique that does not require any physical contact between the divine-actor and the client is healing via remote control. This technique takes two forms. In the first instance, clients send information to the divine-actors in writing, requesting healing. These are mostly people who stay far from the divine-actor, including clients who would not want to be seen in public considering the positions some of them occupy in society. This particular technique has received much publicity because of the wide-spread use of the internet. Many divine industries now have internet sites for clients to send in their request for prompt response. This technique is similar to how letters were written to witch doctors as Assimeng (2010:181) indicated. The second approach to remote control is executed through blessed objects such as drinking water, food, and handkerchiefs among others. The divine-actors transmit divine powers onto these objects via prayer before they are sent to the clients either through their relatives or friends. As Meyer (2012) has argued, these objects have the capacity to operate as transmitters of the divine power to protect their owners. The logic of this practice is that because divine-actors have special powers bestowed upon them by God, the powers are transferred onto whatever they pray over, which in turn transmits the desired healing. This exemplifies what Sackey (2006) describes as 'contagious magic', a belief based on the principle that things once in contact can influence one another. In other words, it is believed that there is a permanent relationship between an individual and any part of his or her body. As a consequence, believers must take special precautions with their hair, fingernails, teeth, clothes, and faeces. In the same way, the power inherent in the divine-

actors affects whatever object they touch or pray for. If anyone obtains and uses these sacred symbols, the desired magic could be performed on them for the desired healing results.

4.5.2 Dealing with social afflictions in the divine industries

Another form of healing that is commonly practiced in Pentecostal healing services is healing of social afflictions. This approach revolves around strategies divine-actors employ to relieve clients of social stressors that might have the potential to put them through psychological distress. Clients who go through social healing mostly suffer from unpleasant experiences including bottlenecks they encounter in their attempts to raise loans for businesses, as well as marriage and family problems. In view of this development, Pentecostal divine industries led by divine-actors have put mechanisms in place where special loans are given to clients to start businesses. These loans are expected to be paid back at a later date. Other clients are provided with assistance in skills acquisition to enable them secure employment. Unemployment appears to be one of the social problems people go through, especially the youth. They also provide clients with links to potential employers in their respective divine industries. The divine industries also pay school fees for students whose parents are perceived to be very poor and are unable to afford the fees. This practice defies views held by some orthodox divine industries seeking to legitimize poverty by referring to Jesus as a poor man (cf Meyer, 2004a). A study participant recalled an incident that happened in their community that the divine industry and divine-actors vowed would never happen to any member of their congregation. He pointed out that:

> A neighbour, who had difficulty providing food for his family, went into the nearby bush not far from his (victim) home and committed suicide. He left a note indicating that nobody was willing to help him feed his family, and it was his belief that once he was no more, people would have sympathy for the orphans.

The informant indicated that if the victim was a member of their congregation or had contacted them, they would have helped him out of that situation and the suicide could have been averted. It is important to indicate that because social problems are very broad, some have categorised afflictions such as infertility and staying unmarried as social afflictions and sicknesses that need healing. The argument is that they have the potential to cause strife, humiliation and psychological distress (cf Phiri, 2009). Additionally, because of the social dislike of sorcerers, a section of society, especially people of Pentecostal denomination, consider sorcery as a social sickness because people hate sorcerers. The logic is that because sorcerers are social misfits, they will only be accepted by society if they are exorcised to

remove the evil in them. As part of their objectives to relieve clients of social afflictions and make them self-dependent, the Pentecostal divine industries have created surrogate family systems to handle cases of this nature.

Other areas of social healing involve words of motivation. Most divine-actors craft their messages to give hope to clients in all fields of their endeavours. Areas of importance may include a client who attends an interview for a visa with the conviction that her visa has already been granted 'spiritually'. Such a person may go to the interview relaxed with their head held high, and may perform better than someone who goes in tension (Gifford, 2004:140). In such situations, people who believe victory is theirs will always persevere with determination. They will always try to overcome difficulties that would defeat others. What this suggests is that if one feels that spiritual forces are holding them back, a mere conviction that those forces have been defeated might release the wells of energy that are crucial for success (Gifford, 2004:141).

Another dimension of dealing with social affliction is the healing of the inner self (Csordas, 1990). This aspect deals with emotional hurts and scars which divine-actors feel may linger on from an individual's past even after they have received the Holy Spirit in their life. What this means is that this practice is used to mend relationships, broken marriages, as well as providing counselling to clients who have been violated, and clients with past criminal records. Healing clients of drug addiction, smoking, womanising or prostitution using well-trained professional, counsellors have all contributed in helping clients get rid of their predicaments. Pentecostal divine industries have well-structured counselling sessions set up for this purpose. It is important to note that this process has no technique of its own. The practice is based on the recognition that strains in interpersonal relationships contributes to the etiology of illness and must be approached holistically. With the power of the Holy Spirit, divine-actors utter prophetic messages meant to encourage and admonish clients who have been afflicted to adopt better life-styles. Prophetic messages are divinely bestowed intuition of the victim's situation that cannot be deduced by any natural means. If social afflictions are not tackled early enough, it may lead to full-blown mental afflictions and may require additional measures and techniques to address them.

4.5.3 Dealing with mental afflictions in the divine industries

One of the areas that divine-actors allegedly do well in is the healing of mental afflictions. Information gathered points to the fact that officials in psychiatric hospitals sometimes collaborate with divine-actors to help mentally afflicted clients in their healing process through prayers (Griffith, 1983). Prayer camps are established by some of the divine industries to provide hope for people who have their relatives in conventional mental health institutions. What even encourage relatives to send their afflicted persons to the healing camps is borne out of the fact that the psychiatric hospitals in the country are choked with new cases and some of them are even turned away because facilities have been overstretched. Under such circumstances, people who would have opted for conventional treatment have no option but to go to the camps.

With regard to what causes mental illness, most people accept the fact that mental illnesses could emanate from depressions-and too many unresolved social problems. Others attribute it to the intake of substances like alcohol, cocaine, and marijuana that allegedly causes damage to the individual's mental faculties leading to changes in their thought processes. However, this does not go without a spiritual dimension attached to it. What they often try to find out is: Why do people become depressed or take substances in the first place? It is in finding answers to these questions that spirituality comes in as a plausible explanation to the predicaments of the afflicted. In this situation, clients with mental affliction are reformed through the power of prayers, making divine-actors very important in that aspect of health care.

The plausibility of the power of prayer in healing mental afflictions is borne out of belief in the existence of evil spirits, which are alleged to be behind mental afflictions. This seems to resonate well amongst a section of the Ghanaian public because it fits in well with their worldview. In almost all parts of Ghanaian society, any manifestation of mental disorder is often attributed to the malevolent acts of witches, ancestors, and other invisible forces. According to the belief structure, these occurrences can be avoided when corrective measures are put in place to cater for the inappropriate social behaviours that characterise sections of society (Atindanbila & Thompson, 2011; Twumasi, 1975:41). It has been alleged that people who consider it too modern or expensive to visit shrines or deities, because of their social standing and the fact that they do not want others to label them wrongly, are mostly people who utilise the services of divine-actors (cf Atindanbila & Thompson, 2011). Other indicators

point to the increased desire of divine-actors to blend traditional values and those of Pentecostal doctrine in their healing rituals. Figure 4.3 shows mentally afflicted clients receiving treatment at a healing camp.

A   *Figure 4.3 Clients with mental affliction at a healing camp*   *B*

In some cases, clients with mental afflictions are chained to devices, depending on the severity of the illness and how hostile they are. As Figure 4.3 (A) shows, these clients were considered so dangerous that if not chained, they could cause harm to other people or clients. In some cases, arrangements are made for medical personnel to visit these clients to give them injection whiles the divine-actors perform their divinely gifted responsibilities to get them healed. In an era of human right concerns, one may assume that the human rights of these clients are abused. Contrary to this, and bearing in mind that some healers are conscious of these concerns and would not want to be seen to be abusing the rights of their clients, usually ask relatives of these clients to sign agreements in acceptance of chaining. The mild and less dangerous clients as shown in Figure 4.3 (B) are provided with cubicles and mattresses whiles divine-actors pray to get them reformed before they are reintegrated into society. According to some of the healers, clients or their relatives are usually made to undergo fasting and prayer as part of the process of speeding up the healing process. In their view, prayer and fasting is the most efficient and powerful weapon for healing the mentally afflicted clients. This corroborates Asamoah-Gyadu (2004) assertion that, 'prayer and fasting

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are the two main forms of ammunition required on the spiritual battlefield against demonic power.' It is important to understand that the food they eat and the water they drink are all prayed over to speed up the healing process.

4.5.4 Deliverance in the divine industry

Deliverance is another form of healing in which the adverse effects of alleged demons controlling a person's behaviour and personality are removed by expulsion. Exorcising clients of these alleged demons requires the recognition of a chronic problem that manifests in strange ways. An individual manifesting these behaviours is often interpreted to mean the presence of demons in their life. The forces frequently manifest in different ways, the most common being the experience of scary dreams and scenes which have fatal consequences. An informer's account has it that in some of these dreams, one may be involved in a fatal accident, may be inflicted with a bad disease, or may be killed by an unknown assailant. On the account of divine-actors, dreams that take this form often have spiritual dimensions and clients involved in such dreams would have to be delivered. The general notion is that while some clients may be possessed, others are oppressed, and in each case the intervention of the Holy Spirit is crucial (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). Demons that take control of client's lives harbour different behaviour traits and these traits are exhibited anytime the demons are in control of the client's body. A person is possessed when the demons appear to have taken full control of their mental faculties. If the effect of the demon is felt on a limited scale, then the person is said to be oppressed.

One other important feature of these demons is that each one has a name, believed to be associated with habits or unfavourable behaviour traits, which often tend to appear in clusters depending on their mission (Csordas, 1983). The alleged group of demons are often headed by a king or queen spirit, which the divine-actor would have to instruct to leave the client and set them free. When the head of the demons obliges, the lesser ones oblige as well and follows the instructions. The process of deliverance starts with an instruction for the demon to name itself, often with framed questions such as: 'Who are you?' The identification is often done through the client's mouth, and the divine-actor would again instruct the demon to depart in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Two techniques are central to the deliverance process – discernment and authoritative speech (Versteeg & Droogers, 2007).

Discernment refers to the process involved in unearthing the nature of the affliction - whether it is natural or spiritual, and whether it has a good or evil source - using a spiritual lens often

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backed by the spiritual gifts of divine-actors. An authoritative speech directed at the demons rests on the spiritual authority of the divine-actor. Often divine-actors feel guided by the Holy Spirit. It is alleged that the demon cannot resist this authoritative instruction because of the supposed power of the Holy Spirit behind the order. There is also an allegation that if the divine-actor does not take control of the spirit, address it by name, and speak in the name and authority of God, the demon may try causing trouble by refusing to leave, or may verbally abuse the divine-actor through its host, and in some cases, physically upset the host. In one of the deliverance sessions during the field exercise, an allegedly possessed client had an encounter with the divine-actor to cast out demons. In the course of the encounter, the divine-actor instructed the demon to depart. These were the words allegedly uttered by the demon through the client's mouth:

> *I am not going, you cannot drive me away, what have I done to you… I was the cause of her bareness and many of the troubles she went through… Why are you putting fire on me, what have I done to you?.. Leave me alone, if you force me out I will return… stop putting fire on my body... ok I will go.'*

Sometimes what convinces one that indeed there may be external influences in the client's life is the strange series of different voices from the same client. At one point, a very deep voice was heard. At another point, a childlike voice or a strange language were spoken all together. Usually the sacred symbol is sprinkled or applied on the foreheads of the client to aid the healing process. As indicated earlier, these sacred symbols are believed to possess divine power that drives away evil spirits. In this particular case, the divine-actor had difficult task dealing with the alleged demon because it was not willing to leave honourably. At one point the client nearly engaged the divine-actor in a physical fight, and it was alleged that the action was masterminded by the demon, often described as a 'counter-attack' on the part of the demon. In such instances, the divine-actor has to intensify the 'power encounter' or superior power in order to defeat the demon (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). Using 'power encounter' is aimed at removing the chains of bondage and setting the alleged captives (possessed victims) free. In line with this assertion, Rev Azeka pointed out in one of his submissions that if a divine-actor really carries the anointment of God (divine blessing), then no demon can attack them. His argument was based on the claim that power in the anointed (divine-actor) is stronger than the power possessed by demons. It is believed that some of the demonic powers coexist and subvert each other until they are overcome by the superior power through the 'power encounter' which signifies a visible practical demonstration that Jesus Christ is more powerful than false gods or spirits that are worshiped or feared by

people. It is important to note that since Pentecostal divine industries affirm the negative, inversed images of demons and gods and allow for spirit possession in deliverance shows the extent to which Pentecostalism and local religious traditions are interrelated (Meyer 2004a). Figure 4.4 shows a deliverance session in one of the divine industries in Tamale.

Figure 4.4 Pentecostal deliverance session

As shown above, the two women on the floor, known in this research as Charity & Joyce, were allegedly exorcised of demons that possessed them to such an extent that they allegedly had challenges in their individual social engagements. The divine-actor and his supporting associates were praying intensely to exorcise them of all the alleged demons. At a point, each one of the victims was crying, pointing out that fire was being put on them. The interpretation I got out of this was when the powerful spirit starts fighting the evil spirits what happens is that it creates some friction thereby generating heat in the host body. The Holy Spirit allegedly engages the demons in serious encounters until such a time that the client is set free. The departure of the demons is often signalled when the client finally falls onto the floor. After a while, the divine-actor asks the victims to rise up. One of the clients (Charity) had this to say after the encounter:

> *I came to see Pastor about my inability to sleep properly. Any time I went to bed, I used to see strange persons in my dream bringing me meat. When pastor started praying for me and put the anointed oil on my forehead, I could feel things working*

inside my body and I cannot explain what happened to me eventually. I only opened my eyes and realised that I was lying on the floor, and the pastor then asked me to get up. I think I am free now.

As part of their doctrine, the efficacy of healing in the Pentecostal divine industry rests on having faith in the Holy Spirit and the mediation power of the divine-actor. Deliverance is the breaking of power through which a client's situation is spiritually transformed, demons bound and expelled, and brings the clients and their personal environment under the blood of Jesus Christ. Issues surrounding healing rest on the belief that divine-actors possesses divine power to communicate with the divine to subdue all invisible forces alleged to be responsible for sicknesses and misfortunes. Deliverance is one way of displaying the divinely gifted powers in African Pentecostal divine industries.

4.6 *Divine-actors' position on referring clients to traditional healers*

Issues surrounding healing activities of divine-actors rest on the principles of African Traditional Religion and the metaphysical assumptions held by believers. This is in spite of the fact that Pentecostal divine-actors are avowedly opposed to Africa traditional culture and its associated activities including initiation rites and funeral rites, among others. Observation within the Pentecostal divine industry indicates that the attitude of Pentecostal divine-actors towards the local or traditional healers is generally nothing but hatred. The way divine-actors conceptualise traditional religion, including the culture within which traditional healers are defined, symbolises practitioners whose activities are heavily influenced by demons and evil spirits. Pentecostals believe that these forces must be removed if clients are to be set free from the torments of invisible forces. This position is informed by the belief that the misfortunes and afflictions clients suffer are linked to ancestral curses (Onwona, 2005:11; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). The use of traditional names that have links with ancestors, including local rituals and customs, all stifle their progress. In the opinion of many divine-actors, the whole spectrum of African rituals, such as chieftaincy rites, twin rituals, puberty rites, giving names to new born babies (outdooring), traditional marriages and weddings, and traditional festivals all serve as avenues for Satan to ensure his continuity with generations yet unborn. Consequently, all aspects of traditional religious practices and culture are considered demonic.

Though one may consider this development as legitimate as far as individual religious rights and beliefs are concerned, one may also exercise some scepticism in that the vilification is a

plan hatched to ensure that Pentecostal clients are discouraged from utilising the services of local healers. One of the reasons divine-actors provide for demonising traditional healers is their constant use of blood in their healing rituals. They claim slaughtering fowls and animals symbolises satanic worship and they only refer clients to hospital if they are convinced that the affliction can only be taken care of at a hospital, but no referral is made to traditional healers. Divine-actors speak strongly against local healing practices, which they say are concerned with the worship of evil spirits. They describe healing by traditional healers as 'try your luck' healing practice, with the route to healing as demonic. Divine-actors are however willing to refer clients to herbalist because they claim herbalists use only the roots and bark of trees. When it is established that fowls and animals are used to purify the medicine herbalist prepare, then all clients of the Pentecostal divine industry are advised to guard against associating with such practices. In their estimation, anything the local people do not understand is often mystified, especially when the act of science works accidentally, and they attribute such accidental discoveries to the working of invisible forces and spirits.

Many of the divine-actors intimated that they have never and don't intend to start referring clients to traditional healers. This is backed by the claim that adhering to the practices inherent in traditional healing will mean reintroducing born-again Pentecostals to the past practices that seem to stifle their progress towards redemption. With reference to what happens at his divine industry; one of the divine-actors intimated that: 'We have always made it known to them (clients) that quite apart from God, no other person can heal them of their spiritual ailment.' To further entrench this ideological mind-set, some Pentecostal divine industries have constituted special prayer groups, dubbed the 'cross-over'. This prayer is said for clients who may have consulted traditional healers for treatment. Prayers usually start with specificity in order that such clients will be healed by the power of the Holy Spirit and not the power of the demonic spirit. Pentecostal clientele are discouraged from consulting traditional healers through the constant vilification of practitioners of the act, describing the medication as tainted blood acquired through Satan. One other area of concern raised by divine-actors is the pouring of libation by the traditional healers – an act used to invoke the spirits of the ancestors and other invisible forces to make their medication potent. The invocation of spirits and the slaughtering of fowls as part of their healing rituals make it improper for clients of Pentecostal divine industries to patronise this medication. Echoing the position of Pentecostals on traditional religion in which traditional medicine is embedded, the

deputy chairman of the local council of churches in Tamale recounted his personal experience and the action that was taken as a disciplinary measure:

> *Some months back, we were doing an inspection tour of member churches, and when we got to one of the churches, I do not want to mention the name. We realised that he had put a dead cat he had killed for spiritual purposes under his seat to aid his powers in the church… We had to excommunicate him.*

His argument was that it is the competition for clients that push some divine-actors into such activities. The driving force behind many of these activities, he intimated, is the machination of the evil spirit and not the Holy Spirit. It is on the basis of events like the one described above, that Rosalind Hackett (2003) observed that accusation of occultism against people of the same denomination fly far, especially when the activities of the accused work against the accusers. This fit in well with Michael Bourdillon's (1982) assertion that people who are known to have taken part in native religious rites are liable to be excommunicated. Acknowledging that some divine-actors employ some occult practices in their healing indicates that these occults are indeed powerful and the actions of divine-actors are nothing but competitive strategies. Even though some of them may be engaged in such activities, on a broader scale, divine-actors have always condemned occult practices notwithstanding the fact that some members allegedly seek the powers of occult forces in their activities. One other important development worth emphasising is that changes in belief about the power of a phenomenon are widespread, arising from a fundamental scepticism found in all societies and religious institutions.

Clients of Pentecostal divine industries are constantly admonished to make a complete break with all things associated with traditional religion. Issues related to this admonition are often heard in Pentecostal sermons to buttress the opposition to the current cultural practices of the Ghanaian state, as the country is working to restore national pride and stimulate the revival and celebration of various traditional festivals that are waning in prominence (Meyer, 1998). While the orthodox divine industries try to come to terms with local traditions and to reconcile new and old ideas in order to develop a genuinely African synthesis, Pentecostals oppose this revaluation of tradition and culture, and continue to emphasise the negatives of evil forces. Quite a number of these statements are contained in the abundance of texts dealing with 'spiritual warfare', which are common in most Christian bookshops across the country (Hackett, 2003). As Meyer (1998) indicated, Pentecostal appeals to 'time' enables

divine-actors to draw a line between 'us' and 'them', 'now' and 'then', 'modern' and 'traditional', 'born-again and pagans', and of course, 'God' and the 'Devil'.

It is also important to emphasize that even though it may be the wish that all Pentecostals distance themselves from traditional practices associated with the past, some clients apparently do not make a complete break with what they conceptualize as 'the past' to become 'free' modern and born-again individuals. This is in view of the fact that in certain situations, they adopt beliefs and practices that are not in accordance with the exclusive view held by their religions. In view of constant interaction with others, ideas are now mobile and people apply them as and when they deem fit. This idea partly corroborates Rev Azeka's assertion that when his kinsmen call upon him to contribute his quota for family rite and rituals, although he is a divine-actor, he still gives his contribution in monetary terms, but fails to take part in their activities. He believes his faith does not allow him to recognise any ritual associated with deities. In light of this development, divine-actors continue to admonish their clients that after becoming born-again, they ought to denounce their blood covenants with shrines and deities, and inform their respective family members about this development (Meyer, 1998). This declaration may go to suggest that these clients would refuse to take part in pouring of libations to the ancestors, and by implications, all rituals through which family ties are symbolized and confirmed. This is supposed to help them have a full grip and control over their clients so that divine-actors would have their interests served.

4.7 Witchcraft mentality in the divine industries

Witch craft mentality in an African context can be described as a theory of evil that allows people to validate evil by making it specific and identifiable with an external agent (Akrong, 2000). It is an ideological construct that provides an interpretive scheme for making sense out of life, providing meaning to aspects of life perceived to be dangerous to human wellbeing. Popular views expressed by many people in Ghana points to many sicknesses and misfortunes that result from the machinations of witches, wizards, and other invisible forces. According to Akrong (2000), the act of witchcraft operates on a dualistic construction of reality in which events in human life are viewed in terms of a struggle between the forces of good and evil. It is important to indicate that what sustains a belief in witchcraft among the local people is born out of a culture of fear, making life and existence quite a daunting task. Dealing with the perceived fear of witchcraft is under the purview of two religious institutions - traditional healers and Pentecostal divine-actors. However, the mode of

operation of traditional healers and the perception people have of them seems to create an emerging situation where they are beginning to shun shrines used by traditional healers for healing purposes. This perception leaves potential clients with divine-actors as the only option in dealing with cases of witchcraft. The alleged agents responsible for many diseases, illnesses and general misfortunes are witches (Sackey, 2006) and protecting clients from an imminent attack of evil forces has become a common concern for people of many different social statuses in Ghana (Onyina, 2002).

Contrary to the above, some have argued that witchcraft plays a role in releasing tension within certain types of social structures. The fact that people are afraid of being bewitched reduces excesses in society. But granted that this assertion is plausible, it would then suggest that a belief in witchcraft is the outcome of social instability resulting from modernity, oppression and economic distress. Perception about the impact of this phenomenon among different sections of society creates the impression that once the practice of witchcraft is associated with primitiveness its influence on society is bound to wane with the inception of modernity. Contrary to this assertion, there is a surge in witchcraft mentality among many local people, especially Pentecostal clientele (Alubo, 2008). The way and manner divine-actors reinforce the reality of witchcraft, which forms part of their belief structure, has led to a situation where clients continue to attribute strange events in their lives to the machination of invisible forces. This view corroborates traditional beliefs, which holds that most afflictions in society are caused by evil forces (Sackey, 2006).

From the viewpoints of traditional religion and Pentecostal divine industry, it appears that both share a similar view in explaining afflictions. However, the way they express and approach the solution to problems seems to make one the preferred choice. In view of the negative attributes associated with witchcraft, no individual ever wants to be associated with being called a witch. This is born out of the perception that anything associated with witchcraft is evil and all persons accused of witchcraft are stigmatised. More so, the viciousness and maltreatment that accompany witchcraft accusations have made the accusation of 'witch' a clincher to all arguments and complaints. As a result of this development and the fact that Pentecostal divine-actors are aware of this situation, the whole process has been turned to their advantage. The concept 'witch' is broadened to an extent that persons who complain about the disturbance caused by the loud noise emanating from the worship services of Pentecostal divine industries are labelled witches (Sackey, 2006). This presupposes that anyone who opposes what they do may be seen as an enemy of progress and

therefore a witch. One can argue that part of the reason why traditional healers and other religious practitioners have constantly been vilified as devils and allies of witches is borne out of the threat traditional healers pose to the continued success of Pentecostal divine industries. Evidence from the divine industries suggests that as witchcraft accusations are levelled against alleged clients, more and more people throng the divine industries to seek protection (Sackey, 2006). It is on similar grounds that Meyer (2011:155) opined that intellectuals, who should be role models in society, often fall under the sway of divine-actors for one form of protection or another.

One of the claims made by divine-actors is that devils - as allies of Satan - were cast out from heaven and of all the continents, it was Africa where these forces settled. Fear of the machination of witches promotes the activities of Pentecostal divine-actors who continue to devote much attention to delivering and healing clients of alleged satanic forces (Meyer, 2004a). A link can thus be established between demons and witches, because demons and witches are conceived of as messengers of Satan (invisible forces). These forces are found everywhere, and are responsible for all illnesses, diseases, misfortunes, immorality and any other thing that human beings experience as inimical to their well-being. The logic behind the witchcraft strain among Pentecostals clients is supported by both the local understanding of human misfortunes and spiritual agents including the teachings of foreign evangelists who continually blame demons as agents responsible for all human agony (Hackett, 2003). The perceived dangers associated with witches with regards to life and survival makes clients who are too afraid of falling victims to bewitchment seek help, not only from human, but also from divine-actors and other persons with spiritually related powers.

Though the perception of witchcraft is rife among the local population, suspicion of witchcraft is condemnatory in view of its potential to inflict irreversible damage, both physical and social, on suspected individuals. To guard against being accused or bewitched, some clients allegedly spend fortunes to acquire the strongest protective medicine. One form of getting protection for one's family is to employ the services of traditional healers to bury medicine around homes. However, its sustainability and potency is only assured if one is able to renew it every year. This comes with a cost and people are charged many sacrificial animals including cattle, goats, sheep, and dogs, in exchange for these protective measures. If they forget to renew the protection, they open their homes to onslaughts of all types of evil machinations. In the local worldview, an unprotected home is often referred to as a playing ground for witches, with its occupant's easy targets for these forces. It is in line with the fear

of the charges that go with traditional healing that many clients get swayed into seeking protection from the Pentecostal divine-actors.

Information gathered by this research within the Pentecostal divine industries reveal the quest for protection and improvement in the livelihood of clients as some of the reasons why they seek to protect themselves against the invasion of witches. Some clients however seem to exhibit a double allegiance to both the Pentecostal divine-actors and traditional healers even though the divine industries often serve as the last point of call. Perception of witchcraft in Ghana raises an intense fear and revulsion in view of its alleged potential to destroy human life and communities. This perception is borne out of the fear that witches shatter the dreams and hopes of clients and with it, the potential for social development. It is within this context that there seems to be an increasing search for salvation to ward off the perceived negative effects of invisible forces (Akrong, 2000). Local conceptualisation of salvation does not only refer to a life in the glory of God, but a life of happiness, good health, and 'here and now' prosperity. Witchcraft is regarded as an existing, permanent, life-threatening reality that stifles the achievement of salvation. It is a life-threatening evil not only to clients who fear for their lives, but also to the perceived practitioners of the act, who, when accused, may be a social misfits or at the worst may be attacked by relatives of the client. There is also the possibility of what is known locally as 'instant justice', where suspected witches are lynched by a mob, after it is 'proven', with the aid of their spiritual lenses, that the person is indeed guilty of the crimes they are accused of. A case in point was that of an old woman who was set ablaze by Pentecostal divine-actors under the guise of exorcism. To guard against this, it is common to find clients - especially women - seeking refuge in Pentecostal divine industries, since the divine-actors are noted to possess powers that could exorcise clients of all evil spirits.

It is also important to indicate that though both sexes fall victim to witchcraft accusations, it is mostly women who are accused of the act. Not just any women, but most often the poor and old women. This singular act degrades the dignity and importance of women in society, especially in old age. In view of its pervasiveness in Ghanaian society, people of all strata - the educated and uneducated, traditionalist and Christians, the professors, medical doctors, lawyers, teachers, traders, politicians, young and old, women and men – unanimously believe witchcraft is the ultimate and logical explanation for human retrogression (Sackey, 2006). It is important to reiterate that anyone with an idea with regard to the social and spiritual terrain in Ghana may be in a position to testify that no amount of denial can erase belief in

supernatural powers from the minds of local people and Pentecostal clientele. Even though everyone is conscious of the fact that there is an official and unofficial attitude to the existence of witchcraft, with legislation in force in Ghana's statute books that make witchcraft accusations illegal (Assimeng, 2010:175). These laws are dormant and are only activated when the human rights of an alleged victim of a witchcraft accusation are seriously violated.

If Pentecostal divine industries incorporate the perceived existence of spirits only by demonising them as Satan's allies and by extension associating witchcraft with the devil, it presupposes that the growing influence of Pentecostal divine industries in Ghana is the result of the pervasive fear of witches. Prestigious positions in society are often associated with persons with a higher level of education, and the standards they set are not attainable by some ordinary members of society. Interpersonal tension increases as people compete for education, jobs, and other resources. The most successful usually see themselves as the target of envy by people who want to share the good fortune at any cost, while the unsuccessful attribute their failures to the machination of witches and successful people. It is in search of protection that clients move from a divine industry that does not clearly practice healing to an industry that does healing. To ensure that divine-actors allay the fear of witchcraft amongst their clients, one ought to develop interest in not just 'what' the divine-actors preach, but the 'how' they proclaim the gospel for the good and well-being of adherents. Proclamation of the gospel must be transformative and liberative and the divine-actors must find ways of providing transformative and liberation services to its clients.

4.8 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter centred on faith healing in the Pentecostal divine industry, pointing out how local people conceptualise afflictions and the actions they take in combating the afflictions. It went further to indicate that the plurality of healing systems in Ghana facilitates competition, and as such gives clients the opportunity to choose the options that best address their problems. What informs a client's choice of one therapy or another is the ideology and efficacy behind the therapy. On this score, Pentecostals seem to have an advantage over the traditional healers because of their ability to synthesise local beliefs and biblical knowledge into a new system of knowledge appropriate for local use.

It further showed that divine-actors in the divine industry rely on the power of the Holy Spirit in healing, a mechanism that enables them to sustain and keep their clientele. Divine-actors

use healing as an aiding technique designed to get a larger market share in the divine industry having realised that healing is so dear to the hearts of their clientele. This is partly explained by the desire of clients for 'here and now' salvation. Having studied the market demands of the consuming clientele, divine-actors have positioned themselves well to provide these needs. In providing these needs, they have classified their products into those that both solve spiritual problems and those that take care of physical problems.

The desire of clients to consult divine-actors is borne out of the perceived simplicity associated with faith healing and the alleged free treatment divine-actors give to clients, even though there are indirect charges channelled through donations and offerings. Under this situation, what also influences the choice of divine-actors is the level of income of the clients, and the perception that God is the supreme healer of all illness. Unlike the suspicion that characterises consultations with traditional healers, no such suspicions are associated with consulting divine-actors. Besides, divine-actors often conceal the source of afflictions especially those attributable to human agents or spirituality, thus preserving the unity and peace that prevails in families. Individual choice in this respect is rational in view of the subjective meaning attached to the actions clients take. Healing services in the divine industry include healing of physical, social, spiritual, and mental afflictions. Techniques employed in the healing process include the 'laying on of hands' and deliverance, televangelism and healing through remote control.

In view of the fact that divine-actors treat the same afflictions as traditional healers, the attitude of divine-actors towards traditional healers is one that cannot be described as the best. Divine-actors equate the activities of traditional healers to the worship of Satan. This forms part of the strategy employed to discourage clients from consulting traditional healers for treatment. Indeed, this antagonistic attitude explains why divine-actors do not send patients to traditional healers. They contend that doing so will amount to introducing clients to satanic activities. They constantly vilify traditional healers, stressing the reality of demons and witchcraft perceived to be embedded in the activities of traditional healers as part their sermons. These ideas seem to resonate well with Pentecostal clientele as they constantly search for salvation to guide against these perceived human agents or evil spirits with evil motives.

CHAPTER FIVE

SITUATING FAITH HEALING IN THE LOCAL BELIEF STRUCTURE

5.0 Introduction

The character and nature of any religious organisation in any part of the world is rooted in the desire to maintain and sustain its religious identity. Achieving this requires them to stick firmly to the fundamental dogmas and rituals that mark it as different from other religious institutions. On the basis of this, healing and healing rituals that accompany religious activities are understood as sequences of symbolic actions that are complex and multi-dimensional in character, marking religions out from one another (Breidenbach, 1975). Healing and religious rituals may also be construed as predictable and regular observance of acts or procedures which have symbolic elements resulting in the inculcation or reinforcement of shared values and beliefs (Coyne & Mathers, 2011). It is worth noting that the core dogmas and rituals associated with these religious organisations do not escape social change. As a consequence, sustaining their relevance demands that these religious institutions go through modification and adjustments to fit changing societal needs. In many societies and cultures around the world, different religions exhibit different ritual forms. These rituals vary greatly and may include, but are not limited to, initiation, worship, healing, celebration, transformation, protection, and death (Coyne & Mathers, 2011). As far as Pentecostal divine industries are concerned, healing rituals perform an important role in their daily activities and facilitate interaction between divine-actors, clients, and the Holy Spirit.

In view of the ever-changing nature of society, almost all rituals associated with the Pentecostal divine industries are aimed at integrating the local cultures in the societies they live in with biblical culture. Proper synthesis enables them to situate their core values and activities within these cultures in order to render their activities meaningful to the consuming public (Anderson, 2001:195). A careful selection and formalisation of beliefs and rituals from the surrounding cultures makes their objectives achievable. Synthesis of this nature makes the activities of these religions quite plausible at the stage of formation. It is however important to indicate that this would not remain fixed but may later become rather reprobate in their complete character on account of the shifting cultural paradigms should they fail to adjust to or synthesise. The structuring and utilisation of religious rituals in the divine industries provide a deeper understanding of different viewpoints in healing classification, orientation, and motivation that are brought to realisation during performance (Breidenbach, 1975).

One important consideration worth noting is the fact that beliefs and associated ritual activities in any religious organisation or culture are social constructs; the sustenance or survival of these activities requires social confirmation. As the sociology of knowledge perspective suggests, the primary prerequisite for the sustenance of any belief system is the presence of an adequate socio-communal support structure (Roof, 1976). Put differently, for any belief in religious rituals and associated activities to remain personally or collectively plausible in any society, that belief must be exercised within networks of individuals who share the same belief (Petersen, 2001). This suggests that the conception of social reality becomes real insofar as they are confirmed through day-to-day interactions among those who share similar perspectives (Roof, 1976). As Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1967) have pointed out, reality construction in any given society requires plausibility structures to enable the creation and maintenance of any reality or belief. The social base or the plausibility structure is crucial for the maintenance of any kind of worldview. Indeed, interacting and sharing similar belief systems with other members of the same community reinforces and validates norms that are associated with the beliefs they share. Validation of these norms ensures continuity, including the credibility of the belief system. This also goes to suggest that a given belief may be truncated if members fail to share the views of the network that sustains it. If the plausibility structure loses its intactness, the subjective realities and meaning will lose persuasiveness, especially in societies with pluralistic belief systems. In a pluralistic belief system, there is always the possibility of contradiction or competition amongst different belief systems. Though there may be instances where people would hold two contradictory beliefs simultaneously, belief systems and practices with majority networks may receive greater plausibility (Petersen, 2001). Such ideals are achieved in circumstances where the belief structure is constructed around their social reality.

The capacity of a belief system or practice to maintain relevance is dependent upon the views expressed within the social network in which these beliefs are held. If the average level of support for these beliefs is high, its continuous practice is likely to receive frequent confirmation, and its exposure to competing practices and norms is likely to be minimal. In the same vein, positive participation attracts wide-spread social approval for espousing a familiar belief system. It may also receive condemnation for promoting disapproval. Changes in belief about the relative power of religion are a wide-spread phenomenon arising from a fundamental scepticism which can be found in all societies. This is grounded on the premise that beliefs associated with religious organisations may fall in popularity if they fail to adjust

to changing needs of the network that cherish them. The desire for change leads to adjustment, paving the way for new ideas and new practices similar to the old ones to emerge (Bourdillon, 1982). Though there appears to be a noticeable fluctuation in support of belief and practices of ritual healing, an overall assessment of the practice points to an increase with regard to individual support for these beliefs and practices. It is also important to indicate that as far as education promotes critical thought and exposes individuals to social, political and moral views that stand to challenge what appears to be tradition (Etim, 2012), especially within religious groups where the level of opposition to these practices is high, frequent confirmation of such practices, including social and spiritual rewards associated with espousing them may to some extent counteract education's influence (Petersen 2001).

A critical examination of the traditional and Pentecostal religious phenomena from a socio-religious and cultural perspective reveals a possibility for reassessment in relation to their cultural backgrounds. Consequently, if the coherence of any society depends upon a set of what Peter Berger (1967) calls 'Plausibility Structure' - the patterns of belief and practice accepted within such societies - it is likely that this may determine which belief systems and practices are plausible to its members. In view of the fact that different societies and cultures have different plausibility structures and that these structures provide meaning to the environments and societies where the 'reasonability' of beliefs and practices are considered, judgements may be based on the reigning plausibility structure of the society. Plausibility as espoused by Berger (1967) denotes the believability of any practice or phenomenon. Granted that this is the case, it then presupposes that every society has its general plausibility structures which are used to determine if a particular belief or practice is plausible or not. On the basis of this, it is safe to state that the plausibility of religious ritual or practice in any society is dependent upon its compatibility with the existing plausibility structures. In situations where the inward plausibility structures of religious institutions differ or diverges from the broad plausibility structure of the society within which they are located, practically speaking, the associated belief and practice may no longer be plausible, at least in a broad sense. In other words, for a given practice to survive in the face of competing belief systems and practices, it must be able to adapt itself to the existing situation by coming to terms as best as it can with the plausibility structures of the wider society.

An important point that is worth mentioning is the fact that individual judgement about plausibility does not apply to acknowledged facts or events. What is important is that the application of plausibility goes with explanations, interpretation, expectations, and

predictions, and perhaps reported events (Nooteboom 1986). With this consideration in mind, any event that contradicts basic knowledge of the world as constructed by people may be ascribed to hallucination. According to Bart Nooteboom (1986), two conditions are necessary to render a practice plausible. First, the practice must be meaningful and must make sense to the local people, and at the same time, must maintain its consistency with basic categories of perception, prediction and arguments. Second, there must be judgements with regard to the truism of the practice in light of past experience and present concepts and firm beliefs about the world. Through this, reality is established and maintained through experience and labelling of experience within the group experiencing the healing as well as the gradual explication of the worldview. This chapter addresses the increasing plausibility of faith and ritual healing in Ghana, focusing on how Pentecostal divine industries have been able to weave their doctrine and worldview into the local belief structure, thus winning the trust and confidence of the local masses.

5.1 Worldview in context

It has consistently been argued by some experts in the medical field that alternative healing systems in modern society are remnants of primitive, peasant, and old-country traditions often associated with uneducated, lower-class persons who are unable to afford conventional medical treatment (McGuire, 1983). In the African context, Francis Etim (2012) has argued that the designation 'traditional' as used in defining local medicine sometimes is misleading because of the perceived attendant negative feeling it generates in conventional parlance. Whichever way one looks at this argument, it is important to note that in many societies across Africa, and Ghana in particular, ritual forms of healing are culturally widespread among educated, fully acculturated and economically secured people (Sackey, 2006). Though certain individuals in society have been noted to have higher educational credentials and wealth, their perception regarding their cultures, worldview and belief structure within which majority of them were socialised into has not changed appreciably.

Before this argument is advanced further, it is proper to put in perspective the concept of worldview. As a concept, worldview in any given society refers to how these societies perceive and explain the world around them; the ways things are or change in their environment (Nwoye, 2011). It could also be viewed in terms of a unified picture of the cosmos explained using a system of concepts which order the natural and social rhythms, and the place of individuals and communities in them (Kalu, 1978 cf Nwoye, 2011). Worldview

reflects peoples' basic assumption about, and perception of, the universe that gives orientation and value to their lives. Put differently, worldview represents the source of explanation for the ways things are in the world, including theories of illness, death and misfortunes and how human affliction and problems are approached and handled. In view of the diversity of worldviews across societies and cultures, thoughts and reasoning of people within these societies also differ in many ways, especially from the dominant Western thought and reasoning. As a consequence, many people are of the view that with the increasing influence of the developed nations and globalisation, local conceptualization of the world as pertains to the local people would have changed. Decisions about health and wellbeing and the interventions during illness episodes are all managed in accordance with their belief structures. In Ghana for instance, responses to illness and disease varies and reflects their knowledge, culture and perception of etiology, including the availability of treatment options. The basic knowledge and ideas in these societies are sustained in view of healing practitioners' ability to construct and reconstruct culture with the passage of time (Wuthnow et al., 1984:25). As Linda E. Thomas (1999:105) points out, since illness is socio-culturally constructed, the ways in which people talk about their sickness give insight into how they view the world. Through this process, the worldview remains real in a subjective plausibility as it is confirmed and reconfirmed by oneself in relation to the social others. Figure 5.1 contextualises the worldview.
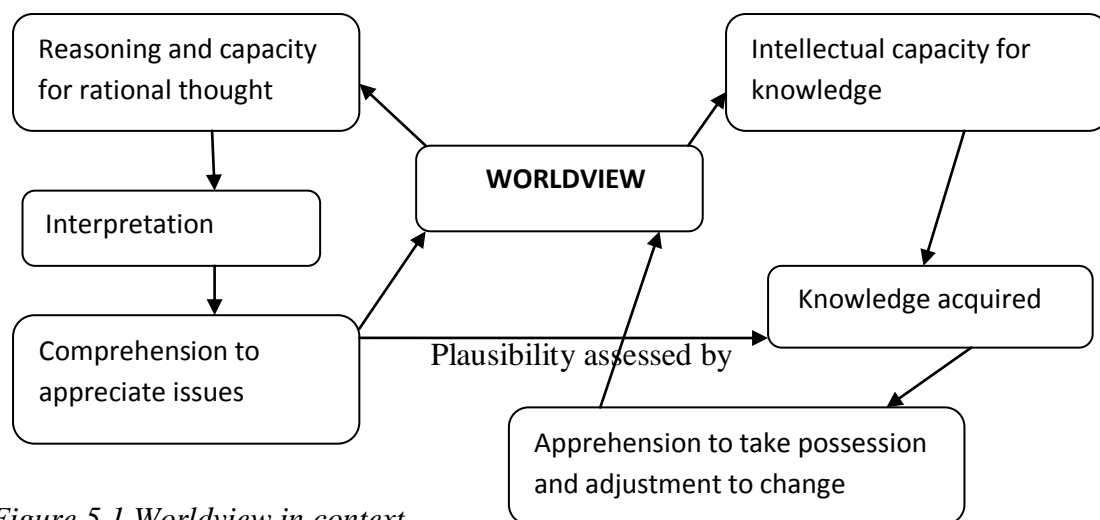

Figure 5.1 Worldview in context

5.2 Worldview in a socio-religious context

Like other institutions, the existence of religious plurality in Ghana creates an environment for people to choose among different competing religious denominations and practices according to their taste and expectations. Plurality creates opportunity for religious consumers to provide explanations with regard to why they use one form of ritual healing or another, especially when they are entangled by intergenerational crisis. It is on this note that traditional religious practices, also known as African Traditional Religion (ATR), a practice that rely on shrines and deities for the treatment of afflictions (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004), are challenged day in day out by Pentecostal divine-actors. The increasing scepticism with regard to the use of traditional medicine in this respect is due to the existence of the plurality of healing alternatives. Among the different ethnic groups in Ghana, especially those located in the northern part of Ghana, a predominantly patrilineal society, different spiritual entities are associated with different social groups and domains of activities. Within these societies, ancestors are revered and in some instances these ancestors serve as guardian spirits for families, whereas in other communities, shrines and deities serve to protect and provide livelihood for people within its jurisdiction (Akrong, 2000).

It is important to note that in societies where afflictions manifest individually, functional differentiation becomes difficult. This is as a result of the categorisation of causal spirits according to the outward manifestation of the affliction. This creates an environment for one form of interpretation or another. In view of the difficult experiences of clients and their relations during afflictions, especially in finding out why certain afflictions occurred and the agents responsible, there is often a feeling of fear and uncertainty at the inception of the affliction as the people struggle to make sense of the problem at hand. During these uncertain periods, the 'therapy managing group' (Janzen, 1978), or family members and close friends are often responsible for finding the right therapy. Healers on their part are often left with the question of whether the affliction is natural, resulting from ancestors, the community deities or the machination of witches or combinations of two or more spirits. This uncertainty is usually overcome after the 'therapy management group' is able to successively invoke all the spirits thought to be potentially responsible for the affliction. The actual cause is usually found out through a system of trial and error, as was suggested by Azeka, the head of Winning Life Chapel in Tamale Ghana, who indicated that traditional healing is nothing but trial and error.

In the management of illnesses by both healers and the afflicted, two important observations are drawn from the healing practices. The first involves reliance on traditional religious practices by the local people, in spite of the fact that the practice is often accused of as a trial and error mode of treatment. In the determination of which spirit is responsible for a particular problem, a variety of spiritual entities are addressed in turn to locate the spirit responsible for the affliction (Alubo, 2008). The second observation involves the act of identification of the cause of the illness. This often constitutes a post hoc assessment in that it is only after an improvement in the condition of the patient that a relation between what was initially speculated can be corroborated. In this instance, many traditional religious practices that the local people engage in involves procedures of trial and error, post hoc assessment based on indication of effectiveness, and pronounced uncertainties regarding the identity of spirits. This socio-religious configuration is characterised by a great deal of relativity and selectivity, which finds expression in the perceived need for continuous process of interpretation and social negotiation when questions of relationship between humankind and spiritual powers are concerned. It is worth noting that these dimensions of selectivity and relativity characterise how Pentecostal divine industries appropriate local ideas. Selectivity here denotes an expression of the local conceptualisation of spirits and how this conceptualisation is applied in the delivery of Pentecostal doctrine. The determination of which aspect to select and which one to leave out is governed by pragmatism based on the conviction that ideas are carried because of the perceived necessities and the prevailing circumstances.

Also important is the fact that differences in perception and local knowledge systems with regard to etiology of sicknesses has contributed to an increase in the production and consumption of alternative therapies. As a result, it is not uncommon to find specialists in sorcery, spirit possession, as well as Pentecostal and Islamic religious healers among others, each with their own ideology and healing system. The existence of these healing options reflects different strands of knowledge base, and functions to provide solutions to individual social and spiritual afflictions (Feierman, 1985). Specialists in each of these healing systems employ competing forms of ritual techniques, practices, and magical powers within their means to provide the desired healing outcome acceptable to the consuming public. It is worth noting that therapies do not only serve as means for curing or healing afflictions, but are also a means by which specific named afflictions are defined and given culturally recognizable forms (Young, 1976). Irrespective of how sicknesses are categorised, individuals afflicted

with one form of sickness or another respond to them in ways that are consistent with their culture and worldview (Alubo, 2008). As a result, Steven Feierman (1985) is right in asserting that societies in Africa have their own body of cultural knowledge that is relied upon to interpret sicknesses and misfortunes. It is worth reiterating that differences in knowledge system within these societies are borne out of cultural diversity. Diversity guides the interpretation of afflictions in order to name them in a culturally meaningful way that does not contradict their worldview or belief structure. To this end, one can only appreciate the local logic of illness categorization, analysis, symptoms and possible predictions of diagnosis, if a proper knowledge of the culture of the group concerned is well-understood. David J. Hufford (1993) is right in his assertion that current religious healing belief and practice is an excellent case study for considering the idea that reasoning about religion must constitute a special case - that it might involve a 'different logic'. It must also be noted that though illness interpretations may be tied to worldviews, interpretations may not always be fixed, but may change as the afflictions change over time. In some cultures, affliction that starts as 'natural' at an early stage may later be reinterpreted as emanating from sorcery. Within these cultures, certain symptoms related to afflictions are often interpreted as infringement against supernatural or other malicious human agents (Alubo, 2008). With this conviction as a system of knowledge, it is a common phenomenon to find people who would consciously fail to reason or come to terms with conventional medical explanations of their illnesses because they hold a different worldview (Twumasi, 1975:44). This brings to light the notion that a healer's effectiveness in handling illnesses within these cultures is dependent upon a proper understanding of the local knowledge.

The very core of the world of meaning is socially constructed. Human beings necessarily infuse their own meaning to create reality (Wuthnow et al., 1984:25). As Akrong (2000) has rightly pointed out, African reality is rooted in religious paradigms and therefore unveils itself in forms that are intertwined with spiritual categories. The culturally constructed meanings that are attached to sicknesses creates situations where some afflictions within certain cultures are perceived not to be compatible with the use of conventional medicine, and if a client suspect that the symptoms manifesting are associated with such ailments, precautionary measures are often taken to ensure that all forms of medications from conventional health care are avoided, especially injections. The belief is that taking injections when afflicted with such sicknesses has the tendency to worsen the situation and may even result in death. One such ailment is what is locally known as *Yoo (joo)* among the

Mamprusis, and *Yogu (jogu)* among the Dagombas, and in medical terms as anthrax, is perceived as anti-injection by both ethnic groups in northern Ghana. These people usually seek treatment with alternative healers until the affliction turns into a boil and burst. During the field exercise, I encountered a woman with a boil on her elbow. Due to her suspicion that the affliction was probably *yoo*, she refused to go to hospital out of a fear that doing so might result in death. She also failed to consult traditional healers because she felt her belief as a Pentecostal did not allow her to seek help from them. It took the intervention of friends to convince her that the affliction was not *yoo* before she agreed to go to hospital for basic pain-killers. The basic rule is that one does not go to hospital until the boil bursts. Thereafter one can go to hospital for the sores to be cleaned and dressed. This corroborates Bernhard Bierlich's (2000) findings among the local people of Savelgu in the Northern Region of Ghana. Similar views are held in southern Tanzania with respect to *'degedege',* translated as malaria, where healers are of the opinion that clients suffering from *degedege* have to receive medication first from local healers. Anything that contradicts this rule would most likely do more harm than good (Langwick, 2007). Notions of this nature across cultures are embedded in their belief structures, thereby rendering the actions they take in dealing with such cases more reasonable. This seems to corroborate Ogoh Alubo's (2008) assertion that ontological responses to illness in many African countries relates to their worldview and cosmology. In a similar line of argument, Robert Wuthnow et al (1984:25), asserts that people attach their subjective meaning to all the actions they take during illness episodes. In concert with others, these meanings often become objectified in the artefacts of culture – ideologies, and belief systems, among others.

As a marketing strategy, and noting the perceived antagonism that exists between local healers and Pentecostal divine-actors, it is not uncommon to find, as noted by Sackey (2002), healers practicing faith healing where the Bible and holy water forms the core; faith healing and biomedicine when it is deemed appropriate from the point of view of the client or healer, or faith healing and herbal medicine or a combination of all the above mentioned therapies when the situation demands it. It is on this note that Coyne & Mathers (2011) assertion that all rituals have their rational foundation seems to make sense. This is because many of the rituals exist because of inadequate information provided by other healers, and the desire for faith healers to generate common knowledge regarding course of action to be taken in any given situation. Within the framework of any given cultural environment, healers may be judged efficient if they are able to take control of the prevailing social and spiritual

environment. Taking control means being innovative in discovery and synthesis to come up with new ways of dealing with afflictions, including different modes of explanations to ordinary people within specific geographical locations in the course of time. These alternatives serve to cater to both spiritual and natural afflictions. Doing this will then suggest that in culturally diverse society as found in Ghana, conventional medical practice, though official health care providers, may not be seen as the only alternative. In such culturally diverse societies, - alternatives such as healing by divine-actors, Islamic healing, and other forms of healing by witch doctors, including the diffusion of cults of affliction, all form part of the changing dimensions of the therapeutic landscape. It is also important to indicate that there may be exceptional situations where government agencies may decide to pass legislative instruments that mandate clients to use a particular therapy for a given affliction. This special requirement may come with specific laws indicating that clients must use a certain kind of therapy (Feierman, 1985). For instance laws may require that cases involving cholera, tuberculosis or HIV be treated using conventional medicine.

Another noticeable development in Ghana points to situations where relatives and friends of clients choose the therapeutic options based on their own experiences. They are usually guided by the existing belief structures or worldview, professing these beliefs in association with strikingly sensitive sociological and psychological explanations (Kleinman, 1978). The therapy managing group constitutes a category of persons who are critical decision makers in matters concerning the choice of therapy for an afflicted family member. Though the decisions they make are very crucial, the role is played through a subtle process of social negotiation (Feierman, 1985). The diversity of opinions and experience from each member makes it impossible for all opinions expressed to be considered. In the same manner, there are other members who take unilateral decisions and act upon them without any consultation. In all these considerations, there is often no doubt that they may share similar views. However reasoning together and having all parties consenting on a single option is not deemed relevant in some instances (Janzen, 1987). An interesting observation about this group is the fact that many of them do not have expert medical knowledge. The role they play in decision making is mostly based their own experience and the belief structure into which they have been socialised. In such instances, the symbolic meaning they attach to afflictions using their personal experiences and that of others are rooted in their cultural mediums (Kleinman, 1978).

In choosing the right therapy in the therapeutic market place, what clients seek during periods of afflictions are medical proofs that are consistent with their expectations. To this end, afflictions are not only conceptualized as pathological changes; invisible forces are also invoked as causal factors. On this note, it would be safe to reiterate Twumasi's (1975:9) assertion that etiology of disease and illness in most Ghanaian societies are skewed more towards behavioural than biological tendencies. With this viewpoint as a case, it would not be misplaced to argue that disease and illness are tied to the magico-religious fabric thereby helping in the determination of treatment regimens during periods of affliction. It is not uncommon to find spiritual illness bearing the same physical manifestation as those diagnosed by biomedical practitioners. However, because it is skewed more towards the spiritual than the physical, conventional medical treatment is often rendered ineffective (Wedel, 2009). In such situations, joint actions and established remedies are often recommended to meet the expectations of both the afflicted and the kin alike. If an affliction is described as very serious and has the possibility of being traced to an affliction-causing human agent, it may serve as a means of resolving the mystery that might surround the affliction. Consequently, the identity 'witch' or 'sorcerer' is often placed on the shoulders of suspects (Young, 1976). The act of witchcraft which is believed to prey on the spirit of innocent victims is a subject that Ghanaians of all strata unanimously believe in, as one of the causes of human suffering and retrogression in society (Sackey, 2006).

Indeed, victims of physical or spiritual afflictions usually strive, using any available alternatives at their disposal to get the right healers for their afflictions. However, decisions are not taken haphazardly; the decision makers often share what is regarded as clinical reality. Instances abound where negotiations take place between conventional medical practitioners who, out of their own experience, believe that for some type of sicknesses, alternative healers can better deal with the situation than conventional practitioners. As noted by Barnes (1958), client going to a health facility experiences an anxiety-ridden episode, and as a result individuals will need practitioners who will be able to give them assurances that will relieve them of their fears and anxieties (cf Twumasi, 1975:77). However, anxiety and fear may not be allayed if the treatment is not consistent with the client's worldview. This explains why, often-times people who utilize the healing services of divine-actors to ameliorate their afflictions are usually people who believe that their problems are caused by supernatural and other mystical forces. Once they are convinced that such afflictions are beyond the reach of conventional health care providers, the ultimate place to seek remedies

are spiritual healing of divine industries. Healing divine industries that cater to these problems usually tell the victims what they expect to hear and, attribute the cause to supernatural forces. Hence, a greater percentage of users of the healing divine industries believe that only spiritual powers from the divine-actors can protect them from the perceived invisible forces.

5.3 Pentecostal appropriation of local belief structure

Experts in Pentecostal studies have attributed Pentecostal success in Africa to its ability to address the relevant concerns of men and women, especially people who allegedly live in spiritually hostile environments (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). The argument is premised on the conviction that because local people believe the world they live in is filled with fearsome and unpredictable occurrences; it is the divine industries that can provide them with answers to such occurrences. Such individuals find solace in soteriology that seeks to proclaim a message of deliverance from sickness and other forms of oppression, including fear related to invisible forces. The main concern that preoccupies the minds of divine healers and clients in the Pentecostal divine industry is the search for salvation. In their view, salvation is supposed to manifest in the wellbeing of clients and must be evidenced as freedom from illnesses, poverty, misfortune, as well as deliverance from evil. The local conception of salvation is to be able to address the physical, emotional, and spiritual needs including providing solutions to, and ways for coping with, problems in a seemingly threatening and hostile social environment. This approach to salvation is a direct response to the local worldview where issues that border on invisible forces are blamed on ancestors and other alleged guardian deities. As Allan Anderson (2003) has indicated, Pentecostal divine-actors believe that the God who saves souls also heals the body, and that God also provides answers to the fears and insecurities inherent in the African worldview.

Pentecostal clientele and divine-actors have the conviction that individuals' life is fraught with on-going struggles between God and the demonic spirits. As a consequence, Ghanaian Pentecostals conceptualise salvation as a process that involves relieving people of this struggle. For them, salvation represents a progressive development in a person's life, and this is often met with resistance from spiritual entities. Faced with imminent threats, they creatively devise means for closer monitoring of their social and spiritual environment. To the Pentecostals, the expected outcome of salvation must manifest in individual and collective growth in righteousness, good health, abundant wealth, and general success in life.

This explains why many people strive to identify and eliminate all forces that seem to stifle the manifestation and realisation of the desired salvation. For instance, if a person is frustrated by an affliction such as sickness, business failures, unemployment, academic failure, or any other related phenomenon, the person may be said to be oppressed by an evil and demonic spirit.

The doctrine of Pentecostal divine industries teaches that both oppression and possession are caused by generational and ancestral curses. According to Asamoah-Gyadu (2004), generational curse denotes an unresolved iniquity that increases in strength from generation to generation affecting the members of that family and all who come into relationship with that family. As has been asserted by Onwona (2005:11), the phenomenon emanates from the spiritual covenant clients and their relations may have entered into either knowingly or unknowingly. Such phenomenon in the local scheme of knowledge allegedly manifests in chronic and hereditary diseases, suicidal tendencies, and extreme poverty. The only way to break from these curses is for the afflicted clients to give themselves up for deliverance or rituals to remove all spiritual impediments so that they can become 'born-again'. This is contrary to the local worldview that perceives a harmonious relationship between humans and the spirit entities as a means of guaranteeing individual wellbeing (Etim, 2012). As indicated in previous chapters, divine industries are of the view that any covenant between clients and local spirits or deities other than the Holy Spirit serve as a threat to their wellbeing. However, Ghanaian Pentecostals have a certain perspective on the Holy Spirit that is only understood in relation to the local worldview. In the Pentecostal context, the Holy Spirit is expected to provide clients with the 'here and now' salvation which is very dear to all Pentecostal clientele. In spite of the different ideologies with regard to the pneumatology, it is obvious that many clients no matter their ideological inclination are heavily influenced by the local worldview.

The Holy Spirit as understood by Pentecostals in Ghana works to bring about salvation in its fullness. Pentecostals believe that unless and until the faith they profess is able to help them emerge victorious in the battle against the invisible forces, it is deemed to have failed in its effort to bring the salvation they require (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). As the local belief conceptualises life as a spiritual battle, Pentecostal divine industries see the Holy Spirit as a source of strength, and expect it to empower them to overcome the machinations of invisible forces in order to sustain material and spiritual prosperity. It is this desire that motivates people to devote a great deal of attention to the experience of the power of the Holy Spirit in

dealing with demons and other invisible forces. This common desire explains why Pentecostal divine industries have their theology rooted in the local belief structure.

The Holy Spirit is conceptualised as a provider of existential needs in the local spirit world. To this end, clients are convinced that anyone who adopts the doctrine of the divine industries as part of their life can do almost anything including overcoming the effect of invisible forces. The foundation of all miracles and wonders of divine-actors is traced to the Holy Spirit (Anderson, 2005). It illuminates, empowers, protects, and provides guidance to the 'born-again' clientele. Although clients believe that the Holy Spirit provides believers with power to lead a holy life and to overcome the forces of evil, the focus is on acquiring the power to surmount the impediments of life on earth. It is also regarded as a means of providing social and spiritual healing and protection to clients. This corroborates Anderson's assertion that the only period during which many Africans flock to Pentecostal divine industries is when divine-actors constantly demonstrate the power of the divine to meet the existential needs of the clientele. Indeed, some of these needs obviously include healing and liberation from spiritual forces and serves as a means through which other forms of powerlessness are addressed. This is found in the saying among Pentecostals that when you have the Holy Spirit in you, no man can hurt you.

The idea of conquering the devil and his emissaries gives the demon prominence and recognition in the lexicon of the Pentecostal divine industries. Doctrine about the existential issues that clients struggle with is more important for many Pentecostals than what the doctrine says about the innate moral weakness that frustrates the efforts to live in accordance with the moral image of God. This reaffirms the desire for the 'here and now' salvation and explains why the workings of the divine-actors and the Holy Spirit are directed against the powers of darkness (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). They respond mainly to the alleged roles that evil spirits play in the causality of social and spiritual afflictions. Pentecostal expression to this end is to provide a reasonable account of human responsibility for the moral and social issues that confront them. It is important to understand that there are often times when people fail to get the right moral picture. This mentality absolves many of them from wrong doing in which case anything undesirable is blamed on evil spirits. This mentality creates a situation where human beings are relegated to the status of mere subservient entities whose capacity for decision and action is influenced by forces beyond their control.

The analysis of the situation in this manner does not imply that it is wrong for divine-actors to appropriate the local socio-religious heritage into their practice. What is obvious is that people who identify themselves as members of a particular tradition or followers of a certain religious tradition, having inherited the worldview of their predecessors or the society within which they are located, may try to make sense of these views by using them to respond to the practical social and spiritual demands. On this note, divine industries may be right in their appropriation of the socio-religious heritage of the local people. Divine-actors blend their doctrines with those of the local belief to respond to the needs of the people in ways that traditional religious institutions responded to them (Anderson, 2001:195). It is important to indicate that whenever a tradition is no longer able to offer its cherished clients satisfying answers to their moral questions, a crisis of epistemology occurs, paving way for adjustment and synthesis. Incidentally, a crisis of this nature once occurred in orthodox Christian practice because their epistemologies and African traditional worldviews were not synchronised congenially to deal with problems that faced the local people. This crisis occurs whenever a way of knowing of one religious entity is uncritically related to the way of knowing of another religion.

Appropriation of the local belief system provides an understanding of the traditional knowledge scheme, where spiritual protection and benevolence is guaranteed by one's consistent moral deeds and wellbeing. For instance, misfortunes, sicknesses and death that many people are anxious about are believed to be caused by their own immoral dealing with other people or spirits in their community (Twumasi, 1975:41). Anderson (2003) has argued that when trouble or affliction strikes, the paramount question is often the source. The diviner's answers to these questions invariably involve the performance of ritual acts aimed at placating an offended ancestor. Physical and spiritual affliction constitutes important aspects of the traditional African world. An important phenomenon that has been observed is that, issues that border on stealing, incest, murder and other social forms of wrongdoing including a breakdown in social relations are all considered taboos to the spirit forces that serve to guard the living in the traditional belief structure. Anyone found guilty of any of these may be visited with different forms of individual or communal affliction. This may appear in the form of social instability, economic disaster, mortality, increase in robbery and other unwarranted social ills that may be regarded as sicknesses requiring a spiritual diagnosis and cure. In these cultures, it is believed that people with good moral character are able to live in accordance with the norms of their community, thereby endearing themselves

to both spirits and humans to the extent that even witches and sorcerers are not able to harm them (Twumasi, 1975:44). It is further alleged that people with a good sense of morality don't often need to invoke evil spirits to enforce morality. What this suggests is that in the local knowledge scheme, what is essential is the power to live an upright life with other neighbours and spirit beings so that they will constantly receive the spiritual support and benevolence of the deities.

However, the reason why people are constantly afraid of attack from evil spirits in the local knowledge scheme points to the awareness of human beings of their inherent weakness in adhering to rules and regulations. It appears that no matter how people strive in these societies, they still are unable to consistently live up to the moral ideals that they set for themselves. Falling short of these ideals angers the gods that are created to instil discipline. Unlike the all-forgiving Supreme God that divine industries cling to, the lesser gods do not have forgiving hearts for people who break the moral codes (Twumasi, 1975:44). One explanation with regard to the inability of most people to work in accordance with the moral ideals of society is partly due to the changing life-style in modern societies, making the observance of these rules very difficult. Additionally, considering the numerous deities in existence within different cultures in society, a vacuum is created in providing explanation for all the deities with regard to the moral condition for human beings in terms of each god and deity in each community. What is provided is an explanation for human predicaments in relation to social estrangement from other humans and spirit entities. In such situations, dealing with the condition at hand lies in humans' own effort through the establishment of the right relations approved of in society.

The inadequate framework for explaining human moral conditions across the diversity of cultures and deities is the greatest opportunity for Pentecostal divine industries. Issues that border on how human beings and the spirits relate, and why the spirits allegedly unleash negative attacks on these individuals, cannot be avoided in any serious theological reflection. Instead of disregarding the local beliefs as illusions, divine-actors accept these challenges as real problems and provide answers to them using the local context. The local knowledge scheme and the attendant misfortunes in relation to the alleged spiritual attacks that clients are often afraid may sometimes be associated with the lifestyles many of them engage in. When faced with these challenges, many of them resort to ways of improving their innate weakness in order to live in accordance with a moral ideal. When such efforts fail, they tend

to focus more on the doctrine of divine industries for power, especially from the Holy Spirit, to avert the assumed misfortunes that evil spirits bring upon humans.

5.4 Confirming faith healing in testimonies

Testimonies as used in the Pentecostal circles refer to statements in which clients of divine industries reveal their true religious faith to other members (Stolz, 2011). In Belcher & Hall's (2001) view, the term testimony denotes a process through which Pentecostals describe their life before salvation. Life before salvation denotes the life of clients who suffer from social and spiritual afflictions prior to salvation. Testimonies are articulated by clients to show the actual existence and reality of what divine-actors say and do. In many cases, the expressions symbolises claims that certain things have actually happened or have taken place. Though different people may attach different meaning to why clients testify in the divine industries, the core of the reason for such utterances or testimonies is often aimed at convincing others that what takes place in the divine industries is genuine. This corroborates the assertion made by Tony Richie (2011) to the effect that statements of this nature are sometimes articulated by people to dialogue with others to accept their viewpoints. According to Marcela A. C. de Matviuk's (2002), embedded in client's testimonies is often a story of how God acted to change their lives. Theologically, the term testimony 'is a declaration, faith profession or public agreement and fundamentally an evidence given to God's actions' (cf de Matviuk, 2002). In view of the fact that testimonies are presented in narrative form, many people construe the practice as a genre of speech involving open attestation or public acknowledgement and profession, especially in divine industries where the practice has come to include specific details about pivotal changes in an individual's life presented in quite dramatic ways. Be it as it may, an important observation is that the act of testimonies in faith or divine healing involves clients' accounts of their experiences in healing including confirmation of divine-actors prophetic predictions. In almost all the healing sites visited, clients' testimonies did not just happen anytime but took place during healing crusades and regular healing services in the divine industries. In each of the sessions, clients were seen confirming their healing experience. Others presented records from conventional health care facilities to buttress their claim of an initial inability to attain the desired cures and healing for their sicknesses.

Considering the importance Pentecostal divine industries attached to testimonies, most of the accounts given were reinterpreted, evaluated, judged and in fact, weighed with regard to what

was heard against the character and credibility of the people testifying (Richie, 2011). The credibility of what they say is judged by the social status and level of respect of the testifier in society. Since the experience is subjective, it takes honest testifiers to lure more people to try the act of divine healing on their own. It is worth noting that during these occasions, clients do not often say much about their predicaments. This often leads to situations where people with etic views construe the practice as strategies deployed to ensure that clients do not say things that are likely to undermine the claims of the divine-actor. Be it as it may, there are others who contend that it is the best practice since certain pieces of information are considered very sensitive such that they ought not to be placed in the public domain. This is subject to debate since practices involved in healing vary from one divine industry to another. In spite of these differences, the core determinant of the plausibility of an individual's testimony is their faith and their level of credibility in society.

It is speculated that if a client lacks faith, there is the likelihood that their testimonies might not be taken seriously. However, in view of the fact that these testimonies come as religious experiences, their validation often becomes difficult especially for persons with etic viewpoints who may require seeing physical manifestation before believing. What is important at this point is that the thought processes by which people reason about healing are the same as those used in other medical systems. What differentiate people with emic and etic views has more to do with assumption and criteria for evidence than anything distinctive in the reasoning used. To this end, additional efforts are usually required to get people appreciate what they hear and witness. An example of such efforts often involves scrutinising the background of the testifiers to get a deeper understanding of the impact of what they say and how they feel as individuals. The mood and its external manifestation in most clients often suggests that they may have been going through some level of suffering, in one way or another, prior to the healing experience. In view of the differences in experience, testimonies create platforms for clients to give account of their experiences in the divine industries. Showcasing the awesomeness of divine-actors and the power of the Holy Spirit in the resolution of client's day-to-day problems is part of the agenda for public testimony. As has been indicated, experiencing and sharing the power and love inherent in the Holy Spirit is part of the daily life of Pentecostal clientele (Meyer, 2004b). However, since healing is a process, testifying to the healing powers of the Holy Spirit uniquely commits the testifier to making a full and complete account of their life's direction in its inherent wholeness. During such events, clients make connections between their individual past and present life

experiences. It is on the basis of this that Tony Richie (2011) contends that such occasions enable clients to create meaningful stories out of the perceived reasons for the connections they make.

Testimonies within the divine industries come in different forms; some are related to economic break-throughs, receiving miraculous cures, and gaining employment among other needs. In one of the healing services observed, a participant disclosed how a conventional health care provider attempted to cure her of her stomach ulcer. She was asked by the doctor to continue taking the drug she was provided as a management strategy for the rest of her life since there was no hope in sight. She pointed out that anytime she stopped taking the medicine, her stomach pain would recur. She was interviewed after the alleged divine healing had taken place. She showed her appreciation to God for healing her through the divine-actor. She intimated that from the time of her encounter with the divine-actor up to the interview, she had not experienced any pain. As she put it: 'I do not experience the pain that I used to experience'. Cases of this nature abound where clients give testimonies about healing and predictions, each of which allegedly impacted positively in their lives. According to Meredith B. McGuire (1977), these testimonies take two forms; spontaneous ones in which clients recount events which shows God's power, and teaching which involves formal talks given by divine-actors, in which clients recount their experiences, or what may be termed as healing testimonies and prediction or words of knowledge confirmations.

5.4.1 Prophetic or words of knowledge testimonies

Divine-actors are characterised by a practice commonly called prophetic guidance or words of knowledge that enables them to explain client's difficult situations and prescribes keys to solutions (Omenyo, 2011). This sometimes happens under the full glare of an entire congregation, though many are done on an individual basis. During these events, clients are often seen going on stage to testify or confirm some of the words of knowledge that were made by the divine-actors. Some of these confirmations are usually predictions divine-actors made during their sermons that usually precede healing services. It must be noted that whether these confirmation are words of knowledge or healing, they take place in two ways; those that are of public interest and those that affect individuals. An account that the individual experience is usually explicit in character, and a client could be heard saying; 'I am the one who was healed of chest pains. I had an accident two years ago and…' As Omenyo has rightly indicated:

> *Content of the prophecy given during such sessions include vivid description of one's supposed enemies and why one has come to be hated by such so-called enemies. It is sometimes also done over the radio in listener phone-in segments. When prophetic ministration takes place in the public worship setting, the content of the prophecy may range from graphic description of a person's situation to what a person wears under his/her cloths. Such information is presumed to be made available to the prophet by the Holy Spirit. (Omenyo, 2011).*

Prophecy of this nature often tends to excite the congregation for the gift of the Holy Spirit. Because they often wonder with regard to how the divine-actor knows the colour of their underwears, if not with the help of the Holy Spirit. However, it is important to note that even though some of them are direct, there are some that are indirect. In the case of indirect confirmation of words of knowledge, a client could be heard saying: 'You were talking about demons, 'Praise the Lord,' the lord is good all the time. Last night I had an encounter with a spirit in my dream'. Another person was heard saying: 'You were talking about a couple with marital challenges. I quarrel with my husband every day because he drinks too much alcohol.' All these occurrences from the insiders (emic) point of view is often conceptualised as miracles from the divine. This conceptualisation may however be different with people who have etic viewpoint. Such people may probably tend to be sceptical about what these clients say. Often times these suspicions are usually due to the conviction that some of the accounts of these testifiers do not often fit in well with some of the predictions of the divine-actors, either implicitly or explicitly (Stolz, 2011). The scepticism is premised on the fact that some clients allegedly select themselves to fit the predictions of the divine-actors. Others are convinced that the associate divine-actors may have gone for them after speaking with them first about what to say on stage. All these speculations increase the suspicion about the trustworthiness of people who usually give testimonies during healing events.

5.4.2 Healing testimonies

Just like prediction or testimonies with regard to words of knowledge, healing testimonies also take place during healing services. In most cases, they happen in the middle of prayers where clients may be seen holding their walking aids or led by people with such pronouncements as: 'I do not need this anymore'. In a healing service that I observed, there was a claim made by a woman that she was healed of neck pain. In the same healing service, another man alleged he was healed after 5 years of an ulcer. In view of the subjective nature of these experiences, it is often their immediate family relations who can confirm if indeed they were suffering from the sicknesses that they alleged they have been healed of. It is also

important to understand that getting positive results during healing services depends on the environment and a closer interaction between the divine-actor, the clients and an interpreter (in situations where there is no direct communication between the healer and the healed).

The process of healing testimonies starts with the divine-actors who usually begin by inviting clients on stage to say what their experiences have been. What happened to you? They follow this up with additional questions to prompt clients to tell the congregation or the audience what their afflictions were and how they experienced the divine hand of God in healing. Once the clients start recounting their individual experiences, the divine-actor would usually be heard asking them, especially those who were allegedly healed of neck problems, to turn their necks to demonstrate that they have actually been healed. In the case of children, it is usually parents who give a narration of how the whole episode transpired. The divine-actor then places their hand on the forehead of the client and prays to signal that the client has indeed been healed.

Testimonies of all forms are governed by the interest of clients to give testimony as well as the quest for them to testify by divine-actors. This two-way desire fits in well with Jorg Stolz's (2011) three dimensions in testimonies, which he claims has the potential to render the process more powerful. These dimensions are identifies as selection, editing, and latency effects in testimonies. In many of the healing sessions that were observed, the culture and operating norm in the healing services are structured in such a way that only divine-actors and their associates usher in clients on stage to testify. In doing so, only persons who claimed they have been healed are allowed on stage to testify. The interesting part of the practice is that divine-actors and their associates only look for persons who claim they have been healed and are willing to testify. Though this was a normal occurrence, no attempt was made by the divine-actors to get people who have not been healed on stage to state their case with regard to why they have not been healed. To this end, one would argue that this practice serves as a marketing strategy to emphasise the positive side and disregard the negatives. In divine industries, like other business entities, what they usually advertise is the positive effects and the benefits consumers stand to derive from consuming the product, and not the negatives. On the basis of this, the commonly heard call from divine-actors is for clients who have been healed to come forward. Because divine-actors are usually found on stage, the associate divine-actors move in between the numerous clients or congregation to examine those who claimed to have been healed to move to the front. In the opinion of Stolz (2011), this process is selective. Interestingly, clients on stage often give testimonies that are patchy but more

impressive than they would actually have been. What usually happens is that in giving testimonies clients are not given the opportunity to go deep in to the detail of what actually happened.

Where the interest of the divine-actor rests is to showcase the aspect where the client confirms healing, with the assumption that they have been totally healed. Even if it appears the client is partially healed, divine-actors take it as a positive sign that they indeed have been healed. This process is what Stolz describes as editing. They try their best to make sure that only the statements they desire are said in public. That is, they say only the positives and disregard the negatives in order that the divine-actor gets more clients. Another aspect of this process is the exaggeration of past afflictions and the completeness of the healing in the present. These activities are mostly shown in video footages or pictures for everyone to see. What baffles many people is the fact that these different previsions are often not verified one after the other to ascertain their merits. They are rather lumped together in a set of verification testimonies. Another important observation is that many of the testimonies match the content of the words of knowledge only superficially. Some words of knowledge are not confirmed at all, and still some clients allegedly testify even when they were not healed in the very healing crusade they are testifying at, but at previous events. This aspect of healing behaviour is what Stolz describes as latent, because it appears to have a latency effect.

5.4.3 Case testimonies

As indicated above, different clients at the healing centres or divine industries visited narrated their experiences prior to and after their encounter with divine-actors in healing. Out of the many participants who were interviewed, three narrations or testimonies are presented here to demonstrate how clients who allegedly experienced healing from divine-actors conceptualises the whole process after their alleged healing encounters.

5.4.3.1 The case of Amadu Seidu

This case involves a forty-year-old man whom I shall call Amadu Seidu, a farmer in a community called Foo, a suburb of Tamale. Amadu is one of the clients who were healed by one of the divine-actors in Tamale. According to Amadu, his condition started as a simple body pain and became serious even though all the checks he had at the hospital pointed to the absence of pathogens. As he and his close family strived to make sense of the affliction, a lot of suggestions were made by these people with regard to potential healers to consult. This

took him to several medicine men and women for explanation with regard to the root cause of the affliction. According to the victim, all these efforts did not yield the desired results. Some of the therapy managing group 'bought into' allegations that were being peddled around the community that someone might have cast a spell on him. He narrated how he lost weight and was bedridden for many months and was just looking forward to the day he was going to die. His wife allegedly got more frustrated with each passing day as there was no help coming their way. Each healer contacted charged so much money that they virtually depleted their family resources in their desperate attempt to get the right treatment. As he put it in his own words:

> *I was told that someone had cast a spell on me, all witchdoctors known to have powers tried to heal me; they made incisions from my waist, down my legs and even my feet. At a point in time I became bedridden and would even soil myself in bed. Someone then told me about another god, I decided to try this god for healing, just as I was about to go to the shrine, a friend visited me, he said he had heard of an upcoming healing crusade and advised that I should abandon the shrine and believe God for my healing. He said 'you have tried many witchdoctors and shrines to no avail, try God…'. I heeded to this advice awaiting the crusade. Meanwhile my siblings and friends kept visiting me, bringing me and my wife food stuffs and fruits; they came weeping from as far away as Accra, knowing I was going close to death. Honestly, I did not believe the crusade will make any difference. I was a very sceptical person even to the attempt of the witch doctors. My friend kept urging me to attend the crusade even though I had no faith. But low and behold, on that day, the evangelist prayed for many people and specifically indicated that someone who has been bedridden for many months has just been healed by the Holy Spirit. I knew it was me but was not sure. I was initially uncomfortable at the crusade even though the pastor made the pronouncement that a person with my sickness had received healing. I did not feel anything after the prayer, and was wondering if actually I got healed. I only became convinced when I started seeing changes in my condition after the crusade. I thank God that I am back to normal health.*

From the narration of Amadu, what is clear is that the speculation regarding his affliction was woven around the belief structure that everyone shares in the community; an allegation of casting spells on people is part of the daily life of the people. From his account, it is clear how he consulted almost all powerful local healers known within reach, but could not get a proper diagnosis even though he was able to provide all the requirements for healing. The inability of these healers to provide the right diagnosis could be explained in two ways. In the first place, the failure could be due to the fact that many of the healers actually relied on trial and error or guess diagnosis, and if they succeed, they would then attribute the problem to

what is being diagnosed. The second possible explanation has to do with the speculation that when a very powerful healer or sorcerer casts a spell, no healer who is less powerful can diagnose it. On this note, it is probable that all the healers contacted were inferior to the perpetrator of the affliction. There is also a speculation that many of the healers fear that the sorcerer might cast a spell on them and their families if they dare treat the victims. Out of fear, they often do not put much effort into finding treatments. One can also argue that the actions he took are clearly rational, ordered according to his sense of parsimonious decision-making and his assessment of probable effectiveness of the healing systems. All the actions he took were based on the experience and knowledge of friends and relations, up to the point at which he went to the healing crusade.

This clearly shows the role of his relatives when he was advised by his friend about the impending visit of the evangelist. Indeed it showed the role of what John M. Janzen (1987) describes as the therapy managing group. From the account, it is evident that the visit to the healing crusade was as a result of the inability of the traditional healers and conventional health care providers to ameliorate his affliction. He indicated his initial doubt about the divine-actor, and the fact that he did not have faith shows that he was more inclined towards traditional healing than the divine healing of the divine industries. In spite of his initial doubts, he was allegedly healed at the healing crusade. The proof of healing is that he is now well and can walk. This came as a surprise to many people who thought he was going to die. This thus brings to question the assertion that people should always have 100% faith to be healed at the faith healing services. His experience as a person coupled with the evidence that people around him have witnessed increases their belief in the healing power of divine-actors. Since then, he and his immediate family members have accepted Christ as their personal saviour after he was allegedly touched by the power of Holy Spirit in healing.

5.4.3.2 The case of Salah Ibrahim

The second case involved a thirty-five-year-old woman whom I shall call Salah Ibrahim. Salah was a mother of three as at the time of the visit and reside in Kanveli community, a suburb of Tamale. According to her, her problem started after her encounter with a stranger on public transport. According to her, what started as an argument between her and the stranger got physical and the woman slapped her in the face. This slap led to a severe headache that eventually led to loss of speech and hearing. The problem was traced to this stranger and all attempts to locate the woman did not yield the desired outcome. In this

episode, all the people known to have power were contacted, but none could provide the right diagnosis because it was alleged that the remedy lay in the hands of the stranger and no healer could reverse it. This is how the victim recounted her ordeal:

> *We met in a lorry and my child accidentally poured water on her. Even though it was my child who did it… I did apologise to her after realising she was not happy. She refused to accept my plea and got angrier and when we alighted from the lorry… she started insulting me.., it got to a point I could take it no more…When I returned the insults, she pounced on me with a slap, other passengers separated us. When I got home, I started experiencing headache and thereafter I lost my speech and hearing when I woke up the following morning. It was alleged that the slap was not an ordinary one and that we should consult powerful healers to help. None of them worked until we visited the man of God, when the prayer was said in the crusade, I felt some cool air in my ears and I started hearing sound… Something I could not do for over a year. My speech started with a cough, I was very elated. Now I can talk to my children and siblings again.*

Salah's testimony reveals another level of spirituality in relation to physical afflictions. Unlike Amadu's case where the perpetrator was totally unknown, in Salah's case, the person was seen but could not be traced. And here again, it was outside the domain of conventional practice to reverse her hearing and speech lost. The allegation was that her situation was the outcome of the quarrel she had with this stranger. This again reveals the perceived weakness associated with traditional healers and the fact that it takes several traditional healers to counter afflictions of this nature. From this account, the reality of spiritual afflictions and their association with human agents have been deepened and the weakness of less powerful traditional healers revealed. The onset of her predicaments and the consultations that were made prior to getting relief at the divine industry goes to convince her and the people around her that there is power inherent in the divine-actors that can counter all evil forces.

5.4.3.3 The case of Memunatu Bukari

The third case involves a twenty-six-year-old whom I shall call Memunatu Bukari. Her problem centred on her reproductive health. Unlike the other two, this third case revolves around her inability to conceive. The allegation with regard to her episode started after she got married to a man she allegedly loved dearly. Her frustration and tribulations allegedly emanates from the jealousy of her mother-in-law (the husband's mother). It appeared that the mother-in-law felt she nurtured and trained her son only for the son's wife to start reaping the wealth alone, leaving her as a mother in poverty. As a result, she allegedly blocked her

daughter-in-law's womb spiritually so that she would not conceive or give birth. She indicated:

> *Few months after I successfully got married to the man of my love, I was able to conceive after some few weeks. One day in a dream, I saw this woman asking me to give her something I could not fathom. I thought it was just a dream. Two week later, I went to hospital for a review and surprisingly, I was told by the doctor my pregnancy had disappeared. The doctor said the pregnancy had disappeared but an object was sighted in the womb which he could not identify. I had to seek the help of my pastor and he told me someone had put an object in my womb to prevent any possible pregnancy. The pastor and his prayer force had to undergo prayer and fasting for me. In one of the prayers, I vomited strange things which the pastor said were the objects blocking my womb. Three months after, I was able to conceive and never relented in my effort to pray until the child was born.*

The above testimony suggests how spiritual and social afflictions can take different forms. In her case, hovering between the hospital and the divine industry to ameliorate her problems and not traditional healers was informed by her affiliation with the Pentecostal divine industry. Her problem was allegedly due to envy on the part of her mother-in-law. Unlike the other two, she knew and was with the mother-in-law. But the fear is that she could not confront her with that allegation. The mother-in-law was allegedly bitter about the fact that the daughter-in-law was enjoying what she did not toil for. By blocking her womb and making it impossible for her to conceive, the likelihood of the son divorcing her was very high. Her ability to contact her divine-actor in time saved the situation. The evidence was shown in the objects that she allegedly vomited up. These objects ordinarily would not be found in the stomach of the woman if not for spiritual manipulations. In this case, the fact that she vomited these items raises mind-boggling questions, and how to come to terms with what they experienced.

Despite these efforts, suspicions and trust are unavoidable elements in assessing credibility and reliability of these testimonies. In all the above cases, testing the sincerity of what they say is not verification, but a trial that ends in acts of trust in spite of intermediary episodes of suspicion (Richie, 2011). In no group does everyone actually get healed, and even for those who experience healing, it is subjective and can only be objectified in their interactions with those who have experienced the same. The specifics of correct healing outcome are entirely subjective, often involving absolute certainty that a client's prayer has been answered. This is part of the explanation for the appellation faith healing. The opinions of outsiders are often advanced to suggest that clients who give testimonies during healing feign their situations. In

other instances, the people may honestly think they were healed, but in fact was not. The argument points to the role of human behaviour, which goes to suggests that some people just want to be on stage with the hope that they could be healed. In the same vein, if clients fail to experience healing, divine-actors often devise ways of rationalising the failure. The usual argument advanced by divine-actors is that if a person has not been healed, it could be that the person did not have enough faith, or did not really want to be healed. This is in view of the possibility that a client's lack of total faith cannot be tested, even by the client, by anything other than a successful healing. What must be noted here is that, not being healed disconfirms only the client and not the belief. This failure is often attributed to some internal obstacles that the individual harbours including anger and unwillingness to forgive others. It could also be linked to external obstacles that may include the client's inability to live in accordance with the teaching of the Bible. Be it as it may, contrary opinions are also possible. The fact that signs of healing do not manifest immediately after healing encounters does not rule out the possibility of its effectiveness. Healing probably would have occurred anyway. What needs to be noted is that it takes time before physical signs would begin to manifest. Even though miracles may occur instantly, healing is a process, and will not just disappear immediately. As an argument for the cases above, the belief in the power of the Holy Spirit has become a matter of empirical knowledge through the individual experiences of the presence of the Holy Spirit in healing. This provides them with direct experiential support for their belief. In light of these experiences, the views they hold are more plausible than other forms of medical explanations.

5.5 Making sense of plausibility in healing

Researchers of health and healing not only describe the processes of treating and specifying concrete psychological and social effects of therapeutic practices in societies with diverse cultures as found in Ghana, but also determine specific cultural contexts that count as illnesses in need of treatment. Being able to adhere to these ideals as individuals and as groups constitutes an essential component with regard to providing meaning to situational problems. According to Linda E. Thomas (1999:105), sickness is a social construct and its experience, as well as the necessary interventions people take to avert it, gives insight into how they view their world. The way and manner people construct their world helps them in providing answers to the fundamental question of what it means to be healthy or ill within these societies (Csordas, 1983). The increasing prevalence of faith healing in the divine industries in recent times suggests that healing is fundamental to the understanding of how

health and health related problems are dealt with. It is in keeping with this that the call for a 'meaning-centred' analysis as against a 'disease-centred' approach to disease and illness in medical anthropology, as espoused by Byron Good becomes relevant (cf Csordas, 1983). This idea is premised on the assumption that many medical concepts in different societies and cultures provide an interpretive framework that is used in the construction of what they perceive as reality both at the personal and collective levels.

In this regard, there is every tendency for people to act in ways that may be construed as rational in their own terms when it comes to the issue of interventions. According to Stolz (2011), there are often times when individuals entangled with incurable afflictions tend to seek healing from divine-actors, and relying on whatever explanation divine-actors may provide for the affliction often based on the reasoning and expectation of clients in dealing with such cases. Individual and collective decisions in dealing with problems of this nature may be deemed rational when they are seen trying fringe cures after several attempts to get cure from other alternative systems of healing seem to elude them. This is not to suggest that only incurable sicknesses are taken to divine-actors; there are other non-serious cases that divine-actors equally confront. A point of interest in situations of this nature has to do with the fact that the majority of clients who seek ritual healing services are persons who conceptualises their sicknesses as spiritually motivated (Thomas, 1999:118). Dealing with spiritual problems involves going through ritual healing, a process through which healing takes place after observing certain procedures in the course of the healing. It is a repeated symbolic behaviour in which symbols used in the healing process are carriers of divine power. Before the objects attain their spiritual potency, the symbols - often water and olive oil that are found in the divine industries have to be manipulated through the ritual process by the divine-actors who serve as the intermediary between the source of power and the client. Generally, healing rituals include, but are not limited to, such things as visiting hospitals, being exorcised, the anointing of the sick, and casting out demons, among others. All symbols that are used in these areas are accepted as part of the process involved in healing within their respective cultural framework and are accepted by both the healers and the patients.

What is interesting in the healing services is the fact that persons with etic views with regard to ritual healing have different conviction from those with emic views. To those with etic views, what happens at the healing sites within the Pentecostal divine industries is nothing but a placebo effect, whiles others are sceptical about the whole process of healing claims.

This scepticism is borne out of a lack of faith and seems to corroborate the assertion by a respondent in Omenyo's study who could not hide his feeling with a claim that:

> *These churches, they don't cure anything. At times a small illness that someone has that's already going away and the person goes there and says the church cured him. Another thing also, in these churches there are curandeiros (traditional healers) that treat people, these prophets are really traditional healers (Omenyo 2011).*

The mind-boggling question that arises out of this is, if reports of ritual or faith healing have only a placebo effect or does not work as some may perceive it, why then are people deeply convinced in both the short and long term about the believability of divine healing? One simple argument with regard to this behaviour is the fact that individuals use what Stolz (2011) describes as bounded rationality in seeking health-related care. In this context, clients who are entangled with both incurable and spiritually related sicknesses may turn to faith healers in recognition of the belief that it is not possible to access the needed help from conventional health care facilities. However, there are also other categories of clients who find themselves in uncertain situations as to whether their afflictions are spiritual, natural or both. People in this situation are likely to hold what is being described as 'doublethink', the idea of holding on to two opposing viewpoints (Hufford, 1993). To such people, solving the spiritual-natural puzzle involves using both faith healing and conventional health care simultaneously. In situations like this, though bounded rationality may be plausible as far as the actions are concerned, in another breath, being able to choose the right healer according to their expectations and belief structure shifts the poles from bounded rationality to instrumental or pragmatic rationality.

Be that as it may, it is important to understand that there may also be a tendency for clients to attach different meanings to the same afflictions across different cultures. With these considerations in mind, clients do not take things for granted in dealing with their daily challenges. Depending on how their world is constructed, each event is properly accounted for, especially in societies where everything in life is sacralised. This often paves the way for other eventualities, including diseases and misfortunes associated with myths and cosmos to be interpreted in culturally relevant ways (Csordas, 1985). In other instances, assumptions and conditions that accompany ritual healing processes also influences clients' belief in the reality of healing even if the evidence from the etic point of view seems to be lacking. This is apparently due to the fact that clients explain their experiences and events in line with their belief structures.

In almost all the healing centres I visited, the Pentecostal divine industries have enacted core belief systems that guide them in their healing practices. According to Stolz (2011), these beliefs are auxiliary protective belts that enable them to guide the enacted beliefs, and enable them to provide explanations to any situation in the healing process. It is also important to understand that people around these healing centres including clients and divine-actors use reasoning when evaluating the alleged healing and miracles. This is in view of the understanding that healing practices in the divine industries follow a practical everyday rationality (Stolz, 2011).

Ritual healing may in fact cause clients to substitute what they expect for reality especially when the supposed healing fails to follow its program of action (Clements, 1981). An interesting observation points to the fact that non-believers or people who hold etic view with regard to the plausibility of healing outcome are far from thinking that all the activities they observe in the various healing centres are true or real. Rather, if such individuals are challenged with what are described as personal and individual divine experiences and the dynamics involved, some of them may be convinced about the possibility of such events. What is important is that a considerable part of the healing process deals with individual experience. In the eyes of the public, healing may not have manifested physically. This does not mean nothing has happened, healing would have occurred anyway in view of the fact that it is only the clients who can experience or feel it. This lends credence to Thomas Csordas' (1985) assertion that faith healing or the phenomenon of ecstatic trance and spirit possession can be acknowledged as religious in an emic sense in view of the experience, whereas the analysis or discussions with regard to etic view are done in medical terms by looking at the medical effects of such experiences.

In one of the divine industries in Tamale, a retired educator who claimed he suffered neck pain for many years after an accident was allegedly healed in one of the healing service in July 2011. This healing purportedly took place immediately the prayer was said, though an overwhelming majority of the clients would not have received any healing immediately after the visit. The fact that they did not experience healing does not imply that healing services have not impacted their lives. What is important to understand is that healing provides clients with a supportive framework with which they can take care of their problems with efficiency. Quite a number of clients who visit these divine-actors for healing tend to end up better off than they were prior to the visits. In view of the nature of healing and that a lot of it is experiential, attempts to convince others to experience it for themselves leads to situations

where clients with prior experience try to provide proof with regard to the weaknesses and success of healers they have had encounters with. This is done in recognition of the fact that conventional health care facilities are the official sites for health service provision, a number of faith healing clients usually go to hospitals for confirmation of healing after going through the healing process.

5.6 Healing in the context of local cosmology

Healing everywhere concerns the human intervention in disorder which culturally specific attempts to mend the physical and social breaches entailed in illness are undertaken (Comaroff, 1981). In the sacred realm, diseases and illnesses are not treated as arbitrary events, but are situated in a nexus of social, cosmological, spiritual, and biological meaning. The way illness and disease are conceptualised in these cultures provides meaning and plausibility for the actions they take. An important consideration in the analysis of faith healing rests on the cultural and social reality of spiritual and social events within these societies (Csordas, 1985). Moreover, a plausible explanation of healing is rooted in both clients and healers ability to point to 'credible evidence' (what they witness with their own eyes) in support of their claim of divine healing. Additionally, non-believers whose friends and family members have had an experience with healing in spectacular ways in the past may also be in a position to acknowledge most of these healing claims in view of the relations they have with these people. In one such instance, a woman and all her siblings and her husband were lured to one of the divine industries because of her experience. Their conviction was that but for the intervention of a divine-actor, the woman would have remained childless. They claimed that the woman made several efforts to conceive using conventional health care facilities, but all to no avail. The newly born child resulting from the intervention of the divine-actor was accordingly blessed in the divine industry after delivery. The testimony of this woman gave hope to others who are also struggling to get pregnant.

Procedures for deliverance and the utterances made by alleged witches and sorcerers during deliverance in the divine industries lend credence to public speculation about the machination of invisible forces causing many of the misfortunes in society. In the local context, when people are going through deliverance, they provide an account of their past deeds. An interesting part of these processes is that some of them often claim responsibility for those actions. What makes the narrations quite plausible is the way the events are catalogued. In one of such deliverance session I observed, a woman was heard saying: 'I was responsible for

the dismissal of Braimah (her step son) from work. I did that because I did not want his mother to become richer than me'. In the same deliverance session, another lady named here as X, boldly confessed before the congregation that she was responsible for the death of three energetic young men in her family in a span of two months. To the non-believer, these utterances may be interpreted as hallucinations. However, within the belief structure of the local people, these stories are real. When people come out to confirm what society already speculates about as being the cause of their woes, it is only fair to say that its plausibility will not be in doubt as far as the people are concerned.

Clients who provided account of their encounters with other conventional or orthodox health care providers have always expressed the view that most of the problems they take to divine-actors are spiritual and hence need interventions that are religious in nature. What needs to be understood is that most of the ailments manifest features of both spiritual and natural sicknesses; as a result, certain considerations are needed in explaining why clients might reason with divine-actors, and why events such as those described ought to be looked at in religious rather than medical terms. This is in spite of the conviction that once religious acknowledgements are emic, the analysis and discussion should be in medical terms (Csordas, 1985). The experience of clients has a great deal of influence on how they perceive events and the actions they take to ameliorate them. One of the considerations in making sense of this phenomenon is rooted in culturally patterned symbolic manifestations of the activities of divine-actors. These activities revolve around seeing images in dreams, alleging the presence of invisible forces or demons and instances in which demons allegedly speak through their victims. Some of these manifestations bear similar features and semblance to what is contained in the belief structure of the local people. Most of these activities come to light in healing encounters where demons are regularly confronted by the divine-actors in Pentecostal divine industries.

Other areas of importance include the use of ritual language. This is in relation to the utterances divine-actors and clients make during healing and the perceived symbolic power these utterances possess. Ritual words divine-actors use and the responses they get from clients - often serve to confirm events that happened in the past and how they are linked to the demonically possessed victims. These manifestations confirm society's suspicion with regard to the machination of these invisible forces. On the basis of the above, it will not be misplaced to reasoning with the argument advanced by Csordas (1985) that the effectiveness of religious healing is dependent on the rhetorical control of healing processes endogenous to

the suffering individual. The application of endogenous ideas and processes facilitates the resolution of emotional crises and family tension.

As a result of the fact that divine-actors are able to control and maintain communicative rapport with their congregation and healing audience, and to retain a memory of events that occurred during the experience, it would be safe to argue that the different levels of experiences during these events is therapeutic. This is so because it serves as a guide in what they do and also provides solutions to the problems of the masses. It is the case within the traditional medical domain that spirits manifest themselves through illnesses and other afflictions. A spirit can make its host ill if ritual obligations and formal curing procedures are not performed by specialist curers who have a spiritual lens for the purpose of diagnosis (Csordas, 1990). This leads to the understanding that diseases and illnesses are never stable, and that there are often periods of greater suffering alternating with periods of relief and happiness. If this analogy is anything to go by, it will mean that if clients resort to the use of inefficient treatment methods for serious afflictions, chances are that the suffering might diminish because of the normal variability of the ailment and not the efficacy of the treatment. This might not be seen in the same light within the divine industries; rather, the cure provided by divine-actors would be seen to have worked. Be it as it may, the plausibility of divine-healing in the divine industries may not be due to 'irrational' beliefs and practices as non-believers might want it to appear. Rather, both the afflicted and the divine-actors use the 'normal' belief structures of their society. In other words, they use practical, everyday reasoning and rest their case on subjectively good evidence in the form of healing and prediction testimonies.

5.7 Experiencing the divine in the divine industries

Issues surrounding religious experience in any given society are related to the perceived direct encounter between individuals and the spiritual or supernatural beings (Nelson, 1997). This may be so, but others conceive of it as extraordinary cognitive, physical and emotional manifestations that accompany any direct spiritual experience. This is in contrast to ordinary modes of experience in everyday life. Religious experience is a kind of 'peak experience' that comes as extraordinary episodes, characterised by an intensity of hyperconsciousness involving a sense of incomparably greater immediacy, significance, and reality than is characteristic of ordinary experiences in everyday life (cf Nelson, 1997). The experiences signifies the relatively infrequent and fleeting episodes in which a person feels that they are

somehow in contact with the divine or in a brief moment of insight into the nature of universe, emphasising a discontinuity between religious experience and the experience of everyday life. It is important to understand that the distinction between the two is not arbitrary, but is based on the quality of the experience. What makes an experience religious is not its quality, but the attribution the bearer of the experience attaches to it (Nelson, 1997).

In many instances, clients and divine-actors who have had such experiences usually prepare for it. The word 'prepare' is used with the premise that these events do not occur randomly but are frequently activated by aspects of the situation or characteristics of the person. As Bernard Spilka et al (1996) have indicated, these experiences are often triggered by a wide variety of stimulating circumstances and characteristics that do not often relate to personal difficulties or stress. What one must understand is that individual preparations for a divine experience takes different forms including the availability of religious language, the attitude and personality of the individual concerned, manifestation of a certain religious orientation, and an appropriate stimulating and receptive social context within which the experience occurs. In many of these cases, certain manifestations are often expected after all the conditions are met. Not only are these manifestations expected, but they must reflect the culturally prevailing beliefs and assumptions of the respective societies where these experiences take place (Spilka et al., 1996). When divine-actors turn their attention on a particular situation as an occasion for transformation with a transcendent meaning, it often tends out to be congruent with the seeker's own deepest expectation of what is to happen in their relationship. During these episodes, people in crisis often seek out divine-actors for assistance and not friends, neighbours or other forms of counselling. What seems to inform this choice is the perception that it is through the mediation of the divine-actors that they can experience the divine. As if by design, many of these people are located in communities where supernatural powers and community values are placed within the domain of divine-actors either consciously or unconsciously (Howe, 1988). This conviction, it must be noted, is not unique to only core believers of the Pentecostal divine industry. Non-believers are sometimes convinced that divine-actors embody dimensions of power, perceived, dimly to be sure, to have transforming significance for all aspects of human lives.

In relation to the belief structures and practices of divine industries, certain conditions have to be fulfilled before individuals can have any healing encounter with the divine. These conditions revolve around three important considerations, and are often observed during healing rituals.

The first among these conditions is the presence of a spirit-filled agent needed to facilitate divine healing and religious experience. The key agents in this case are the divine-actors who are alleged to have divine backing to heal and prophesise. Within these divine industries, baptism in the Holy Spirit empowers divine-actors in almost all their spiritual and social engagements (Anderson, 2004:191). It is also important to indicate that faith healing is also regarded as signs of God's love for clients as well as sign to stimulate the faith of non-believers in to the divine industries (Csordas, 1983). To experience baptism and become filled with the Holy Spirit clients must give their lives to God. It is expected that an inner experience and baptism manifest outwardly in glossolalia – speaking in tongues - an ecstatic vocalisation of words unknown to the clients when the necessary conditions are fulfilled (Anderson, 2004:189). This experience ushers believers across a threshold onto a plateau of religious experience much richer than anything the divine-actor or any client might have enjoyed previously. Glossolalia represents the supernatural or divine operating in one's life. Individuals filled with the Holy Spirit act as agents for the operation of the nine spiritual gifts – glossolalia, public interpretation of glossolalia utterances, prophesy, the ability to exercise spiritual judgement, faith, wisdom, knowledge, the working of miracles, and healing. All these elements give the divine-actors their awesomeness and the alleged spiritual power inherent in them.

The second consideration necessary for one to experience the divine is rooted in the faith of the person. Faith as used here denotes belief, trust, and obedience that are joined together and directed towards God or other divine entities. In expressing faith, the mind, heart and body are joined to advance the righteous end. In this sense, faith is often conceptualised as belief acted on by the believers. Turning faith and trust into action creates an ideal sense of hope or optimism and expectation. This leads to reliance upon the object of one's faith for the expected outcome. It is however important to note that the fact that faith serves as a condition does not mean people without adequate faith do not experience healing (Csordas, 1983). Divine-actors heal clients even when it is known that they have a minimal level of faith in ritual healing. It is the faith of the healer that is crucial in deciding whether they can use it to effect the changes so desired and to show that the healer is the chosen one. The main reason for healing in the divine industries is to lure non-believers who do not share the same faith into the divine industry. There are occasions where healing services are conducted for clients upon admission to conventional health care facilities somewhere else. Some of these afflicted people are often unaware that rituals are being conducted on their behalf. These prayers are

usually requested by friends and relatives. On this note and on the basis of some of the testimonies as indicated earlier, it would appear the clients own faith does not factor in ritual outcomes. In situations where clients actively seek divine healing, it is often assumed that they may have possessed and exercised some degree of faith before the act of healing is executed. Because the outcome of a healing is often tied to the faith of the afflicted, and being aware of the importance of client's faith, divine-actors usually attribute healing failure to the absence of the faith.

The third consideration that determines the experience of the divine and a successful healing ritual is the ability of divine-actors and clients to adhere to proper ritual procedure. Generally, healing rituals commence when spirit-filled divine-actors and their associate divine-actors gather around the afflicted person in front of the congregation to perform the necessary rituals for healing to occur. In one of the divine industries I observed, what happened is that the divine-actor had a basin where the sacred symbol alleged to contain divine power is kept. He usually applies the sacred symbol on the forehead or the afflicted part of the client and prays simultaneously. Even though this is a routine process, Pentecostals do not regard strict adherence to the procedure, as general as it is, to be essential for ritual success. In other healing procedures, the oil as a symbol could be substituted for other symbolic devices such as water or food items that could be used for the same purpose.

5.8 Symbolic power inherent in Pentecostal ritual words

Healing rituals are worldwide phenomena and constitute ways and means of expressing deep cultural truths about a group. Cultural diversity as a feature in many societies reflects the differences in ritual forms. The core role of ritual in determining the veracity of religious culture is found in its ability to maintain order through the enactment or provision of visible expressions of cultural norms. It has been argued that the Pentecostal ritual field comprised ritual space, time, objects, sounds, and language, identities or roles and actions that interact and overlap with each other (de Matviuk, 2002). An important observable feature in all forms of rituals is the use of ritual words as a vehicle for interaction between clients and divine-actors. Ritual words are usually accompanied by gestures, and each word used in the healing process is strategic and aids in making sense of the whole process (McGuire, 1983). As Birgit Meyer (2012) has opined, such utterances operate as religious media through which a sense of an extraordinary presence is generated. By using ritual words or language, reference is made to speech events or words that are used by divine-actors. It is claimed that these words

possess special power and efficacy that aid divine-actors in their healing activities. Belief in the power of ritual words is central in understanding how faith healing is accomplished. All the faith healing services visited share similar features in relation to the use of ritual words and it appears that no divine-actor can perform healing successfully without the use of these words.

Another important observation is the primary role of these words in the empowerment of both healers and the healed. In this process, ritual words are used to objectify divine power. This is in view of the fact that the pronouncements made by divine-actors in healing services shed more light on the operative cosmologies of the Pentecostal divine industries. The words have the potential to create a sense of order through the provision of explanations to societal happenings, thus facilitating the process of social healing (Gifford, 2004:49). Some of these explanations are found in instances where sicknesses are named as spiritual or natural and specific actions recommended. The ritual use of words in the Pentecostal divine industries is best exemplified by commands, including such pronouncements as: Heal! Come out! I command you! These commands are made 'In Jesus' name', 'Holy Ghost Fire', and 'Holy Spirit', among others. These words form the core of the healing process and are alleged to carry symbolic power that heal and exorcise clients of demons and other spirit possessions (Meyer, 2004a). Exorcism is a common practice found in the Pentecostal divine industries, during which demons and other invisible spirits are allegedly cast out from their victims (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). Some of the phrases as used by divine-actors are repeatedly said with vigour and as commands to signify the symbolic power they carry. It is alleged that the more they give commands, the more the devil becomes frightened and as such, the possibility of defeating it is very high. It is also important to note that among Pentecostals, glossolalic prayer (speaking in tongues) forms part of the process and is effective in facilitating the healing process. In one of the divine industries I visited, one of the divine-actors alleged that clients come to him with different items including salt, oil, and bottled water for these ritual words to be said over them in the form of prayer. These powers are allegedly transmitted onto these items at home before they are used for healing by these individuals. The etiology of illness in societies where the divine industries are located yields useful information about the local ideas of illness-causing agents. The therapy they embody gives an idea with regard to how illness causing agents could be overcome by other kinds of power(s). This viewpoint presupposes that treatment of illnesses essentially involves a restoration of the balance of power through the act of weakening the power of the perceived antagonistic sickness causing

agents or by strengthening clients defending power against the perceived illness causing agents.

Ritual words are linked with awe-inspiring power through their seeming autonomy and objectification of human reality. The alleged power and mysteries that surround such words are entrenched in practices such as secrecy with the belief that one's way of doing things is uniquely one's own and should not be revealed to others. This seems to find expression in the unintelligible use of foreign, ecstatic, or glossolalic utterances associated with Pentecostal clients popularly known as speaking in tongues (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004). These utterances serve as a source of power for divine-actors and many of their clientele. In view of the fact that these words are very difficult to comprehend, it is safe to argue that the experience and perception of personal empowerment that accompany these words may indeed influence the healing of the social, emotional, and spiritual aspects of illnesses, including the curing of disease associated with the biophysical dimensions. What is important is that if clients are convinced that they are in touch with a divine power that is supposedly superior to all other worldly creatures, this belief serves to empower them to be more effective in their daily lives or at least to cope more adequately with unbearable situations (Gifford, 2004:58). This is against the conviction of being guided by a superior force that can counter anything negative, including all things with the potential to stifle their progress in life.

Another area of importance of ritual words in relation to healing is their transformative role in that their usage. The use of ritual words represent meaning at one level as well as at other levels realities of meaning (McGuire, 1983). While some people may be passive observers in the healing process, others are often caught up in the ritual actions to the point of being transformed intellectually, emotionally, and sometimes even physically (Clements, 1981). As Mary Douglas (1966) has argued, 'The transformative impact of the ritual performance on its participants not only changes the individual ritualists, it impacts the broader life of the ritual community and the larger society beyond' (cf de Matviuk, 2002). It is important to understand that ritual words used in the healing process are rooted in both personal and social boundary maintenance (McGuire, 1983), and the social and religious concerns of individuals and groups reflect their sense of what is termed as infringement or pollution. The world is conceptualised as polluted in view of the different forms of social and spiritual disorders. The etiology of sickness as used by these groups points to two sources of infraction either external or internal. The external infractions are associated with the chaos of the world such as disease, illness, wars, and famine, among others. Chaos as conceived by these groups is

believed to result from human actions as well as the actions of evil forces. As far as evil forces are concerned, ritual practices are performed to protect the group's boundary from attacks by these forces. The internal infraction refers to disorders within the social group. These situational problems are usually attributed to human imperfections. As a result, purification rituals are usually performed to ensure an inner healing among the members. All these activities go with ritual words that are deemed reasonable and at the same time meet the expectations of the people.

Another relevant role played by ritual words involves their performative function in view of client's conviction that such words have real power to impact the world of everyday life (McGuire, 1983). As a result, the tendency to treat these beliefs and practices as magical compulsions, coping strategies or otherwise non-pragmatic behaviour is very high. Views held by many people in modern society are that, there is real medical control that obviates the need for magical control. However, clients of the divine industries use both medical and faith healing to combat their sicknesses. There is no question about medical efficacy in contemporary society; however, in many important areas of people's experience, contemporary medicine is considered weak and sometimes 'useless' for sickness of the spiritual realm. This argument is in line with complains from clients that many doctors are not able to help them out in many situations. Some participants had this to say: 'The doctor could not find out what was wrong with me', 'Doctors could not treat me', or 'I felt the sickness was not for the hospital'. These experiences represent clients' own subjective feeling of helplessness in the face of afflictions. This paves the way for simultaneous use of conventional and healing rituals by these clients. In the same breadth, clients may be objectively expressing the powerlessness of conventional health care in dealing with a range of afflictions, a service required by people as a collectivity.

To this end, when complains are made in relation to the inability of conventional medical professionals to diagnose certain afflictions, they may be partially correct in their assessment of the dominant medical system's powerlessness in certain areas in which they feel the need for help. Clients in contemporary societies may thus turn to ritual healing as a coping mechanism. However, rituals need not be seen merely as make-believe control. Ritual assertion of order may actually produce a sense of order and predictability. From the foregoing discussion, it emerges that the very use of ritual words in healing plays an important part of accomplishing the goals of holistic healing.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the increasing plausibility of faith healing as a whole and healing within the Pentecostal divine industries in particular. It showed that in almost all healing systems across the world, the plausibility it gathers is rooted in the belief structure of the people it serves. On the basis of this, Pentecostal divine industries are able to maintain their relevance in society by virtue of their ability to appropriate and adjust their doctrine to the changing demands of the people they serve. It is this adjustment to the needs of the people that provides explanations as to why these beliefs and practices are able to maintain their popularity. The views and practices as expressed by the social network in which the beliefs are held are rooted in their belief structure. It also indicates that in these societies, people are born and socialised into the existing belief systems. As a result, it is easier for them to keep to the ideals, notwithstanding their educational and financial standing. What must be noted is that the ideas they are socialised into forms a significant part of their worldview and serves to shape their plausibility structure. Thus, belief in the reality of faith healing is based on the cultural explanations divine-actors attach to such afflictions. As a result, the plausibility of faith healing in the Pentecostal divine industries is rooted in divine-actors utilisation of the belief structure of the local people in order to win the trust and confidence of both potential and existing clients.

Healing experience in the divine industries has a wide-range of interpretations and may be explained from the perspective of the divine-actor, client, or the observer. To convince the public of the reality of healing experience, confirmation of these experiences are often expressed by the social network in which the belief is held. These networks are the clientele or adherents of the divine industries. These confirmations feature prominently during healing crusades or during regular Sunday services of the various divine industries. The chapter indicates that it is during these periods that people who have not yet had the experience may be tempted to try and see how it works, whereas those who are reporting their experiences would intensify the utilisation of faith and ritual healing services of the divine industries. The chapter indicates that in most cases, people who observe these testimonies from outside tend to have doubts about their credibility, though the divine-actors and the clients may believe in what takes place. Outsiders sometimes construe the practice as a placebo effect. Granted that it is true, how then would one explain the belief, in both the short and long term, about the plausibility of divine healing as asserted by Stolz (2011)? The chapter showed that indeed, there are clients who accept the fact that not all healing can be attained at conventional health

care facilities. While these people may stick to their opinions, there are those who are often not certain about what to do, as a result, they tend to utilise spiritual and conventional therapy simultaneously.

The chapter also gave a case study of the testimonies of three persons who were allegedly healed in the divine industries to indicate how the plausibility of healing is sustained. In all the cases, the sense one gets of their afflictions is that they were all spiritual and caused by demonic personified human agents. This belief to an outsider may look strange, but because the local people construct their world along those lines, healing them and explaining the afflictions along those lines becomes plausible. Their testimonies give further credence to what the divine-actors claim they do. They are not the only people who testify, but the close relations, especially the cases of Amadu who was bed ridden and Salah who not hear nor speak. All these people acknowledge the healing powers of the divine-actors, thus increasing its plausibility.

The study also showed that clients acknowledged and confirmed the plausibility of their experiences in testimonies. During these testimonies, clients give different forms of confirmations on healing and prophecy. Two categories of people with regard to the plausibility of the healing process are noted. Those who buy into what is said at the healing sites share the same social reality, and those who not share the same reality but often become convince when credible persons give testimonies to the effect that they have indeed been healed. A large part of healing is experiential and as such, does not manifest externally for others to see or feel. It is also important to reiterate that certain conditions are often essential prior to the fulfilment of healing in the divine industries. As indicated in the chapter, the first of these conditions is the presence of a spirit filled agent to facilitate healing and religious experience. The second condition concerns the faith of the person involved in the healing. Faith and trust, accompanied by effort to put them into action, ideally creates a sense of hope, optimism, or expectation that leads to reliance on the object of faith. The third condition is identified as the ability of divine-actors and clients to adhere to the procedure for healing. The chapter further indicates that there are symbolic powers inherent in Pentecostal ritual healing, and the use of ritual words in healing plays an important role in the interaction between divine-actors and clients. Word such as 'In Jesus Name', and 'The Holy Spirit', among others allegedly possesses special powers that aid healing in the divine industries. Ritual words are used to transform ordinary objects into sacred objects such as anointed oil and water are very powerful and also objectify the divine power inherent in divine-actors.

Not only do they have power, but they also have a transformational function. This is so because it represents meaning at one end and the reality of that meaning at the other end. Quite apart from that, it also plays a Performative role in the sense that people are convinced that such words have real power that have the potential to impact the world of everyday life.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The focus of this thesis was to investigate the socio-religious factors responsible for the increasing plausibility of faith healing in Ghana. In doing so, the study explored the relationship between Pentecostal and traditional healing systems in Ghana and the circumstances under which Pentecostal healing is gaining ground in Ghana, a developing nation in West Africa. Consequently, the study explored these three areas: 1) the recent explosion of Pentecostal movement in Ghana, 2) why healing is a core of almost all Pentecostal divine industries in Ghana and the circumstances under which the demonization of indigenous healers resonates so strongly among the local people, and 3) the circumstances under which Pentecostal adherents, and the broader public alike believe in faith healing in general and Pentecostal faith healing in particular.

I presented the background information by reviewing the use of traditional modes of healing in Ghana and circumstances under which those systems are used. As part of the review, I showed that individual and collective recourse to religion in explaining health and illness related problems in Ghanaian societies is a daily affair. This phenomenon explains why many people resort to faith healers when they experience sickness or misfortune in their lives. I also showed that the relationship that existed between the colonial missionaries and traditional medical practitioners prior to the introduction of conventional health care in Ghana was neither friendly nor peaceful. This was due to the attitude of the missionaries towards the practitioners of traditional medicine which was one of hatred and disdain. The review also indicates how the missionaries tried to stifle the activities of the local healers in their attempt to spread Christianity and why they were not successful. The inability of the missionaries to address the very needs the religion they wanted to stifle was addressing partly explained why they did not succeed. I went on to add that the advent of conventional medical practices and the existence of other religious organisations – Islam, African Initiated Churches and Pentecostal based divine industries - introduced plurality to the healing systems in Ghana. As a result, healing was no longer limited to traditional medical practitioners. This situation led to competition since these new systems of healing are similar to traditional system of healing.

I used the rational choice of religious market model as a theoretical foundation for this thesis. I specifically relied on the model of Stark Rodney and his contemporaries. This model was best suited to my thesis because of the pluralistic religious environment I was examining. It

provides insights into how people make religious choices – in both the supply and demand side. I applied it alongside the phenomenological images of religion offered by Young (1997), which was suitable because faith healings are experiential. The application was informed by the conviction that the choices people make with regard to selecting one healing tradition over another might be informed by (in economic terms) the behaviour of both the producers (religious institutions) of that healing tradition, on one hand, and the consumers (adherent/clients) of that tradition. The choices people make are deemed to be rational because they consider the cost and benefits before making their choices. It was on the basis of this conviction that these theories are best placed to provide explanations as to why the use of Pentecostal healing is gaining significant ground in Ghana even though traditional medicine was in existence before its inception.

In terms of methods, I relied on the grounded theory method for my data gathering and analysis. The choice was based on the assumption that there is no one objective reality in terms of illness and disease causation (Charmaz, 2000:509-510). In the data collection process, I used observation, interviews and focus group discussions as techniques in data gathering. In the analysis of the data, I relied on the technique of coding to construct the various themes that informed the order of the chapters and sections within chapters.

I discussed the development and explosion of Pentecostalism in Ghana, outlining the historical antecedents of the movement. It discussed in detail the founding fathers who redefined the face of Christianity in Ghana. Among the pioneers were Wade Harris and his contemporaries. I showed the circumstances under which Harris and his colleagues propelled the development of the Pentecostal movement in Ghana and how they earned the accolade 'roaming prophets'. They earned this accolade because they did not establish divine industries of worship as was the practice of the orthodox missionaries. From the time of these prophets until contemporary times, three different periods or stages of the movement's development have been identified. The first stage is associated with Wade Harris, Samson Oppong, and John Swatson affectionately called the roaming prophets (Anderson, 2001:70). Unlike the orthodox divine industries, these prophets were the first of their kind in the country to publicly treat and exorcise local people using the Bible. Unlike the orthodox divine-actors, the roaming prophets integrated healing into their evangelisation and conversion drives to capture more souls for the kingdom of God (Anderson, 2004:103,). Using the power inherent in the Bible, the prophets were able to provide social and spiritual protection to the people just as the traditional healers were doing. Miracles and wonders

formed a major part of their evangelisation campaign, and this won them the admiration of the masses, thus explaining the mass conversion to Christianity. The study showed that these prophets were the first to convince the Ghanaian people that there is power in believing in the Bible, and that it could heal them of their social and spiritual afflictions. The discussion showed that even though the Azusa Street Revival in United States of America started around this same period (Anderson, 2004:39), there was no evidence of a link between the Azusa Street Revival and the activities and emergence of these roaming prophets.

The second stage marked the period of classical Pentecostalism. Unlike the first stage where there was no indication of Western influence, the second wave marked the beginning of such influence. This is due to the fact that there was some collaboration between local and foreign evangelists to advance the course of the movement, especially with regard to a better understanding of the working of the Holy Spirit among the local evangelists. The study revealed that the development of this stage was due to the desire of one of such local evangelist, notably Peter N. Anim, who had experienced the healing power of the Holy Spirit after reading magazines produced by foreign evangelist affiliated with the Pentecostal group, and wanted to know more about the workings of the Holy Spirit. It showed that it was during this period that the activities of the Azusa Street Revival seem to have had some influence on the activities of the local evangelist. This collaboration between the local and the foreign evangelists led to the formation of the Church of Pentecost and the Assemblies of God churches in Ghana.

In the third stage, much publicity and prominence was given to the movement in modern Ghana. The year 1979 marked the starting point of the third stage when Ghana experienced political and economic turbulence leading to the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) (Meyer, 2004a). The economic and social upheavals that were experienced in the country served as fertile ground for foreign evangelists, most of whom were 'wealth and health gospel' evangelists and took advantage of the volatile situation ostensibly to provide hope to the hopeless people in society as they did in the United States of America. It is important to indicate that their success was facilitated by native Ghanaian preachers such as Duncan William, Seth Ablorh, Dag Heward Mills, and Doe Tetteh among others, who developed an interest in the messages of these foreign evangelists and many of whom, had travelled to the United States to learn more about the wealth and health gospel.

The pre-1979 period is associated with the first and second stages of Pentecostal development. The study showed that the local people who served as converts and workers at the orthodox mission divine industries felt that they were being undermined by the foreign missionaries in terms of appointment into leadership positions within the divine industries. As a way of creating leadership positions for themselves, and to shrug off the domination of the colonial missionaries, they established their own divine industries called the African Instituted Churches (AICs). Added to this was the anxiety that, the missionaries were not telling them the true message as was contained in the Bible. This revelation came to light after the Bible was translated into the local languages. Having been given the opportunity to read the Bible in their own local languages, they realised that the missionaries were providing them with information that was inconsistent with what was contained in the Bible. This fuelled the agitation and heightened the desire for autonomy and to establish independent divine industries. This desire was to enable them to practice some of the things the Bible allowed, but which the missionaries denied them, especially polygyny.

The post-1979 explosion was a period during which the Pentecostal movement experienced unprecedented growth in Ghana. One of the main factors that facilitated the unprecedented growth was the common language of the source and receiving countries. Countries like the United States of America and the United Kingdom, where most of the foreign evangelists came from, share the same official language with Ghana. Consequently, the cassettes and other religious books were in English. The messages carried in these books and cassettes centred on 'wealth and health' and were used by most of the local evangelists. Another area of importance in relation to the explosion was the level of tolerance and the cordial relations that existed in Ghana between the various religious organisations. This cordiality was facilitated by the coming into force of the 1992 constitution of Ghana which provides for freedom of religion and association. Other relevant areas include the desire for social mobility by the elite group within the Pentecostal movement. Whereas some divine-actors used the divine industries as avenues for gaining social position and recognition, others saw it as an avenue for making fortunes.

As far as the administration of these divine industries is concerned, the study showed that divine-actors have their own internal structures through which the activities of the divine industries are controlled and managed. Each divine industry is divided into different administrative units with the founding divine-actor acting as the head. Under the founder is the governing board, usually made up of 'wise-men' or influential people in the institution.

Third in the command structure is the wife of the founder, who in many instances serves as co-founder. Under the three-layer leadership structure are different units or departments made up of a prayer force, youth, media, finance, music, welfare, children and women's departments. An associate divine-actor heads each of these units. These people are strategically placed in these position to acquire managerial and leadership skills for future assignments. As far as dealing with excesses that are sometimes associated with organisations of this size, and for purposes of preserving the credibility of the divine industries, measures are often put in place to check and ensure that miscreants do not take advantage of the explosive nature of the movements to tarnish the image of the movement in particular and destabilise the country. Reasons adduced for this was taken to be a response to the numerous concerns raised in relation to the unregulated flow of cash and other resources imported to the country to support these movements. Experts thought the situation was a threat to national security. As a protective measure, the state introduced a religious registration policy for all individuals who wanted to establish divine industries. In addition to this, the various divine industries have also set up bodies or associations to help check the activities of members. In keeping to these measures, some of the associations have set up benchmark for qualification before admission of divine industries to the associations. These measures are to ensure that all persons in the business of divine industries are serious and up to the task. Some of the associations as exist in Ghana include Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC), the Catholic Bishops Council (CBC), and others. Apart from this, the study also revealed a hybrid of state and the internal regulators. This is in view of the fact that people who work in state institutions and are tasked to ensure that people work in accordance with rules and regulations are also members of the divine industries. As a result, they find themselves between two opposing groups; the state and the church. Some of them end up aiding the divine industries in many ways to help the divine industries fulfil their goals.

Though new divine industries keep springing up on almost a daily basis, they are not without challenges. Some of the challenges identified as indicated in the study include difficulty in placing all divine industries under one umbrella. The different facets of Christian associations as exist in Ghana make the consolidation of the activities of the divine industries a daunting task. Each group has its interests to serve, creating room for politics and inter-group tussles. The most difficult part is when law enforcement agencies and high profile political figures allegedly aid the divine industries in avoiding institutional sanctions when they do wrong. Newly established autonomous divine industries complained of financial constraints and the

fact that they are competing with well-established divine industries with sound financial footing. What seems to stifle the growth of many of them is the high rate of secession, especially when associate divine-actors begin to challenge the authority of the founder. Included in the list of challenges Pentecostals face from orthodox divine industries as well as their arch-rivals, the traditional healers. In their attempt to survive the threats posed by orthodox divine industries and traditional religion, in addition to internal challenges they face, almost all divine industries have adopted economic and information technology principles in the advancement of their evangelisation. These are innovations carved out by the Pentecostal divine industries to compete against other religious institutions. With these innovations, they are able to advertise their products on the radio, the internet and in print media to attract more people to the divine industries.

An important observation is that these innovations are made possible because of the diverse educational qualifications divine-actors acquire from universities and other allied institutions. The skills they acquire are entrepreneurially applied in the competitive religious market with innovation. Unlike the orthodox divine-actors and traditional healers, Pentecostal divine industries are driven by innovation. Most of the divine-actors have an entrepreneurial spirit with which they innovate to have an advantage over their competitors. The study showed that divine-actors innovate with their endowed divine power in all areas of operation (Lyer & Tirthankar, 2012). What was established is the fact that many of them detest the idea of using the same idea all the time without adding value to it. This is in view of the fear of getting stuck in one place due to lack of innovation. They are able to do this because the divine industries are driven by the vision and ideas of the founders. These visions are directed at addressing genuine social and spiritual concerns of society. What is also important is that divine-actors use their charismatic gifts, divine power, education, as well as the genealogical links they have established with prominent members of the divine industries to propagate their activities and boost their credentials.

What is also important is the realisation that divine industries do not only compete, but they also cooperate to protect the Pentecostal family from other organisations who are seen as 'others' or outsiders. These outsiders may include but are not limited to, Islam, ATR, and orthodox divine industries. In view of the fact that they see themselves as members of the same Pentecostal family, they cooperate amongst themselves and share beneficial ideas that members acquire through workshops and conferences. They feel that without the transfer of knowledge, they will not be able to progress. The study also established that these people

compete because they have visions to achieve, and these visions includes increasing the size of the divine industry from lower stages to the stage of being truly entrepreneurial, which to them is self-actualising. These stages begin from being self-employed, to being a manager, then leader, investor and finally to true entrepreneurs. It has also revealed how these institutions finance their respective churches through the 10% tithe they pay as permanent members. Other areas related to finance include the tax wavers in view of the fact they fall under the category of religious organisations that are not supposed to pay tax. Other areas include the business organisations they set up to raise additional funds to manage their divine industries.

Having realised that the most desirous needs of their clients are those of good health and prosperity, many divine actors have come to the realisation that the only way they can stay in business and keep their clients is to provide them with social and spiritual protection through healing. Pentecostal divine-actors rely on the divine gift and the Holy Spirit to heal and exorcise clients. What is important to note is that divine-actors conceptualise healing as a holistic process involving positive change and improvement over a person's previous situation in life (Sackey, 2006). In so doing, they actively incorporate what they describe as the foursquare gospel – a blend of salvation, the Holy Spirit, healing and the Rapture in their gospel. These four tenets assist them in the realisation of the total healing that client's desire. What is apparent is that the act of healing comes to the divine-actors as a gift from God. In their conviction, these gifts are supposed to be used to win souls for the Kingdom of God. Winning souls involves increasing the size of their congregations to serve God. The study showed that the persistence of the divine industries is borne out of the eroding social cohesion of traditional societies. Consequently, Pentecostals find expression in increasing fear of witchcraft, sorcery, and new ways of dealing with social issues (Lyer & Tirthankar, 2012).

Unlike traditional healers who are noted for disclosing the identities of perpetrators of spiritual afflictions, divine-actors do not release the identities, especially those related to witches and sorcerers. What they effectively do is to give indications of the source of afflictions. This seems to win divine-actors the admiration of clients, especially lovers of peace and harmony. It has been established that when the identities of sorcerers and witches are disclosed, it breeds discord and conflict. In addition to providing an indication to the source of afflictions, the study also established that divine-actors effectively create a relationship between the afflictions and invisible forces from which traditional healers draw

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their inspiration and powers. They use this relationship as basis to dissuade clients from using the services of traditional healers if the clients wish to stay free of the torments of invisible forces. This strategy resonates well among clients who would have used these services but for the constant vilification and demonization from divine-actors. This is premised on the belief that whereas shrines and deities do not forgive when people wrong them, God is forgives all and is the only one who can save people from the torments of these forces. Divine-actors have maintained that the only way to reduce the effect of these forces is to cut off all dealings with traditional medical practitioners. Meanwhile, the divine-actors root their messages in the very philosophy and practices that they demonise (Meyer, 2004a). Another area that has won them the admiration of clients is the social and economic problems they resolve in society. Apart from using the Holy Spirit to heal physical and spiritual afflictions, they also resolve social and economic problems including providing loans for members and counselling for those who need it, in addition to the provision of jobs for the youth (Lyer & Tirthankar, 2012).

It has also emerged that unlike traditional healers who charge fees for services rendered; divine-actors charge no fees. The increasing commodification and commercialisation of traditional healing services has blurred the distinction between healers and sorcerers. Many traditional healers are now known to be selling their services for higher prices to promote good fortunes and allegedly undermine social competitors or enemies, often through sorcery. As a result, traditional medicine has become morally ambiguous in many areas, in addition to the fact that divine-actors have demonised it. Some divine-actors have indicated that any member who charges fees for healing a client is not a true servant of God. Other observations include the logistical demands for healing in the traditional medical practice. A lot of clients have been made to believe that nothing good comes from traditional medical practitioners apart from fomenting trouble in society. As a consequence, and for fear of being perceived of as agents of demons who want to cause the down-fall of others, many clients who would have used traditional medicine try to avoid it. In addition are the taboos that are associated with the use of traditional medicine, many of them difficult to consistently observe.

Divine-actors have also identified rural communities as places where deities abound and have strong authority, in a context where counter-forces of the Holy Spirit are easily mobilised. Issues of poverty abound much more often in the rural communities than in urban environments, and this lack of development is attributed to the spirit of ancestors, demons, and other categories of hostile forces. The doctrine of demons and other evil spirits have

traditional cosmological underpinnings. This doctrine underlines the practice of ceaseless exorcism that forms an important feature of the divine industries' ritual world and liturgy. Some aspects of traditional cultural practices are heavily demonised and held accountable for human misfortune, sickness, poverty, and other forms of existential hardship, and the quest for deliverance makes it possible for individuals to enter into religious networks. It is on the basis of this that clients are constantly admonished to cut links with their family relations in their villages (Meyer 2004a).

In doing this, the study also identifies four healing services as practiced in the Pentecostal divine industries. These are healing of physical, social, mental needs, and also deliverance. Physical afflictions are dealt with using the technique of 'laying on of hands', together with the use of anointed oil or water amidst prayers. With regard to dealing with social afflictions, there was no definite technique since many of them involve counselling, equipping clients with employable skills, as well as providing loans for members who need them. The third observed healing service is the healing of mental afflictions. Under this approach, clients with advanced mental problems are confined to specific locations whiles prayers are said for them until they are fully fit to be integrated back to society. The fourth service, and the most widely used, is healing through deliverance and exorcism. This is where clients are treated of evil possession and oppression (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004) through prayers and the use of sacred symbols such as anointed water and oil.

The study has established that many of the traditional healer's roles have been taken over by faith healers within the framework of the supernatural. Divine industries have combined elements of traditional and Pentecostal religion in their healing. Divine-actors, unlike the traditional healers who are usually filled by a lesser spirit, are supposedly possessed by the Holy Spirit. In this regard, healing in the divine industries is similar to the healing of traditional healers. A series of explanations have been given for the apparent healing effectiveness in divine industries. The therapeutic effect not only describes the symptom removed, but the therapy goes further to transform the client's sense of meaning, identity and lifestyle.

It is also important to point out that the involvement of large numbers of educated, middle class clients and even certified physicians, implicitly suggests that these beliefs and practices may be supported for good reasons. This is not to suggest that these beliefs are neither necessarily true nor even ultimately justified, but it is at least to suggest that the reasoning

involved may not obviously be false to the modern mind. Due to the fact that healing practices depend on the shared cultural backgrounds, activities, and beliefs of a communal network, its efficacy may be reduced if older theories of the activities and socio-religious systems of meaning are insufficient to address the challenges of people found between the old and the new (Kirmayer, 2004). To this end, the appeal to traditional forms of healing which serve to reinforce valued cultural identity may not have the same value for clients who are in transition, and find themselves are caught between two cultural worlds. In this regard, clients are encouraged to adopt new values and approaches to health, in accordance with novelty seeking and acceptance of new and improved ways of doing things that form part of the needs of consumers.

The study shows that the continued plausibility of faith healing as is currently happening in Ghana is attribute to the Pentecostals ability to situate their healing activities in the plausibility structure of the local people. As a consequence, divine-actors are able to sustain faith healing as a result of the fact that the majority of the audience they deal with shares similar ideals within the same cultural environment. I argue that Pentecostal faith healing is sustained by virtue of divine-actors successful appropriation of the worldview of the traditional healing system. Within the local belief structure, strange and unfamiliar afflictions are often attributed to witches and wizards. As a result these concepts are used by divine-actors in their healing services. In many of the deliverance sessions, what the allegedly possessed clients say, and the way they behave, all bear semblance with what happens in traditional healing sessions. In the same manner, the predictions and prophesies of divine-actors are similar to those of the traditional diviners. The meaning conferred by healing practices includes the personal, social, religious and moral significance of affliction and recovery. The desire for meaning and power in healing cannot be entirely disentangled; sometimes achieving power is enough to foreclose any further search for meaning, more often meaning is offered as a salve for the powerless.

The study also showed that clients acknowledged and confirmed the plausibility of their experiences in testimonies. During these testimonies, clients give different forms of confirmations of healing and prophecy. The study however indicates the existence of two categories of people with regard to the plausibility of the healing process. Those who 'buy' into what is said at the healing sites share the same social reality, and those who do not share the same reality but often become convinced when credible persons give testimonies to the effect that they have indeed been healed. An important observation is that a significant part of

healing is experiential, making the experience subjective. As a result, the claim many people make with regard to having been healed does not often manifest externally for others to see or feel. The chapter further indicates the alleged symbolic powers inherent in Pentecostal ritual healing, and how the use of ritual words in healing plays important roles in the interaction between divine-actors and clients. Word such as 'In Jesus Name', and 'The Holy Spirit' allegedly possesses special powers that aid healing in the divine industries. Ritual words are used to transform ordinary objects into sacred objects such as anointed oil and water. These are very powerful and also objectify the divine power inherent in divine-actors. Not only do they have power, they also play a transformational function. This is so because it represents meaning at one end and the reality of that meaning at another end.

Finally, I must indicate that the absence of a supra-hierarchy in the Pentecostal divine industries, coupled with the internal competition among potential divine-actors, and the external competition between them and other religious institution, makes it possible for divine-actors to channel their messages to clients' needs and to challenge established institutions. The lack of a supra-hierarchy in the divine industries explains why the management of these institutions revolve around individuals. In view of the fact that it revolves around an individual, divine-actors appear to compensate loyalty not only with tangible resources, but also with psychological benefits of promised blessings. This relationship propels the divine-actor/client engagement in ways that further differentiates Pentecostal divine industries from other forms of relations clients have with Islam and ATR. Looking at the current trends of Pentecostal growth, it is unclear what the future of the divine industries might be like in terms of management and charisma after the demise of the forbearers of the third stage. With the current trend of the movement, one cannot predict with certainty what the future will look like. The existence of the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council gives an indication that there may be a monopoly in the near future. But what this would look like cannot be determined now. However, there is room for speculation as one divine-actor was quoted as saying that: 'No one can predict the future; our movement (Pentecostalism) is like waves which break on the seashore, if the current wave fades, God will bring 'a new visitation'' (cf Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:18). Indeed, the first came and went and gave way to the second, as the second gave way to the third. Will Pentecostalism in Africa, and for that matter Ghana, stabilise at some point and thereafter fall? Perhaps this may be an area for future investigation.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR PASTORS

1. When did you conceive the idea to start this church, and with whose assistance did you set it up?

2. Since the establishment of this church, how has it influenced your life?

3. Are there justifiable reasons for starting new independent churches out of existing ones, what is your opinion on the current state of Pentecostalism in Ghana?

4. Is your church a member of any association? If so, how does it the association influence the running of your day-to-day activities

5. How do you sustain the activities of this church in terms of finance?

6. Do you have members of your church in government and other recognised institutions? If so, what role do they play in the sustenance of your activities?

7. Why is healing so crucial such that it forms one of the core activities of the church?

8. How do pastors and prophets acquire healing skills and powers?

9. Are you in any form of collaboration or working as a team with indigenous healers?

10. Are there differences in the sicknesses you and indigenous healers heal? And on what basis will you refer cases to the indigenous healers?

11. Do you face any form of spiritual attack from illness causing humans as a result of healing people they have inflicted with illness?

12. Do you explain to patients the cause of their illness? If so, how do you do it?

13. Do you have difficulty healing people sometimes?

14. What advice do you give to patients after healing?

15. How often do you visit your extended family at your hometown/village?

16. Out of the numerous encounters that you have had, which particular one easily comes to mind?

Appendix B: INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR PATIENTS

1. When did you join this church? What was your reason for joining the church?

2. How has your affiliation to this church influenced your life?

3. How different, if any, is this church from non-Pentecostal churches?

4. How often do you visit your family at your home town?

5. How many times have you fallen ill over the last 12 months?

6. What interventions did you seek to remedy the situation?

7. What kind of sickness was it the last time you were sick?

8. Why did you decide to seek intervention from the church?

9. Was there a special reason why you did not go to indigenous healers or hospital?

10. Did the pastor explain to you the cause of your illness? What advice did he give you after you were healed?

11. Do you have an idea how pastors acquire their healing skills, is it open to everyone?

12. What did the pastor use in the healing service? (Anointed oil/water)

13. Is it possible for pastors to resort to indigenous religious powers when divine power to heal fails?

14. What advice do you give to people who find themselves in similar situations as you were before you were healed?

15. Under what condition will you seek help from indigenous healers?

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