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"One in Worship": The Anthropological Investigation of an African Diaspora Christian Community

by

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Abstract

This thesis investigates an African diaspora Christian community in Calgary, Alberta, to examine the role of the church within Canada's new burgeoning African population. Using social scientific methods this study answers three pertinent questions: 1. How does this particular community relate to the comprehensive African diaspora?; 2. How does the theory and praxis of this African diaspora church correlate with worldwide and African Christianity?; and, 3. What is the role and significance of the church within Canada's African diaspora? Employing the diffusion of innovations as a guide, this study investigates the success of Pentecostalism across the continent and within the African diaspora; multiplying African conceptions of the Prosperity Gospel, demonic forces, power, church services, gender, and a missional and marketing focus. Additionally, it will be demonstrated that the church also serves to cultivate a thriving Christian Pan-Africanism, while providing an avenue by which to deal with discrimination.

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For the Fountain of all True Knowledge, Jesus Christ,

with whom my allegiance lies,

and for whom I am joyfully called a fool.

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CHAPTER 1

A HISTORY OF DENIGRATION: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEMS

> There was a time not too long ago when ethnographers felt that Africans had no systematized beliefs about the nature of the world so there was no point in looking for such beliefs.
>
> Harold K. Schneider[1]

> In brief, charismatic Christianity does not measure up to scholars' notions about "intellectual progress,""progressive refinement," "religious ideas," and "political correctness."
>
> Karla Poewe[2]

1.1 The Denigration of African Christianity

Popular North American and European perceptions of Africa, as represented in widespread media portrayals, often amalgamate the diversity of the continent into a singular homogeneous unit; consisting largely of "deadly plagues, famines, and civil wars."[3] Unfortunately, such abstractions of the continent, which fall within the sphere of "Africa-bashing," are not limited to the mediums of television, magazines, and

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[1] Harold K. Schneider, *The Africans: An Ethnological Account* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 180.
[2] Karla Poewe, "Introduction: The Nature, Globality, and History of Charismatic Christianity," in *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, ed. Karla Poewe (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 2, referring to: Roger Fink and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-1992: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 4-5, 251.
[3] Frederick Cooper, "Africa in a Capitalist World," in *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora*, eds. Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 391.

newspaper articles.[4] Social anthropologists have analogously capitulated to fallacious presumptions of African epistemology, society, history, and religion. Consequently, researchers have commonly "failed to understand traditional religious thought" of Africans.[5] As Robin Horton has hypothesized, this failure can been partially attributed to researchers' unfamiliarity "with the theoretical thinking of their own culture," concomitant with scholars, established in the theoretical thinking of their own culture, who still "have failed to recognize its African equivalents, simply because they have been blinded by a difference of idiom."[6] What results is a misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Africans and African religion.[7] Indeed, as Irving Hexham exclaims, "The truth is that the more one probes the treatment of Blacks, and Black religions, by western scholars the more grounds for grievance emerge."[8] Thus, Africa's religious traditions, which seemingly "appear almost completely ahistorical,"[9] have often been

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[4] Fredrick Cooper refers to the continuity of misrepresentations in Western historical media and culture as *Africa-bashing*, pointing to two noteworthy cases of this within relatively contemporary and "responsible" press: Paul Johnson, "Colonialism's Back—and Not a Moment Too Soon," *New York Times Magazine*, April 1993; Robert D. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, February 1994, 44-76. Ibid.

[5] Robin Horton, *Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West: Essays on Magic, Religion and Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 197.

[6] Ibid.

[7] G.C. Oosthuizen explains that:

> …for many years the typical missionary and anthropological literature has presented African religion in a negative manner, characterizing it as pervaded with irrational beliefs in magic, fetishes, spirits, ancestors, and so forth. Indigenous values and sociomoral injunctions based on African cultural and religious inheritances have been underestimated and misrepresented.

Gerhardus Cornelis Oosthuizen, "Indigenous Christianity and the Future of the church in South Africa," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 21:1 (1997): 8-9.

[8] Irving Hexham, "African Religions and the Nature of Religious Studies," in *Religious Studies: Issues, Prospects and Proposals*, ed. Klaus K. Klostermaier and Larry W. Hurtado (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 368.

[9] Robin Hallett, *Africa to 1875: A Modern History* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1970), 70.

appreciably "misrepresented and misconceived."[10] Nonetheless, despite this apparent failure of Western scholarship, African religious thought demonstrates an inherent epistemological complexity.[11]

Encompassed within these traditions are the uniquely African actualizations of various world religions, such as Christianity, which have also marked the intricate canvas of the continent's religion. However, African Christianity has been recurrently considered merely an abstraction of *true* Christianity.[12] As such, its particular vicissitudes are often conceived as the malformed offspring of misunderstood African apperceptions; professedly an unfortunate outcome of "the African's strange sense of the supernatural world," and an "essentially suprarational and suprahistorical disposition."[13] Additionally, various scholars dismiss contemporary forms of African Christianity as the unexceptional derivative of North American fundamentalism. While there are definite connections between North American and African Christianity,[14] such arguments unduly discharge Africans of singular religious perspective and input within the religion.[15]

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[10] Oliver A. Onwubiko, *African Thought, Religion and Culture* (Enugu: SNAAP Press, 1991), 59.
[11] See, for example: James L. Gibbs, Jr.,ed., *The Peoples of Africa* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 29-31, 62-5, 112-3, 150-2, 186-9, 226-9, 269-73, 351-2, 396-7, 430-3, 466-71, 502-7, 538-43, 573-6.
[12] The use of the nomenclature "African Christianity" here does not signify any one rarified form of Christianity on the continent. As will be covered in further detail within this study, African Christianity is multidimensional, and this terminology is meant only as a general identifier.
[13] Gerhardus Cornelis Oosthuizen, *Post Christianity in Africa: A Theological and Anthropological Study* (London: C. Hurst, 1968), 120.
[14] See for instance the work of Paul Gifford, Steve Brouwer, and Susan D. Rose, who unanimously express the view that African Christianity must be chiefly perceived as the offspring of North American religion: Paul Gifford, "Africa Shall be Saved: An Appraisal of Reinhard Bonnke's Pan African Crusade," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 17:1 (1987): 63-92; Paul Gifford, "Christian Fundamentalism and Development in Africa," *Review of African Political Economy* 52 (1991): 9-20; Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan D. Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996).
[15] Ogbu Kalu explains that, "The American connection in shaping the character of worldwide Pentecostalism from the 1980s onward can neither be denied or ignored." However, he further notes that

Verily, these conclusions result from the legitimate claim that the beliefs and practices of African Christians "cannot readily be comprehended within the commonly accepted frameworks of thought exclusive to Western civilization." Therefore, it is difficult for non-African academics to realize "that there are things to learn about Christianity from places like Africa." Undoubtedly, "The historical denigration of the peoples of Africa as primitive and superstitious has left a legacy of prejudice that is difficult to shake off when confronted by questions about African Christians."[16]

Nonetheless, despite such academic bias, there are numerous contemporary examples of researchers acknowledging non-African presuppositions in the study of

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"as American Pentecostalism impacted the non-Western world, so did the spirituality from those regions flow into the North American religious environment." As he explains: "For African Pentecostals, other directions and connections developed beyond the American connection." Furthermore, regarding Paul Gifford's views on the North America's influence on African Christianity, Allan Anderson states:

> With reference to Africa, Paul Gifford has become the leading and voluminous exponent on this subject. He suggests that the biggest single factor in the emergence of the vast new Pentecostal churches is the collapse of African economies by the 1980s and the subsequent increasing dependence on the USA. He proposes that it is 'Americanization' rather than any 'African quality' that is responsible for the growth of these churches. He sees this new phenomenon as a type of neo-colonialism propagated by American 'prosperity preachers'—in effect, a type of conspiracy theory. Gifford suggests that all types of African Christianity have western links and are part of a globalized religious network. He says that Christianity is 'one of Africa's best remaining ways of opting *into* the global order'. But this rather exaggerated and one-sided view, which has been somewhat modified more recently, has been accepted in many church and academic circles in the West, although Gifford has not been short of critics from within Africa itself. The 'Americanization' theory seems to ignore fundamental features of Pentecostalism, where experience and practice are more important than formal ideology or even theology.

Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 20-1; Allan Anderson, "The Globalization of Pentecostalism," Churches' Commission on Mission, http://www.geocities.com/ccom_ctbi/ccom_AGM_files/020913-15_CCOM_AGM_Allan_Anderson.htm (accessed July 10, 2008).

[16] Isabel Mukonyora, *Wandering a Gendered Wilderness: Suffering and Healing in an African Initiated Church* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2007), 2.

African Christianity,[17] while it subsequently can be recognized that African Christianity maintains demonstrably genuine representations of the religious tradition.[18] Though Mambo Ama Mazama proclaims that "The biggest crime of Christianity, as far as African people are concerned, has been the desacralization of the African spiritual space, that is, of African Life, given the paramount importance of spirituality for the African people,"[19] it is evident that Africans have instead vigorously included Christianity *within* their sacral "spiritual space."[20] The persistent growth of African Christianity is now undeniable, as expressed by Philip Jenkins:

> Between 1900 and 2000, the number of Christians in Africa grew from 10 million to over 360 million, from 10 percent of the population to 46 percent. If that is not, quantitatively, the largest religious change in human history in such a short period, I am at a loss to think of a rival.[21]

Doubtlessly, "The exponential growth and renewal of Christianity in Africa stands in sharp contrast to the present state of Europe," and the rest of the Western world, in which "Christianity has been marginalized through the forces of 'secularism, atheism and

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[17] For example, see: Allan Anderson, *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African Context* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1991), 1, 3, 8-10.
[18] J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics : Current Developments Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana* (Leiden: Brill, N.H.E.J., N.V. Koninklijke, Boekhandel en Drukkerij, 2004), 99.
[19] Mambo Ama Mazama, "Afrocentricity and African Spirituality," *Journal of Black Studies,* 33:2 (2002): 223.
[20] It is also important to note that Mazama's arguments are limited by a historical distortion of Christianity within Africa, and an essentialized perception of Africa as a continent. For instance, the history of Christianity in Africa is far older than the history of Christianity in England and North America. Africa's links with Christianity are not necessarily simply "part and parcel of the White supremacy project." Additionally, while Christianity may have 'replaced' the sacred beliefs of Europeans, scholars rarely explain that this was a 'desacrilization' of European spiritual space. Yet Christianity is accused of this within the context of Africa. Furthermore, as will be pursued later within this study, various forms of Christianity have served to not simply to eradicate "African spiritual space," but instead have actually validated African spiritual conceptions within a Christian construct. Ibid.
[21] Philip Jenkins, *New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2006), 9.

materialism.'"[22] [23] While academic inequity may still exist towards African Christianity, it is essential to acknowledge that contemporary Africa is "totally inconceivable apart from the presence of Christianity."[24] This growth of African Christianity has resulted in distinctly African varieties of praxis and belief, confirming David Barrett's 1970 prediction that Christianity would become a fundamentally non-Western faith, and the most dominant religion of the continent.[25]

Furthermore, it is of particular import that African Christianity not only represents the religion of many Africans living on the second largest and second most populous continent on the planet. Naturally, Africans have also transformed the ethos of global religious communities through the continued international dispersion of African peoples. This scattering, displacement, and migration of Africans has been defined loosely as the *diaspora*; a movement of peoples that extends centuries into the past and ranges over great geographical compass.[26] As a result of the diaspora, the monumental growth of African Christianity is an intercontinental phenomenon, which will continue to influence western nations, including Canada. Therefore, undeterred by the negative academic

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[22] Asamoah-Gyadu, referring to Duncan B. Forrester, "Christianity in Europe," in *Religion in Europe: Contemporary Perspectives*, eds. Sean Gill, Gavin D'Costa, and Ursula King (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994), 34-45. Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 9.

[23] It has been noted elsewhere that:

> The map of World Christianity has changed dramatically in the last century. While Europe and North America provided 82% of the Christian world population around 1900, the majority of Christians today (almost 60% in 2000) live in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The gravity of Christianity will continue to move southward in the next decades.

Klaus Koschorke, Frieder Ludwig, and Mariano Delgado, eds., *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America: A Documentary Sourcebook* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 2007), xxix.

[24] Adrian Hastings, "Christianity in Africa," in *Turning Points in Religious Studies: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Parrinder*, ed. Ursula King (Edinburgh: T& T Clark, 1990), 208.

[25] David B. Barrett, "AD 2000: 350 Million Christians in Africa," *International Review of Mission*, 59 (1970): 39-54.

[26] A detailed investigation of the African diaspora is undertaken in Chapter 2.

evaluations of Africans and African religion, it is this phenomenon of international African Christianity, and its role in the contemporary diaspora, to which the present study will devote itself.

1.2 The Denigration of Pentecostal Christianity

The criticisms of African Christianity are also linked to the general academic denigration of Pentecostal Christianity as a whole.[27] "By now," explain Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, "it is old news that Pentecostalism is growing exponentially in the Southern Hemisphere."[28] This exponential growth is inextricably linked to the proliferation of African Christianity, which boasts a distinctly Pentecostal framework. Hence, African Christianity is inevitably included in the academic bias against Pentecostal theory and praxis. Using Fink and Stark's derivations, Karla Poewe explains: "In brief, charismatic Christianity does not measure up to scholars' notions about 'intellectual progress,' 'progressive refinement,' 'religious ideas,' and 'political correctness'."[29] Similarly, Miller and Yamamori recently commented on the reactions received whilst studying global Pentecostalism:

> In the course of conducting our research, we were frequently put on the defensive by friends as well as colleagues in the academy who wondered why we would spend several years of our lives visiting Pentecostal churches. Sometimes they would make awkward references to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, assuming that Pentecostalism and fundamentalist Islam must have the

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[27] Comprehensive descriptions of the terms 'African Christianity,' 'Pentecostalism,' and 'Charismatic' are pursued in Chapter 3.
[28] Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2007), 1.
[29] Poewe, "Introduction," in *Charismatic Christianity*, 2, referring to: Roger Fink and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-1992: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 4-5, 251.

> same social roots. Other times they would ask us for a definition, never having heard of Pentecostalism, and the moment we said something about faith healing or speaking in tongues it was clear that they saw Pentecostalism as a socially regressive phenomenon.[30]

The cause of such negative bias in relation to Pentecostal Christianity is multifaceted and may genuinely result from disillusionment with these movements.[31] For instance, it is common to hear "horror stories" about such groups; "be they theological, financial, or sexual in nature, or simply a matter of disappointed hopes for healing and acceptance."[32] Indeed, many find it difficult to approve of the apparently deceptive and money-oriented techniques observed in some charismatic churches. For instance, African Pentecostal churches have been criticized for the sale of such items as consecrated "prayer cards," "spiritual sand," "spiritual soap,"[33] or the marketing of anointing "olive oil" and victorious "white handkerchiefs."[34] Nonetheless, many of these cases are often misrepresented, as delineated by Hexham and Poewe in their investigation of South African Charismatics: "Whenever the most severe horror stories were checked out, however, they turned out to be predictably exaggerated and frequently false."[35]

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[30] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 34-5.

[31] Andrew Walker identifies three historical sources for anti-Pentecostalism, many of which resonate with various contemporary criticisms: 1. The seemingly audacious spiritual declarations of Pentecostalism, in which "claims that the charismata of the New Testament had been restored to the modern world of science and steam trains seemed preposterous"; 2. The fact "that such 'signs and wonders' were appearing among black and white uneducated people was considered to be evidence of their lack of plausibility"; and, 3. Pentecostalism "has been understood to be against modernity."
Andrew Walker, "Thoroughly Modern: Sociological Reflections on the Charismatic Movement from the End of the Twentieth Century," in *Charismatic Christianity: Sociological Perspectives*, eds. Stephen Hunt, Malcolm Hamilton, and Tony Walter (New York: St.Martin's Press, 1997), 22.

[32] Irving Hexham and Karla Poewe, "Charismatic Churches in South Africa: A Critique of Criticisms and Problems of Bias," in *Charismatic Christianity*, ed. Poewe, 50.

[33] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 84.

[34] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function': Reinventing the *Oil of Influence* in African Pentecostalism," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, 3:2 (2005): 231-56.

[35] Hexham and Poewe, "Charismatic Churches," in *Charismatic Christianity*, ed. Poewe, 50.

Consequently, when gauging the relevance of academic appraisals of Pentecostal Christianity, it must be conceded that "many criticisms are inadequate" because they are "ideologically motivated and intolerant."[36] This is represented in western criticisms of Pentecostal conceptions of sexuality and ordination, and the declaration that such Christianity is religiously astern.[37] To this Miller and Yamamori assert that "Pentecostals are often more progressive than Liberal Protestants – especially when it comes to organizational structures and contemporary forms of worship."[38] Thus, these two scholars wonder whether those who judge Pentecostal Christians are in fact "prisoners of a modernist worldview that limits their understanding of postmodern ways of viewing reality."[39]

Whether or not Miller and Yamamori's accusations are in fact precise, it is evident that Pentecostal Christianity has often been unduly criticized. Moreover, when considering that this religious lattice is quickly becoming one of the largest assemblages of world Christianity, it is necessary to question whether certain inclinations towards **"**intellectual progress," "progressive refinement," "religious ideas," and "political correctness" are in fact relevant. As Pentecostalism continues to flourish on a global scale, it is apparent that this Christianity cannot simply be denigrated as a form of retrograde religion. To do so would be to attempt to ignore and stigmatize one of the

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[36] Ibid., 4n.
[37] See Jenkin's discussion of "North-South struggles over biblical authority" and the issue of homosexuality, as well as Miller and Yamamori's confrontations with "liberal Protestant friends." Jenkins, *New Faces of Christianity*, 1-41; Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 35.
[38] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 35.
[39] Ibid.

most readily accepted forms of religion today, along with the millions who adhere to it, including significant ranks of Africans.

A 2006 article in the *New York Times* announced that since their inception approximately 100 year ago, Pentecostal movements have "grown to include one in four Christians worldwide."[40] This assertion coincides with David Barrett and Todd Johnson's report, declaring that in 2001 there were over 533 million "Pentecostal/charismatics."[41] At over half a billion people, this rapidly increasing form of Christianity finds significant representation outside of North America and Europe.[42] Allan Anderson explains that while there is "obvious significance of Pentecostalism in North America and parts of Eastern Europe," the greatest expansion of this form of Christianity has actually taken place in Africa, Latin America, and Asia.[43] Indeed, "third world Christianity is becoming steadily Pentecostal,"[44] and Africa is contributing appreciably to what has been described aptly as the "Pentecostal Explosion."[45] Barrett,

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[40] Laurie Goodstein, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Groups Growing," *New York Times*, October 2006.
[41] David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 2001," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 25:1 (2001): 25.
[42] Jenkin notes:

> Today, there are about two billion Christians, of whom 530 million live in Europe, 510 million in Latin America, 390 million in Africa, and perhaps 300 million in Asia, but those numbers will change substantially in coming decades. By 2025, Africa and Latin America will vie for the title of the most Christian continent. A map of the "statistical center of gravity of global Christianity" shows that center moving steadily southward, from a point in northern Italy in 1800, to central Spain in 1900, to Morocco by 1970, and to a point near Timbuktu today. And the southward trajectory will continue unchecked through the coming century.

Jenkins. *New Faces of Christianity*, 9.
[43] Alan Anderson, "Stretching the Definitions?: Pneumatology and 'Syncretism' in African Pentecostalism," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 10:1 (2001): 99.
[44] Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 67.
[45] Paul Gifford, "Some Recent Developments in African Christianity," *African Affairs* 93:373 (1994): 517.

Kurian, and Johnson assert that each day approximately 28,000 Africans are becoming Christian adherents,[46] and of this Gifford explains that "an increasing proportion are charismatics."[47] While briefly reviewing yet another survey, which claimed that in 2000 11% of Africa's population could be identified as "Charismatic" Christians,[48] Anderson concludes that "Even if this figure is only roughly approximate, Pentecostal movements undoubtedly have become significant forms of Christianity in the sub-Sahara."[49] Certainly he is correct in stating:

> Whatever our opinion or particular experience of Pentecostalism, it is a movement of such magnitude that Christianity itself will never be the same again. The mushrooming growth of Charismatic churches and the 'Pentecostalization' of older churches both Protestant and Catholic, especially in Africa and other parts of the Majority World, is a fact of our time.[50] [51]

This "fact of our time" has prominently emerged in Africa over the last thirty years, and moved Pentecostal theory and praxis from the fringes of African Christianity to the very core of the continent's religious practice and belief.[52] As this "new and

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[46] See: David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopaedia: A Comparative Survey of Religions AD 30-AD 2200*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[47] Paul Gifford, "Persistence and Change in Contemporary African Religion," *Social Compass* 51:2 (2004): 170.
[48] Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, *Operation World* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001), 21.
[49] Alan Anderson, "Exorcism and Conversion to African Pentecostalism," *Exchange* 35:1 (2006): 116. Regarding this, Ogbu Kalu has recently cautioned regarding this African Pentecostal expansion that "The astonishing growth in Africa must be understood within the larger perspective that all religious forms are growing; much of the population has not been bitten by the charismatic bug." Nonetheless, as he asserts that "statistical estimates are that in 2000, about 20 percent of the population of Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Malawi were Pentecostal; 14 percent in Nigeria; 10 percent in Ghana and Zambia; 8 percent in Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Africa; and 4 percent in Uganda." Thus Kalu concedes: "In absolute figures, these numbers are large." Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 5.
[50] Alan Anderson, "Exorcism and Conversion," 116.
[51] See also: Alan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 103-4.
[52] See: J. Kwabena Asamoha-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*; Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: It's Public Role* (London: Hurst & Co., 1998).

rapidly growing form of African Christianity"[53] assumes an escalating role in African religious life, Jenkins is right to aver that scholarly research of Christianity must turn its eyes towards Africa and its Asian and Latin American counterparts.[54] This is particularly crucial, for in the words of Paul Gifford: "It seems that African Christianity will play a considerable role in determining the Christianity of the future."[55] Furthermore, Pentecostalism is becoming uniquely suited for Africans. Regarding this, Lamin Sanneh articulates the apparent cultural plasticity of Christianity:

> The pattern of the current worldwide accelerated Christian expansion and acculturation has not been that of the faithful replication of a model whose original exists in Europe and which can be transplanted elsewhere without alteration. The variety of forms and styles, the complex linguistic idioms and aesthetic traditions, and the differences in music and worship patterns show world Christianity to be hostage to no one cultural expression and restricted to no one geographical center. More languages and idioms are used in reading the Christian scriptures and in Christian liturgy, devotion, worship, and prayer than in any other religion. The unity of Christianity, however defined, has not been at the expense of the diversity and variety of cultural idioms and of models of faith and practice in use at any one time and in any one church tradition. Christianity today is not just a changing face; its leaders and personalities are changing.[56]

It is with this malleability that African Christianity is both growing and becoming a non-Western representation of the religion.[57] Therefore, it would be boldfaced hubris for

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[53] Alan Anderson, "The Newer Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches: The Shape of Future Christianity in Africa?," *Pneuma* 24:2 (2002): 167.
[54] Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, 2-3.
[55] Gifford, "Africa Shall Be Saved," 2n.
[56] Lamin Sanneh, *Changing Faces of Christianity: Africa, the West, and the World* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5.
[57] Kwame Bediako has incisively described African Christianity as a "Non-Western Religion," and Ogbu Kalu has stated: "It is a movement characterized by variety, flexibility, and an expanding continuum of adaptive social inventions traceable in its ministerial formation, liturgy, economic practices, organizations,

Western scholars to judge the precipitous growth of Pentecostalism and African Christianity only within the precincts of Western ideology. Westerners now have tenuous authoritative claims on what is and what is not *normative* Christianity,[58] since "The West can no longer be the sole arbiter of what is right and wrong in matters of faith."[59] It is this non-Western African Christianity that is now pullulating itself globally through the African diaspora, which is helping to determine the future of Christianity within the nation of Canada itself.

1.3 Neglecting the Diaspora and the Main Research Questions

While discussing the research of African religions in religious studies, Hexham notes that "The study of African religions will strengthen the field by supplying new perspectives and re-focusing current research towards living traditions which will, in turn, provide fresh insights into interpretations of the past."[60] Underscoring this importance, the inclusion of the diaspora in research allows scholars to "demonstrate the role that Africans have played, and continue to play, in shaping world history,"[61] countering such audacious claims as Hugh Trevor-Roper's denial of African history.[62] In actual fact, to neglect the African diaspora leaves the academic community with the

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and infrastructure that range from storefronts in poor *favellas* to imposing structures in cities." See: Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (New York: Orbis Books, 1995); Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 21.

[58] Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion is Christianity?* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 2003).

[59] Akintunde E. Akinade, "Non-Western Christianity in the Western World: African Immigrant Churches in the Diaspora," in *African Immigrant Religions in America*, eds. Jacob K. Olupona and Regina Gemignani (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007), 95.

[60] Hexham, "African Religions," in *Religious Studies*, ed. Klostermaier and Hurtado, 373.

[61] Edward A. Alpers and Allen F. Roberts, "What Is African Studies," *African Issues*, 30:2 (2002): 14.

[62] While serving as the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University, Hugh Trevor-Roper made the following notorious statement: "Maybe in the future there will be African history, but at the moment there is none…There is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness, and darkness is not the subject of history." Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Rise of Christian Europe," *The Listener*, 28 November 1963: 871.

difficulty of answering how we can "really understand the making of the Atlantic world without appreciating the contributions of Africans and people of African descent?" Moreover, "If the history of Europeans in Africa is a legitimate subject of European imperial history, why shouldn't the history of Africans overseas be an equally legitimate subject within the contexts of African history?"[63] Therefore, while various "historians, writers, government officials and opinion-makers" seem to believe that "diasporas can represent a threat to the nation-state and the liberal-democratic order,"[64] the contemporary African diaspora must also be conceived as a legitimate and necessary subject of present-day research. However, Wisdom Tettey explains, "Unlike Asian or Caribbean immigrants in Canada about whom there is quite an appreciable amount of literature, continental Africans have generally not been the specific focus of many research endeavours."[65] This is somewhat surprising, considering the continued increase of African immigration to Canada[66] and the significant role played by immigrants in such

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[63] Alpers and Roberts, "What Is African Studies," 14.
[64] Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997), 192.
[65] Wisdom J. Tettey and Korbla P. Puplampu, "Continental Africans in Canada: Exploring a Neglected Dimension of the *African-Canadian* Experience," in *African Diaspora in Canada : Negotiating Identity and Belonging*, ed. Wisdom J. Tettey (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 5.
Kwado Konadu-Agyemang and Baffour K. Takyi make similar observations, explaining that: "The increasing African presence [in Canada and the U.S.], however, has not engendered much scholarly research on their pre- and post-migration experience compared with Asian, Latino and Caribbean immigrants who have been the subject of a considerable amount of research effort." Others note that African Christianity within the African diaspora has also been ignored. See: Kwado Konadu-Agyemang and Baffour K. Takyi, "An Overview of African Immigration to U.S. and Canada," in *The New African Diaspora in North America: Trends, Community Building, and Adaptation*, eds. Kwado Konadu-Agyemang, Baffour K. Takyi, and John Arthur (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2006), 6; Benjamin Simon, "Preaching as a Source of Religious Identity: African Initiated Churches in the Diaspora," in *Religion in the Context of African Migration*, eds. Afe Adogame and Cordula Weissköppel (Bayreuth: Eckhard Breitinger, 2005), 285.
[66] Samuel A. Laryea and John E. Hayfron, "African Immigrants and the Labour Market: Exploring Career Opportunities, Earning Differentials, and Job Satisfaction," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 113.

societal factors as the nation's economy.[67] Thus, as African immigrants "become a visible part of the Canadian landscape" it will be vital that "the rest of society understands their history in this country, the social constructions that have shaped that history, and the specific features that characterize the African-Canadian community."[68] Nonetheless, it is apparent that "we know very little about the religious aspects of the recent African Diaspora in Canada and the U.S."[69] It is because of this that the present study will examine a form of Christianity found within the African diaspora in Canada.

In her review of Matsuoka and Sorenson's text *Ghosts and Shadows*, JoAnn D'Alisera complains that in the book "the complex juxtapositions that inform everyday lives in the diaspora are left unexplored." This includes neglecting how the African diaspora "organize meaning and action in displacement," and failing to address the "complex juxtapositions of cultural forms that are shaped by the autonomous and comprehensive interplay between here and there, and everywhere."[70] The present study seeks to disclose such missing information by examining an African-Canadian Church in the city of Calgary. Analysis will be conducted to answer the following questions:

1. How does this particular community relate to the comprehensive African diaspora?

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[67] Edrnund Nkansah Okoree, "Adaptation of Ghanaian Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto: A Focus on the Spatial Aspects of their Labour Market Activity" (Ph.D. Thesis, Wilfred Laurier University, Canada, 2000), 3.
[68] Wisdom J. Tettey, "What does it mean to be African-Canadian?: Identity, Integration, and Community," in *A Passion for Identity: An Introduction to Canadian Studies*, 4th ed., eds. David Taras and Beverly Rasporich (Toronto: Nelson, 2001), 178.
[69] Kwakye-Nuako, "Still Praisin' God in a New Land: African Immigrant Christianity in North America," in *The New African Diaspora*, eds. Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur, 121.
[70] JoAnn D'Alisera, review of *Ghosts and Shadows: Construction of Identity and Community in an African Diaspora*, by Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson, *Journal of the Royal Anthropology Institute* 9:1 (2003): 190.

2. How does the theory and praxis of this African diaspora church correlate with worldwide and African Christianity?
3. What is the role and significance of the church within Canada's African diaspora?

These questions are particularly relevant when considering the province of Alberta. In the midst of the province's continuing economic growth and population increase, Alberta has boasted an ever-changing multicultural milieu.[71] As a result, the city of Calgary embodies an evolving multi-ethnic demographic, composed of enlarging immigrant communities.[72] Associated with this cultural diversity are progressively varied religious influences upon Alberta's society and citizens.[73] Therefore, it is pertinent to examine how one of the fastest growing forms of world religion is impacting the lives of Alberta's, and Canada's, burgeoning African communities.[74]

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[71] Statistics Canada, "Demographics Statistics," *The Daily*, July 1, 2005, http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/050928/d050928a.htm, (accessed April 5, 2008).
[72] Alberta Human Resources and Employment, "Supporting Immigrants and Immigration to Alberta." Government of Alberta. http://www3.gov.ab.ca/hre/immigration/pdf/framework_overview.pdf (accessed May 15, 2007).
[73] Alberta Human Resources and Employment, "A Snapshot of Demographic Trends in Alberta," Government of Alberta, http://www.cd.gov.ab.ca/helping_albertans/human_rights/education_fund/financial_assistance/PDF/Trends.pdf (accessed May 15, 2007).
[74] Laryea and Hayfron note:

> Prior to 1961, the number of Africans immigrating to Canada was a mere trickle, under 5,000 per year. After 1970, however, the number of African immigrants arriving in Canada each year increased dramatically. For example, during the period 1971-2001, the number of African immigrant arrivals increased from 54,600 to 139,770, bringing the number of immigrants of African origin in Canada to 282,600 as of 2001.

Laryea and Hayfron, "African Immigrants," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 113.

1.4 Methodology[75]

It is within this context that an investigation of the modern African diaspora in Calgary has been conducted, through the concentrated study of an African-Canadian Christian church. Research of this community has been based upon social scientific methods, using triangulation of several overlapping processes allowing for a persistent cross check of results. These methods include: 1. Participant observation; 2. Semi-structured, topic-oriented interviews; and, 3. Library research accompanied with an investigation of publications from the church. Following standard anthropological practices and procedures, participant observation was conducted within the church community, composed of approximately one hundred and twenty adults, and located in the north-eastern quadrant of Calgary.[76] This observation was practiced over a six-month period, using an empirical participant approach,[77] conducted in an *observer-as-participant* field researcher position.[78] Throughout this period, church-based activities spanning Sunday services, weekly prayer sessions, leadership training assemblies, and social events were attended.[79] A myriad of data were collected in the form of church

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[75] For more on the methodology of the present study, including field research methodology, research bias, the problem of 'tribe,' and researching the opposite gender, see: Appendix 1: Methodological Considerations.

[76] This value was gathered first from: 1.Two church lists of male and female adult members, which has been used with permission from the church leadership; 2. Personal observations of church events over the research period.

[77] Morris Zelditch describes three aspects of the "empirical participant" approach: 1. *Enumeration of frequencies*; 2. *Informant interviewing*; and, 3. *Participation*. Morris Zelditch, "Some Methodological Problems of Field Studies," *American Journal of Sociology* 67:5 (1963): 566-76.

[78] Earl Babbie lists Raymond Gold's "four different positions on a continuum of roles that field researchers may play in this regard: *complete participant, participant-as-observer*, *observer-as-participant*, and *complete observer*." Babbie describes each of these available roles of the observer. See: Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, 5th ed. (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1989), 264-6.

[79] During the execution of participant observation, the researcher noted many similarities between the "Problems of Participation," described by Harold W. Turner, and the issues which arose while conducting the investigation of the African diaspora. These included the problem of "Participation," "Commitment,"

publications, event audio recordings, and documents used by the church community in its regular activities. This information was appended to twenty individual life-history, semi-structured interviews. These interviews were approximately one to two hours in length, held with consenting church members of both sexes, who represented variable involvement within the church, and whose ages ranged from twenty-four to seventy-two years.[80] In accordance with ethical guidelines of research with human subjects, each participant's name has been replaced with a pseudonym, and the appellation of the church has been changed to *All Peoples Cross Community*, or APCC, accordingly.[81]

1.5 Structure

Having briefly reviewed the research methodology involved within the present venture, the pith of this study can now be considered. The research analysis has been systematized into two main sections. The first of these sections, "Locating APCC: Contextualizing an African Diaspora Christian Community," will concentrate on contextualizing the researched community. That is, a conceptual framework of the church will be developed within the ligature of three inter-related movements: 1. The worldwide African diaspora; 2. African Christianity; and, 3. Global Pentecostalism. The second section, "Portraying APCC: The Anthropological Investigation and Description of

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"Objectivity," and "Detachment." Some of these problems and considerations are addressed in Appendix 1: Methodological Considerations. See: Harold W. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movements* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979), 40-7.

[80] For a more detailed review of the twenty participants see Appendix 2: Participant Information.

[81] Note: The interviewee pseudonyms represented in this study are a combination of those chosen by the participants and those selected by the researcher; as per the indicated wish of each participant. It is also of some significance that most participating church members, including those involved in church leadership, expressed that they found the ethical mandate of changing the church's name unnecessary. The church members were blatantly unapologetic about their proclaimed beliefs and praxis, and often exclaimed that they would rather have the church's true name represented within this study. However, despite these petitions, the true name of the church is not used in order to remain in accordance with the University of Calgary's Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board.

an African Diaspora Christian Community," will ethnographically describe the theory and praxis of APCC, while investigating the success and role of the church in Canada's African diaspora. Through these two principal sections the aforementioned research questions will be addressed, and the significance of the African diaspora in Canada will be cultivated.

PART 1

LOCATING APCC: CONTEXTUALIZING AN AFRICAN DIASPORA CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

CHAPTER 2

BEYOND THE CONTINENT: LOCATING APCC WITHIN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

> Then the LORD will scatter you among all nations, from one end of the earth to the other.
>
> Deuteronomy 28:64

> The African diaspora concept subsumes the following: the global dispersion (voluntary and involuntary) of Africans throughout history; the emergence of a cultural identity abroad based on origin and social condition; and the psychological or physical return to the homeland, Africa. Thus viewed, the African diaspora assumes the character of a dynamic, continuous, and complex phenomenon stretching across time, geography, class, and gender.
>
> Joseph E. Harris[82]

2.1 Ambiguous Terminology: Defining the Diaspora

It has been noted that APCC is an African diaspora Christian community. With this in mind, it is apparent that an academic investigation of an African diaspora population first requires an explanation of terminology. As Colin A. Palmer suggests, scholars must "arrive at a broad agreement on the meaning of the African diaspora," so that together researchers may "embrace and promote our diverse interpretive stances."[83] Of particular concern is the specific idiom *diaspora*, which has become "increasingly

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[82] Joseph E. Harris, "Introduction," in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, 2nd ed., ed. Joseph E. Harris (Washington: Howard University Press, 1993), 3-4.
[83] Colin A. Palmer, "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora," *The Journal of Negro History*, 85:1/2 (2000): 31-2.

popular in social anthropology in the course of the last decade."[84] The need to understand this term, "one of the buzz words of the post modern age," has become evident as it is broadly accepted, though often left undefined or veiled in ambiguity.[85] Consequently, the "boundaries of 'diaspora' have become ever more blurred and confused in its popularization;"[86] frequently laden with specific ethnic and political connotations.[87] While this ambiguity can be interpreted positively as a "refusal to submit to the tyranny of categories," it is nonetheless indispensable to accept at least an approximate definition for its use in research.[88] Without such a definition the indistinctness may result in "conceptual difficulties and political contestations surrounding the applicability of the term to various groups and individuals who have some connection to Africa, whether imagined or manifested in concrete and verifiable linkages."[89] For this reason the academic conceptualizations will be reviewed and a working definition will be selected.

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[84] Sindre Bangstad, "Diasporic Consciousness as a Strange Resource – A Case Study from a Cape Muslim Community," in *Diasporas Within and Without Africa: Dynamism, Heterogeneity, Variation*, eds. Leif Manger and Munzoul A.M. Assal (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2006), 32.
[85] Phil Cohen, "Welcome to the Diasporam: A Cure for the Millennium Blues?," *New Ethnicities*, 3 (1998): 3.
[86] Martin Baumann, "Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics and Transcultural Comparison," *Numen*, 47:3 (2000): 326.
[87] James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translations in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 244.
[88] Munzoul A.M. Assal, "Somalis and Sudanese in Norway – Religion, Ethnicity/Clan and Politics in the Diaspora," in *Diasporas Within and Without*, eds. Manger and Assal, 183.
[89] Tettey and Puplampu, "Continental Africans in Canada," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 5, referring to Tettey, "What does it mean?" in *A Passion for Identity*, eds. Taras and Rasporich, 161-82.

2.1.1 Academic Conceptualizations[90]

William Safran identifies all diasporas as "expatriate minority communities," which are demarcated by six noteworthy characteristics: 1. A population dispersion to at least two outlying "peripherals" from an initial center nation; 2. A preserved conception of the original homeland, maintained in the memory, myth, and vision of the community; 3. A general belief and perception throughout the community that it cannot be accepted in its totality within the current country of residence; 4. A common exilic paradigm held by the community, in which the population views the nation of origin as a place of eventual return; 5. A community that is committed to the preservation or rehabilitation of the place of origin; 6. A commonality and the formulation of identity defined in and through its relationship with the nation of origin.[91]

This systematic classification of diaspora, however, appears far too restrictive. For instance, the definition may exclude numerous historical populations of the Jews themselves; those for whom diaspora was first applied.[92] "Indeed," exclaims James Clifford, "large segments of Jewish historical experience do not meet the test of Safran's last three criteria: a strong attachment to and desire for literal return to a well-preserved homeland."[93] Furthermore, Safran leaves "little room in his definition for the principled *ambivalence* about physical return and attachment to land which has characterized much

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[90] A vital discussion of historical associations of the term *diaspora* is pursued in Appendix 3: The Historical Associations of the Term Diaspora.
[91] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora*, 1:1 (1991): 83-4.
[92] See: Appendix 3: The Historical Associations of the Term Diaspora.
[93] James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology*, 9:3 (1994): 305.

Jewish diasporic consciousness, from biblical times on."[94] Consequently, it appears that Safran's delineations are too limited, excluding even the Jewish diaspora itself. Nevertheless, Clifford's influential description of diaspora includes numerous parallels with Safran's, as he explains that diasporas include: "a history of dispersal, myths/memories of the homeland, alienation in the host country, desire for eventual return, ongoing support for the homeland, and a collective identity importantly defined by this relationship."[95]

Similarly, Robin Cohen formulates a definition that is interlaced with similar categories, including:

> (1) dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically; (2) alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions; (3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland; (4) an idealization of the supposed ancestral home; (5) a return movement; (6) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time; (7) a troubled relationship with host societies; (8) a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries; and (9) the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries.[96]

While this definition seems to parallel the classifications of Safran and Clifford, Cohen ventures beyond relatively confined "ideal type diasporas."[97] This is accomplished through the inclusion of five compelling diaspora categories: 1. "Victim/refugee"; 2. "Imperial/colonial"; 3. "Labour/service"; 4. "Trade/business/professional"; and, 5.

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 180.
[97] Sindre Bangstad discusses the need to move beyond the "idea type diasporas" of African and Jewish populations. Bangstad, "Diasporic Consciousness," in *Diasporas Within and Without*, eds. Manger and Assal, 13.

"Cultural/hybrid/postmodern."[98] Comparably, Colin A. Palmer also formulates a description that is less concrete, taking into account that, "No diasporic community manifests all of these characteristics or shares with the same intensity an identity with their scattered ancestral kin."[99] This serves in formulating a characterization of diaspora that is appreciably less rigid and exclusive, which may appropriately address Kim D. Butler's contention that "It is impossible to apply a single template for the study of a diaspora, because even within a diaspora individuals have multiple identities that change over time and in accordance with the socio-political context."[100] Butler asserts this case by appealing to the significant difficulties that "subdivide and complicate" general constructs of diasporic communities.[101] Thus, in recognizing such difficulties, Roger

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[98] These categories are represented in Cohen's "somewhat tongue-in-cheek" table "8.1," entitled, "The good gardeners guide to diasporas: 'Let five flowers bloom, let five schools of thought contend.'" In this table he connects the categories with the gardening terms: "Weeding," "Sowing," "Transplanting," "Layering," and "Cross-pollinating." Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 178.

[99] Palmer's explanation of diaspora characteristics:

> Regardless of their location, members of a diaspora share an emotional attachment to their ancestral land, are cognizant of their dispersal and, if conditions warrant, their oppression and alienation in the countries in which they reside. Members of diasporic communities also tend to possess a sense of "racial," ethnic, or religious identity that transcends geographic boundaries, share broad cultural similarities, and sometimes articulate a desire to return to their original homeland

Palmer, "Defining and Studying," 22-3.

[100] Kim D. Butler, "From Black History to Diasporan History: Brazilian Abolition in Afro-Atlantic Context," *African Studies Review*, 43:1 (2000): 127.

[101] For instance, Butler gives the following example to demonstrate these inherent difficulties:

> If an African descendant is born in Jamaica, he or she is obviously part of the African diaspora. If that person subsequently moves to England, they then join a Caribbean diaspora in England, while still part of the African diaspora. How, then, does this Jamaican immigrant relate to the continental Africans resident in England, themselves also part of an African diaspora? Is there not also a Jamaican diaspora in England, the United States, Canada and elsewhere? How does this late twentieth century Jamaican diaspora connect with earlier migrations of Jamaicans to Panama, Costa Rica and Cuba? To fix this person's identity as part of an undifferentiated African diaspora does not necessarily allow for the complexity of multiple identities, the salience of which at any given time is conditioned by sociopolitical exigencies. Nor can such an individual be exclusively considered part of a Caribbean, or even

Sanjek simply identifies diaspora within general human migrations.[102] Alternatively, Baumann moves away from defining what is and is not diaspora specifically and settles for identifying what may and may not be "diasporic" in nature, as a general descriptor only. He thus sets forth a portrayal of that which is "diaspora constitutive," instead of attempting to formulate a singular all-encompassing definition.[103]

Within these cases it quickly becomes apparent that diaspora "remains widely contested, both as a term of reference and as a concept for research."[104] Certainly, it must be acknowledged that using restricted conceptions of diaspora may be problematic, since "the history and experiences of peoples of African descent in such societies as Jamaica, Haiti, and Barbados where they comprise the overwhelming majority cannot be conflated with those of their counterparts in England, Germany, Canada, or Mexico where they form a distinct minority."[105] Truly, the researcher must "be careful not to homogenize the experiences of the diverse peoples of the modern diaspora,"[106] and inadvertently neglect "critical differences that exist in the creation and re-creation of diasporic culture."[107] However, without suitable precincts the term "is in danger of becoming a

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> Jamaican, diaspora. Conceptualizations of diaspora must be able to accommodate the reality of multiple identities and phases of diasporization over time.

Ibid.

[102] Roger Sanjek, "Rethinking Migration, Ancient to Future," *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs* 3:3 (2003): 318.

[103] Baumann, "Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics," 327.

[104] Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Tölölyan, and Carolin Alfonso, "Introduction," in *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New Directions in Theory and Research*, eds. Waltraud Kokot, Khaching Tölölyan, and Carolin Alfonso (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 1.

[105] Palmer, "Defining and Studying," 30.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Tiffany Ruby Patterson, and Robin D. G. Kelly, "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World," *African Studies Review* 43:1 (2000): 18.

promiscuously capacious category."[108] With this in mind a practical definition of *African diaspora* will now be considered, which will not only include historical associations and academic conceptualizations of diaspora, but which will apply specifically to APCC.

2.1.2 The Current Employment of Terminology

It is apparent that establishing diaspora, and the African diaspora in particular, within analytical categories is somewhat challenging. To mediate between the various formulations of diaspora, a particularly descriptive, yet non-restrictive, explanation must be advanced that appropriately suits APCC. This is developed by first accepting a felicitous paradigm for diaspora as a construct of more than one of the aforementioned definitions. In considering these definitions, the following rubric is proposed and accepted:

> Diaspora incorporates diasporic constituents, which include: 1. The dispersion of any peoples group, either voluntarily or involuntarily; 2. A sense and formulation of racial, ethnic, or religious identity and consciousness that transcends geographic boundaries, coupled with cultural similarities and solidarity; 3. The emergence of a cultural commonality of identity abroad based on origin and social condition, which is influenced by the environment of host societies; and, 4. A collective, often idealized, memory and myth about the supposed ancestral home, which can include the desire for psychological and/or physical return.

Within this framework Cohen's five diaspora sub-categories are also endorsed, with an understanding that these groupings can be arranged on a fluid interconnected spectrum. For instance, APCC is composed of individuals who can be associated with more than one of Cohen's diaspora classifications. For instance, Abraham Vimbika from

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[108] Khachig Tölölyan, "Rethinking *Diaspora*(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment," *Diaspora* 5:1 (1996):8.

Zimbabwe, and Stephanie Marova from Liberia, both claimed to have come to Canada "by choice" for economic and educational purposes. Nonetheless, these individuals could also be classified as "victims/refugees," both in their experiences and immigration status.[109] At the same time, fourteen other interviewees described their reasons for coming to Canada as related to employment hopes and opportunities, while the remaining four indicated that they migrated to pursue further education. Though these individuals may be classified within Cohen's "expansion through work, trade or empire" category, they also can be identified with those who have experienced "traumatic dispersal."[110] Though "qualitatively different phenomena," it is apparent that "overpopulation, land hunger, poverty or an unsympathetic political regime" can be deemed traumatic, yet dissimilar from being "dragged off in manacles (as were the Jews and African captives), or being coerced to leave by force of arms (as were the Armenians)."[111] Indeed, the diaspora, and APCC, must be conceived within a diverse lexicon of dispersion; including the broader historical variations and context. It is at this juncture that what is meant by the African diaspora within this study must be explored.

The research term *African diaspora* may encompass the movement of African peoples, both voluntary and involuntary, throughout human history. As such, it stretches into the past as a fierce legacy of both the depth of human depravity and the soaring

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[109] There can often be difficulty in determining whether people in the diaspora are truly voluntary or involuntary migrants. See for instance: Robin Cohen, *The New Helots: Migrants in the International Division of Labour* (Aldershot: Gower, 1987), 33-42; Aristide R. Zolberg, Astri Suhrke, and Sergio Aguayo, *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 258-82.
[110] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 180-2.
[111] Ibid., 181.

heights of human perseverance and faculty.[112] However, it is vital to heed Walyin's warnings not to overlook the unique "local and distinctive" geographic and historical aspects of the African diaspora.[113] Therefore, while the above definition of diaspora is accepted, the inclusion of *African* must be accompanied by further precision, especially in relation to APCC. As such, the term African diaspora is here not directly referring to the dispersion of Africans through the transatlantic slave trade, or the trade of Africans on the Mediterranean and Indian Oceans. Though contemporary Africans still live with the repercussions of these historical scatterings, it is important to note that within this study African diaspora largely pertains to the relatively modern African dispersion.[114] That is, the members of APCC belong to a "new diaspora," in which "the era of globalization, shifting cultural identities, and labour dynamics are complicating beyond the legacy of slavery and abolition."[115]

This new "second diaspora,"[116] associated with "'new' African immigration,"[117] is usually considered distinct from "classical" diasporas, and is frequently "used to describe a 'majority condition in global capitalism.'"[118] As point of fact, of the twenty

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[112] For a very brief history of the African diaspora, refer to Appendix 4: A Brief History of the African Diaspora.
[113] James Walyin, "Black slavery in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries," in *Emerging Perspectives on the Black Diaspora*, eds. Audrey W. Bonnett and G. Llewellyn Watson, (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 25.
[114] As Khalid Koser explains, "The concept of diaspora has recently been revitalized…and is now oriented away from the catastrophic and involuntary dispersal of which slavery is such a good (and terrible) example." Khalid Koser, "New African Diasporas: An Introduction," in *New African Diaspora*, ed. Khalid Koser (London and New York: Routlege, 2003), 2.
[115] Toyin Falola and Niyi Afolabi, "Introduction: Prospero's Ripples, Caliban's Burden," in *Trans-Atlantic Migration: The Paradoxes of Exile*, eds. Toyin Falola and Niyi Afolabi (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1.
[116] Baffour K. Takyi, "The Making of the Second Diaspora: On the Recent African Immigrant Community in the United States of America," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 26:1 (2002): 32-43.
[117] Cordell, "Paradoxes of Immigration," in *Trans-Atlantic Migration*, eds. Falola and Afolabi, 13.
[118] Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Introduction: The Multiple Viewpoint: Diasporic Visual Cultures," in *Diaspora and Visual Culture,* ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (New York, London: Routledge, 2000), 6, quoted in Marie-Aude

APCC interviewees, all were born and raised in African nations, nine have lived in Canada for five years or less, eight have lived in Canada between six to ten years, and three have been residents of Canada for ten to thirty years.[119] Though aspects of trauma and force are often undeniable within this contemporary movement, there are significant differences between this modern dispersion and those associated with the "coffin ships" of the slave trade.[120] Indeed, despite obvious hardships, each interviewee explained that there was a certain level of choice involved in coming to Canada.

If this then is the case, why use the term African diaspora at all for APCC, when this taxonomy accommodates so many historical references? Since the church has no immediate lineage with the transatlantic slave trade, and the congregation belongs to a new generation of African immigrants, why not simply identify APCC as an African *expatriate*, *refugee*, or *immigrant* community? When considering such questions it must be noted that the relatively prominent term *expatriate*, described as "a person who lives outside their native country," is too closely associated with the "Lost Generation" of American writers, along with imperial colonialists; so that "the term is conventionally reserved for Westerners who have lived abroad for varying lengths of time."[121] This terminology then is far too vague and inappropriately concatenated with references that are either non-African or representative of African colonization. Furthermore, the term *refugee* is often conceived within "political categories that defined the status of distinct

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Baronian, Stephen Besser, and Yolande Jansen, "Introduction: Diaspora and Memory, Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts, and Politics," in *Diaspora and Memory*, eds., Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephen Besser, Yolande Jansen (New York: Rodopi B.V., 2007), 9.

[119] For a more detailed review of the twenty participants see Appendix 2: Participant Information.

[120] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 31.

[121] Anne-Meike Fechter, *Transnational Lives: Expatriates in Indonesia* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 1-2.

population groups," which "refer to a type of forced migration."[122] This does not accurately describe the majority of APCC's congregation. On the other hand, both the terms *immigrant* and *migrant* do befit APCC members. Nevertheless, these terms are far too general, and do not necessarily include the vital particularities derived in the above description of diaspora. Consequently, African diaspora is an appropriate term if it is understood, not only in relation to its imbued historical nature, but in correspondence with the contemporary African dispersion.

Finally, in discussing the use of the term African diaspora it is also necessary to laconically illustrate what is meant by *African* within this project. Undoubtedly, the designation African is pregnant with interlocutions of identity, race, politics, geography, religion, and culture. Furthermore, the term *African* is often problematically taken as an amalgamation of the continent, which may blunt its many facets, while sometimes referring at once to only one region, population, or characteristic related to the continent. As an example, most APCC participants, when commenting specifically on their origin nations, or, intra-national regions, would usually state, "In Africa," as opposed to "In Ghana," "In Nigeria," or "In Zimbabwe," etc. The same observation was made concerning the description of cultural particularities or the apparent communal affiliations of the participants' origin nations. Thus, interviewees almost always would use such phrases as, "We Africans" believe *so and so*, or "Africans do not" do *this or that*. Pastor Ogye would regularly use similar over-arching language. For instance, in

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[122] Carolle Charles, "Political Refugees or Economic Immigrants?: A New 'Old Debate' within the Haitian Immigrant Communities but with Contestations and Divisions," in *Immigration, Incorporation and Transnationalism*, ed. Elliot R. Barkan (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 175.

one sermon he discussed Ghanaian market sellers using inaccurate weights and balances, and he simply used the statement, "In Africa," to indicate Ghana. With such opacities it is important to note that the term *African* within *African diaspora* does not indicate any one specific region of the continent. APCC is composed of individuals from various nations, as is outlined in Table 2.1, which represents church-wide statistics, and Table 2.2, which demonstrates the national origins of the twenty interviewees:

Table 2.1: APCC Congregant Country of Origin[123]

Country of Origin	Number of Congregants	Percent Value (%)
Nigeria	56	45.9
Ghana	26	21.3
Zimbabwe	20	16.4
Other [Liberia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Botswana, Burundi, Canada]	20	16.4
Total:	**122**	**100**

Table 2.2: Participant Country of Origin

Country of Origin	Number of Participants	Percent Value (%)
Nigeria	9	45
Ghana	5	25
Zimbabwe	4	20
Other [Ethiopia, Liberia]	2	10
Total:	**20**	**100**

[123] These statistics were gathered using two of the church's up-to-date adult membership lists, which were split by gender. One non-African Caucasian-Canadian is represented within these statistics, while another British-Canadian non-African, who sporadically attended church services, did not participate in the study and was not be represented.

The majority of the church population maintained birth-country citizenship, as demonstrated in Tables 2.3 and 2.4. Furthermore, of the twenty participants in this study, twelve different ethnic groups were represented. Therefore, what is considered the African diaspora within this study is conceptualized as the new diaspora of cross-continental Africans, which have settled in Canada within the last 30 years, the majority of which do not possess Canadian citizenship.

Table 2.3: APCC Congregant Citizenship Affiliation

Citizenship Affiliation	Number of Congregants	Percent Value (%)
African Country of Birth [Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Liberia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Botswana, Burundi]	71	58.2
Canada	46	37.7
Dual-Citizenship	5	4.1
Total:	**122**	**100**

Table 2.4: Participant Citizenship Affiliation

Citizenship Affiliation	Number of Congregants	Percent Value (%)
African Country of Birth [Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Liberia]	13	65
Canada	6	25
Dual-Citizenship	1	5
Total:	**20**	**100**

2.2 The History and Current Context of the African Diaspora in Canada

The "new" African diaspora in Canada, in which APCC is situated, is not related to the historic succession of African dispersion to the United States. Unlike the U.S., "the majority of Blacks in Canada have immigrated to this country in the twentieth century."[124] Nonetheless, "Blacks were among the first non-indigenous residents of Canada," and their presence was initially related to slavery. However, in Canadian history, "Blacks have also been here as free, educated, and skilled people earning a decent living and contributing greatly to society over the past 350 years."[125] Ali A. Abdi identifies three distinct periods of African influence within Canada: 1. An interval spanning the early sixteenth century to the close of the eighteenth century, which "was comprised of people who arrived as servants, slaves, or indentured labourers;"[126] 2. A period beginning at the early nineteenth century and extending to the mid-twentieth century, in which "Typical immigrants," were "Black fugitives from the United States of America who arrived via the Underground Railroad," and "hundreds of freedom seekers who saw Canada as a place where they could exercise their full humanity;"[127] and, 3. The most recent migration of Africans to Canada, spanning the mid-twentieth century to the present-day, which had as its stimulus "the changes in immigration policy, the declining

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[124] Philomina Okeke-Ihejirika and Denise L. Spitzer, "In Search of Identity: Intergenerational Experiences of African Youth in a Canadian Context," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 205.
[125] Ali A. Abdi, "Reflections on the Long Struggle for Inclusion: The Experiences of People of African Origin," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 50.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid., 51.

number of immigrants from traditional sources, and deteriorating economic conditions in several African countries during the latter part of the 1970s."[128]

In relation to the third historic period, Kwado Konadu-Agyemang and Baffour K. Takyi explain that "since the 1970's the U.S. and Canada have become major destination countries for African immigrants." Consequently, it is noted:

> Among the 282,600 Africa-born immigrants reported in the 2001 Canadian Census, only 1.6 percent (4,635) arrived before 1961 while 21 percent arrived between 1981 and 1990. The 1991-2001 periods also saw the arrival of 49 percent of all African immigrants. Overall, 70 percent of all African-born residents in Canada arrived in the twenty-year period from 1981-2001, compared with 27 percent from 1961 to 1980. [129]

This escalation results from several factors, including the "liberalization of immigration laws in 1971," and subsequently, the population of African-born residents has "been increasing steadily in U.S. and Canada over the past twenty years."[130] [131] Thus, it has been contended that: "This is the new African Diaspora in North America."[132]

Statistics Canada data confirms these observations. In 2001, it was recognized that people "with African ethnic roots make up one of the largest non-European ethnic groupings in Canada." This population is "growing considerably faster than the overall

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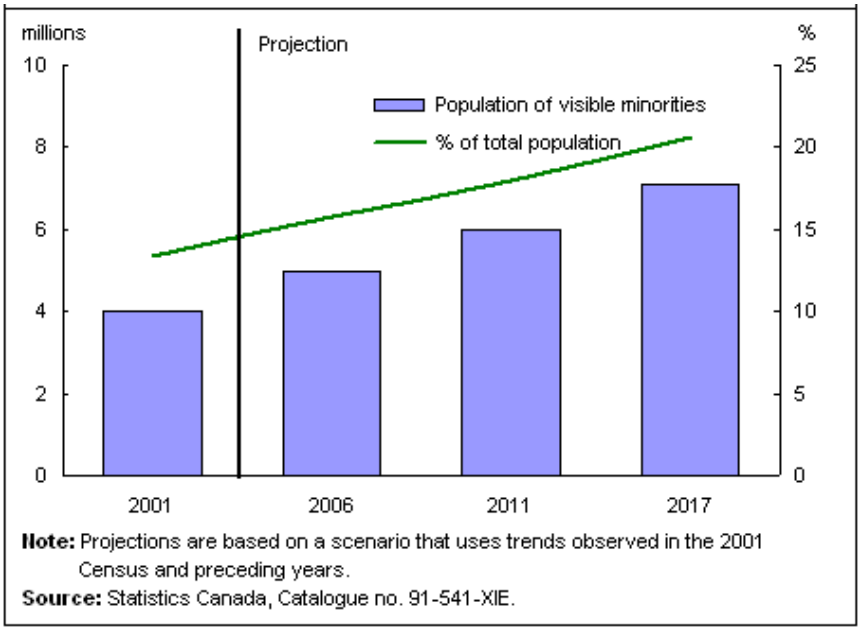
[128] Ibid., 55.
[129] Konadu-Agyemang, and Takyi, "An Overview," in *The New African Diaspora*, eds. Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur, 4.
[130] Ibid., 6.
[131] For a brief discussion of the world-wide escalation of African immigration see: Afe Adogame and Cordula Weissköppel, "Introduction," in *Religion in the Context*, eds. Adogame and Weissköppel, 1-22.
[132] Konadu-Agyemang and Takyi, "An Overview," in *The New African Diaspora*, eds. Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur, 6.

population."[133] Such increase coincides with later projections for the "Growth of Visible Minorities in Canada," as represented in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Growth of Visible Minorities in Canada[134]



A January 2008 Statistics Canada report explains that "The relative weight of immigrants from African countries more than tripled between the early 1960s and the early 2000s." Furthermore, "Between 2001 and 2006, they accounted for 10.5% of new immigrants, compared to 3.0% forty years earlier."[135] This increase reinforces the prediction that "If current immigration trends were to continue in the coming years, the proportion of

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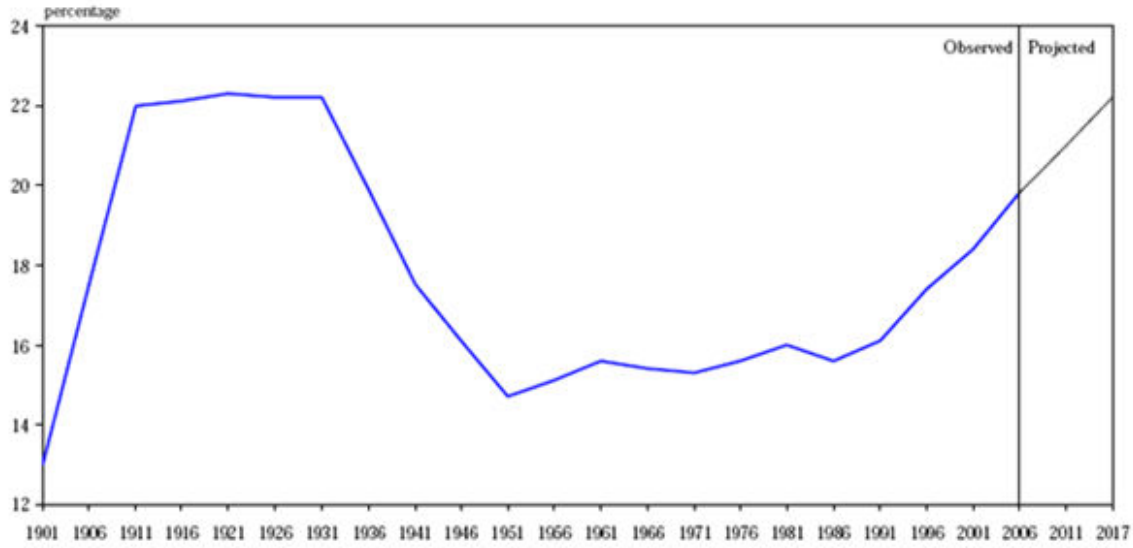
[133] Colin Lindsay, "Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada: The African Community in Canada," Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-621-XIE—No.10 (2001): 7.http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-621-XIE/89-621-XIE2007010.pdf, (accessed April 5, 2008).
[134] Statistics Canada, "Chart 13.2 – Enlarged Version and Data Source," Government of Canada, http://www41.statcan.ca/2007/30000/grafx/htm/ceb30000_000_2_e.htm, (accessed April 5, 2008).
[135] Minister of Industry, "Canadian Demographics at a Glance," Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 91-003-XIE (2008): 21, http://www. statcan.ca/english/freepub/91-003-XIE/91-003-XIE2007001.pdf, (accessed April 5, 2008).

immigrants in Canada could reach slightly over 22% by 2017."[136] As a result, "Few countries have a larger proportion of foreign-born than Canada,"[137] including Africans, of which the majority were "born outside the country."[138] This national trend is depicted in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2: Proportion of Foreign-born Among the Canadian Population, 1901 to 2017[139]



It is apparent then that APCC is representative of this comparatively recent, and proportionally large, influx of African peoples into Canada. Nonetheless, it appears that the city of Calgary has not necessarily coincided with the national records listed above. For instance, of various selected metropolitan areas, Calgary embodied the only decrease in the immigrant to total population ratio from 1991 to 2001.

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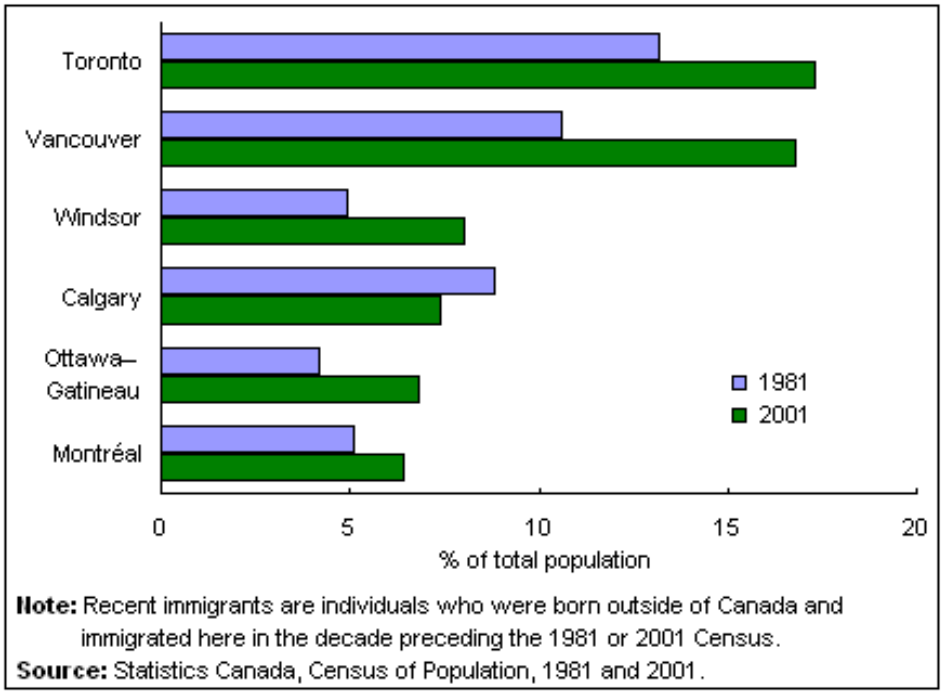
[136] Ibid., 31.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Lindsay, "Profiles of Ethnic Communities," 7.
[139] Minister of Industry, "Canadian Demographics," 31.

Figure 2.3: Recent Immigrations, Selected Census Metropolitan Areas[140]



However, despite these figures, 2007 census data exhibits a recent intensification of immigration within the province: "Alberta's population continued to grow thanks to the highest natural increase of any province and to a net international migration inflow in the last three months of 2007, which was the highest in the country, owing notably to a sizable influx of non-permanent residents."[141] APCC is one representation of this growing African-born population, and, as its numbers increase, the religious affiliations of this group will continue to influence and impact Canadian society.

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[140] Statistics Canada, "Chart 13.3 – Enlarged Version and Data Source," Government of Canada, http://www41.statcan.ca/2007/30000/grafx/htm/ceb30000_000_3_e.htm, (accessed April 14, 2008).
[141] Statistics Canada, "Canada's Population Estimates," *The Daily*, March 27, 2008, http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/080327/d080327d.htm (accessed April 15, 2008).

2.3 APCC and The Religions of the African Diaspora[142]

Micheal A. Gomez identifies three historic streams of religious development in the African diaspora: 1. The Africanization of European Christianity; 2. The perseverance and adaptation of traditional African religious elements; and, 3. The development of totally new religious movements, as derived from "the fabrics of Islamic-Judeo-Christian traditions."[143] Joseph M. Murphy also categorizes the traditions and practices found in five key transatlantic African diasporic belief systems: 1. Haitian *Vodou*; 2. Brazilian *Candomblé*; 3. Cuban and Cuban-American *Santería*; 4. Jamaican *Zion Revivalism*; and, 5. Various African American churches located in the United States of America.[144] Nevertheless, APCC represents a contemporary example of African diaspora religion that does not necessarily coincide with either Gomez's or Murphy's historical taxonomy. As has been mentioned previously, African Christianity is no longer simply a minor Africanization of European religion, nor is it merely a variation of American Christianity. Instead it is a truly non-Western prevailing form of Christianity.[145] Accordingly, the African diaspora religion of APCC will now be considered in relation to global Pentecostal movements, and juxtaposed with contemporary African Christianity.

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[142] For a brief historical review of religion in the African diaspora refer to Appendix 5: A Brief Review of Religion in the African Diaspora.

[143] Michael A. Gomez, *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 170.

[144] Joseph M. Murphy, *Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African Diaspora* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 1.

[145] Lindsay reports that "relatively few Africans report that they have no religious affiliation," and of Africans in Canada, "The largest religious group in the African community in Canada is Protestant." Though Lindsay does not investigate the particularities of this majority, it is apparent that like APCC, a significant proportion maintain forms of African Christianity. Lindsay, "Profiles of Ethnic Communities," 12.

CHAPTER 3

"WITH HEARTS FULL OF PRAISE": LOCATING APCC WITHIN WORLDWIDE PENTECOSTAL CHRISTIANITY

GOD NA HELELE
GOD NA WAYA-O
GOD NA HELELE
GOD NA WAYA-O
NOBODY BE LIKE AM
NOBODY DEY LIKE AM
EWO NWANE M
GOD NA HELELE

HOSANNA HOSANNA
HOSANNA IN THE HIGEST
HOSANNA HOSANNA
HOSANNA IN THE HIGEST
LORD WE LIFT UP YOUR NAME
WITH OUR HEARTS FULL OF PRAISE
BE EXALTED OH LORD OUR GOD
HOSANNA IN THE HIGHEST

The Choruses of "God 'Na Helele'" and "Hosanna Hosanna" from the APCC Worship Songs Collection

3.1 APCC Worship Services and African Pentecostalism

Every Sunday morning at 10:00am APCC meets for at least two hours in a leased commercial unit, neighboured by a sprawling industrial park. The surrounding units are closed on weekends, but the parking lot is usually grid-locked with congregants' vehicles; double-parked to fit into the available spaces. Inside the concussions of drums sound and the congregants leave their places to dance at the front of the church. Hands clap and music blares as people laugh and shake with the rhythm, while a palpable

excitement pours through the sanctuary like an ineluctable numinous tide. Several congregants sport traditional African clothing, which cover dancing limbs in vibrant colours. Babies hang from the backs of mothers, tied to their parents with skilfully wrapped pieces of cloth. Weaving between the clapping worshippers, and wearing immaculate business suits, young ushers welcome and seat visitors with affectionate smiles. A choir, led by the charismatic choir master Mr. Nkamfo, guide the church in worship songs; most of which are direct from Ghana, Nigeria, and other African nations. These are the experiences of a typical APCC "Worship Service."

As the Sunday morning singing continues, the revelatory dancing draws more participants. The women swivel their hips, and men of all ages move their bodies in a dance that appears like a tilted sprinter in slow motion. Two LCD projectors flash the lyrics on screens as people shout: "Jeho, Jeho, Jeho, Jeho-Jehovah!" Between stanzas the choir master prays, calling out to God in supplication and reverence, while also speaking words of wisdom or admonishment to unnamed individuals. He often encourages the congregation to sing louder, dance, or even "Play your trumpets!" At this the riotous worshipers hold up imaginary instruments, and move them with the music's beat. Mr. Nkamfo raises his hands, two fingers pointing to the ceiling, and the congregation responds with two shouts of "Hallelujah!" He then unfurls three more fingers and the congregation responds with three shouts, followed by five fingers, five shouts; continuing until ten fingers and ten shouts are rising to the ceiling. It is a contagious atmosphere, in which the researcher desires to join in and forget the colour of skin in the *colour* of singing and dancing.

After approximately forty-five minutes the music dies down, and it is followed by a time of communal prayer, in which all the congregants speak, shout, and sing at once. Many speak in tongues, and the pastor roars his words into the microphone overtop of the feverous din. Throughout the service there is a subtle quasi-liturgical practice that is continually observed within this time. For instance, in a similar manner to that of West African churches, if the person at the front of the community says, "Amen," then all of the members respond with a shouted "Hallelujah." If that individual says "Hallelujah," everyone answers, "Praise the Lord." The most extended statement and response occurs when the leading individual exclaims, "God is good," followed by the group response, "All the time," to which the leader adds, "All the time," ending finally with the group stating, "God is good." It is such singing, dancing, prayer, and unabashed exuberance that make APCC events addictive encounters.

Having experienced church services in Sénégal, the Gambia, and Tanzania, the researcher has witnessed various cross-continental similarities and variances in African Christianity. Considering this, it was often challenging to identify the differences between the worship services of APCC and those practiced in the churches of West Africa. Indeed, much of the church's praxis was quite familiar to the researcher, and took place within the considerably uniform structure listed in Table 3.1.[146] Certainly the happenings which unfold within APCC are often near duplications of those previously experienced in the 45º heat of the sub-Sahara. The same opinion was held by the

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[146] Note: The schedule presented here represents only an approximation of the service events recorded over the observation period. There are variations within this schedule that may influence the agenda from week to week. For instance, the first Sunday of every month included communion, while other services would incorporate the blessing of a child, celebrations for departing members, and specific prayer times for individuals.

interviewees, no matter where in Africa they had originated. Amadi Dákë from Nigeria exclaimed that the reason for this was because "back home in Nigeria we do a lot of praise worship, and give thanks and everything, and appreciating God." As a result, "when I got to [APCC] everything was the same."[147] In response to a question about how APCC compared with the churches in his origin country, Nigerian Austin Akinsanya explained: "They have the same format of what we have back home; the same doctrine, the same format of praise and worship, preaching." Joshua Ashänafinät noted that the church he formerly attended in Ethiopia "was similar to this one." Likewise, Ghanian-born Kwasi Onyansafo explained that he enjoys "the funky music" of APCC, which coincides with "the things I am used to back home."

Table 3.1: General APCC Service Schedule

Service Schedule	Start Time (Duration In Minutes)
Service Start and Worship	10:00am (45 min)
General Greeting and Church Prayer	10:45am (5 min)
Announcements	10:50am (5 min)
Welcome of Visitors	10:55 (5 min)
Special Choir Presentation	11:00am (5 min)
Sermon	11:05am (60 min)
Additional Worship and Offering	12:05pm (10 min)
Benediction and Dismissal	12:15pm (2 min)

[147] It is important to note that when participants are cited within this project, the quotations are taken word-for-word from interview recordings, and may include grammatical errors. To avoid overuse of *sic*, and unnecessarily faulting participants' language use, these potential mistakes are left unaltered.

A few participants explained that while there were differences between APCC and the churches they attended in their nations of origin, these variances were usually described as relatively minute.[148] Despite these differences, Ajani Oku explained that APCC was still "pretty similar." Thus, while discussing APCC he professed:

> I mean for us, we grow up to understand that this is what church should be… The way they [APCC] worship is similar. The preaching is similar. It's all there to encourage people, and to set people straight. It's similar. Not much difference.

Additionally, Leah Jumoke noted that the demonstration of religious fervour in APCC was not as impassioned as her former church community in Ghana. While she clarified that APCC's gatherings were very similar to Ghanaian church services, she explained that "sometimes I also feel that the level of expression is a little toned down." Others observed that APCC differed in its lack of denomination affiliation. Ghanaian Elijah Nkamfo, and Zimbabweans Mr. and Mrs. Rufaro, both explained that they attended Methodist churches in Africa. These belonged to a larger worldwide denomination in which, Elijah clarified, "The structure and hierarchy is different." However, even Ghanaian and Zimbabwean Methodist churches are apparently very similar to APCC, due to their shared African Pentecostalism. Therefore, Mr.Rufaro elucidated in a bout of laughter: "They [Zimbabwean Methodists] are more Pentecostal than the Pentecostals themselves!" It was this distinguishing "Pentecostal" characteristic that was identified by participants as the unifying feature of APCC and African church services. Hence, when commenting on the commonalities between APCC and the church he attended in Nigeria,

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[148] For instance, participants noted differences in the service schedules, songs, and uniforms of the choir.

Aaron Çbô declared: "Pentecostal is Pentecostal." Recognizing this, the present study will investigate the phenomenon of global Pentecostal Christianity, African Christianity, and APCC.

3.2 Delineating Pentecostal Christianity[149]

Categorizing Pentecostal Christianity is an arduous task, since "The growth, diversity and variegated nature of Pentecostal movements across the world confound attempts at achieving neat classifications."[150] Complications are advanced by the frequent use of the terms "Pentecostal" and "Charismatic," which are often conceived as either synonymous or relatively distinct formulations.[151] Numerous classifications exist, many of which group Christian movements in relation to "Classical" or "U.S." Pentecostalism. Such definitions are affixed to the weight of "baptism in the Holy Spirit," also known as "Spirit Baptism," and the evidence of glossolalia, described as "speaking in tongues."[152] Nonetheless, this definition is significantly restricted to the North American religious experience.[153] As a result, Anderson argues that "the term 'Pentecostal' is appropriate for describing globally all churches and movements that emphasize the working of the gifts of the Spirit, both on phenomenological and on

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[149] For a brief history of Pentecostalism, including that African influence upon this movement, see Appendix 6: A Brief History of Pentecostalism.
[150] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 1.
[151] Anderson notes:

> The term 'Pentecostal' is taken from the Day of Pentecost experience of Acts 2:4, probably the most important distinguishing 'proof text' in Pentecostalism, when the believers in Jerusalem were 'all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance.'

Allan Anderson, *Bazalwane: African Pentecostals in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1992), 2.
[152] Ibid., 10, 14.
[153] Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 13.

theological grounds."[154] [155] Linked to such conceptions, the word "Charismatic" is frequently used to distinguish religious movements from Classical or denominational Pentecostalism, or to identify the manifestation of the "Pentecostal experience in 'mainline' churches."[156] More broadly, Poewe uses the terminology "Charismatic Christianity" as a means to "encompass all Christianity, from its beginning in the first century," which accentuated "religious or spiritual experiences and the activities of the Holy Spirit."[157] Thus, Hexham and Poewe describe Charismatic Christianity as "an experiential form of Christianity that emphasizes the Holy Spirit of the Trinity, gifts of the Holy Spirit, and, generally, a 'Spirit-Inspired' human creativity, vision, spontaneity, and a sense of freedom."[158]

In order to avoid confusing the terminology, the present study will borrow from Asamoah-Gyadu and use the locutions "Pentecostal" and "Pentecostalism" as a description of:[159]

> Christian groups which emphasize salvation in Christ as a transformative experience wrought by the Holy Spirit and in which pneumatic phenomena including 'speaking in tongues,' prophecies, visions, healing and miracles in general, perceived as standing in historic continuity with the experiences of the early church as found especially in

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[154] Ibid.
[155] The idea of "Gifts of the Spirit" are derived from at least four lists detailed within the New Testament: Romans 12:6-8 (prophecy, service, teaching, exhortation, liberality, giving aid, acts of mercy); 1 Corinthians 12:4-11 (wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, working of miracles, prophecy, ability to distinguish spirits, various tongues, interpretation of tongues); Ephesians 4:11 (apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers); and, 1 Peter 4:11 (speaking, service). See: Millard J. Erickson. *Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983).
[156] Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 14.
[157] Poewe, "Introduction," in *Charismatic Christianity*, ed. Poewe, 2.
[158] Hexham and Poewe, "Charismatic Churches," in *Charismatic Christianity*, ed. Poewe, 58.
[159] It must be noted that some churches that fall within this classification would not necessarily describe themselves as Pentecostal. Many use the terms "Evangelical" or "Charismatic." Allan Anderson, *African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the 20th Century* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2001), 19.

> the Acts of the Apostles, are sought, accepted, valued, and consciously encouraged among members as signifying the presence of God and experiences of his Spirit.[160]

As such, "Pentecostal" does not simply refer to Classical or U.S. Pentecostalism, but has far broader precincts.[161] In considering the above definition, it is vital to recognize further divisions made within the term Pentecostal, such as Hollenweger's influential three-part allocation: 1. Classical Pentecostalism, associated with the forms of Christianity that became a "mainline denomination some decades ago";[162] 2. Charismatic renewal movements, which incorporate Pentecostal rejuvenation within "mainline" denominations;[163] and, 3. "Pentecostal-like" independent churches.[164] The last of these include "the African expression of the worldwide Pentecostal movement," which may demonstrate no apparent link to the first category.[165] This can be described as "African Pentecostalism,"[166] and it is this which has appreciably marked African Christianity, and the religion of APCC.[167]

3.3 APCC, AICs, and Ghanaian Christianity[168]

The APCC community in Calgary belongs to a group of churches, here denoted as All Peoples Cross Community International, or APCCI, located in twenty-five cities,

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[160] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 12.
[161] Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 1.
[162] Poewe, "Introduction," in *Charismatic Christianity*, ed. Poewe, 1.
[163] Hollenweger notes that Pentecostals believe that there has been a degeneration of Christendom resulting from neglecting the gifts of the Holy Spirit, hence, the need for a revival within various churches. Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988), 321.
[164] Ibid., 1.
[165] Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Cambridge and New York: DaCapo, 1995), 246.
[166] Anderson, *Bazalwane*, 3.
[167] It is of value to note that Asamoah-Gyadu's definition mentions "pneumatic phenomena," since, "There is a substantial spectrum of Pentecostal churches," and it is not necessarily the case that all of these phenomena happen regularly, or in all churches. See: Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 20.
[168] For a brief overview of Pentecostalism in Ghana see Appendix 7: A Brief Overview of Pentecostalism in Ghana.

which were founded by a Ghanaian immigrant in Toronto.[169] The founder, an electrical engineer by trade,[170] started the Toronto community in 1982 as a weekly Bible study meeting in his apartment.[171] Soon the founder's residence became too small to accommodate the growing congregation, and a community center was rented for weekly meetings. According an issue of APCC's periodical, establishing the church was challenging, as "there was no viable African church at the time." Nonetheless, the church continued to grow, so that in January 1989 the congregation broke the "200-person barrier" with a recorded Sunday attendance of 222 people. Finally, in 1992 the congregation began meeting in a building that would have capacity suitable for its steadily increasing population. This population, which currently boasts a congregation of over one thousand five hundred members, originating from approximately sixty different countries, is still constituted mainly of people in the African diaspora.[172] Though there is significant international and African representation within the church, its original leadership and members where Ghanaian, and the pastors of each APCCI branch are also Ghanaian immigrants. Furthermore, of the APCCI communities in Africa, all are located in Ghana. As a result of this, each APCCI division expresses not only African

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[169] There are currently APCC communities in the following Canadian cities: Toronto, Hamilton, Kitchener, Calgary, Edmonton, Windsor, London, St.Catherines, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Oakville, Ajax, Quebec City. Internationally, the church has two branches in the United States in Dallas, Texas, and Roseville, Michigan, along with a community in Oslo, Norway, and nine churches in Ghanaian cities: Teshie, Koforidua, Agogo, Sowutuon, Agona Ashanti, Tesano, Effiduase, Samreboi, and Taifa.

[170] Ogbu Kalu notes that, "Most African immigrant churches start with lay immigrants." Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 285.

[171] The founding of APCCI parallels the observation of Kwakye-Nuako regarding the beginnings of African diaspora churches across North America. Kwakye-Nuako, "Still Praisin' God," in *The New African Diaspora*, eds. Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur, 127.

[172] "Our Story: Where We're Coming From," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 46 (2006): 4.

Christianity, but specifically a form of Pentecostalism that is rooted in Ghanaian religion and *AIC*'s.[173]

Afe Adogame has explained that "African-led charismatic/Pentecostal churches" of the diaspora can be categorized into three sub-groups: 1. Those "that exist in diaspora branches of a mother church headquartered in Africa"; 2. Churches that have been "founded by new immigrants"; and, 3. Para-churches, which are "interdenominational ministries with flexible, non-formalized structures."[174] While APCC belongs to the second group, it must also be recognized that APCC is hereditarily linked to AICs. The term AIC is a spacious category, which is usually used to conterminously refer to *African Independent Churches*, *African Instituted Churches*, *African Indigenous Churches*, and *African Initiated Churches*.[175] These religious communities are African founded and instituted, whether they are independent offshoots of classical mission denominations,

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[173] As has been mentioned previously, while APCC was founded by a Ghanaian, and currently has a Ghanaian pastor, there are presently more Nigerian members than Ghanaians. Nonetheless, Ghana and Ghanaian Christianity will be primarily used to juxtapose APCC with African Pentecostalism, due to APCC's Ghanaian history, the continued Ghanaian leadership of the community, and APCCI's current work in Ghana. In doing so it is also important to note the significant overlap and connect between Ghanaian and Nigerian Christian movements, which often burrowed from each other, and demonstrate noteworthy correspondences. It is apparent that Ghana and Nigeria have had significant historical interaction both economically and religiously. There are numerous parallels between the Pentecostalism of either country, with exports and imports of various African Christian trends taking place between the two nations. As a result, the observations made between Ghanaian Christianity and APCC will most likely parallel those that may be made between Nigerian Christianity and APCC. Thus, comparisons between APCC and Ghanaian Christianity may very generally be seen to parallel juxtapositions between APCC and Nigerian Christianity. See: Margaret Peil, "Ghanaians Abroad," *African Affairs* 94:376 (1995): 345-67; Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, 121-8; J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Half a Century of Touching Lives: Nigerian Charismatic Personalities and African (Ghana) Christianity, 1953-2003," in *Religion, History, and Politics in Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Ogbu*, eds. U. Kalu Chima J. Korieh, and G. Ugo Nwokeji (Lanham: University Press of America, 2005), 230-45;

[174] Afe Adogame, "Raising Champions, Taking Territories: African Churches and the Mapping of New Religious Landscapes in Diaspora," in *The African Diaspora and the Study of Religion*, ed. Theodore Louis Trost (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 20.

[175] For a significant overview of this terminology see: Anderson, *African Reformation*.

and/or significantly indigenous in their connection to African cultural and religious conceptions.[176] In defining such "Independent Churches," Harold Turner explains:

> In Africa, where this form predominates, they may be described as having been founded in Africa, by Africans, for Africans to worship in African ways and to meet African needs as Africans themselves feel them; the same process of complete indigenization may be identified in the independent churches of other cultural areas.[177]

AICs are most frequently considered Protestant churches,[178] and have "usually flourished most, but not exclusively, in areas where Protestant missions have been longest," such as in "Southern Africa, the Congo Basin, central Kenya, and near the West African coast."[179]

Turner classifies such AICs within the two categories of "Ethiopian" and "Prophet-healing" churches; the first resembling the denominations from which they became independent, and the second, which are "more African in form and content."[180] Anderson explains that the Prophet-healing types, also known as "Spiritual churches," are "the largest and most significant grouping of AICs." These churches "emphasize spiritual power," and they have "historical and theological roots in the Pentecostal movement, although they have moved in their own direction away from western forms of

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[176] Ogbu Kalu provides a significant survey of the connections between AIC's and African Pentecostalism. See: Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 65-83.
[177] Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, 9-10.
[178] Hastings facetiously states: "African Catholics were being good Catholics (putting the unity and authority of the Church first), African Protestants were being good Protestants, members of a tradition in which Church unity had always taken second place." Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa: 1450-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 528.
[179] Anderson, *African Reformation*, 11.
[180] These two sub-categories fall within Turner's larger context of "Religious Typologies" for Africa: 1. Neo-primal; 2. Syncretistic; 3. Hebraist; 4. Independent Churches; Missions and Older Churches. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, 10.

Pentecostalism."[181] As he explains, within these churches "there is an emphasis on healing," which is often linked with "the use of various symbolic objects such as blessed water, ropes, staffs, papers, ash, and so on." These churches frequently maintain "strong taboos for members prohibiting alcohol, tobacco, and pork," while also proscribing "uniforms for members, which are often white robes with sashes and in some cases, military-like khaki."[182]

Finally, Anderson highlights a third category: "Pentecostal/Charismatic churches." These are "of more recent origin, and may be regarded as 'Pentecostal' movements because they too emphasize the powers and gifts of the Holy Spirit."[183] With connections to Prophet-healing type communities, these churches generally appropriate various western Pentecostal conceptions, under leadership that is "entirely African and more of a local, autonomous nature." Furthermore, "Their founders are generally charismatic and younger men and women who are respected for their preaching and leadership abilities, and who are relatively well educated, though not necessarily in theology."[184] This AIC classification is closely affiliated with the "new churches" of Ghana,[185] also referred to as Ghanaian "Neo-Pentecostal Movements," from which APCC is a diasporic derivative.[186] However, APCC was not actually initiated within Africa

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[181] Anderson, *African Reformation*, 16-7.
[182] Ibid., 17-8.
[183] Ibid., 19.
[184] Ibid., 19.
[185] Lamin O. Sanneh, *The Church in Africa: Africa, the West, and the World* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2005), 84; Paul Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity: Pentecostalism in a Globalizing African Economy* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 23-7.
[186] Within the designation "Neo-Pentecostal Movements," Asamoah-Gyadu recognizes three sub-categories: 1. Charismatic Ministries; 2. Trans-Denominational Fellowships; and, 3. Charismatic Renewal Movements. APCC would be most closely linked with the Charismatic Ministries. Charismatic ministries,

itself, and therefore, the present study identifies APCC as an AIC using a broader conception of the terminology, in which AIC refers to *African International Churches*.[187]

According to Brigit Meyer, "In Ghana, at least in the central and southern regions, Christianity reigns supreme."[188] This Christianity is usually a form of African Pentecostalism, linked to the new Pentecostal AICs of the country that have become a ubiquitous part of Ghana, which is also now an inexorable aspect of "Mainline" denominations within the country.[189] As Mike Afrani notes: "Ghana is one of the few countries left in the Christian world where no meeting (whether official government business or private gathering) starts without an opening prayer and finishes without a closing prayer."[190] Such devotion is a feature of the 60 percent of Ghanaians who claim to be Christian, many of whom adhere to Ghanaian African Pentecostalism.[191] While there are variations of Christianity within Ghana throughout history, some generalizations may be made about the contemporary Ghanaian Pentecostal churches.[192] For instance, these church communities integrate the mutual practice of the gifts of the Spirit, relating to speaking in tongues, healing, and prophecy; combining the all-important "'Spirit' manifestations and pneumatological emphases and experiences." Furthermore, like most

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are "autochthonous churches," "born entirely out of indigenous initiatives," which appear "very keen to reflect their international character and connections." Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 27.

[187] Gerrie ter Haar, *Halfway to Paradise: African Christians in Europe* (Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 1998), 24.

[188] Brigit Meyer, "'Delivered from the Powers of Darkness' Confessions of Satanic Riches in Christian Ghana," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 65:2 (1995): 255.

[189] Cephas N. Omenyo, "The Charismatic Renewal Movement in Ghana," *Pneuma* 16: 2 (1994): 169-89; Abamfo O. Atiemo, *The Rise of the Charismatic Movement in the Mainline Churches in Ghana* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1993).

[190] Mike Afrani, "God is Serious Business in Ghana," *New African Magazine*, July/August, 1997, 37, quoted in Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 236.

[191] Sanneh, *Changing Faces of Christianity*, 83.

[192] For an historical synopsis of Pentecostal Christianity in Ghana, see Appendix 7: A Brief Overview of Pentecostalism in Ghana.

other Pentecostal initiatives, Ghanaian Christians include the "personal existence of the Devil and his angels, the evil spirits," acting in the world and through people, along with the belief in miracles.[193] This belief in miracles, described as "unusual events which are seen as the intervention in human affairs of the divine,"[194] results in a markedly "interventionist theology"[195] by which the presence of healings or battles with demonic forces are very palpable.[196]

Woven within these notions is the primary Ghanaian conception that Christianity involves success, with the understanding that "A Christian is a success; if not, something is very wrong."[197] This success extends into every realm of personal achievement, including financial, physical, and psychological well being.[198] As Anderson maintains, within this branch of Christianity "the same God who saves the 'soul' also heals the body, and the Africans added that God also provides answers to fears and insecurities inherent in the African worldview." Therefore, "The God who forgives sin is also concerned about poverty, oppression and liberation from afflictions."[199] As will be discussed below, this focus is overt within APCC, and it may be one of the reasons why this form of Pentecostalism is so pervasive in Ghana, Africa, and the African diaspora.

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[193] Anderson, "Stretching the Definistions," 100, 377, 370.
[194] Irving Hexham, *Concise Dictionary of Religion* (Downer's Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 149.
[195] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 236.
[196] Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism,* 187-205.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Paul Gifford describes the Ghanaian churches which adhere to these conceptions as "faith/prosperity/health-and-wealth" churches. Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, 26.
[199] Ibid., 101.

3.4 The Diffusion of Pentecostal Innovations in Africa, Ghana, and APCC

Grant Wacker suggests two factors that have influenced the growth of Pentecostalism:

> First, Pentecostalism functioned effectively at the personal level. It offered certitude about the reality of the supernatural and, in the face of the loneliness and death, it met enduring needs of the human spirit. Second, the movement's message was a pre-eminently traditional message, richly textured with mythic images of an undefiled and unchanging realm outside of mundane history.[200]

When this is coupled with the missional focus of these groups, it is not surprising that Pentecostalism has found considerable acceptance in African societies. In addition to these factors, it is here suggested that Pentecostal initiatives are also particularly suitable for African philosophical, religious, and cosmological epistemologies. Pentecostalism succeeded where several "Western theologies" failed to respond to "deep-seated yearnings for protection and for the vitalising experience of the Spirit underscored in the Bible."[201] That is, Pentecostalism may be especially congruent with African worldviews, able to relate to the "African situation in relevant idioms," and consequently, it has been widely accepted across the continent.[202]

In discussing the diffusion of Pentecostal ideas and concepts across Africa, it is helpful to employ theories of diffusion and innovation.[203] Everett M. Rogers' seminal

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[200] Grant Wacker, "The Functions of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism," *The Harvard Theological Review* 77:3/4 (1984): 354.
[201] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 17.
[202] Ibid., 40.
[203] Everett M. Rogers describes an *innovation* as "an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption." Often such innovations are depicted as technological advancements. However, as Rogers explains:

work on the diffusion of innovations details the main factors involved with the process by which "an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system."[204] Rogers utilizes a number of "characteristics of innovations" that are useful for determining the spread of Pentecostalism in Africa. These include: 1. *Relative Advantage*; 2. *Compatibility/Complexity*; and, 3. *Observability/Trialability*.[205] Relative Advantage refers to the perception of an innovation's benefits in relation to the previous conceptions with which it competes,[206] such that, "The greater the perceived advantage of an innovation, the quicker its rate of adoptions."[207] This may also be linked with "Benefits vs. Costs"[208] ratios associated

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> We often think of technology mainly in terms of hardware. Indeed, sometimes the hardware side of a technology is dominant. But in other cases, a technology may be almost entirely composed of information; examples are a political philosophy such as Marxism, a religious idea such as Christianity, a news event, and a policy such as a municipal no-smoking ordinance.

In this context of *innovation as information*, Pentecostalism may by sufficiently conceived as an innovation, and can subsequently be analyzed using Rogers' prominent investigative schema. Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 5th ed. (New York: Free Press, 2003), 12, 13.

[204] Ibid., 5.

[205] It is important to note that Rogers actually divides these characteristics into five sub-categories, in which "Complexity" and "Trialability" are individual groups. However, for the purposes of this study, both of these categories have been merged with "Compatibility" and "Observability" for ease of use within the present investigation. See: Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 15-6.

[206] Rogers describes Relative Advantage as:

> …the degree to which an innovation is perceived as better than the idea it supersedes. The degree of relative advantage may be measured in economic terms, but social prestige factors, convenience, and satisfaction are also important factors. It does not matter so much whether an innovation has a great deal of "objective" advantage. What does matter is whether an individual perceives the innovation as advantageous. The greater the perceived relative advantage of an innovation, the more rapid its rate of adoption will be.

Ibid., 15.

[207] Cephas N. Omenyo, "William Seymour and African Pentecostal Historiography: The Case of Ghana," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 9:2 (2006): 254.

[208] Barbara Wejnert, "Integrating Models of Diffusion of Innovations: A Conceptual Framework," *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002): 301-2.

with models of diffusion of innovations.[209] Compatibility/Complexity describes the extent that an innovation is judged to be harmonious with already existing conceptions, in addition to the level with which "an innovation is perceived as difficult to understand and use," in combination with how it is "readily comprehended by most members of a social system."[210] Acceptance of an idea is often proportional to its compatibility, and inversely proportional to its perceived complexity.[211] This is analogous with conceptions of the "Familiarity with the Innovation," in which "the rate of adoption of an innovation—all other factors being equal—increases as its novelty decreases."[212] Finally, Observability/Trialability denotes the "degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to others," as well as the extent by which "an innovation may be experimented

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[209] This may also be paralleled with Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge's discussion of *Cost vs. Rewards* in their "Theory of Human Action," as related to religious commitment. Rodney Stark, William Sims Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (Peter Lang Publishing, 1987), 27-36.

[210] Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 16.

[211] Rogers describes both Compatibility and Complexity as follows:

> *Compatibility* is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being consistent with the existing values, past experiences, and needs of potential adopters. An idea that is incompatible with the values and norms of a social system will not be adopted as rapidly as an innovation that is compatible. The adoption of an incompatible innovation often requires the prior adoption of a new value system, which is a relatively slow process. An example of an incompatible innovation is the use of contraceptive methods in countries where religious beliefs discourage use of family planning, as in certain Muslim and Catholic nations. Previously in this chapter, we saw how the innovation of water boiling was incompatible with the hot-cold belief system in the Peruvian village of Los Molinas.
>
> *Complexity* is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as difficult to understand and use. Some innovations are readily comprehended by most members of a social system; others are more complicated and are adopted more slowly. For example, the villagers in Los Molinas did not understand germ theory, which the health worker tried to explain to them as a reason for boiling their drinking water. New ideas that are simpler to understand are adopted more rapidly than innovations that require the adopter to develop new skills and understandings, such as the Dvorak keyboard.

Ibid., 15-6.

[212] Wejnert, "Integrating Models of Diffusion," 303-4.

with on a limited basis."[213] If the innovation's claims and outcomes are clearly perceptible and easily testable, there is a greater likeliness of its acceptance.[214] By investigating these three factors of diffusion within African societies it will be possible to demonstrate why Pentecostal innovations have likely spread across the continent and internationally through such communities as APCC.

3.4.1 The Relative Advantage of Pentecostalism

While discussing the significant growth of Pentecostal Christianity across Africa, Anderson explains: "Healing and protection from evil are the most prominent practices in the liturgy of many African independent churches and are probably the most important elements in their evangelism and church recruitment."[215] Certainly, this emphasis has

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[213] Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovation*, 16.

[214] Rogers describes both Triability and Observability as follows:

> *Trialability* is the degree to which an innovation may be experimented with on a limited basis. New ideas that can be tried on the instalment plan will generally be adopted more quickly than innovations that are not divisible. Ryan and Gross (1943) found that every one of their Iowa farmer respondents adopted hybrid seed corn by first trying it on a partial basis. If the new seed could not have been sampled experimentally, its rate of adoption would have been much slower. Even then, many years of trial occurred before the typical Iowa farmer planted 100 percent of his corn acreage in hybrid seed. An innovation that is trialable represents less uncertainty to the individual who is considering it for adoption, as it is possible to learn by doing. *Observability* is the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to others. The easier it is for individuals to see the results of an innovation, the more likely they are to adopt. Such visibility stimulates peer discussion of a new idea, as the friends and neighbours of an adopter often request innovation evaluation information about it. Solar water-heating adopters, for example, are often found in neighbourhood clusters in California, with three or four adopters located on the same block. Many other city blocks have no solar flat-plate collectors. The clustering of visible innovations is one evidence for the importance of observbility (and peer-to-peer networks). Other consumer innovations, such as home computers, are relatively low in observability and thus diffuse more slowly.

Ibid.

[215] Anderson, *African Reformation,* 35.

provided Pentecostal religious innovations with a particular relative advantage amongst African societies, in which "religion serves as a survival strategy, providing ritual contexts for the struggle against supernatural evil."[216] That is, with its emphasis on healings and the provision of physical needs, Pentecostal movements have provided systematic religious and spiritual benefit. In an African worldview there is a decreased natural/supernatural dichotomy, and as Fred B. Welbourn explains, all phenomena in the universe are perceived "as the expression of a mysterious force, which may or may not be personalised, which men may try to control for their own advantage but to which they are ultimately subject."[217] The African worldview does not necessarily "accommodate the Western tendency to separate physical and spiritual, natural or supernatural, personal and social."[218] Thus, the religious practice that is the most effective in manipulating this force to more adequately satiate physical and emotional needs will likely be viewed as possessing the greatest relative advantage.[219]

With the particular attention paid to healing and protection, Pentecostal churches have provided "their followers with the weapons of the Spirit they need to fight back against the forces of evil as they manifest themselves in disease and discord."[220] In a

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[216] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 237.
[217] Fred B. Welbourn, "The Natural and the Supernatural," *Atoms and Ancestors*, http://www.ucalgary.ca/%7Enurelweb/books/atoms/CP2.html (accessed March 25, 2007).
[218] Anderson, "Stretching the Definitions," 102.
[219] Justin S. Ukpong notes:

> Traditionally, for the African, religion is not merely a matter of going to church or observing a set of principles; it is a way of life that permeates all spheres and levels of living. One seeks material well-being, like healing, as well as spiritual well-being, like forgiveness of sin, within the religious context.

Justin S. Ukpong, *African Theologies Now* (Kenya: Gaba Publications, 1984), 11.
[220] Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 246-7.

world in which the "threatening fears"[221] of witchcraft, magic, and spiritual forces are prevalent,[222] the Holy Spirit, working through the leaders of Pentecostal movements, imparts "a very real and an ostensibly biblical solution to the questions relating to tangible physical needs and the persistence of affliction in the midst of woefully inadequate health care."[223] Instead of having to seek out "traditional rituals and medicines," an African now has access to prophets and healers who can exorcise evil spirits and provide protection in the power of the Holy Spirit.[224] Indeed, incorporated within these Christian movements is a "crisp, clear, and direct message, which speaks to many concerns of the average person in terms that are both appealing and interesting."[225] An unmistakable relative advantage is formulated through:

> The deployment of divine resources, that is power and authority in the name or blood of Jesus—perceived in pneumatological terms as the intervention of the Holy Spirit—to provide release for demon-possessed, oppressed, broken, disturbed, and troubled persons, in order that victims may be restored to 'proper functioning order,' that is, to 'health and wholeness;' and being thus freed from demonic influences and curses, people may then enjoy God's fullness of life understood to be available in Christ.[226]

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[221] Opoku Onyinah, "Deliverance as a Way of Confronting Witchcraft in Modern Africa: Ghana as a Case History," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 5:1 (2002): 107.
[222] See: Welbourn, "Things go wrong - witchcraft and sorcery," *Atoms and Ancestors*.
[223] Anderson, "Stretching the Definitions," 106.
[224] Ibid., 107.
[225] Emmanuel y. Lartey, "Of Formulae, Fear, and Faith: Current Issues of Concern for Pastoral Care in Africa," *Trinity Journal of Church and Theology*, 1:1/1:2 (2001): 9, as quoted by Asmamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 236.
[226] J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *Renewal within African Christianity: A Historical and Theological Study of Independent Indigenous Pentecostal Movements in Ghana* (PhD Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2000), 235, as quoted in J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu "'Christ is the Answer': What is the Question? A Ghana Airways Prayer Vigil and its Implications for Religion, Evil and Public Space," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35:1 (2005): 98.

A general "holistic salvation"[227] is offered by these movements, whose successes are thus detailed:

> The success of charismatic Christianity in Africa has lain largely in its ability to propagate itself as powerful and efficacious in enabling people to be set free from the dangers and troubles of life.[228]

In this context it is evident why Africans have readily accepted a form of Christianity that offers a solution to "*all* life's problems and a way to cope in a threatening world."[229]

3.4.2 The Compatibility/Complexity of Pentecostalism

The compatibility/complexity of Pentecostal belief-structures is quite evident in the acceptance of miraculous healings and spiritual cosmology; coinciding with many facets of traditional African religious epistemology.[230] "In Africa," explains J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "healing is a function of religion, and this is evident not only in traditional religions, but also in indigenous Christianity."[231] Undoubtedly, Pentecostal beliefs "provide a setting in which the African conviction that spirituality and healing

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[227] Anderson, "Stretching the Definitions," 110.
[228] Lartey, "Of Formulae," 8, as quoted by Asmamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 237.
[229] Anderson, "Stretching the Definitions," 101.
[230] See also the potential points of compatibility within Christianity and African religious that are often stressed in African Christianity, as highlighted by Jenkins' discussion of the book of Genesis:

> For African believers, the pleasant shock of recognition is especially strong in the first twelve or so chapters of Genesis. In the calling of Abram, readers with any sense of African roots will encounter many well-known ideas. The story tells of the origin of a tribe or clan with particular claims to a precious tract of land, a promise sealed by the construction of an altar and an act of sacrifice, and an emphasis on the rights of a community rather than an individual or a nuclear family. The story even takes place near a sacred tree. And the movements of the patriarchal clans are often driven by the endemic threat of famine.

Jenkins. *New Faces of Christianity*, 46.
[231] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 234.

belong together is dramatically enacted,"[232] such that Harvey Cox views Pentecostalism as a resurgence of primal spirituality.[233] As Asamoa-Gyadu makes clear:

> In Africa, Pentecostal religion is popular because it takes indigenous worldviews of mystical causalities seriously, democratizes access to the sacred, and purveys an interventionist piety that helps ordinary people to cope with the fears and insecurities of life.[234]

Coinciding with the relative advantage of placating such anxieties, Pentecostal churches also use a holistic belief system compatible with African cosmology and epistemology. In other forms of Christianity, African "religious experiences were explained away either as superstition or as figments of their imagination."[235] Nevertheless, Pentecostalism has done neither.[236]

Anderson notes that in Africa the "spirit world infiltrates the whole of life," such that, "All things are saturated with religious meaning." When considering this it is evident that, "Any religion that only caters for one portion of African experience—which

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[232] Ibid., 247.
[233] Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 81-157.
[234] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 232.
[235] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 41.
[236] Ogbu Kalu describes in greater detail the successes of Pentecostalism in Africa due to the interaction between Pentecostal movements and African religion:

> The major contribution of the movement is how these religious groups address the continued reality of the forces expressed in African cultural forms… Contrary to the early missionary attitude that urged cultural rejection, Pentecostals take the African map of the universe seriously, acknowledging that culture is both a redemptive gift as well as capable of being hijacked. They perceive a kindred atmosphere and resonance in a biblical contrast between a Godly covenant and the snares of other covenants and, therefore, the need for testing the spirits. They appreciate the tensile strength of the spiritual ecology in Africa and the clash of covenants in the effort to displace the spirits at the gates of individuals and communities with a legitimate spiritual authority. Salvation is posed in a conflict scenario… Both the indigenous African and the Christian worldviews are spiritualized or charismatic worldviews.

Ogbu Kalu, *Power, Poverty, and Prayer: The Challenge s of Poverty and Pluralism in African Christianity, 1960-1996* (Trenton and Asmara: Africa World Press, 2006), 149-50.

portion in isolation does not have any real meaning or even existence—will often appear inadequate." Consequently, in Africa, "Religious conversion usually takes place where the religious alternative is seen as meeting perceived and felt needs."[237] Suitably, Pentecostalism has been identified for its "capacity to adapt itself to local social concerns and cosmologies," and thus it maintains similar perceived complexity with local religious considerations, as its notions of the "fight between good and evil" may be readily "translated into a myriad of local issues."[238] In this way African Pentecostalism does not simply deny the existence of traditional spirits and beliefs, but appropriates them within a larger Christian cosmology. Thus, its complexity is comparable with African religion.[239] This can be witnessed in the general assumption that witches, ancestral spirits, magic, possession, and other beliefs inherent in various African religions, do in fact exist.[240] Though these facets of African religions are positioned beneath the hierarchical authority of Christianity's God, they are, nonetheless, not patently denied. The importance of this is detailed by Kwame Bediako, who explains the differences between the appeal, or lack thereof, of various Christian traditions to Africans: "If the Christian faith as it was transmitted failed to take serious account of the traditional beliefs held about 'gods many and lords many,' ancestors, spirits and other spiritual agencies and their impact on human life," then, "It is unable to sympathize with or relate to the spiritual realities of the

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[237] Anderson, "Exorcism and Conversion," 132.
[238] Rosalind Shaw, "Displacing Violence: Making Pentecostal Memory in Postwar Sierra Leone," *Cultural Anthropology* 22:1 (2007): 70-1.
[239] For instance, see Anderson's discussion of South African churches and the *Tokoloshe*. Alan Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of African Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2000), 176-9.
[240] See: Anderson, "Exorcism and Conversion."

traditional world-view."[241] Pentecostal Christianity, however, *does* sympathize with these realities.

In a very practical manner the Pentecostal means of "enabling certain men and women to predict future events, warn of impending misfortunes, detect evil-doers, and, above all, to cure illnesses,"[242] works in parallel with extant African religious theory and praxis. For instance, while African religions often incorporate traditional healers/diviners and prophets,[243] Pentecostal leaders frequently become the *diagnosers* of various afflictions, and identify the problems caused by spirits or evil powers of magic.[244] Additionally, Hollenweger identifies the "oral structures" of Pentecostalism, which appear to be particularly conducive to African religious contexts. He identifies oral liturgy, narrative theology and witness, reconciliatory and participant community, along with the annexation of visions and dreams during worship, and finally the consideration of body and mind relationships as witnessed in healing through prayer and liturgical dance.[245] As Asamoah-Gyadu explains:

> These oral structures involving the employment of oral theology, that is parables, testimonies, dances, stories, spontaneous singing and so on which form 'the communication-process' of Pentecostalism, account in part for the popularity of the movement in Third World countries like Ghana.[246]

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[241] Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 69.
[242] Christian G. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana: A Study of Some Spiritual Churches* (London: SCM Press, 1962), 15.
[243] Anderson, "Stretching the Definitions," 106.
[244] See: Marthinus L. Daneel, "Communication and Liberation in African Independent Churches." *Missionalia* 11:1 (1983): 57-93.
[245] Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 23.
[246] Asamoah Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 52.

Consequently, the enthusiastically spontaneous services of Pentecostal churches, with memorized and adaptable oral liturgies, are somewhat analogous to the non-textual African religious heritages.[247]

Therefore, it is not surprising that Pentecostalism has been accepted within African societies. Furthermore, in Africa it is often the case that "one form of religion does not necessarily negate another," such that "people in their search for answers to problems, may easily accumulate in their personal world as many religious resources as they deem appropriate for their salvific needs."[248] As a result, within the African religious search for "power,"[249] the Holy Spirit, "who anoints, heals, or empowers,"[250] may be more easily acceptable in its Pentecostal formulations. Thus, in its acknowledgment of various local religious conventions, Pentecostalism appears to possess a relatively high proportion of compatibility and similarly perceived complexity within African cultural contexts.

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[247] Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 269-71.
[248] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 237.
[249] Regarding this J.R. Washington Jr. states, in what should be interpreted as somewhat essentialized statement: "Africans are power worshipers. They seek power in all things and respect power potential wherever it is made manifest." Turner also identifies this concept of power in Pentecostalism and African religion, in contrast with non-African Christianities:

> …it is the independents who help us to see the overriding African concern for spiritual power from a mighty God to overcome all enemies and evils that threaten human life and vitality, hence their extensive ministry of mental and physical healing. This is rather different from the Western preoccupation with atonement for sin and forgiveness of guilt.

Joseph R. Washington Jr., *Black Sects and Cults* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1973), 29; Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, 210.
[250] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 237.

3.4.3 The Observability/Trialability of Pentecostalism

The observability/trialability of Pentecostal movements in Africa has been extensive, linked closely to its compatibility and relative advantage. It has been mediated through the oral practices of such movements, the extensive use of media by Pentecostal churches, and the proliferation of this form of Christianity through widespread missional efforts. Gifford describes a "Pentecostal wave" of missionaries that "flooded into Africa"[251] during the 1980's, who both delivered and allowed individuals to test the innovations of Pentecostalism across the continent. However, foreign missions have often been eclipsed by extensive indigenous evangelistic activity, which harnessed a "spiritual hunger that needed to be assuaged in a truly African expression of Christianity, and not merely a Western importation of it."[252] This is clearly represented in the abundant use of mass media techniques to extend Pentecostal visibility. These often broadcast personal testimonies of the miraculous acts of God, proclaiming that, "Cripples have walked, barren women have given birth, and various tumours have disappeared."[253] Though African Pentecostal groups were not the first to use "modern media technologies

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[251] Gifford, "Some Recent Developments," 515-6.
[252] Anderson, *Bazalwane*, 18.
[253] Asamoah-Gyadu relates the numerous accounts of published testimonies of miraculous healings. This is represented in a testimony described in a Ghanaian book, which explains the account of an individual healed from sickle-cell anemia:

> I was bom with a sickle-cell disease, and for a long time I had suffered many things. In February 1994, at the Anointing Service of the monthly Breakthrough Seminar, Bishop Oyedepo told us to take a cupful of the anointing oil, that it would mean divine health forever. I said 'Lord that is it! It is going to be forever!' I forgot all about it, until the day we had to go for a laboratory test….One week later, when I collected the result, my blood group read AA. To the glory of God, my blood group, which on the 17th of September 1980 read genotype SS, now reads genotype AA.

David O. Oyedepo, *The Mystery of the Anointing* (Lagos: Dominion Publishing House, 1995), 32-3, quoted in Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 240.

for religious purposes," it is evident that "they have more readily learned and embraced the techniques needed to propagate their message on a mass scale since they started gaining prominence in the 1970s."[254] Inundating radio, newspaper, and television mediums, Pentecostal messages effectively disseminated the innovations of this Christian tradition within Africa; challenging individuals to test the miraculous claims of Pentecostalism.[255] Asamoah-Gyadu presents such a scenario when describing the advertising linked to Ghanaian charismatic worship services: "In Ghana, a number of handbills, invitation cards, television clips with dramatic scenes of the Spirit in action, radio announcements, wall posters, and street overhead banners, advertise various worship services that culminate with anointing."[256]

Furthermore, Hollenweger notes Pentecostalism's particular communicative approaches.[257] These mark Pentecostal churches with exemplified emotional services, dancing, no hymnals, and a focus on rhythm through drums, tambourines, and the stamping of feet and the clapping of hands.[258] This corresponds to the "oral structures" of Pentecostalism identified above, and is also compatible with the communication and worship techniques of many African cultures, which often use "musical rhythm to communicate a holistic experience of human existence."[259] Such Pentecostal

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[254] Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "Charismatic/Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28:3 (1998): 262-3.
[255] See also Asamoah-Gyadu's discussion of the "rise of youth gospel music groups," and the "Pentecostal style of music as accounting partly for the movement's phenomenal growth in the Third World." Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 107.
[256] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 233.
[257] Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, xviii.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Robert A. Mills, "Musical Prayers: Reflections on the African Roots of Pentecostal Music," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, 12 (1998): 113.

communicative malleability is discussed by Hollenweger when addressing the worldwide Pentecostalism:

> Their main medium of communication is not the book or the newspaper but the proverb, the chorus, the joke, the testimony, the miracle story, the television and radio program. If in a given culture dancing and singing are forms of communication, the embodying of the message is in dancing and singing. If eating and walking together on a pilgrimage are the forms of communication in the respective culture, then this will be the embodying of the message.[260]

It is through this effective communication, ranging from Pentecostalism's oral-based worship to mass media initiates, that the observability/trialability of this religious innovation has been appreciable within Africa.

3.4.4 The Diffusion of Pentecostal Innovations within APCC

Whilst Pentecostalism has become an unrelenting success in Africa, and Ghana specifically, it must be acknowledged that experiences within the African diaspora are dissimilar from a significant portion of Africans on the continent. Therefore, it may be considered impetuous to assume that what has aided the diffusion of Pentecostal innovations throughout Africa serves to maintain Pentecostalism within APCC. Nonetheless, it is apparent that APCC does sustain comparable conceptions that have been deemed responsible for the success of Pentecostalism in Africa, and with the proliferation of Pentecostalism worldwide. For instance, the APCC community avers a "pragmatic pursuit of the things needed for the reinforcement of life blessings, children, health, longevity, protection and general wellbeing," which coincides with a

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[260] Walter J. Hollenweger, "A Black Pentecostal Concept: A Forgotten Chapter of Black History—The Black Pentecostals' Contribution," *Concept* 30 (1970): 9, as quoted in George Eaton Simpson, "Black Pentecostalism in the United States," *Phylon* 35:2 (1974): 206.

holistic/practical form Christianity.[261] Furthermore, APCC members assert a vigorous belief in spirits, devils, and curses, while also emphasizing the constituents that have apparently led to Pentecostalism's elevated observability/trialability in Ghana and the rest of the continent. This is most likely linked to the somewhat recent immigration of APCC's members to Canada, and the verity of a robust African Christian worldview that perseveres within a non-African society. However, it is important to investigate exactly how APCC relates to global and African Pentecostalism specifically, and how it has evolved within the diaspora. The intention of the next chapter is to evaluate and contrast APCC with worldwide and African Pentecostalism; comparing the community's theory and praxis with characteristics of Pentecostalism, and those attributes which have made Pentecostalism so successful in Africa.

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[261] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 49.

PART 2

PORTRAYING APCC: THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION AND DESCRIPTION OF AN AFRICAN DIASPORA CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

CHAPTER 4

BLESSINGS IN A FOREIGN LAND: INVESTIGATING APCC USING THE DIFFUSION OF INNOVATIONS

> You will be blessed in the city and blessed in the country. The fruit of your womb will be blessed, and the crops of your land and the young of your livestock—the calves of your herds and the lambs of your flocks. Your basket and your kneading trough will be blessed. You will be blessed when you come in and blessed when you go out. The LORD will grant that the enemies who rise up against you will be defeated before you.
>
> Deuteronomy 28:3-8

> The success of charismatic Christianity in Africa has lain largely in its ability to propagate itself as powerful and efficacious in enabling people to be set free from the dangers and troubles of life. The worship and teaching of these churches have by and large been geared towards the experiencing of the effective presence of the Holy Spirit. Christians have been urged and have experienced God in their midst in demonstrable, even tangible ways.
>
> Emmanuel Y. Lartey[262]

4.1 The Diffusion of Innovations within APCC

The previous chapter introduced the investigative scaffold associated with the diffusion of innovations through the concepts of relative advantage, compatibility/complexity, and observability/trialability. This analytical method will now be used for the investigation of APCC, in order to develop a description of the

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[262] Lartey, "Of Formulae," 8, as quoted by Asmamoah-Gyadu, "Unction to Function," 237.

community's religious theory and praxis, while comparing APCC with global and African Pentecostalism. This will serve to demonstrate how the successful features of Pentecostalism in Africa are expressed and appropriated within APCC, revealing the function of this African International Church.

4.2 The Relative Advantage of APCC Christianity

In the previous chapter it was argued that Pentecostalism's tendency to focus upon physical, psychological, spiritual, and financial wellbeing has cultivated its relative advantage across Africa. However, the circumstances of the diaspora in Canada do not necessarily resemble those of Africans in Africa. Nonetheless, African concerns for health, prosperity, and the "spiritual vulnerabilities that are specific to the African community," do not appear to simply evaporate within Canada.[263] The persistence of these considerations, and the relative advantage of each within APCC, will be investigated by focussing upon the following observed phenomena:

1. Adherence to the *Prosperity Gospel*
2. *The Enemy*, *The Enemies*, Curses, and Power
3. Gifts of the Holy Spirit: Glossolalia and Prophecy[264]

4.2.1 Adherence to the *Prosperity Gospel*

Notions of God's blessings of health and financial success, often called the *Prosperity Gospel*, were included in nearly every sermon preached at APCC.[265]

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[263] Tettey and Puplampu, "Border Crossing and Home-Diaspora Linkages among African-Canadians," in Tettey, *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 158.

[264] A fourth category, the predominance of prayer in APCC, could also be discussed within these sections. Prayer is elaborately connected to each of these three APCC characteristics. However, for the sake of brevity this has been omitted from this main discussion. Nonetheless, the researcher's main observations of the practice of prayer within APCC may be found in Appendix 8: The Predominance of Prayer within APCC.

Furthermore, when these points were not mentioned directly by the pastor, they were addressed within the choruses of numerous songs, and printed in the church's periodicals.[266] For instance the songs *Thank You Jesus*, *Great is Jehovah*, and *Hallowed Be Thy Name*, which were sung in APCC, describe Jesus as the "Healer," and the one who gives "perfect health." Church publications boast such articles as: "Can You be Spiritual and Still be Financially Blessed?"[267] Additionally, during the daily morning prayers the pastor recurrently led supplications for health and prosperity, while the Wednesday leadership training seminars habitually focussed upon these points.[268] This resembles contemporary Ghanaian Pentecostalism, in which God is conceived as blessing "faithful Christians with good health, financial success and material wealth."[269] Similar to Asamoah-Gyadu's observations of Ghanaian Christianity, within APCC it is accepted that, "God wants his children to be happy, to eat the best food, at the most expensive restaurants, to appear in the best clothes, often designer made," because, "In short God wants his children to have the best of everything."[270] Furthermore, as Pastor Ogye maintained regarding divine healing, "God said that if you serve Him, He will not bring

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[265] For a discussion of 'The Prosperity Gospel' see: Simon Coleman, *The Globalization of Charismatic Christianity: Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Simon Coleman, "The Faith Movement: A Global Religious Culture," *Culture and Religion* 3 (2002): 3-19.
[266] The expression of the Prosperity Gospel in APCC often reflects the phenomenon found in Paul Gifford's observations of Ghanaian Pentecostalism. See: Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, 44-53, 61-70.
[267] Paul Kamara [pseud.],"Can You be Spiritual and Still be Financially Blessed?" *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 48 (2007): 10.
[268] It is notable that the focus on financial success also seems to eliminate any potential dichotomy between business and church, such that church periodicals often contained both articles on spiritual and business matters. Furthermore, advertisements for local businesses owned by church members constituted approximately one-third of church periodicals.
[269] For a discussion of the roots of this teaching in Ghana see: Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 203-5.
[270] Ibid., 206.

the diseases and all these things; and He will bless our food and our water and there will be no barrenness in the land."

Coinciding with these teachings are the APCC instructions on tithing. Prosperity and health are conceived as being reciprocal to personal sacrifice, generally expressed in the financial tithe to APCC. The blessings of God are constrained by the failure of individuals to give adequately to the church. However, if in an act of faith a congregant tithes ten percent or more of his or her income, God will respond with prosperity and health. Thus, when the founder of the church visited APCC he explained that, "Giving will activate God's spiritual power," and lead to personal prosperity.[271] Similarly, an article in APCC's periodical explains that "as we learn to give, [God] will also give back to us in good measure, pressed down, shaken together and running over."[272] Approval of this teaching was supported unanimously by the twenty participants, and Andrew Mandla, an active board member and leader in APCC, openly voiced the same belief in relation to his thriving business:

> I am going to pay my tithe. And if I don't pay my tithe then business is slow. If I pay may tithe, it shoots up…The whole tithing concept, it works for me. January was slow, I didn't pay my tithe…The first week, after I paid my tithe, the sales were good. I increased the second week. Sales went up.

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[271] The same notions appeared in APCC training materials, such as a recent article entitled "Tapping Supernatural Powers for Expansion." David Joshua [pseud.], "Tapping Supernatural Powers for Expansion," *APCC Cell Manual*, January 28 to February 3, 2008.
[272] Tricia Ogundare [pseud.], "Developing your Christian Walk," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 48 (2007): 4.

Correspondingly, Stephanie Marova insisted: "I believe that when you pay your tithe, every Sunday, every pay check, God really do his work."[273] This viewpoint was considered more than simply theoretical by APCC members, who often detailed their financial and academic successes. Most members held leadership positions within their vocations, managing businesses and economic ventures that were often worth millions, if not billions of dollars. For instance, Kwasi Onyansafo noted that he was now managing enterprises worth 3.4 billion dollars, "And I can say: 'God, you are my helper.'"[274]

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[273] Unlike most of the other APCC participants, Stephanie Marova lives in a relatively less wealthy area of Calgary, and her family of four children share a unit in a housing complex. However, Stephanie still advocates for the Prosperity Gospel, as she explained that she now she lives much better in Canada than she might in Liberia. Furthermore, the fact that she was alive, and not a victim of the Liberian civil war was given as a testament to this viewpoint.

[274] These findings of academic and financial success within the African diaspora in Canada mirror similar observations in the United States made by Dennis D. Cordell. These observations also coincide with Samuel A. Laryea and John E. Hayfron's research of Africans in Canada, as they delineate that:

> In 1996, African immigrant men working full-time earned $30,828 on average, compared to $26,317 for Asians, $36,354 for U.S./Europeans, $27,666 for Caribbean/Latin Americans, and $33,119 for native-born Canadians. Contrary to our expectation, African immigrant women working full-time earned slightly more on average than their Canadian-born counterparts; $25,274 compared to $24,471 . Earnings for Asian women, Caribbean/ Latin American women, and U. S./ European women were $20,274, $22,446, and $25,304, respectively.

Furthermore, statistics demonstrate that:

> …43.4 percent of African-born immigrant men are employed in high-skilled occupations (skill level IV), compared to 29.1 percent of Asian men, 30.8 percent of U. S./European men, 19 percent of Caribbean/Latin American men, and 25.3 percent of Canadian-born men. The distribution in the low-skilled occupation (skill level I) shows that 8.4 percent of African immigrant men are employed in low-skilled occupations, compared to 12.4 percent of Asian men, 9.7 percent of U.S./European men, 14.3 percent of Caribbean/Central American men, and 10.5 percent of Canadian-born men.

Africans in the diaspora are generally more financially successful than other immigrants, which was represented in APCC. According to church members, this success was hinged significantly upon the blessings of God and the Prosperity Gospel. See: Dennis D. Cordell, "Paradoxes of Immigrant Incorporation: High Achievement and Perceptions of Discrimination by Nigerians in Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas (USA)," in *Trans-Atlantic Migration*, eds. Falola and Afolabi, 13-7; Samuel A. Laryea and John E. Hayfron, "African Immigrants & The Labour Market: Exploring Career Opportunities, Earning Differentials, & Job Satisfaction," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 116, 118.

Coupled with this is a common APCC teaching that incorporates the necessity of "positive confession," or "claiming" the health and wealth which congregants desired from God.[275] To faithfully declare prosperity and health is to manifest its happening. For instance, APCC's 2007 training materials instructed church leaders to guide "members into these powerful confessions":

- I will prosper in 2007.
- I will be healed in 2007
- I will be healthy this year.
- I will live but not die to proclaim the glory of the Lord.
- I will love God better this year than any time in my life.
- I will be better Christian this year than before.
- I will marry and have children.
- I will be faithful to God in my tithing.
- God shall supply all my needs.
- I shall have victory in every area of my life.
- I will be out of debt in the year 2007.
- My children will serve the Lord in 2007[276]

Accordingly, APCC leadership declared that 2007 would be a "Year of Inheritance," and 2008 the "Year of Expansion"; the first involved claiming a "divine inheritance" fitting the "children of God," and the second incorporated professing "divine expansion" in areas of finances, miracles, and church membership.[277] Occasionally such confessions

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[275] For more on "positive confession" see: Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 220-4.
[276] David Joshua [pseud.], "Your Victory is in Your Mouth (Part 1B)," *APCC Cell Manual*, January 16 to 24, 2007.
[277] These statements of "positive confession" subsequently appear on all church publications, including weekly bulletins, periodicals, church calendars, and training materials, such as the cell manual article "Tapping Supernatural Powers for Expansion," mentioned previously. This article states:

> So in 2008: I. Dare to ask God to bless you in a new way. God will release divine favour on you that will cause miracles to happen in your life; II. Dare to ask God to enlarge your borders. God will cause you to have greater influence at work, in business, at home, in finances, and in ministry, the more you serve Him the more He will prosper you; III. Dare to ask God to be with you. God will increase the anointing upon you and His presence will go with you as you step up in faith to do exploits for Him; IV. Dare to ask God to keep you from evil. God will

were completed in written form. Thus, during a sermon Pastor Ogye told congregants: "Write down on a piece of paper what you want." Consequently, APCC's teachings on health and prosperity match those observed in Ghana, as noted in Asamoah-Gyadu's three observed aspects of contemporary Ghanaian Pentecostalism:

> (1) the positive endorsement of material wealth and consumerism as a sign of God's blessing; (2) God's blessing as based on the principles or laws of 'sowing and reaping,' that is, blessing comes through giving; and (3) the belief that the 'power of positive confession' is important for the realisation of prosperity.[278]

The focus on divine healing, however, was not meant to be taken as a challenge to modern medicine.[279] Indeed, while every participant claimed some experience of divine healing, church members never denied the benefit of modern healthcare.[280] The "Testimony Corner" of church periodicals often featured cases of God's miraculous healing, in which "God is bigger than any sickness or disease," in conjunction with

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> not lead you into temptation. God will keep the enemy away from you as you expand to the right and to the left.

Another training article explained: "This is why the only way to talk is to speak words that are filled with faith. Your faith is determined by the words you utter! The words you say will oblige God to back you!" Joshua,"Tapping Supernatural Powers"; David Joshua [pseud.] "The Talk of Champions Part I," *APCC Cell Manual*, May 19 to 25, 2008.

[278] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 211.

[279] For instance, some church periodicals include a section entitled "Your Health Matters," in which African diaspora healthcare practitioners explain various ailments so that congregants may prevent sickness. As an example, the July 2007 edition contains an article by a dentist who described periodontal disease, how to avoid it, and how it may be alleviated. Jessica Dartey [pseud.], "Periodontal (Gum) Disease," *The Witness*: *The Voice of* [APCC] 48 (2007): 11.

[280] When asked about miracles, participants invariably recounted some story of divine healing. For example, Joshua Ashänafinät related one such story:

> At that time, every Friday [APCC] had all night prayer, and I love that! And, uh, one night, my son had the asthma, and because they know him, everyone cried! In a special way, everyone was crying. And [snaps his fingers] when I went home my son was [snaps his fingers] healed! Like [snaps fingers] that! He has never had asthma that strong ever again! That is the way that I saw that there is power in the church.

western medicine.[281] Nonetheless, it was often the case that the limits of medicine were regularly affirmed within APCC, such that doctors where viewed as simply being instruments for healing, while God was perceived as, in the words of Abraham Vimbika and Austin Akinsanya, "The True Healer."[282] Moreover, while the necessity of tithing was clear, members denied that money was needed to purchase God's beneficence. Thus Adeola Ayõ explained:

> Our Christianity is free. Salvation is free. Why would you have to take money to solve a problem? There's nowhere in the Bible that says that Jesus took money to heal the blind or to heal the lame, or to raise the dead.

Teachings of financial success were also affiliated with a social obligation to share gained riches with others. Like a reaffirming mantra, the pastor and participants often iterated: "God blesses us so that we may be a blessing to others." Therefore, despite the apparent theological problems associated with the Prosperity Gospel, congregants claimed a philanthropic conception of the wealth God bestows.[283] This was represented in the church's own international development agency, which actively works in Ghana, and whose purpose is "to improve the standard of living, reduce poverty and assist local people in becoming self-sufficient," by "conducting programs in Education, Heath Care and Entrepreneurship."[284] Such a focus also coincides with the transnational

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[281] "Testimony Corner," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 47 (2006): 6; "Testimonies," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 48 (2006): 7.

[282] For more on the historical African diaspora Pentecostal conceptions of "divine healing" and medical treatment see: Yvonne P. Chirea, *Black Magic: Religion and the African American Conjuring Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 113-5.

[283] For cogent arguments against the Prosperity Gospel, see: Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 215; Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, 44-53, 61-70.

[284] A brochure for APCC 's international development agency states further that this program currently manages a women's development centre, "to support the full participation of women and girls in the various aspects of society through training and educational programs," a child sponsorship program, which

remittance observed within the African diaspora,[285] by which Africans send significant portions of their earnings to family and friends still living in the African countries of origin.[286] That is, through the Prosperity Gospel APCC provides the diaspora a compatible spiritual apparatus by which to experience wealth, along with a means for providing remittance and meeting the practical needs of society.[287]

It is evident that the relative advantage of the Prosperity Gospel is not only a benefit in Africa, where, according to participant Leah Jumoke, "Things are not so rosy,"

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serves to "improve the lives of our most vulnerable members of society," and another project that "provides emergency food assistance to help needy families both in North America and Africa, through the establishment of community food banks." APCC, "[APCC] International Development Agency: Hope for Tomorrow."

[285] For more on African diaspora remittance: Giles Mohan and A. B. Zack-Williams, "Globalisation from Below: Conceptualising the Role of the African Diasporas in Africa's Development," *Review of African Political Economy* 29:92 (2002): 211-36; John A. Arthur, "The New African Diaspora in North America: Policy Implications," in *The New African Diaspora*, eds. Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur, 294.

[286] It is of interest to note the words of the APCC international development agency's program manager, who implores Africans in the diaspora send money back to the continent. Using Biblical texts she explains the importance of such remittance:

> Biblically we find that immigrants have often been required to build their places of origin. For example, Daniel, while in Babylon, became a battle axe in God's hands, and made intercession and supplication for God's mercies over Israel. Daniel 9:16-17 says: "O Lord, according to all Your righteousness I pray, let Your anger and Your fury be turned away from Your city Jerusalem, Your holy mountain; because for our sins and for the iniquities of our fathers Jerusalem and Your people are a reproach to all those around us. Now therefore, our God hears the prayer of Your servant, and his supplications and for the Lord's sake cause Your face to shine on Your sanctuary, which is desolate." The Bible also tells us of Nehemiah, whom God used to rebuild the walls of the great city. Nehemiah 6:15-16 says: "So the wall was finished on the twenty fifth day of Elul, in fifty-two days. And it happened when all our enemies heard of it, and all the nations around us saw these things, that they were very disheartened in their own eyes; for they perceived that this work was done by our God." What has this got to do with you and me? Everything. Whether you're living in North America or Europe, you have the ability to bless, and potentially change the lives of those who are less fortunate back home!

Isabella Hammah [pseud.], "You Can Make a Difference: Reach out to Those Back Home," *The Witness*: *The Voice of* [APCC] 47 (2006): 9.

[287] It is of import to note that these socio-political initiatives contradict Paul Gifford's claims that Pentecostals are not interested in addressing the practical needs of society. See: Paul Gifford, *The New Crusaders: Christianity and the New Right in Southern Africa* (London: Pluto, 1991).

and people "need something more to believe in." Most of the participants explained that it was faith in God, conjoined with the Prosperity Gospel, which had miraculously "opened the door" for immigration to North America, and that there is now subsequently a continuous requirement to rely upon God while living in Canada. Likewise, God was viewed as delivering prosperity to the diaspora as the community continues to wade through the complexity of living in a foreign land. Therefore, the relative advantage of the Prosperity Gospel was just as significant in Canada as it was in Africa. Hence, APCC functioned as a potent source of God's power within Canada, leading to miraculous interruptions of the mundane; described as physical healing and divine financial provision.[288] Concatenated with this were perceptions of Satan, demons, curses, and power.

4.2.2 *The Enemy*, *The Enemies*, Curses, and Power

While discussing the Prosperity Gospel, it was customary for the pastor of APCC to mention that Satan, and/or demons, may intervene in a Christian's life to foil divine blessings. Satan can keep individuals from experiencing financial success and physical health, destroy marriages and families, and strongly influence people towards detrimental behaviour. This satanic power was frequently associated with witchcraft and curses, corresponding with observations that "witchcraft and the fears that it generates are still a big concern among Africans in Canada, even though they function in a society where these superstitions and the metaphysical trappings of this phenomenon do not hold much,

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[288] This is apparent in church periodicals. For instance, such articles as the one entitled, "God Truly is a God of Miracles" constitute much of the church writings. Wendy Oteri [pseud.], "God Truly is a God of Miracles," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 48 (2007): 7.

if any, sway."[289] Thus, within APCC it became familiar to hear talk of Satan as *the enemy*, along with the term *the enemies*, which was used dualistically to refer to both human and spiritual adversaries.[290] Within this context one APCC periodical testimony declared, "But the enemy began to attack me," such that, "He used my family as a main tool of attack, to the point where my family was almost destroyed."[291] Another testimony proclaimed: "I want to say to the enemies that although you have taken away my job, my husband, and my license as a practical nurse, I thank God that I am still alive."[292] A further article stated that "the enemy attacks us with anxiety and insomnia," though "we are encouraged not to give in to the intimidation and fear of the enemy."[293] As Pastor Ogye noted, the detrimental activity in an individual's vocation and family life may be caused by the demonic "spirit behind" events, "like the spirit of division."[294]

All twenty participants of this study declared that such demonic forces were active, and that people with ill intent could harness these against others, making it necessary to turn to divine protection. Abraham Vimbika confessed, "I really do believe

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[289] Tettey and Puplampu, "Border Crossings," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 158.
[290] Note: The African Christian focus on spiritual forces, protection, and power discussed here are sometimes considered to be a form of Christian syncretism. The present study does not pursue this avenue of inquiry, for as Ninian Smart advances, syncretism is a feature of all religions. Furthermore, the terminology of syncretism is much contested and beyond the realm of the current project. Additionally, with the complex interplay of global Pentecostalism, and the historical development of Christianity across various cultures and societies, it would be difficult to declare exactly which aspect of African, and specifically APCC's, Pentecostalism may be syncretic and what part may not be. See: Ninian Smart, *Beyond Ideology: Religion and the Future of Western Civilization* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981); Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, eds., *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* (New York: Routledge, 1994).
[291] Philip Solomon [pseud.], "From Mouse to Man of God," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 48 (2007): 6.
[292] Kirsten Archibong [pseud.],"God is Bigger than any Problem," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 49 (2007): 9.
[293] David Joshua [pseudo.], "Prayer and Faith," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 48 (2007):3.
[294] According to APCC teachings, these attacks can negatively influence business practice, causing people to "begin their enterprise/project expecting to fail." David Joshua [pseud.], "Going Past the Finish Line," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 46 (2006): 8.

that there are some, you know, dark powers; some evil forces that people can use against a person," and that, "God is the only one that can protect you from those things." As such, each participant had a strong belief in the Devil, and most participants alleged to have experienced demonic activity within their own lives. Bayo Ôgbön asserted that in APCC, "You believe that once you become a Christian, you have an enemy, and that enemy is the Devil." This enemy "doesn't want you to be close to your creator." While describing the Devil, and negative spiritual activity, Aaron Çbô noted that, "I have experienced it," and, "The Devil is real, the forces are real, but the name of Jesus, God, is more."

Almost synonymous with *the enemies* are notions of curses. These were described by Pastor Ogye as "words spoken against your life," which are any malevolent articulations stated against someone. These result in hostile spiritual activity, targeted at an individual, which may be incarnated as sickness or financial impediments. Curses can be preconceived, or simply caused by someone uttering a derisive statement and activating negative spiritual forces.[295] While these curses were generally perceived as being in opposition to the work of God, some participants conceded that they had recently used them for themselves. For instance, when discussing his expensive television set, Darren Uro explained that he previously spoke words of protection over it, such that a curse would befall anyone who may steal it: "I say whoever comes to steal my

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[295] For instance, Pastor Ogye explained that simply speaking in anger against an individual, without the intent of cursing people, still can formulate a potent spiritual blight. Regarding this he noted:

> Like, let's assume that at times when you are angry, what comes from your mouth, and you speak negatively. And the Bible says death and life are in the power of the tongue. You see. So it's very very important.

TV, I say, 'May that person be afflicted with disease.'" He went on to describe the severe boils and other ailments that would undoubtedly afflict any thieves.

Additionally, it was also apparent that spirits or demons were envisaged as residing within people, through various forms of spiritual possession. Thus, in one sermon the pastor mentioned that demons may influence an individual's activity from within. These interloping demons can pursue individuals until the demons are dealt with directly by exorcism.[296] He further explained that these interloping demons will not stop following a person, even if that individual travels over great geographical space; such as the distance between Africa and Canada. Thus, Pastor Ogye clarified to one Zimbabwean congregant that some demons "have chased you from Zimbabwe to here." Additionally, these forces may desire a nefarious "sacrifice," as was explained in an October 2007 sermon, which related how demons wanted to take a congregant's unborn child as an iniquitous sacrificial offering.

Therefore, *the enemy* and *the enemies* were recognized as a serious threat to life, health, and career. Aaron Çbô explained that while God is substantially more powerful

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[296] During an interview with Pastor Ogye he described some of the events of exorcism, which are regularly practiced within church events. These were not actually called exorcisms in APCC, but were instead referred to as "deliverance services," or "encounters." The pastor discussed the concept of demon "manifestation," in which possessing evil spirits would take hold of an individual, resisting being thrown out of the body as the pastor prayed for the individual:

> The moment that you pray for them, they manifest like a cobra. They will seem like a cobra. They will walk like a cobra, and their tongue will be black, and it will come out long. And the way that they manifest, their eyes will come out. Oh! And it has happened here in Canada. At times they will manifest and they will shout, scream, and all that. At times they will challenge, "I'm not coming out!" They will speak, "I'm not coming!"

Often then these demonic forces would have names, such as "pornography," or "addiction." The pastor explained, "You see when we say 'demons' they manifest in so many ways; pornography, addictions, and all those things." However, once these demons were removed from the possessed individual the congregant would generally cease to struggle with the action(s) associated with the demon's name.

than any of these forces, "God did not take his [Satan's] powers from him." As a result the members of APCC noted that there was no choice but to rely upon the sovereign power of God for protection. It is in this that the vital concept of power was fiercely actualized within APCC. While commenting on churches in Ghana, David Beckman noted that the theology of various Ghanaian churches "can be summed up in a word: power."[297] This power, or at least the pursuit of it, is fiercely palpable within APCC.[298]

In describing a Nigerian African diaspora church in England, Hermoine Harris described the African conception of power as such:

> Power is a principle of general efficacy. Existence without the life force of spiritual power is worse than useless, for it has no purchase on the world. Spiritual powers enhance personal influence, and success is the product of spiritual strength.[299]

This understanding of power, the quest of which may lie "at the heart of indigenous ritual," is central to African Christianity and APCC; forming "the focus of ritual, the pivot of prayer, the subtext of all dreams and visions."[300] It is this power that formulates the success and protection of individuals, and its source is identified as the Holy Spirit.[301] "In the hermeneutic of Ghanaian neo-Pentecostals," explains Asmoah-Gyadu, "to receive the Spirit is to be empowered." Thus:

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[297] David M. Beckman, *Eden Revival: Spiritual Churches in Ghana* (St.Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1975), 114.
[298] In his review of African Pentecostalism, Ogbu Kalu notes that regarding power, "From the earliest contact with the gospel, Africans have tended to appropriate its charismatic dimensions, attracted to the extra power offered by the new religion, and stamped it with an African identity." Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 23.
[299] Hermoine Harris, *Yoruba in Diaspora: An African Church in London* (Gordonsville: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 66.
[300] Ibid., 56, 10.
[301] For more on "The Holy Spirit and African Power Concepts," see: Anderson, *Moya*, 58-73.

> Through the empowerment of the Holy Spirit, born-again Christians speak in new tongues, they testify to experiencing a new confidence in praying for healing either for themselves or for others, they feel invested with a new authority with which to withstand fear and command Satan to flee from their affairs.[302]

Though the connections between power, the Holy Spirit, and APCC are complex, it was evident that the power of the Holy Spirit not only protects, but also infuses congregants with a puissance for worship and the expression of spiritual abilities.[303] For instance, Joshua Ashänafinät claimed that with the empowering of God he was able to actually control an individual's thoughts. When describing an encounter with a Canadian immigration officer in Kenya he professed, "I controlled her mind, in the sense that any evil thoughts would not be in her mind."[304] Consequently, the Holy Spirit is not only a protector, but the source of the congregants' empowerment with particular actions or abilities. The most prominent of these abilities include speaking in tongues and prophecy.

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[302] Asmoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 150.

[303] C.G. Baëta notes of Ghanaian churches that the Holy Spirit may cause:

> …rhythmic swaying of the body, usually with stamping, to repetitious music… hand-clappings, ejaculations, poignant cries and prayers, dancing, leaping, and various other reactions expressive of intense religious emotion; prophesying, 'speaking in tongues,' falling into trances, relating dreams and visions, and 'witnessing.'

Baëta, *Prophetism in* Ghana, 1.

[304] Furthermore, Joshua also claimed to have been able to get an Ethiopian immigration officer, who was opposed to his family leaving the country, fired after continual prayer and fasting. He explained:

> I took the [the immigration form], and get inside my dormitory, and for three days I bombarded heaven with my prayers. I would not come out to get food. For three days! And then suddenly, I felt that God had caused it to happen; that lady was fired from her work. So I came out. I called my wife, and she said, "I did it! That lady was fired from her work! Another official came and told us that as soon as possible we are to leave the country!"

4.2.3 Gifts of the Holy Spirit: Glossolalia and Prophecy

Droogers notes that within Pentecostalism, "The feeling of an overpowering and/or empowering presence of the Spirit is especially clear in the dramatic experiences of healing, glossolalia, prophecy, dreams, and visions."[305] Aspects of this were clearly evident in APCC. For instance, glossolalia was heard at every Sunday service and prayer meeting, which incidentally often matched Sundkler's relatively negative review of the phenomenon.[306] This vocalization represented, as Anderson also notes, the close proximity of God through the "presence and power of the Holy Spirit."[307] When this presence becomes manifest, "Human words are not always sufficient to communicate the deepest expression of the human heart, whether they are praise or petitions," and therefore, glossolalia "is a means of breaking out of these limits as one attempts to communicate directly and personally with what is perceived as the infinite source of all being."[308] Consequently, glossolalia provided APCC members with a significantly

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[305] André Doogers, "The Normalization of Religious Experience: Healing, Prophecy, Dreams, and Visions," in *Charismatic Christianity as Global Culture*, 46.

[306] Sundkler described glossolalia in terms of the repetition of meaningless monosyllables. He thus illustrated one account of the vocalizations of speaking in tongues:

> Dji-dji-dji-dji-dji-dji, Hallelujah, hallelujah, hallelujah.
> Do-do-do-do-do-do-do-do-do-do-zzzzzzzz.
> Amen.

In APCC the pastor's own glossolalia was also quite repetitive, and the researcher noticed a reiteration of certain sounds, though not necessarily monosyllabic, from week to week. Interestingly, while living in the Gambia it wasn't uncommon for non-Africans expatriates to joke about how all glossolalia in the country sounded nearly identical. In the Gambia the researcher noticed similar sounds being repeated, again and again, by church leaders throughout the year. However, while Sundkler and the researcher observed such repetition, this does not discount the religious significance of these actions both in APCC and in Africa. Bengt G.M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2004), 248.

[307] Anderson, *Moya*, 51.

[308] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 146-7.

personal means by which to experience and be empowered by God.[309] However, while many participants described the moment in which they were "Baptized in the Spirit," or began speaking in tongues, as a significant milestone in their own lives, it was not common to hear teaching about glossolalia within APCC.[310] Never once did the pastor, nor any of the participants, explain that such experiences were necessary. In fact some participants, such as Stephanie Marova, insisted that they had never spoken in tongues, and have never been compelled to do so while attending APCC.[311] Nonetheless, one aspect of the Holy Spirit's power that the participants agreed was necessary in the church, and which was often linked with glossolalia, was the *gift* of prophecy.

Prophecy in APCC was perceived as communication with God, and subsequently conveying God's literal *Word*. That is, prophecy was conceived as the act of speaking God's words of intent, whether for moral conduct or the revelation of future events, which on some occasions was relayed through glossolalia.[312] Using Daneel's

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[309] According to Nigel Scotland: "In particular, speaking in tongues has been shown to have the capacity to release both guilt and pain from the unconscious and subconscious mind." Nigel Scotland, *Charismatics and the Next Millennium* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995), 269.

[310] For a more detailed discussion of the various views of "Baptism of the Holy Spirit," see: Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 25, 324; Gordon Fee, "Towards a Pauline Theology of Glossolalia," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of. William W. Menzies*, ed. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies (Sheffield: Academic Press, 24-37).

[311] It is humorous to note that Stephanie joked with the researcher that she would simply speak in her mother tongue, spoken by individuals belonging to her ethnic group in Liberia, if she were ever to be forced to speak in tongues.

[312] Regarding Biblical conceptions of prophecy and prohets, John F. A. Sawyer succinctly notes:

> Prophets are first and foremost 'proclaimers'. This seems to be the primary meaning of the Hebrew word *nabi*, as applied to the vast majority of biblical prophets. In most cases they were believed to have supernatural powers, but they are distinguished from diviners, sorcerers, necromancers, and the like, for which various other Hebrew terms are regularly used (cf. Deut. 18: 10-11). Their special status is indicated by two other distinctive terms used in a number of passages, 'men of God' (e.g. 1 Sam. 9; *1 Kgs. 13*) and 'servants of God' (e.g. 2 Kgs. 21: 10; 24: 2). But the chief word throughout the Hebrew Bible is

words, in APCC prophecy can be described as "the accepted way in which the Holy Spirit reveals His will for a specific situation."[313] However, unlike "Western 'mainline' Pentecostals," in which "prophecy tends to be restricted to 'forthtelling' rather than 'foretelling,' to exhortation rather than prediction," in APCC it was observed that "Prophesies are often private and personal." It is not that these prophecies were only spoken confidentially, but, they were usually given to specific individuals, and often bore discrete meanings and sub-contexts. This parallels observations made of prophesy within African churches, where prophesy "serves a distinct pastoral function of providing advice or exhortation."[314]

As such, most of the participants did not claim to be prophets, and most rarely prophesied, if at all. The "prophetic office" was held mainly by the pastor and other church leaders; the practice of which was most evident when leaders conversed with individuals about their various life circumstances. For instance, while counselling church members, the pastor would often prophetically *diagnose* situations and dilemmas as the congregants described events and aspirations. He would explain the spiritual causality of

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> *nabi*, and it is a measure of the distinctiveness of the phenomenon that the word has been borrowed by English, where '*nabi*' and 'nabism' are occasionally used in preference to the nearest English equivalents. It is significant too that the earliest Greek translators chose to translate *nabi*, not by the word *mantis* (from which words like 'necromancy' are derived), but by *prophetes* 'interpreter', from which our English word 'prophet' is derived (e.g. 1 Cor. 12: 29). 'Prophecy' means both prediction (foretelling) and proclamation (forthtelling), so that 'prophets' include not only people with supernatural powers, able like Cassandra, for example, to foresee events in the future, but preachers like St Francis of Assisi, John Wesley, Martin Luther King and other 'proclaimers' as well.

John F. A. Sawyer, *Prophecy and the Biblical Prophets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1.

[313] Marthinus L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1971), 25.

[314] Anderson, *Moya*, 52.

present circumstances, and/or explain the specific will of God for that individual, both in the present and the future. Frequently such prophetic analysis was completed quickly and informally as church members casually conversed with the pastor before or after church events. For example, when the researcher would mention a particularly vexing circumstance, Pastor Ogye would consider it and respond with such answers as: "God will do it," or, "In Jesus' name you will succeed." These were more than just edifying statements, since the pastor explained in greater detail how the future would unfold, and would elucidate what God's plan was for each scenario.[315] This prophetic gifting elevated the pastor beyond being merely a Christian teacher, so that he was also a conduit for knowing the "mind of God." Furthermore, such prophetic diagnosis and counselling was frequently associated with a *spiritual prescription*, which usually incorporated prayer, fasting, tithing, or confession.[316] Through this prophetic office the pastor would alleviate the fears and anxieties of church members. Participants explained that the pastor's prophetic words would quell the angst of living in a foreign country, and calm the minds of those struggling for health, success, and prosperity within Canada.[317]

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[315] For example, after a Sunday morning church service in March, 2008, the pastor inquired about the researcher's future academic plans. When the researcher explained that the potentiality of attending a doctorate program at the University of Oxford hinged on receiving a significant scholarship, the pastor considered the situation and then announced prophetically: "It will happen, in Jesus' name!" The pastor continued to encourage the researcher with this prophetic message, assuring that God would provide the necessary funding. Incidentally, notification of receipt for this scholarship was received by the researcher on April 29th, 2008. Such prophecy was regularly dispensed to APCC members.

[316] Note: APCCI's founder actually stated: "Prayer is God's prescription when the enemy attacks us..." Joshua, "Prayer and Faith," 3.

[317] It must be noted that prophecy was customarily seen as contingent upon prayer, which was also significantly bonded to the other gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Prosperity Gospel, power, and protection from satanic forces mentioned above. For a detailed description of the predominance of prayer in APCC see the important observations recorded in Appendix 8: The Predominance of Prayer within APCC.

4.3 The Compatibility/Complexity of APCC Christianity

When considering the relative advantage of APCC Christianity, it is apparent that the church serves an important function by offering a "spiritual environment" that "African members can identify with."[318] This environment "replicates the exuberance, patterns, and forms of worship (e.g. dancing and drumming) common to Christian groups at home," contrasting with the relatively "sedate" services of mainstream Canadian churches.[319] Kwakye-Nuako notes that while many individuals in the diaspora enjoy aspects of North American churches "most Africans considered the services very cold,"[320] and often seek different appropriations of Christian worship and scripture.[321] This perception comes from the idea that Canadian churches simply do not "provide any space for the celebratory aspect of the faith, including drumming and dancing," such that services do not "uplift their spirits."[322] The participants of this study corroborated these findings, and some, like Pastor Ogye, went so far as to state that in Canadian churches "the people were as cold as the weather." Certainly the practices of APCC were significantly more compatible with African Pentecostalism, and were perceived as maintaining similar complexity with the "cultural patterns" of various African countries.

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[318] Tettey and Puplampu, "Border Crossings," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 158.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Kwakye-Nuako, "Still Praisin' God," in *The New African Diaspora*, eds. Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur, 124.
[321] Regarding the use of scripture, it was observed that APCC members, like many other African Pentecostals, sought out churches that adhered to relatively fundamentalist interpretations of the Bible. It was claimed by congregants that this was often not found outside of APCC. For in depth discussions of fundamentalism, African Pentecostalism, and the use of the Bible see: Justin S. Ukpong, "Developments in Biblical Interpretation in Modern Africa," *Missionalia* 27:3 (1999): 313-29; Jenkins, *New Faces of Christianity*, 18-41; Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 225-41, 258-60; Russell P. Spittler, "Are Pentecostals and Charismatics Fundamentalists?: A Review of American Uses of These Categories," in *Charismatic Christianity*, ed. Poewe, 103-16; Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, 238-44.
[322] Tettey and Puplampu, "Border Crossings," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 158.

Amongst other things, these patterns retain "religious belief systems and values, language, gender roles, dress, and socialization of youth."[323] As Baffour K. Takyi and Kwado Konadu-Agyemang explain:

> Of the several factors that have contributed to the proliferation of African churches in North America in recent years, linguistic and cultural issues, such as the desire of African immigrants to worship in their mother tongues and to do so in a format and style that they were accustomed to back home in Africa, are especially important.[324]

Throughout this section the compatibility/complexity of APCC Christianity will be explored by considering the following characteristics:

1. APCC Services, Leadership, and the Democratization of Power
2. Gender in APCC

4.3.1 APCC Services, Leadership, and the Democratization of Power

Equivalent to the comments made by Asmoah-Gyadu, who explains that Ghanaian Pentecostal churches "often meet in converted warehouses, cinemas, school and public auditoriums," APCC functions within a leased industrial unit.[325] Weekly services turned the relatively bare rooms into an active church. Moreover, Paul Gifford observed that Ghanaian Pentecostal church services can be organized around three parts: "'praise and worship,' offering, and sermon."[326] Gifford's sub-divisions, which the researcher also observed in West Africa, loosely resemble the structure of APCC church

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[323] Tricia R. Hepner, "Religion, Nationalism, and Transnational Civil Society in the Eritrea Diaspora," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 10(2003): 270.
[324] Takyi and Konadu-Agyemang, "Theoretical Perspectives on African Migration," in *The New African Diaspora*, eds. Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur, 23.
[325] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 118.
[326] Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, 27.

services.[327] The "praise and worship" portion was constituted of relatively "simple and repetitive" songs, with the cyclical reiteration of sentences and words, accompanied by musical rhythms that flowed together from one song to the next.[328] As in Ghana, this period is "characterized by vibrancy and vitality," as it "is meant to be a celebration of what has been experienced."[329] The offering in APCC also "sees the choir in action," usually dressed in some uniform colour theme, though not in uniforms or gowns, and composed mainly of women.[330] Additionally, the "sermon or 'message' was the principal focus," lasting at least an hour, during which the congregation was invited to join in, while being "frequently called on to express agreement."[331] Thus, taking into account these three aspects with Ghanaian Pentecostalism, it is evident that APCC's worship services match those found in various African churches, as reported earlier in this study. Likewise, APCC's compatibility/complexity extends further within the church's considerations of leadership within the services and throughout the community.

Though the pastor of APCC was the undisputed leader of both church services and administration, the congregation freely exhibited leadership. Interviewees considered this a significant point of compatibility between APCC and African churches, and one that was vital to the congregation. Though, as in most West African churches, the pastor was "expected to demonstrate evidence of the fullness of the Spirit in special

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[327] See: Table 3.1.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 241.
[330] Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, 28.
[331] Church members would often shout out encouragement to the pastor, agreeing with his message and exhorting him to continue. Congregants would often bellow "Come on pastor," "Amen," "Preach preacher," and so on. If the pastor would make a significant point he would also ask the congregation whether they approved or not. This was usually followed by tumultuous shouts of agreement. Ibid.

measure," it was also the case that Pastor Ogye was not considered to have a monopoly of spiritual power or gifts.[332] Furthermore, it was acceptable for congregants to correct the pastor, even during a sermon, as well as claim and exercise gifts the pastor may not possess. As Bayo Ôgbön noted, within APCC "they believe that if you have any talent you should not waste it," recognizing that, "You can't be everything, but whatever is your talent, bring it out and let us use it together." Hence, the second point of APCC's mission statement reads: "To provide a place of worship where everyone's talents, gifting and abilities are utilized."[333] David Rufaro explained that APCC leaders "allow you to explore your talents," which, according to Elijah Nkamfo, is a significant difference between APCC and other Canadian churches:

> In other churches, before you can do something, even if you have the talent, you have to go through protocol, and you have to be accepted. It's like politics. But here, at [APCC], if you have a gift or an ability, you are encouraged to use it.

This reveals a perceived reduction of complexity for those desiring to lead within APCC, which parallels the contemporary "democratization of charisma" found within Ghanaian churches; delegitimizing "the concentration of charismatic power in the 'hands' of

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[332] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 128.

[333] APCC's full mission statement avows:

> 1. To create a spiritual family where everyone feels loved and accepted (Ephesians 1:6).
> 2. To provide a place of worship where everyone's talents, gifting and abilities are utilized (1 Peter 4:10). 3. To create a house of prayer for all nations (Isaiah 56:7; Mark 11:17).
> 4. To train and raise leaders for the body of Christ (2 Timothy 2:2).
> 5. To fulfill the great commission through church planting (Matthew 28:18-20).

The Witness: The Voice of [APCC] 45 (2006):1.

prophets, ministers or pastors."[334] Thus, in APCC, as in Ghanaian Pentecostal churches, "Any individual who has experienced the Spirit is a 'minister' and, therefore, through his or her charisms including natural abilities and talents can minister to others."[335] While the pastor is "a dynamic, charismatic, and even authoritarian leader" it is apparent that the APCC leadership affirms "the principle that the work of ministry it to be done by the laity."[336]

4.3.2 Gender in APCC[337]

The democratization of power also influenced APCC members' considerations of race, class, and gender.[338] Anderson refers to this as the historical Pentecostal "democratization of Christianity," which offers "full participation to all regardless of race class or gender."[339] For instance, women were regarded as full participants and leaders in the church, with the office of pastor held open to both genders.[340] Furthermore, women contributed equal, if not more, articles on Christian theology and practice in church

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[334] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 97.
[335] Ibid., 129.
[336] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 184.
[337] For more on "Researching the Opposite Gender" see Appendix 1: Methodological Considerations.
[338] For considerations of race and class, see Section 5.2, "APCC and the Formation of National and Christian Pan-African Identity."
[339] Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 270.
[340] Various APCCI churches are currently directed by female pastors, and numerous women hold leadership positions in APCC. This coincides with findings of African Pentecostalism and gender, such as Ogbu Kalu's observations:

> The Pentecostal movement in Africa has provided leadership in this area. It realizes that the mission of the church demands the full mobilization of all sectors and that to ignore any would diminish the full potential to work with Christ in reconciling a lost world unto the Father. Pentecostal gender practice has been pragmatic: By enlisting their wives, by recognizing charismatic gifts and the presence of the successful female-led ministries, by literalist reading of the Bible that often cuts both ways, by modernizing their institutions and engaging large-scale mission, pastors have opened the space for women.

Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 165.

periodicals, and one of the main focuses of APCC's international development agency is the Women's Development Centre. This exists to "effectively address gender inequality and for women's empowerment."[341] Such high opinion of women was exemplified in an APCC farewell celebration, held for a single mother moving from Calgary to Ghana for employment purposes. Congregants publicly hailed the woman as a paradigm of leadership and morality for all church members, while individuals explained with sincerity that "she is stronger than any man."[342]

However, this is not to say that men and women's abilities or positions were considered wholly synonymous. Analogous to Regina Gemignani's observations of women in African Pentecostal churches of the United States, within APCC female congregants "reproduce gender hierarchies as they promote their roles as nurturing defenders of the family."[343] Throughout such hierarchies women are praised for attributes usually considered exclusive to their gender, including maintaining the household, balancing finances, as well as rearing, educating, and disciplining children. Akin to Tettey's comments, in APCC it was often vocalized that **"**African-Canadian women, like other Black women and women in general, play very crucial roles in keeping together families and communities."[344] Nonetheless, these roles were not essentially considered inferior to the positions held by men. Female participants expressed pride in

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[341] APCC, "[APCC] International Development Agency: Hope for Tomorrow."
[342] The observations of APCC reported in this section challenge the conclusions of African Christianity made by Mercy Oduyoye, who claimed that, "There is a myth in Christian circles that the church brought liberation to the African woman." See: Mercy Oduyoye, "Calling the Church to Account: African Women and Liberation," *The Ecumenical Review* 47:4 (1995): 479-91.
[343] Regina Gemignani, "Gender, Identity, and Power in African Immigrant Evangelical Churches," in *African Immigrant Religions*, eds. Olupona and Gemignani, 152.
[344] Adenike O. Yesufu, "The Gender Dimensions of the Immigrant Experience: The Case of African-Canadian Women in Edmonton," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 135.

their specific gender obligations, some going so far as to explain that within these African-Christian female constructs they were truly experiencing a type of feminist empowerment.[345] That is, women sometimes noted that when expected gender roles were fulfilled, they were actually galvanized as a sex of power, completing tasks that men were incapable of properly executing. Furthermore, women were not denied positions within the church. In fact, the researcher observed more women leading in every laity ministry position available at APCC, and often men asserted that women were particularly competent and more "spiritual than we are." This propagation of gender roles in APCC was conceived by members "as it is in Africa," such that it was compatible with African conceptions of the sexes. This, it was claimed, could not be found in other Canadian churches. Some congregants, like Darren Uro, even suggested that non-African Canadian pastors were afraid of teaching *properly* on gender, and therefore, the only place to find this was in APCC.

4.4 The Observability/Trialability of APCC Christianity

Rosalind I. J. Hackett perceived that contemporary churches within Nigeria and Ghana have made extensive use of media technologies to promulgate Christian messages.[346] Beginning with the broadcast of foreign televangelists, Ghanaian television is now often dominated by the taped sermons of local preachers, saturating the airwaves

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[345] Some female participants actually denied the faculty of Western feminism, and explained that African women are more empowered than Western, and specifically Canadian, women. The participants noted that Canadian women seem to want the exact same roles as men, which actually weakens them from a gender perspective, in a similar fashion that men performing women's roles would be debilitating to males. According to the participants, for both sexes to be empowered, they must understand and commit to the enabling practices and roles reserved for each gender. This did not discount that, as one woman exclaimed, "we can do whatever men can," but, it implies that men and women are strengthened within particular engendered tasks.

[346] Hackett, "Charismatic/Pentecostal Appropriation," 258-77.

with a readily observable Pentecostalism.[347] However, in Canada access to mass media outlets are not necessarily as readily available to APCC. Nonetheless, the African Pentecostalism of APCC is demonstrating a significant level of observability/trialability, which will be examined in the following areas:

1. Media and Marketing
2. Mission, Evangelism, and Church Planting.

4.4.1 Media and Marketing

Paul Gifford has stressed the predominance of Ghanaian televangelist initiatives,[348] and has observed the widespread use of media within Ghanaian Pentecostalism.[349] APCC members confirmed the prevalence of Christian television and radio shows within Ghana, as well as in Nigeria and other nations; often espousing the ability of certain preachers.[350] Though the same cannot be said of Canada, APCC is currently working to replicate this technological marketing strategy to make the church as visible as possible, and to invite as many individuals as possible to sample APCC's form of Christianity. Now airing in Canada on *Vision TV*, *The Christian Channel*, and *C.T.S.*, APCCI has begun broadcasting sermons on television, and according to the program's own claims:

> The television ministry has reached thousands with the gospel…We receive testimonies each week of how it has touched many lives through Salvation, Healing, Deliverance and Restoration.

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[347] Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, 30-2.
[348] Ibid.
[349] For more on Pentecostal media use in Africa, see: Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 103-22.
[350] The researcher has experienced this in Tanzania, where public television networks continually aired Christian programming; broadcast in such abundance that they were only rivalled by soap operas and soccer.

These television broadcasts are coupled with a toll-free telephone number, offered on the screen for individuals to call for over-the-telephone prayer. Added to this are online internet video clips of church services, presenting "testimonies" and sermons with such titles as: "God's Extraordinary Provision," and, "Is Your Situation Hopeless?" Beyond the internet and television enterprises, the church also produces a series of publications, posters, and calendars that publicize the community. For instance, when attending an APCC church service for the first time, ushers will give each newcomer a glossy calendar and magazine. With these initiatives it is obvious that the community is intent on making APCC a visible religious entity within Canada, with the goal of allowing individuals a chance to encounter and test the church's religious contributions.

In addition to media campaigns, APCC also invites relatively well known preachers to visit the church to conduct "crusades." Usually held during the summer months, these events are designed not only for the current APCC congregation, but also to attract new members. In 2007 APCC hosted a "Summer Healing Service," led by a visiting Nigerian preacher dubbed as a "renowned evangelist." This conference was advertised in the community, with the invitation for people to join the church and experience divine healing. Adeola Ayõ explained that these events, and other gatherings like it, significantly market the church.

However, when asked about how the congregants first heard about APCC, it was interesting to note that none of the participants became aware of the church through such meetings, nor did television or the internet play any particularly memorable role. Instead, each of the interviewees heard of APCC through the tried and tested schema of word-of-mouth advertising. Recurrently, members recalled a friend or family member's invitation

to the church, which usually entailed a description of APCC as a church "just like home," or "the same as it is in Africa." This corresponds with Bainbridge, Lofland, and Stark's observations that the most significant growth in religious movements, and subsequent religious affiliation, occurs through social networks and friendships,[351] since these "make religious beliefs possible."[352] Such word-of-mouth occasionally passed between two strangers, who began to speak to each other because of their common African ethnicities. For instance, Leah Jumoke explained that she was approached on the street by a Nigerian woman after first arriving in Calgary from Ghana. After the stranger inquired about Leah's national and religious background, she exclaimed, "I fellowship at [APCC], and it reminds me so much of home." This word-of-mouth exchange appears to be the integral foundation of APCC marketing strategy, and it is an essential element of the church's continued growth, linked to mission, evangelism, and church planting.

4.4.2 Mission, Evangelism, and Church Planting.

Anderson reasons that Pentecostalism can be found in nearly every country of the world because it has "always had a strong emphasis on mission and evangelism," described as "dynamic and contextual mission praxis."[353] That is, Pentecostalism has a significant history of Christian proclamation, often with "aggressive forms of

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[351] See: John Lofland and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," *American Sociological* Review 30:6 (1965): 862-75; William Sims Bainbridge and Rodney Stark, "Friendship, Religion, and the Occult: A Network Study," *Review of Religious Research* 22:4 (1981): 313-27; Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987); William Sims Bainbridge, "The Sociology of Conversion," in *Handbook of Religious Conversion*, eds. H. Newton Malony and Samuel Southard (Birmingham and Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1992), 178-91.

[352] Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 115.

[353] Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 206-10.

evangelism," designed to "reach the 'lost' for Christ in the power of the Spirit."[354] Within this conception, other religions, and even Catholics and non-Pentecostals, are considered demonic,[355] as these faiths are "instruments of Satan in blinding people to the truth about God's revelation in Christ."[356] This notion is entwined with Pentecostal Christian views of personal salvation and conversion.[357] [358] Within APCC the same convictions were cultivated, and it was generally accepted that the church was in the business of *saving souls*.[359] Thus, the founder of APCCI described a vision he had which motivated him to establish the church: "In this vision, I saw millions of people in hell who were there because they had not been ready when the Lord returned."[360] This incentive led the founder to walk "the streets of Jane and Finch, leading many people to Christ."[361] Such a vigorous missional focus is channelled into one capital strategy: *church planting*.

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[354] Ibid., 214.
[355] Regarding Pentecostalism's negative view of other churches and religion, Ogbu Kalu states: "As an emergent religious form, the Pentecostal movement tends to rub every other religious forms the wrong way, as common parlance would put the matter." He further explains that, in general, Pentecostalism "alleges that the mainline churches are suffering from 'power failures' and indulges in powerless Christianity, dispensing Sunday to Sunday pills." Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 65.
[356] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 144.
[357] Ibid., 132-63.
[358] It is of interest to note that within APCC stories of conversion were readily shared, in which "new believers" described powerful encounters with God, and subsequent changes of behaviour. When discussing such cases of conversion in Ghana, Gifford shrugs these off as the result of poverty and a poor economy. However, similar conversion stories were recounted by many wealthy individuals in APCC, who live in a wealthy nation. Thus Gifford's reductionism must be reconsidered. Paul Gifford, *African Christianity*, 90.
[359] The focus on mission and evangelism was often included within Pastor Ogye's Sunday sermon's. He would implore congregants to invite colleagues and friends to church, especially those of other religions, who needed to encounter Christian salvation. For instance, when discussing the need for Muslims to "hear about Jesus," the pastor explained, "Muhammad is dead, buried in the ground, but Jesus – He is alive!" Such statements are made unapologetically, and it is this ideological thrust that promotes the church's noteworthy focus on mission and evangelism.
[360] David Joshua, "From the Pastor's Desk," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 46 (2006): 3.
[361] "Our Story," 4.

The fifth point of the APCC mission statement is "To fulfill the great commission through church planting (Matthew 28:18-20)." APCC members describe church planting as the rapid, multiplicative founding of churches, which are continually growing and propagating into new church communities.[362] Indeed, Pastor Ogye had previously "planted," or founded, two other APCCI communities in Ontario before leading the church in Calgary. His intention is to found yet a third church in Richmond, British Columbia, within the next two years. According to the pastor, these church plants were first initiated once APCCI leadership discovered that Christian members of the African diaspora were living within a particular city. A church leader or pastor from an existing APCCI community establishes regular church services within the home of these individuals, or in a rented community centre. Using word-of-mouth the knowledge of this new church spreads throughout the local African diaspora, and in this way the new branch grows. Pastor Ogye explained of a church he founded in Kitchener, Ontario:

> So we have a brother. He was doing his MBA at the University of Guelph. So I used him as a core…And a brother too, was in Stratford…Then [after using word-of-mouth] we came together, and had a service, with maybe around 14 people.

This vigorous church planting strategy coincides with the growth of Pentecostalism in Africa and around the world.[363] As Anderson notes, "Church planting is a central feature of all Pentecostal mission activity."[364] And, as church planting has been successful in

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[362] For more on the Christian missional concept of church planting see: Stuart Murray, *Church Planting: Laying Foundations* (Huntington: Harold Press, 2001); David Garrison, *Church Planting Movements* (Bangladore: WIGTake Resources, 2004); Hozell C. Francis, *Church Planting in the African-American Context* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999).
[363] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 197-9.
[364] Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 216.

Africa, it has also been working to advance the purposes of the Christian African diaspora in Canada. Combined with an escalating media campaign, APCC has developed a highly observable and testable form of Pentecostal Christianity, open to all individuals to sample and experience.

4.5 Functioning Innovations

It is apparent that APCC serves an important role within the local African diaspora in Canada. Through the proliferation of the Prosperity Gospel, APCC provides a religious platform by which the diaspora may consummate the desire for holistic success within Canada. According to congregants, the church also functions in securing protection from envisaged evil, while providing a means of power acquisition. Thus, the attributes of Pentecostalism that have instigated this religious innovation's success in Africa serve further purposes within the new and burgeoning diaspora. Additionally, APCC offers the diaspora specifically African religious idiosyncrasies, which most mainstream Canadian churches cannot tender. The style of church services, marked by a distinctly African Pentecostal democratization of power, was compatible with congregants' previous experiences of Christianity. Therefore, APCC adequately serves in reproducing and transmitting crucial aspects of African Pentecostalism which are often unavailable in the local assortment of churches. Using media, marketing, mission, evangelism, and church planting, the community is also operating a programme to fecundate APCC religious initiatives throughout the country. By successfully using word-of-mouth, the church is actively replicating itself within the African diaspora, uniting African migrants within a familiar form of Christianity. As will be pursued in the next chapter, this focus on observability/trialability and growth is correlated with a

desire to positively impact Canadian society, coupled with APCC's role in identity formation, mediating views of homeland, and diasporic existence within a multicultural and potentially discriminatory environment.

CHAPTER 5

"ONE IN WORSHIP": INVESTIGATING IDENTITY, HOME, AND DISCRIMINATION WITHIN APCC

> There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus.
>
> Galatians 3:28

> The first day that I came, they were worshiping. There were few of them, and they were worshiping, and the only thing they had was a drum. A bongo drum. That's the only thing that was there. But when they were worshiping I feel the glory of God…When it comes to spiritual activities they are one.
>
> Joshua Ashänafinät, APCC Member

5.1 Standing at the Crux: APCC, Identity, Homeland, and Discrimination

Akintunde Akinade notes that within the African diaspora of the U.S., "The network of support and fraternity within church circles help immigrants to deal with the social challenges and the overwhelming challenges of American culture."[365] It has been suggested that such support is often rooted in the preservation of ethnic identity and culture.[366] The similarities found between APCC and African Pentecostal churches corroborate such a perpetuation of various African religious and cultural conceptions. Indeed, diaspora "religious congregations play an important role in the maintenance and

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[365] Akinade, "Non-Western Christianity," in *African Immigrant Religions*, eds. Olupona and Gemignani, 94.

[366] See: Helen Rose Ebaugh, and Janet Chafetz, *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2000), 80-99.

reshaping of ethnic identity,"[367] though the preservation of ethnicity and culture is not the sole purpose of African churches and APCC within the diaspora.[368] It is apparent that APCC stands at the crux of diasporic identity formation, while also serving to mediate views of homeland, host country, and the difficulties that arise from living in Canada. With this in mind the present chapter will investigate how APCC functions in the following areas of the congregants' lives:

1. The Formation of National and Christian Pan-African Identity
2. The Desire for Home/Homeland
3. Multiculturalism and Racism

5.2 APCC and the Formation of National and Christian Pan-African Identity

Over the last twenty years there has developed an academic interest in the "different forms of 'diasporic' existence and identity."[369] Giles Mohan and A. B. Zack-Williams contend that, "One of the key questions in understanding diasporas is that of identity."[370] However, the term "identity" is relatively intractable,[371] as it has evolved

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[367] Moses Biney, "Singing the Lord's Song in a Foreign Land: Spirituality, Communality, and Identity in a Ghanaian Immigrant Congregation," in *African Immigrant Religions*, eds. Olupona and Gemignani, 276.
[368] Hermione Harris states of the role of a Yoruba church in England, that if such a religious community "was merely an association aiming to provide a network of mutual support," it would be true that "its role could have been fulfilled by a social organization or ethnic union." The same can be said of APCC. Harris, *Yoruba in Diaspora*, 55.
[369] Baronian, Besser, and Jansen, "Introduction," in *Diaspora and Memory*, eds. Baronian, Besser, and Jansen, 9.
[370] Mohan and Zack-Williams, "Globalisation from Below," 217.
[371] Avtar Brah states the following of the difficulty in defining 'identity':

> The idea of identity, like that of culture, is singularly elusive. We speak of 'this' identity and 'that' identity. We know from our everyday experience that what we call 'me' or 'I' is not the same in every situation; that we are changing from day to day. Yet there is something we 'recognise' in ourselves and in others which we call 'me' and 'you' and 'them.' In other words, we are all constantly changing but this *changing illusion* is precisely what we *see* as real and concrete about ourselves and others. And this *seeing* is both a social and a

considerably within the social sciences.[372] Often considered a person's "sense of self," identity is regarded as a product of "an individual's unique history, experiences and perceptions; and membership of, and affiliation with, various social groups, including national groups."[373] This self perception may be simultaneously based upon "family, territory, class, religion, occupation, ethnicity and gender," and is "relational, plural, and processual."[374] Tettey notes that within Canada "the question of identity relates to how several ascribed and socially determined factors interact to define People's sense of self and their treatment, or place, in the larger society." Accordingly, "Two significant factors in the definition of identity are ethnicity and citizenship."[375] As such, identity in the diaspora is often conceived as a transnationalistic "African identity,"[376] or "Black identity,"[377] often demarcated in Canada through the designation "African-Canadian."[378]

> psychological process. Identity then is an enigma which, by very nature, defies a precise definition.

Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 20.

[372] Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," in *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*, eds. Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, Kenneth Thompson (Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell, 1996), 595-634.

[373] Fechter, *Transnational Lives*, 103-4.

[374] Ibid., 104, 105.

[375] Korbla P. Puplampu and Wisdom J. Tettey, "Ethnicity and the Identity of African-Canadians: A Theoretical & Political Analysis," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 28.

[376] Basch, Schiller, and Blanc use the following description of 'transnationalism':

> We define 'transnationalism' as the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that links together their societies of origin and settlement. We call those processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders.

Linda Green Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (London: Routledge, 2003), 6.

[377] Bangstad, "Diasporic Consciousness," in *Diasporas Within and Without*, eds. Manger and Assal, 16.

[378] Tettey spends considerable time unpacking the term "African-Canadian," which "is often used in everyday parlance and in the academic literature as an uncontested signifier of identity capturing all peoples of African origin in Canada." He discusses the complexities of this terminology regarding diaspora identity, noting that there are at least four perspectives concerning this nomenclature, which may alter who is and who is not African-Canadian: (1) The Immigration Authorities Approach; (2) The Black equals African/African equals Black Approach; (3) The Self-Exclusion Approach; and (4) The Authentic African

While a more detailed analysis of identity is beyond the realm of the present study, it is important to investigate how APCC members described personal identities, while examining what component the church played in these self-perceptions.[379]

When asked to describe personal identity, APCC members usually referred to nationality. Furthermore, while discussing national identities, participants often appealed to a form of transnationalism,[380] in which identity was described concurrently as both Canadian and African.[381] Indeed, APCC members related "complex, fluid, and multidimensional"[382] views of nationality and identity that were "grounded in more than one society and thus," in effect, "hybridized transnational" identities.[383] Seventeen of the interviewees described their identities as relatively harmonious permutations of "both" Canadian and African nationalities.[384] Bayo Ôgbön noted that, when considering either

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Approach. For Tettey's significant discussion of African-Canadians, see: Tettey and Puplampu, "Continental Africans in Canada," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 6-12; For more on the vicissitudes of contemporary African identity, see: Jane Gilbert, "Two Worlds: Integration, Synthesis or Conflict? Psychological Perspectives on Cultural Identity in Africa," in *Africa on a Global Stage*, eds. Tanya Lyons and Geralyn Pye (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2001), 61-79.

[379] Allison Blakely summarizes the recent debate concerning "identity" which cannot be covered here. She notes the questions of whether identity is "embedded in the 'nation,'" "race," "class," or "gender," and succinctly reviews the various debates associated with each conception. See: Allison Blakely, "European Dimensions of the African Diaspora: The Definition of Black Racial Identity," in *Crossing Boundaries*, eds. Hine and McLeod, 106.

[380] For more on African diaspora transnationalism, see: Thomas Owusu, "Transnationalism Among African Immigrants in North America: The Case of Ghanaians in Canada," in *The New African Diaspora*, eds. Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur, 273-85.

[381] Adam D. Smith defines national identity as referring to "a named population sharing a historical territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all its members." Adam D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 19.

[382] David E. Kiwuwa, "Post-Ethnic Conflict Reconstruction and the Question of National Identity in Asia and Africa," in *The Politics of Ethnicity and National Identity*, ed. Santosh C. Saha (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2007), 11.

[383] Lloyd L. Wong, "Home Away from Home?: Transnationalism and the Canadian Citizenship Regime," in *Communities across Borders: New Immigrants and Transnational Cultures*, eds. Paul Kennedy and Victor Roudometof (New York: Routledge, 2002), 171.

[384] While discussing these intricate perceptions of national identities it is interesting to note that only one of these seventeen, Nigerian Austin Akinsanya, claimed that he actually considered his national identity to be

Canadian or Nigerian national identity, she was "definitely both," since, "I can say I'm Canadian and never forget where I came from." In a similar manner Kayin Chidi, Andrew Mandla, and Stephanie Marova described their national identity as "a mixture," while David Rufaro explained that he and his family would consider themselves "not Zimbabweans, but Zimbabwean-Canadians." These interviewees consistently noted that their national identities were in a state of flux, making it difficult to unequivocally identify with only a Canadian or African national identity. Thus, Ajaini Oku noted that, "I wouldn't say that I'm more Canadian or more Nigerian." Moreover, within this perceived mixture it was often noted that Canadian and African national identities were not in competition, with one considered more advantageous than the other. As Kwasi Onyansafo explained, "The way I look at it, we have our good sides from back home, and the negatives from back home." Thus, this mixture was generally considered a positive evolution of personal identity.[385]

The three remaining participants, Leah Jumoke, Elijah Nkamfo, and Darren Uro, regarded their national identities to be singularly associated with their countries of birth. Leah claimed that this was simply due to her limited time in Canada, while Darren Uro,

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far more Canadian than African. The other sixteen seemed to equivocate on which aspect of their national identity was stronger; Canadian or African.

[385] It is of interest to compare and contrast these interview results with the data gathered by other researchers of the African diaspora. For instance, it seems that the majority of APCC respondents within the present study were more inclined, at least in part, to associate themselves with Canadian nationality, or to see Canadian national identity as a positive conception. The respondents also did not consider race or ethnicity to be a hindrance for affiliation with Canadian nationality. This appears to contrast some of the findings reported by Martha K. Kumsa, concerning Oromo youth in Toronto. Furthermore, the observations reported here seem to also parallel and contrast the anthropological research of other "visible minority" immigrants within Canada, such as Caribbean families in Toronto. See: Martha K. Kumsa, "Between Home and Exile: Dynamics of Negotiating Be-Longing among Young Oromos Living in Toronto," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 175-203; Karen Fog Olwig, "Place, Movement, Identity: Processes of Inclusion and Exclusion in a 'Caribbean' Family," in *Diaspora, Identity and Religion*, eds. Kokot, Tölölyan and Alfonso, 53-71.

the most adamant of the three, stated boldly that he was "100% Nigerian," such that "even if I am a Canadian citizen, I can't really say I am a Canadian."[386] When asked about this he explained that he merely considered Canadian citizenship a tool for the betterment of his family rather than an aspect of his personal identity. Additionally, Elijah Nkamfo explained, "I still see myself as a Ghanaian," and, "I am waiting for the time when I will be so proud to be a Canadian, but right now I don't feel like I am Canadian." He elaborated to explain that persistent difficulties in obtaining Canadian citizenship had caused a reinforcement of his Ghanaian national identity.

Affiliated with these notions of national identity was an overarching Christian self-perception. This was described by congregants in a similar fashion as national identity, though it was regarded as outranking any and all national affinities. While individuals originated from numerous African countries, and maintained various national identities, congregants insisted that they were first and foremost "sons and daughters of Jehovah God," and "citizens of heaven."[387] In this way, APCC provided a locale in which national identities were dissipated within a pronounced Christian identity.[388] Associated with this, APCC congregants expressed the view that other Canadian churches did not adequately address nor openly consider matters of race, ethnicity, and nationality. Pastor Ogye noted that when he arrived in Canada he found that race was a limiting factor for Africans seeking participation in churches. While describing the

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[386] Incidentally Darren Uro is *not* a Canadian citizen, but is currently waiting for his citizenship papers from immigration Canada.
[387] These axioms are taken from Sunday morning sermons, and similar statements were often intimated by APCC congregants.
[388] It is of interest to note that, regarding identity and African Christianity, Ogbu Kalu has exclaimed: "Today, African Pentecostalism is daring to recover identity through religious power." Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 291.

experiences of other Africans in Canada, he explained that "at times they would go to church, and once the pastor would be preaching, someone would come to you and say, 'Come, you won't fit in here, but you will fit in a church out there.'"[389] Accordingly, Pastor Ogye explained that this was the purpose of including a reference to "all nations" in the church's mission statement, along with the premise of creating "a spiritual family where everyone feels loved and accepted." As he tried to make clear, "That's the difference," since at APCC, "We love every nation, we love every culture." This consideration was exemplified in the APCCI founder's 1994 decision to disband the church board, which was composed only of Ghanaians, so that he could reinstitute a leadership team derived of numerous nationalities, races, and ethnicities. Pastor Ogye described this inclusive action:

> God told him that if he was going to reach the nations then he cannot do that anymore. So he dissolved his board, the leadership, he dissolved. And then he brought different nationalities.

Each participant voiced a similar concern for "all nations." Despite this, APCC was still composed almost exclusively of people of African descent. However, shared African descent does not signify universal homogeneity. Indeed, numerous peoples groups and nationalities were represented within the community. Despite being founded by Ghanaians, and having a Ghanaian pastor, APCC members prided themselves on including Africans of all people's groups and nationalities. When asked about the

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[389] The findings of other studies within North America revealed rather similar observations. For instance, Dennis D. Cordell noted that for the Nigerian diaspora in Dallas, Texas, individuals attended a church in and reported that "people changed pews when they sat down, refused to speak to them, or to take their hands when the pastor asked members of the congregation to join hands." Cordell, "Paradoxes of Immigrant Incorporation," in *Trans-Atlantic Migration*, eds. Falola and Afolabi, 20.

interaction between these individual assemblies, participants were adamant that racism and discrimination were seriously discouraged or non-existent within the church.[390] Instead, what was considered important was a unifying faith identity, organizing all individuals into a "Christian family," or *familia dei*, in which brothers and sisters may come from different nations and peoples groups.[391] This familial model was represented in APCC training material, which stated to members that, "The church becomes your spiritual home," in which, "The pastor and his wife become your spiritual parents and every member becomes your spiritual sibling (brother or sister)."[392] David Rufaro described these inter-group relationships:

> I think that the thing that drives the interaction is that people don't carry their ethnic backgrounds with them into the church. They come into the church, and everyone is a brother, everyone is a sister. They put themselves on equal footing. We don't have the issues where the type of differences are taken from outside of the church and brought into the church…They look at each other as family. It's our bigger family, so interaction is good. You know the fantastic thing is that people are sharing their culture.[393]

While Kwasi Onyansafo admitted that all churches will suffer from at least some internal prejudices and discrimination, intimating that this occurs within APCC, the other

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[390] Dennis D. Cordell's reports similar observations of African diaspora Pentecostal Christian positions towards race: "Still others, for the most part 'born-again' Christians and fervent members of Pentecostal churches, said that all people are children of God, and that they 'don't see color.'" Ibid., 24-5.

[391] While discussing such a phenomenon in African diaspora Pentecostal churches in Germany, Benjamin Simon used the term *familia dei* to describe the reported interactions between church members. He noted that church sermons were focused, at least in part, upon uniting "the church members as a convivial community." Simon, "Preaching as a Source," in *Religion in the Context*, eds. Adogame and Weissköppel, 295.

[392] David Joshua [pseud.], "Are You Mouldable?," *APCC Cell Manual*, January 12 to 18, 2007.

[393] Relatively similar attitudes have been observed among Pentecostal migrants of various origins. For instance, see: Nicole Rodriguez Toulis, *Believing Identity: Pentecostalism and the Mediations of Jamaican Ethnicity and Gender in England* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), 165-211.

participants' comments strongly professed that such conflict simply does not occur.[394] For instance, when Bayo Ôgbön was asked about ethnic discrimination in APCC, she sternly reprimanded the researcher and explicated:

> Where you come from, it is not the unifying factor. Why you are there is what brings you together. You are coming to worship God, to find God, to pray to God. It doesn't matter.

So too was the response of Leah Jumoke:

> I think that the church is a form of cohesion; a cohesive group. So once you are part of the church, you feel that you are all one big family. And to think that you are all immigrants, it's another factor that binds you together. You are all from different places, so, your next of kin then becomes the person you meet at church. So you wouldn't see them as the other group. You see them as your family, your own cousins, your aunty.

As a result, all ethnic and national groups were able to fully participate in church ministry and leadership.[395] Additionally, church leadership often asked congregants to avoid cliques based on ethnic or national distinctions. For instance, APCC training materials gave the following exhortation, identifying Ghanaian ethnic and language hindrances that must be avoided:

> Nursery workers speaking Twi and making non-Twi speaking persons feel left out. We should all speak English,

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[394] Kwasi Onyansafo stated:

> Here, even within the same groups, from the same countries, there are frictions. It is human nature. There are always going to be problems. But, I think that by prayers we have been held together…Lets say the Nigerians, there are Igbos and the Yorubas, and there is always friction. One group thinks that they are better than the other. And then there are the Nigerians and the Ghanaians, right? You know, a lot of times you may not see it, but it's there. I don't think that any church that you go to you won't find those things. There will be groups that don't agree with certain things…But overall there is still unity.

[395] This is linked with the democratization of power discussed in Chapter 4.

> especially when we are in the company of non-Twi speakers.[396]

It is this conception that lies at the crux of APCC identity formation; motivating congregants to worship with other Africans, in a familiar fashion, regardless of ethnicity or national origin.[397]

Participants claimed that this cross-national, multi-ethnic unity was formulated under the auspices of a mutual Christian supra-national identity. Joshua Ashänafinät argued that at APCC "when it comes to spiritual things everybody is the same." Similarly, Adeola Ayõ explained of individuals from various ethnic and national backgrounds: "Once they are in the church they are one," and thus, "They don't see themselves as being Ghanaian, Nigerian, Canadian, Tanzanian." She contested further that, "Everyone is one," such that, "It's like a body of Christ."[398] This is not to say that national identities and associations were fully disregarded, but, it was recurrently implied that the shared Christian identity should dissolve chauvinist nationalistic inclinations.[399]

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[396] David Joshua [pseud.], "The Postmortem ," *APCC Cell Manual*, May 5 to 11, 2008.

[397] It is of interest to note that when new visitors where identified in the Sunday services, Pastor Ogye would always publicly ask from where these individuals hailed. Upon finding out, he would always exclaim: "I too am from *such and such* a place." He would then try and greet these new individuals in whatever language was customarily associated with the nationality or ethnic group to which the visitor belonged; evoking much laughter from the congregation. He would then explain to the visitor that all peoples were welcome in APCC. When asked about this, Pastor Ogye stated that this type of greeting was meant to demonstrate that the church leadership was from all nationalities, and all peoples could feel that they had some kin within the church, even if the pastor was not actually from that particular nation or ethnic group.

[398] This tendency to "eschew ethnic identification and promote instead a universal Christian identity," has been observed in other African diaspora churches. As noted by Olupona and Gemignani, these African diaspora churches may "consciously downplay ethnicity in order to counter an objectifying racial discourse." Olupona and Gemignani, "Introduction," in *African Immigrant Religions*, eds. Olupona and Regina Gemignani, 4,5.

[399] A representation of national identities being flaunted within APCC occurred during the 2008 Africa Cup of Nations. Every week the pastor would joke about how God had "blessed" Ghana's soccer team. This would draw further jokes, laughter, and shouts from individuals of other nationalities. In this case national identities were somewhat encouraged, though once again, such banter was often followed by a brief

However, where Christianity has served to apparently subtract from national identities within APCC, there was subsequently the promotion of an identity based upon a common *Christian Pan-Africanism*.

Fuelling the fires of twentieth-century African independence,[400] Pan-Africanism is the conviction that the global African population maintains an intrinsic relationship between Africans throughout African nations.[401] This viewpoint also conceives of an underlying association between Africans within and without the diaspora.[402]

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discussion of Christian unity. It is interesting to note that Tettey makes similar comments on Africans and sporting events:

> The fact that many Africans are glued to their television sets during international sporting events featuring their countries or an African representative (e. g., FIFA World Cup; Rugby World Cup; Cricket World Cup; African Cup of Nations) is evidence of their emotional attachment to their homelands.

Tettey and Puplampu, "Border Crossings," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 157.

[400] The Pan-Africanist conception of a mutual African identity for the liberation of African countries is presented through the words of Julius K. Nyerere, the first president of independent Tanzania. In his reflection of ethnic unity formed between black Africans in response to European colonialists he stated:

> Africans all over the continent, without a word being spoken either from one individual to another or from one African country to another, looked at the European, looked at one another, and knew that in relation to the European they were one.

Quoted in: Ricardo Rene Laremont, and Tracia Leacock Seghatolislami, *Africanity Redefined: Collected Essays of Ali A. Mazrui*, vol 1. (Trenton: African World Press, Inc., 2002), 48.

[401] For further discussion of Pan-Africanism see: Hakim Adi, and Marika Sherwood, *Pan-African History: Political figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003); William B. Ackah, *Pan-Africanism, Exploring the Contradictions: Politics, Identity, and Development in Africa and the African Diaspora* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Lenton Aikens, "Pan-Africanism: Self-Determination and Nation Building," *Negro Digest* 19:1 (1969): 38-42; Ben F. Rogers, "William E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and Pan-Africa," *The Journal of Negro History* 40 (1955): 154-65; Sidney J. Lemelle and Robin D.G. Kelley, "Imagining Home: Pan-Africanism Revisited," in *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora* , eds. Sidney J. Lemelle and Robin D. G. Kelley (London and New York: Verso, 1994), 1-16; Alvin B. Tillery, Jr., "Black Americans and the Creation of America's Africa Policies: The De-Racialization of Pan-African Politics," in *The African Diaspora: Africa Origins and New World Identities*, eds. Isidore Okpewho, Carole Boyce Davies, and Ali A. Mazrui (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 504-24.

[402] For instance, whilst discussing the African diaspora Michael A. Gomez defends an apparent African "unified experience" through the recognition of six factors "that together suggest a related condition." These imply, to some degree, an historical inter-diaspora Pan-African connected identity:

> (1) Africa as the land of origin; (2) an experience of enslavement; (3) the struggle of adapting to a new environment while preserving as much of the African cultural background as possible; (4) the reification

Undoubtedly it must be questioned as to whether there is any legitimacy in the "presumption that black people worldwide share a common culture," as it appears to be an over-essentialized superficial notion; often politicized for the creation of national and diaspora identity.[403] Nevertheless, within APCC a form of Pan-Africanism has developed, based upon one shared element: African Christianity.[404] Ali A. Mazrui claimed that "Pan-Africanism as a liberating force had greater success than as an integrative quest."[405] Though this observation may be accurate, within APCC the addendum of African Pentecostal Christianity to Pan-Africanism has provided a means of communal integration; by which Africans in the diaspora can shed national identity apportionments in favour of a Christian ideal.[406] Thus, while Kwame A. Appiah states that "Whatever Africans share, we do not have a common traditional culture, common

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> of color and race; (5) a continuing struggle against discrimination; and, (6) the ongoing significance of Africa to African-descended population. With these factors in mind, on can state that the African Diaspora consists of the connections of people of African descent around the world, who are linked as much by their common experiences as their genetic makeup, if not more so.

Gomez, *Reversing Sail*, 2.

[403] Patterson and Kelly, "Unfinished Migrations," 19-20.

[404] The researcher of this study also does not consider it a coincidence that APCC was founded by Ghanaians and promotes a form of Pan-Africanism. Former Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah has been considered one of the most influential Pan-Africanists of African history, and undoubtedly Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism influenced Ghana, which at least to some degree, has effected the Ghanaian leaders of APCC. See: Adi and Sherwood, *Pan-African History*.

[405] Ali A. Mazrui, "Africa Between Nationalism and Nationhood: A Political Survey," *Journal of Black Studies* 13:1 (1982): 27.

[406] It is notable that these APCC Christian Pan-African bonds resemble the national identity links formed within communities through "imagined" ties, as suggested by Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson, in which "members perceive that they share moral, aesthetic/expressive or cognitive meanings, thereby gaining a sense of personal as well as group identity." In these imagined communities, "Members feel affiliated to all others in the same movement because they believe they share similar values and beliefs." Thus, envisaged Christian bonds between APCC members of different origin nationalities help to formulate a new Pan-African identity. See: Paul Kennedy and Victor Roudometof, "Transnationalism in a Global Age," in *Communities Across Borders*, eds. Kennedy and Roudometof, 3-6; Kim G. Matthews, "Boundaries of Diaspora Identity: The Case of Central and East African-Asians in Canada," in *Communities Across Borders*, 74-6.

languages, a common religious or conceptual vocabulary," APCC's community has succeeded in formulating a mutual African identity around a specific religious lexis.[407] Instead of claiming to be Nigeria Christians, or Ghanaian Christians, members simply exclaimed that they were "African Christians," who shared a common African unity and identity found within African Pentecostalism. Numerous participants admitted that they could have attended other diaspora churches composed only of Nigerians, Ghanaians, or Zimbabweans. Nevertheless, these congregants preferred the Pan-African unity and interaction found within APCC. In discussing this cross-continental identity, Elijah Nkamfo, explained that this was due to "the Christian belief." He iterated:

> Normally there is infighting among Africans, but I believe that it's because we believe we have a common faith…We share a common faith, so we are all one. That's basically what it boils down to: common faith.

This Pan-African identity, the result of shared Christian identity, was also founded upon common African origins, which fused the identities and relationships of APCC members. Though congregants hailed from different nations, there were related conceptions of "home" that significantly marked congregant's self-perceptions. The following section will investigate these views of "home" and "homeland" within APCC, and examine the church's role within these conceptions.

5.3 APCC and the Desire for Home/Homeland

Though most of the APCC participants claimed mixed national identity, all twenty interviewees categorically described their African nations of origin as "home."

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[407] Kwame A. Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 26.

Accordingly, Paul Kennedy and Victor Roudometof explain that "diaspora communities continue to be primarily defined and organised around ethnic or national affiliations and maintain a strong sense of attachment to their homelands."[408] Indeed, "African-Canadians maintain a significant level of attachment to their countries and communities of origin," which "serves as the basis from which the African-Canadian derives his or her sense of identity."[409] The conception of "homeland" and "home" has been illustrated in diaspora studies as the place "where one best knows oneself,"[410] or simply the "society of origin" even when individuals have "made a home in their country of settlement."[411] Certainly the desire for the homeland may be one of the strongest defining features of diasporas, and APCC members effectively represented this.[412] Though most members did not actually embody a "homing desire," the overt wish to return to Africa, all participants at least expressed a "desire for homeland."[413] This desire was often entwined with religious formulations, and consistently involved venerated "myths of home" that

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408 Kennedy and Roudometof, "Transnationalism in a Global Age," in *Communities Across Borders*, eds. Kennedy and Roudometof, 12-3.

409 Tettey and Puplampu, "Border Crossings," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey,169, 170.

410 Rapport and Dawson state:

> Perhaps it is part-and-parcel of an appreciation of the way that individuals live in movement, transition and transgression, that its conceptualization, as "home," is to be similarly paradoxical and transgressive. "Home" we suggest as a working definition, "is where one best knows oneself" – where "best" means "most," even if not always ''happiest." Here in sum, is an ambiguous and fluid but yet ubiquitous notion, apposite for charting of the ambiguities and fluidities, the migrancies and paradoxes, of identity in the world today."

Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson, "The Topic and the Book," in *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of 'Home' in a World of Movement*, eds. Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson (New York and Oxford: Berg, 1998), 9.

411 Basch, Schiller, and Blanc, *Nations Unbound*, 7.

412 See: Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies," 83-99; Tölölyan, "Rethinking *Diaspora*(s)," 3-36; Cohen, *Global Diasporas*.

413 Avtar Brah makes the important distinction between "homing desire" and "desire for the homeland." While some individuals in the diaspora do want to return "home," often many simply have a longing for the homeland. See: Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 180.

resulted from the apparent contrasts between Canada and African nations.[414] These myths must not be considered "simply lies, illusions, or fanciful tales," as they are instead "narrative constructions of reality that package key symbols into meaningful order and help individuals cope with and engage in shared conceptualizations of disruptive and traumatic experiences."[415] Within APCC, such "trauma" was consistently spiritualized, and associated with living in the morally and religiously deprave country of Canada.

APCC members unswervingly declared that Canada suffered from a severe lack of spirituality, such that Canadian society represented a form of collective degeneration resulting from a neglect of Christianity. When comparing Canada with African countries, each participant unanimously agreed that Canada was far less "spiritual" and/or less "Christian." As Kayin Chidi explained, **"**For sure, Canada is less spiritual and less Godly," while Andrew Mandla commented that, "People here, their spiritual life is really going down." In the same vein, Elijah Nkamfo stated remorsefully:

> That is sad to say. Back home in Africa, Ghana to be precise, the people are very strong Christians. But here, in North America, especially in Canada, they don't go to church. They don't want anything do to with Christianity.

These words echoed Aaron Çbô's claims that:

> In Africa people give themselves more to spiritual things, but here, nobody cares. There are people here who do not believe in anything. They just live. But back in Africa more people believe that there is a reason, that there is something behind life.

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[414] Wong, "Home Away from Home," in *Communities across Borders*, eds. Kennedy and Roudometof, 169-70.
[415] Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson, *Ghosts and Shadows: Construction of Identity and Community in an African Diaspora* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 12.

Darren Uro went so far as to say that, "The system does not accept God here." Austin Akinsanya noted, "Actually, I find very few Canadians being religious," and Kayin Chidi exclaimed that in Canada, "There's no support for religion." Thus, in contrast with African devotion, participants repeatedly went to great lengths to remark on the Canadian, and specifically "white-Canadian," lack of religious faithfulness in contrast with African dedication. "The only thing is," asserted Bayo Ôgbön, "that many white-Canadians, they don't take spiritual things as important, the spiritual aspect of life, as important as Africans do." This lack of faith was considered inconceivable, and Stephanie Marova declared: "In Africa, for someone to say that they don't believe in God, never!"[416] Subsequently, in contrast with the apparent lack of Canadian religious fidelity, the African religious loyalty dominated the participants' views of home. Therefore, the homeland of APCC members was unabashedly deemed the abode of "true Christianity."[417]

These perceptions of home and Canada were augmented by the congregants' assessments of churches in their new hostland. Many participants reported negative experiences of Canadian churches, in which, according to Joshua Ashänafinät, "nobody will talk to you," and, "There is no interaction." Appropriate for a spiritually enervated country, participants reported that most Canadian churches lacked proper worship,

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[416] In reviewing Stephanie Marova's comments it is of interest to note that while the researcher lived in the Gambia he would often be asked by Gambian students about the faith of Canadian peoples. When these individuals were told about atheists they would not believe the researcher that such people actually existed. One student stood up in exclamation and actually shouted: "These people are fools!" Indeed, in recalling the researcher's travels in Africa it will be noted that never once did the researcher of this study meet an individual who claimed to be an atheist. Such a viewpoint was usually considered implausible by Africans in Sénégal, the Gambia, and Tanzania.

[417] When considering the "shift" of Christianity's center to non-Western nations, as discussed in previous chapters, this view is not devoid of merit.

preaching, affability, and, of course, power. Hence, Bayo Ôgbön explained that in other churches, "The songs were so silent, the songs were so uninspiring, and the people were so cold." She noted that after attending a Canadian church for three months, "It was as if I was alone." Furthermore, others declared that the increasing "godlessness" of Canadian society has caused fewer youth to be involved in churches, resulting in dwindling congregations and a lack of Christian enthusiasm. Thus, David Rufaro described his family's first Canadian church encounter:

> We were very disappointed when we got there. Very disappointed. You know, there was really no life. And again, no life because there were no young people there. Only grandparents.

Consequently Canadian churches were perceived as being monotonous, spiritually lacklustre, and in need of religious rejuvenation.[418] With laughter Stephanie Marova explained that because of the spiritual dullness of Canadian church services, "The way of worship, and the way the pastor preach, sometimes you'll be sleeping." She theorized that in Canadian churches, "As soon as the pastor go up there, that's the time that the devil makes them all [congregants] sleepy." As a result, APCC members often considered Canadian churches to be a dying breed of lifeless, Spiritless entities, composed of Canadian "Christmas Christians," who, as Austin Akinsanya professed, "go to church mostly in the Christmas period and around Easter."

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[418] Numerous members considered it APCC's duty to eventually revitalize these Canadian churches. In many ways this aspiration parallels the intent of other Pentecostal churches in the diaspora and Africa. See: Afe Adogame and Akin Omoyajowo, "Anglicanism and the Aladura Churches in Nigeria," in *Anglicanism: A Global Communion*, eds. Andrew Wingate and others (London: Mowbray, 1998), 90-7; Harriet A. Harris, "Mission UK: Black Pentecostals in London," in *Religious Fundamentalism in Developing Countries*, eds. Santosh C. Saha and Thomas K. Carr (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001), 150.

When considering the depressing state of Christianity and churches in Canada, APCC members cited three major hypothetical causes for the nation's desertion of faith: 1. Ubiquitous wealth and prosperity; 2. Self-reliance; and, 3. Busyness and stress. Participants agreed that continental Africans adhered to religion because of the difficult circumstances surrounding their lives. Ajani Oku explained:

> Over there [in Africa] the people are very poor. And they have this adage that "the poor's faith is always on God." And from my experience, God answers the prayer of the poor people. So, with that being said, when you see people suffering, and they don't have any person to talk to, they call on God for help.

Kayin Chidi elucidated that "back home, basically, sometimes the difficulties of life tend to make you pray, and tend to make you stick to God." This apparently contrasts with Canada, where, according to Adeola Ayõ, "there are little or no problems." APCC members considered the surfeit of wealth and prosperity in Canada as a "snare" to religious faithfulness, which has lead to widespread spiritual numbness. "We say at home, in my language," explained Darren Uro, "too much of everything is bad." Furthermore, Adeola Ayõ declared, "The wealth here has stopped people from knowing God," while Aaron Çbô insisted, "Over here nobody wants to use His [God's] power, because you are driving a nice car." Therefore, "Life here tends to make people forget God." This wealth was also interpreted as deluding people into relying only upon themselves; a condition fundamentally at odds with APCC Christianity. Bayo Ôgbön explained that Canadians "believe in their strength, and how capable they can be." As Leah Jumoke maintained, in Canada:

> Even if you don't have food, you have a credit card. You can buy food and eat. You don't tend to think about the

> mechanisms that are in place to keep you protected, to keep you safe. When you are okay you don't believe that there is someone out there to rely on to help you. You think, "I did this by myself, through my own strength, through hard work." No one brought you here. You came here on your own. You have achieved this by your own merit.

Similarly, Elijah Nkamfo insisted:

> People here forget that it is imperative to depend on God. When you are sick there [in Africa] you have no healthcare and everything. Even if you don't have the money the hospital will operate here if you need the surgery. Whereas, back home, when you are sick, you know you have to pray hard. You know you don't have the means, so, your dependence on God is way higher, because you know that's your only last resort. Here it's the case that the milk and honey, as they call it, makes people say that "I am doing it on my own. It's on my own that I am doing this."

This self-reliance was correlated with the aggrandizement of busyness and stress in Canada; apparently the direct result of self-sufficiency. Ajani Oku explained that in Canada, "It's a very busy society," and, "People don't have time," because "You have to work, you have to spend that time to earn a living." Regarding this self-reliance, Andrew Mandla stated that people in Canada "work so much that they don't have any time for God." Similarly, Stephanie Morova rationalized that because people are no longer reliant upon God, they "don't have the faith in Him," and therefore will not take time out of their busy schedules to go to church.[419]

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[419] It is interesting to note that somewhat similar observations have been reported by Harriet A. Harris within diaspora churches in the United Kingdom. She explained that "Black Pentecostals" in London considered wealth to be a determining factor in the degradation of the UK's national spiritual state:

> One explanation they have for Britain's current spiritual demise is its relative material comfort: the citizens of this country have become too comfortable to know their need of God. They blame the Welfare State for this because it steps in to relieve people of poverty, and they criticize the churches for allowing their work to be overtaken by social services.

Ibid.

Enigmatically, these APCC interpretations of Canada's religious faithlessness seem to conflict with the church's own Prosperity Gospel teachings. In the same instance that prosperity was regarded as a "blessing from God," congregants also considered this to have caused the downfall of Canadian spirituality. When asked about this, most participants agreed that this seemed paradoxical. Consequently, APCC members further explicated that prosperity leads to self-reliance and a loss of faith if individuals do not maintain an intimate relationship with God. Since Canadians progressively failed to do so, Canada's prosperity was hijacked by Satan to obliterate Christianity across the country. Because of this, APCC members admitted to fearing for the next generation of African-Canadians. "Seriously, I am really doubtful of the new generation," explained Kayin Chidi, "I'm really doubtful if they're going to keep up to what their parents are doing because of the influence." As Leah Jumoke predicted:

> I shudder when I think about the next generation. They have been exposed to this society, and this culture, and success; everything right from birth. When they get to their teens, most of them will break away and stop coming [to APCC].

Such trepidation has led APCC members to categorize Canadian "culture" and "society" as adversaries to protracting Christian identity to the next generations of the diaspora. Thus, APCC members often discussed protecting diaspora youth from Canadian society. In this context David Rufaro explained:

> You know, every church falls or rises on its youth. If we can harness our children at a tender age, and open them up to the things of God at this tender age, and shield them somehow, protect them from the world. If we can do that, and groom those people to become full grown-up members of [APCC], then we will never sway from where we are now. We will continue to have the focus. The challenge is

> that they live in the real world, and the real world is drawing kids, left, right, and center, with all kinds of temptations, and it is the church's responsibility to make sure that we can harness those children and keep them in church.

From this perspective the importance of APCC was accentuated; to influence the next generation and shield individuals from the adversity of Canadian culture. For as Darren Uro asserted: "Without Christ here, your kids are in trouble."[420]

However, in spite of the negative perceptions of Canadian society, and the apparent need to safeguard individuals in the diaspora from hostland cultural influences, APCC members affirmed that they had no desire to create a religious community detached from society. Conversely, participants held the conviction that instead of eschewing Canadian society, Christian mandate required congregants to positively interact with, impact, and transform the country. As Pastor Ogye contended, this persuasion is derived from the apprehension that European and North American missionaries were historically responsible for the proselytization of African peoples, but now the reverse must be initiated. Since Canada has neglected its "spiritual heritage," APCC members feel charged with the responsibility of re-introducing Christianity back to those thought to have previously spread it. This seems to be mirrored by other African diaspora churches, who perceive themselves as "people responsive to God in a nation that

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[420] These observations coincide with Ogbu Kalu's recent statements regarding the role of African diaspora churches:

> Immigrants perceive these churches as cultural refuges where they can transmit their indigenous cultures and values to their children and thereby deal with the trauma of rearing children in the Western culture whose values clash prominently with the immigrants' indigenous values.

Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 288.

is no longer responsive."[421] Respectively, APCC members are of the opinion that African nations have outstripped the West in terms of Christian adherence. Thus Kwasi Onyansafo roared: "You guys brought us Christianity, and now we are better in Christianity than you!" Similarly, Leah Jumoke averred that, "Westerners, or whites, had brought religion to Africa, but they are less religious than we are down there." Subsequently the participants articulated that the torch of Christianity has now been passed to Africans; to both preserve and reinstate it throughout Western nations. In this vein the pastor related that he was an African missionary on Canadian soil, and in this context he proclaimed:

> You see, they [Westerners] brought the Gospel to us, we embraced it, and now we are coming…The seed that they planted in Africa germinated, and we want to bring that seed back to its roots. That's how it is.

This resonates with Ogbu Kalu's observations of African diaspora communities, in which members sustain "the ultimate mandate to rescue the global north where Christianity is declining."[422] It is this which partially fuels the church's mission, evangelism, and church planting within Canada; actuated to rigorously transform society through a revitalized non-Western form of Christianity. Therefore, APCC provides a locale for the Christian African diaspora to transform the country, despite being a relatively marginal religious group, and a "visible minority" immigrant community within a professedly multicultural nation.

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[421] Harris, "Mission UK," in *Religious Fundamentalism*, eds. Saha and Carr, 145.
[422] Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 288.

5.4 APCC, Multiculturalism, and Racism

The *Canadian Heritage* website proudly boasts that "In 1971, Canada was the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy." This policy is described as "fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal," which apparently "ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging."[423] [424] Since being enacted through the Trudeau government,[425] this program has experienced its own academic criticisms,[426] while also gaining "folkloric" status within the country.[427] That is, multiculturalism and the promotion of diversity have become contemporary cultural myths of Canada, represented

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[423] Canadian Heritage, "Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship," Government of Canada. http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/multi/inclusive_e.cfm (accessed April 20, 2008).

[424] Joeseph Mensah identifies four connotations of Canadian multiculturalism:

> First, multiculturalism can be conceptualized as a demographic reality: the Canadian population consists of people with multicultural backgrounds. Second, it can be viewed as an ideology: it involves some normative prescriptions about how Canadian society ought to be, especially regarding ethnic and racial relations. Third, it connotes a competitive process: groups of people struggle for access to scarce social, economic, and political resources. And, finally, multiculturalism can be seen as a government policy that seeks to manage race relations in Canada. Conceived in this way, multiculturalism becomes a multifaceted "ideology, based on Canadian social reality, that gives rise to sets of economic, political, and social practices."

Joeseph Mensah, *Black Canadians: History, Experience, Social Conditions* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2002), 204.

[425] Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau announced in 1971:

> …there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British or French origins, another for the originals and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any cultural group take precedence over another. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly.

Government of Canada, "Debates. House of Commons," 3rd Session, 28th Parliament. Vol.8 (1971): 8545, cited in Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 125.

[426] See: Frances Henry and Carol Tator, *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 2000); Tariq Modood, *Multiculturalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

[427] Puplampu and Tettey, "Ethnicity and the Identity," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 39.

in such recent media campaigns as those sponsored by the *Canadian Centre for Diversity*.[428]

Indeed, despite and the previous negative conceptions of Canada, APCC members recognized Canadian multiculturalism as a positive aspect of Canadian society, personal identity, and, as Fleras notes, a means by which to develop national allegiance.[429] Thus, Abraham Vimbika explained when describing Canada:

> It's peaceful, it's good. I mean, people over here, even though there isn't that strong Christian background, people are generally nice. Probably because, you know, it's too multicultural. That's the thing about Canada, it's too multicultural.[430]

Regarding this multiculturalism, interviewees explained that they felt liberty to express transnational identities within Canada's cultural, ethnic, and racially plural society. Also, this Canadian social ideal was referred to when participants commented on the multi-national and multi-ethnic composition of APCC. Therefore, what was being accomplished within APCC, and the promotion of a multi-national congregation, along with a Christian Pan-African identity, was deemed truly congruent with Canadian multiculturalism. In this way APCC members referred to the church identity as

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[428] The Canadian Centre for Diversity website states:

> At the Canadian Centre for Diversity, we have a vision: A Canadian society without prejudice and discrimination. A society that celebrates diversity, difference, and inclusion.

The Canadian Centre for Diversity, "The Canadian Centre for Diversity: See Different," http://www.centrefordiversity.ca/ (accessed April 10, 2008).

[429] Augie Fleras, 2001. *Social Problems in Canada: Conditions, Constructions, and Challenges*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2001), 341.

[430] Note: When Andrew uses the descriptor "too" here he is not employing it to mean an excess that is beyond what is desirable, fitting, or right. Instead he is using it simply to denote a large degree of something. As was the case in the researcher's experience of West Africa, APCC participants would use the word "too" when simply describing a great deal of something. Similar use may be found in works of the African diaspora, such as the recent popular biography *A Long Way Gone*. See: Ishmael Beah, *A Long Way Gone: Memoirs of a Boy Soldier* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntryre, 2007).

genuinely Canadian, benefiting from and representing authentic multiculturalism, while also accentuating the Christian superlative of intercultural unity. Because of this, and in reference to APCC, Pastor Ogye insisted that:

> When it comes to the spiritual aspect of it, spirituality, if you want to get involved in the things of God, then the best place that you can get involved is, what you call it, a multicultural church.

Furthermore, in spite of Canada's spiritual deficiencies, APCC congregants noted that Canadian multiculturalism allowed for the diaspora community to worship in the method of their own choosing, while having the freedom to endeavour in changing the nation. Simultaneously, when commenting on national identity, multiculturalism, and Canadian society, interviewees openly responded to questions of whether they had experienced discrimination or racism.[431]

It must be recognized that the opinions of "racial or ethnic discrimination are, of course, not the same for all populations or for all individuals."[432] Nonetheless, of the twenty participants, ten claimed to have never experienced discrimination or racism in Canada, six acknowledged at least one racist or discriminatory encounter, and the remaining four were unsure, noting that they had either heard of such circumstances or

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[431] For more on the intricacies of racism and discrimination in Canada, see: Abdi, "Reflections on the Long," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, 49-60; George S. Dei, "Racism in Canadian Contexts: Exploring Public & Private Issues in the Educational System," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 93-110; Yesufu, "The Gender Dimensions," *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 133-46; Charmaine A. Nelson, and Camille A. Nelson, eds., *Racism, Eh?: A Critical Inter-disciplinary Anthology of Race and Racism in Canada* (Concord: Captus Press, 2004); Leo Driedger and Shiva S. Halli, eds., *Race and Racism: Canada's Challenge* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

[432] Cordell, "Paradoxes of Immigrant Incorporation," in *Trans-Atlantic Migration*, eds. Falola and Afolabi, 19.

possibly experienced implicit discrimination.[433] Those that belonged to the first group claimed that the multiculturalism of Canada kept racism at bay. Hence, Adeola Ayõ reasoned that she had experienced no discrimination, because in Canada, "The government and the society tries to stop bullying, racism," and consequently, "Everyone is equal." Likewise, Elijah Nkamfo declared that it was due to "the multicultural aspect" that he had not experienced discrimination. He mentioned that this resulted from:

> The mixture of all races. I see that all the different cultures here feel like they belong. In other countries there is racism, but it is very ethnic here. Everyone feels like they are part of society.

Those that were somewhat unsure about whether they had faced discrimination also mentioned multiculturalism. Additionally, these participants often contended that Canadian racism was relatively impotent or veiled, as did Abraham Vimbika when he elucidated that in "Canadian society it's there, but it's kind of insignificant." The participants that were hesitant about whether they had faced discrimination hinted that oblique prejudice may have still taken place. Thus, when asked whether he had experienced racism and discrimination, Kayin Chidi breathed, and after a long pause explained, "I wouldn't say really." Nevertheless, he went on to state: "I mean there are some factors where I could have thought that, um, maybe I wasn't given a fair chance or something." Somewhat similarly, Leah Jumoke clarified:

> I'm not saying that people are mean. No, nobody has been outwardly mean to me. It's just some gestures, and some things. It makes me feel, 'let me just hide in my corner'…I

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[433] When conducting interviews the researcher did not define the terms racism or discrimination. Therefore, participants responded to these terms according to their own interpretations. For supplementary information and debate regarding the concept of racism and notions of discrimination, see**:** Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 154-8.

> don't mean discrimination. It's like we don't have enough blacks here or something. Like when you are sitting on the bus, like, you feel everyone's looking at you. You know everyone's eyes are on you because you are the only dark person. I'm not saying discrimination. I don't call this discrimination. But you feel that you are different.

Such perceptions of difference and latent unfairness reveal that while these individuals allege not to have overtly experienced discrimination in Canada, there was still an inferred recognition of it.[434]

The participants that claimed to have experienced racism and discrimination in Canada frequently referred to cases of inequity involving employment opportunities and the workplace.[435] Kwasi Onyansafo was outspoken about such situations, and lamented over the difficulties he had experienced while seeking employment:

> My first interview, in Edmonton, this guy looks at me and says bluntly, "Do you know that you are black?" I mean, it's a job! Who cares?...So I collected my resume, and he tried to explain, but I just got up and said, "You weren't going to give me the job anyway because I'm black. So, why are you trying to explain things to me?"... One guy, I gave him my resume, and he said, "My boss doesn't like black people." That was in Calgary here. He said, "If I give your resume to him he'll probably get angry at me."

Recurrently the participants detailed analogous stories, while also discussing the problematic racist and discriminatory circumstances in their workplaces. For instance, after being asked about whether he experienced discrimination in Canada, Darren Uro

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[434] Some of these participants were reluctant to admit that discrimination had occurred, even though many of the participants' descriptions seemed to reveal the contrary. Similarly, other studies of the African diaspora in North America have also revealed that, "A significant number of immigrants tended to minimize or even deny the existence of discrimination." Cordell, "Paradoxes of Immigrant Incorporation," in *Trans-Atlantic Migration*, eds. Falola and Afolabi, 23.

[435] For parallel findings of racism experienced by the African diaspora in Canada, see: Matsuoka and Sorenson, *Ghosts and Shadows*, 203-10.

announced: "Yeah, a lot dog!" He charged that this prejudice occurred "especially in the workplace," where "they feel like they just want to intimidate you." Moreover, these interviewees explained that such discrimination was deviously subtle and often shrouded in a facade of Canadian multiculturalism and professionalism.[436] Hence, after relating the above stories, Kwasi Onyansafo stressed:

> You see, in the U.S. there is racism, but, you know who doesn't like you. If they don't like you they say it. But in Canada they hide behind the fact that we are multicultural. Big deal.

While discussing this Bayo Ôgbön noted with much laughter that:

> I was going and filling in forms. They say: "Colour of eyes?" What is colour of eyes? Black people always have black eyes, eh?...When you start to say, "Colour of eyes?" do you want me to say that it is blue or green? What do you call that? Is that not discrimination?

Individuals also perceived demands for Canadian educational certificates or work experience to be a propagation of this camouflaged discrimination.[437] Hence, Darren Uro stated the following in reference to Canadian prejudice:

> Every job, they ask for Canadian work experience. How do you get Canadian experience when you don't give me no job? How will I have it? Sitting down at home will not make me have the experience.

According to these individuals such discrimination was undeniable, for as Ajani Oku remarked, "When you live in a place like this, whether you like it or not, people bring

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[436] This corresponds somewhat with the findings of Adenike O. Yesufu who explains that in the workplace, "Discriminatory practices are subtle and attitudinal in nature in most cases." Yesufu, "The Gender Dimensions," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 141.

[437] For similar cases and examples of this in the African diaspora in Canada, see: Matsuoka and Sorenson, *Ghosts and Shadows*, 69-70; Nakanyike B. Musissi and Jane Turrittin, "Knocking at the Door: Professional African Immigrant and Refugee Women's Experiences in the Toronto Labour Market," in *The New African Diaspora*, eds. Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, and Arthur 209-34.

race into the issue." Correspondingly, Kwasi Onyansafo declared that within Canada, "If anyone says that there is no racism here they don't know what they are talking about."[438]

Nonetheless, despite being infuriated by these incidences of Canadian racism and discrimination, APCC members insisted that such cases were not surprising. As Aaron Çbô noted, "If you're talking in terms of discrimination, it's everywhere in the world." Andrew Mandla also delineated:

> That's something that we will never run away from. Unfortunately I experienced it when I was in Africa, so there is no way that I cannot expect it here… Discrimination will always be there.

Similarly, other interviewees asserted that discrimination, especially between ethnic groups and nationalities, was often more prevalent in Africa than Canada.[439] Furthermore, it was continually maintained by congregants that, regardless of various cases of inequity within Canada, other non-African countries were far worse perpetrators of discrimination. After discussing the perceived lack of racial intolerance in Canada, Abraham Vimbika stated: "But, with the Americans it's there and you can really feel it." The same was mentioned by Elijah Nkamfo as he discussed living in South Korea and Japan. Similarly Aaron Çbô claimed that in Canada, racism is "not obvious as in other countries," and:

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[438] Not too long after Kwasi Onyansafo made this statement an article appeared in the *Calgary Herald* entitled "Aryan Rally Ignites Clash in Core." This article reported on a neo-Nazi protest in downtown Calgary. Thus, while "the denial of racism is an integral and central part of the Canadian identity," it is apparent that Kwasi's statement is undeniable. See: Lorraine Hjalte, "Aryan Rally Ignites Clash in Core." *The Calgary Herald*, March 22, 2008, A1, B1, B4; Dei, "Racism in Canadian Contexts," in *African Diaspora in Canada*, ed. Tettey, 97.

[439] Such inter-ethnic African prejudice has been observed by the researcher in the Gambia. For instance, the researcher has observed such circumstances as a Nigerian being refused taxi service by a Gambian driver, or a Sierra Leonean unable to purchase items at the same price as locals because she was from another country. Furthermore, it was not uncommon to hear slurs against other individuals of various ethnic groups. Similar scenarios were related by APCC members.

> I would say that Canada is more open to the world than any other country that I've been to. I've been to Germany, I've been to Spain, I've been to France. Canada is more open to the world than the other countries. If you go to the offices in the UK immigration you will hardly see a coloured man, a black guy, an immigrant. But the first day that I was in Canada I could spot a number of blacks there. Go to the banks and you see the same thing. In Germany you will hardly see a black man in the banks…Canada is more open to the world.

This openness was perceived to be apparent because, "everywhere you go in Canada we are all immigrants," and thus, "The person who is interviewing me is an immigrant, the CEO of the company is an immigrant." Nonetheless, despite the experienced disparities between Canada and other nations, it was evident that racism and discrimination still occur, whether explicit or concealed.

In considering discrimination in Canada it is recognizable that APCC served yet another purpose for congregants: facilitating and mediating action in a potentially discriminatory society. Tied within APCC Sunday morning services were weekly messages of hope for individuals struggling against inequity in the workplace and school. The pastor and choirmaster continually shared messages of optimism and encouragement, motivating congregants to persevere despite prejudice and discriminatory obstructions. Within such orations the pastor would continually endorse actions of love in response to hatred, along with thoughts fortified with divine peace and forgiveness towards those who mistreat congregants. It was apparent that the pastor's words were perceived as more than mere platitudes, since APCC members consistently referred to the church's teachings when commenting on discrimination. Thus, Andrew Mandla explained of discrimination in Canada:

> You know it's painful, unfortunately. You can't run away from it. But it's not supposed to stop you. It's not supposed to drag you behind. You know? And don't hold on to it. That's one thing with me. Not even a single enemy. Not even a single person that I don't talk to. Not even a single person. I can easily say that I'm sorry. That's God. And thanks to [APCC] to teach me that. You should be able to forgive, and to say that you're sorry. That has made my life so easy. It makes me go to bed without even thinking about this person that I don't talk to. Not even a single person can come to you and say, "I don't talk to [Andrew]," or, "[Andrew] doesn't talk to me."

In similar fashion Kayin Chidi mentioned how APCC members have learned to think positively in relation to inequity, such that "we tend not to focus on things like that," and, "We tend to focus on more, like, the positive." Hence, even those that reported the most obvious cases of discrimination claimed that the spiritual guidance acquired within APCC had been daily applied to arbitrate responses to inequity. Therefore, not only did the church serve in formulating an anti-discriminatory Pan-Africanism, but it also assisted in developing a Christian response to prejudice within Canada.[440] Combined with APCC's role in identity formation and views of homeland, it is apparent that the church functions significantly within the local diaspora.[441]

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[440] Richard W. Winks critically discusses the historical role of "the negro church" as a "source of strength" for the African diaspora in Canada amidst racism and social exclusion. Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 337-61.

[441] These roles of APCC parallel observations made of the functions of African diaspora Pentecostal churches within other nations. For instance, regarding Ghanaians and such churches in Berlin, Germany, Boris Nieswand explains:

> …the success of Charismatic Christianity in Berlin is connected to the fact that it processes the paradox of migration by promising practical solutions for coping with it. This is done in two ways: First, the churches provide a symbolic background that stabilises the positive self-perceptions of the migrants by emphasising and staging the favourable side of the paradox of migration. Participating in the church services produces evidence for and identity as a successful migrational entrepreneur...Therefore, by attending certain types of churches, the migrants are importing a specific mode of self-representation...This

CHAPTER 6

LOOKING FORWARD: CONCLUDING REMARKS

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

> Our mission is to plant 300 churches in the next 20 years and 1,000 churches by 2041. Folks, this is achievable!...I am trusting God that we will soon experience an explosion in growth – things will happen faster, be mightier and greater.
>
> Founder of APCCI, July 2006[442]

6.1 "Home Away from Home": Addressing the Initial Questions

Despite the "key role" of religious institutions within the African diaspora, Afe Adogame has noted that, "A survey of the extensive African diasporic and migration literature reveals a lack of theoretical and methodological reflection on the role of religion in the context of contemporary diaspora and migration studies." Nonetheless, as he explains of African diaspora churches:

> makes it important for the construction of self under the condition of migration...Second, the essential embodied experience of Charismatic religious practice is empowerment, with which the migrants hope to overcome all the obstacles hindering them in achieving their individual aims.

Boris Nieswand, "Charismatic Christianity in the Context of Migration: Social Status, the Experience of Migration and the Construction of Selves among Ghanaian Migrants in Berlin," in *Religion in the Context,* eds. Adogame and Weissköppel, 255-6.

[442] Joshua, "From the Pastor's Desk," 3.

> They facilitate the integration process of new immigrants into the host society and serve as both security and a bastion for cultural, ethnic, and religious identity. The role played by religious institutions has significant implications both for the community in diaspora and for religious communities in the homeland, that is, in Africa.

It is thus insisted: "As religious communities continue to expand and proliferate in diaspora, a deeper understanding of their role is required."[443] It is to this end that the present study has devoted itself; attempting to uncover the elaborate functions of an African diaspora Christian community through the anthropological investigation of APCC, in conjunction with an examination of the comprehensive African diaspora, worldwide Pentecostalism, and African Christianity.

Indeed, it has been demonstrated that APCC's roles within such a community are multifaceted, as the church functions in: 1. Reproducing African Pentecostalism within a foreign land, supplying a locale for familiar Christian theory and praxis, while addressing the explicit religious needs of the African diaspora not met in other Canadian churches; 2. Cultivating a Christian Pan-Africanism by endorsing a common Christian identity, which supersedes national ties and coalesces a multi-national and multi-ethnic congregation; 3. Offering an environment in which common myths of Africa/home are promoted, in contrast with the spiritually deprave nation of Canada, for which APCC members lament and desire to change; and, 4. Guiding and encouraging members as they navigate the circuitous path of discrimination and racism of Canada's multicultural society. Therefore, APCC's role is protean, and the observations of this study correspond, by and large, with Ogbu Kalu's latest evaluation of African diaspora churches:

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[443] Adogame, "Raising Champions, Taking Territories," in *The African Diaspora*, ed. Trost, 17-8.

> It is argued that these religious communities cater to the African psyche that is deeply religious; that these churches provide a home away from home; buttress identity; empower immigrants; provide coping mechanisms, social networks, security, employment, and legal and financial aids; and many social services and counselling on how to engage the new society with success.[444]

APCC acts as a replica of familiar Pentecostalism, meeting the spiritual needs of a diaspora community in a foreign land. Furthermore, the church also bears an axis of inter-African relations, and mediates views and action toward the host society. Consequently the church serves to answer a series of questions posed within an APCC periodical entitled "Home Away From Home":

> How then do you ensure that you and your family are properly integrated into the culture of your new land? How do you ensure that your Christianity remains intact in spite of the challenges that bombard us every day? How do you teach your children to embrace all the good things that your new "home" country has to offer, while maintaining ties to their old culture? How do you balance financially supporting your family here and "back" home?[445]

6.2 Reverse Flow: The Future of APCC and Canadian Christianity

As has been mentioned previously, APCC members seek not only to serve the purposes of the local African diaspora, but also desire to impact Canadian society with a vibrant expression of Pentecostalism. Many congregants claimed that this would mark the future of both APCC and Canadian Christianity. Participants foresaw significant non-African groups joining the ranks of APCC's growing spiritual family; becoming fellow "brothers" and "sisters" astride the African diaspora. Additionally, interviewees predicted that APCC's African Christianity would inexorably shape Canadian society and

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[444] Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 287.
[445] [APCC] Editorial Board, "Home Away From Home," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 47 (2006): 2.

religion. As Austin Akinsanya declared, "It's just a process of time." It was predicted that Canadians of all ethnic and national backgrounds would eventually accept a similar form of Christianity, and such Pentecostalism will ultimately imbue Canadian churches with a new spiritual vivacity. This, it was explained, will happen like a flood caused by the breaching of a damn. "Yeah, I see that happening," explained Ajani Oku while discussing the predicted non-African growth within APCC. "Again, you just have to break that barrier." Participants declared that the catalyst of such expansion would be activated once Canadians experienced APCC's addictive theory and praxis. Stephanie Marova detailed how Canadians will be drawn to APCC's innovative form of Christian exaltation:

> Yes, if, they want to know the different way of worship. And if they come, it will be hard for them to leave…If the Canadians go there [APCC], I think that they will take that church to be theirs. I won't lie. They will like it.

Similarly Elijah Nkamfo asserted, "I know that most white people find the way we worship interesting, lively," and as a result, "They want to be part of it." Because of this David Rufaro described his own impressions of APCC's future: "I see a situation in which we will have Chinese people in the church, white-Canadians in the church, Philippinos in the church." Likewise, "With the way things are going right now, we are trying to tap into the various communities, and really try and draw people from all different kinds of nationalities." Therefore, according to the participants, APCC's future lies beyond the precincts of the African diaspora.[446]

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[446] It is important to note that some participants did not believe this. These congregants alleged that non-Africans, especially white-Canadians, will be reluctant to join a church so fundamentally different than what was considered normative. As Kayin Chidi maintained:

Thus, the expectations and aspirations of APCC coincide with the larger worldwide movement of Pentecostalism, which, according to Richard Shaull, consists of a community that is "emerging as an important force for social transformation," such that "Pentecostals are not only making a tremendous contribution to the reorganization of the lives of individual women and men but also engaging in creating new elementary forms of community and social life."[447] As APCC serves the African diaspora in Canada it is evident that the church will also persist in attempting to expand its congregational demographics and influence. Consequently, in contrast with the apparent decline of North American Christianity, it is here suggested that such African and non-western Pentecostalism is likely to continue to expand, and may well markedly shape Canadian religion by becoming a dominant form of Christianity within the country. As worldwide Pentecostal Christianity multiplies across Africa, Asia, and South America, it is expected that this largely non-western theory and praxis will in due course impact Canada through what has been described as "reverse flow."[448] That is, while Western Christianity initially attempted to exert its influence upon Africa, there is now a new and commanding flow of Christianity from Africa to the West through the new diaspora. Thus, APCC's "home away from home," and churches like it, will likely influence Canadian

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> I really doubt that there will be a western influence in the church. Because a Western person will not understand. The person will not understand. There will be no connection with the whole setup. We already do have a connection from back home, and the way we grow up. But a Westerner won't really understand. It's possible, but, very minimal.

[447] Richard Shaull and Waldo Cesar, *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches: Promises, Limitations, Challenges* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 227.
[448] Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, 271-2.

Christianity; as such communities embody the religion of choice for the increasingly prominent African diaspora in Canada.

APPENDIX 1

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Earl Babbie notes that *science*, and more specifically social science, is "a way of learning and knowing things about the world around us," and also "an enterprise dedicated to 'finding out.'" Nonetheless, he admits that, "No matter what you want to find out, though, there are likely to be a great many ways of doing it."[449] This section outlines in further detail some of the explicit "ways," or methodologies, which were employed to "find out" the information presented within this study, as well as some potential concerns encountered during research, including:

1. Field Research Methodology
2. Research Bias
3. The Problem of *Tribe*
4. Researching the Opposite Gender

A.1 Field Research Methodology

Whilst commenting on social scientific field research, Babbie has exclaimed that, "If you want to know about something, why not just go where it's happening and watch it happen?"[450] Though this may seem to be a gross oversimplification of the processes involved in social scientific field research, it appears that for all of the discourse encompassing anthropological methodology, anthropology must involve actually going to the field and *getting one's hands dirty*. In order to most adequately do this, the researcher

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[449] Babbie, *The Practice*, 3, 79.
[450] *Ibid*, 261.

of the present investigation employed three techniques by which to study an African diaspora Christian community in Calgary, Alberta. These three methods included participant observation, semi-structured topic-oriented interviews, and research of library publications along with those produced by the researched community. In utilizing these three techniques the researcher was able to collect data from three potential sources, and therefore use triangulation, or three points of inquiry, to fuel the study's interpretations.

Actual field research commenced after seeking out a suitable consenting African diaspora religious community in Calgary. After investigating a significant list of possible African diaspora churches within the city, the largest of these communities, comprised of approximately one hundred and twenty individuals, was selected. The pastor and leadership board of the church quickly approved the study, which led to a pursuit of University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board approval for the project. Following a lengthy application process, ethics approval was granted in September, 2007.

At this point field research began with participant observation, which was completed over a six-month period. Observation was conducted in a *participant-as-observer* role, and involved full participation in church activities, while the community was made fully aware that the observer was also conducting research.[451] Within this observation period the researcher partook in a host of church activities. Aside from Sunday church services, this included morning prayer meetings, held from 05:00-09:00 six days a week, leadership training seminars on Wednesday evenings, and church social

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[451] This was accomplished through public notices within the church, and numerous announcements made during church services and activities.

events, such as meals in honour of a leaving member or a newly born child. During this time an audio recorder documented proceedings, while hand written notes were taken throughout. Within this period interaction with congregants became second-nature, and informal discussions soon developed with numerous individuals. Additionally, the pastor allowed the researcher full access to church publications and materials, extending back to founding of the church community. Various church leaders and volunteers also gave the researcher the right to use digital materials diligently collected by the church.

Interviews with congregants began after approximately three months of participant observation. Within two church services the researcher made a public announcement, which included a reiteration of the project's intent, along with a call for consenting adults of at least eighteen years-of-age to participate in one-on-one interviews.[452] Further public requests for participants were posted in the church, and were also included in church bulletin hand-outs. Potential interviewees were encouraged to talk to the researcher after services to leave their contact information. With this information interviews were scheduled during times that were most suitable for the participants, in places preferred by the interviewees. Only one participant asked for an interview to be conducted on the church premises, and two met the researcher at their work locations. The final seventeen participants invited the researcher to their homes, and interviews were generally conducted in the evenings, after 18:00, and lasted from one to two hours.

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[452] This age stipulation was endorsed by the CFREB, and has negated any significant observation of non-adult church members.

The sample size of twenty interviewees was chosen with the intent of interviewing approximately 15-30% of the community. Of one hundred and twenty-two members, twenty participants would constitute a sample selection of approximately 16.4% of the adult membership. However, rarely did one hundred and twenty-two individuals attend church services. In six months, usually eighty to one hundred regularly attending members were actually present at church events, which more adequately represented the *study population*.[453] The remaining twenty to forty members rarely attended. Therefore, a sample selection of twenty members would reasonably constitute 20-25% of the church members that were regularly involved within the six-month observation period. Additionally, this sample selection was not limited by any variables other than minimum age, consent, and membership in the church community. Gender, race, ethnicity, along with social, economic, and hierarchical position within society and the church were not used as exclusive attributes to limit participation. Subsequently, it was fortuitous that the percent values between the overall congregation and participating sample group's country of origin and current citizenship were quite comparable. At the same time, however, because participation was purely voluntary, a true *random selection* was not possible for the present study.[454]

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured interview format, which were somewhat amorphous in composition. This loosely resembled Babbie's description of *unstructured* interviews, portrayed as "an interaction between an observer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry but not a specific set of

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[453] Babbie, 170.
[454] Ibid., 166-9.

questions that must be asked in particular words and in a particular order." In this way the project's interviews may be related as: "a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent."[455] Thus, the general direction was led by the researcher, guided with a semi-structured approach, which allowed for casual conversation and plasticity according to the interests of each interviewee.

Within the last two months of church observation the researcher initiated a significant bout of library research, to supplement the background library investigations completed previous to beginning fieldwork. This incorporated the persistent reading of books in print, and periodicals that may be related, though not exclusively, to African religion, African Christianity, the diaspora, world Christianity, and social scientific theory, methodology, and interpretation. The findings associated with this research were coupled with the fieldwork described above.

A.2 Research Bias[456]

Amidst the task of conducting fieldwork and reporting data for the present study, it is predictable that research bias has played a surreptitious role. This includes the inherent biases in all sociological research, such as those mentioned by Herbert Spencer over 150 years ago: 1. *The Educational Bias*; 2. *The Bias of Patriotism*; 3. *The Class-Bias*; 4. *The Political Bias*; and 5. *The Theological Bias*.[457] It would be absurd to deny

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[455]Ibid., 270.
[456] For a valuable discussion of the difficulties of research and "The Insider/Outsider Paradigm," specifically related to the study of African religious communities in the African diaspora, see: Afe Adogame, "To Be or Not to Be?: Politics of Belonging and African Christian Communities in Germany," in *Religion in the Context*, eds. Adogame and Weissköppel, 95-112.
[457] See: Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1884), 11.

Stuart Hall's admonitions that "we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, out of a particular experience," as well as "a particular culture."[458] Thus the researcher of the present study must concede, as does Anderson, that: "I am aware of the fact that I am not a black African; and therefore I am limited by my own Western cultural background and education."[459] It is simply impossible to deny inherent German-Canadian, Protestant, non-Pentecostal Christian, and non-African presuppositions.[460] However, while it "is fashionable to dismiss the notion of objectivity as a goal in scholarly endeavour,"[461] it is here proposed that such bias may be somewhat allayed through three research elements: 1. A persistent attentiveness to the weaknesses and strengths of the researcher's own biases; 2. Extensive experience working, living, and interacting with the research community; and, 3. A persistent attitude of empathy and respect for those being researched.[462]

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[458] Though Spencer's observations were made well over a century ago they are still imminently relevant to the modern day researcher. See: Stuart Hall, "New Ethnicities," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Blackwell, 1996), 447.
[459] Anderson, *Moya* , 1.
[460] Note: The present discussion deals primarily with the concept of research bias as it is linked with the researcher. However, it is also necessary to acknowledge that bias is entangled with those who are the subject of research. For instance, when discussing the intricacies of conducting interviews, Zina O'Leary explains that: "People (researchers included) are complex, complicated, and sometimes convoluted; and the interview process demands a high level of engagement with others." This complexity requires that the observer be quite "reliant on the interviewee to provide honest and open answers," knowing that at the same time "people want to be liked, want to maintain a sense of dignity, and want to protect some level of privacy." Thus, it must be granted that bias is a multifaceted conception, not limited to researcher alone. Zina O'Leary, *Essential Guide to Doing Research* (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 162.
[461] Irving Hexham, review of *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff; and *The Thousand Generation Convenant: Dutch Reformed Convenant Theology and Group Identity in Colonial South Africa, 1652-1814*, by Jonathan Neil Gerstner, *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, 27:3 (1993): 501.
[462] Note: It is not suggested that these qualities can fully dismantle research bias, nor is it advanced that these are the only methods by which bias may be alleviated. However, it *is* forwarded that a researcher should seek to limit the influence of bias by recognizing at least these three elements. Furthermore, while bias is unavoidable, the present study does not fully reject the notion of objectivity. For, as Edward Hallett Carr has explained: "It does not follow that because a mountain appears to take on a different shape from

The researcher of the present study is non-African, and thus maintains an unavoidable proclivity towards the epistemological biases associated with such a background. This reality was an inescapable fact of investigating the African diaspora.[463] Though the researcher was openly welcomed and accepted within the community, as the only non-African attending many church events, there remained the lingering thought of being a *Toubab, Mzungu*, *Obruni*, or any other African slang term for a white individual.[464] Nonetheless, while this was the case, there were still numerous points of connection to be found between the investigator and research participants. For instance, every interviewee was an immigrant. Also, while being completely competent in English, the interviewees often considered English to be a second language. Though not wholly analogous, the researcher was also part of an immigrant family, where English

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different angles of vision, it has objectively either no shape at all or an infinity of shapes." Edward Hallett Carr, quoted in: Richard John Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta Books, 1997), 192.

[463] While first attending a Sunday morning "Worship Service," the researcher was unable to ignore, despite the friendly greetings of ushers and congregants, that it is not possible to hide the colour of Caucasian skin amongst a host of African congregants. This, it must be acknowledged, was an unpleasant psychological sensation that first accompanied the church experience, reawakening the constant racial awareness that was ineluctable while working in the Gambia. It was all too familiar a perception, which seems to haunt the travel experiences of the researcher's time in Africa; never being able to shake the cultural stigmas that are associated with white tourists, white businessmen, white politicians, and an epidermis that carries more abstractions than just a fiercely dark tan. It also caused the researcher to question whether true *complete participant* field observation may be possible, in light of these outstanding racial disparities. However, after spending time as a participant of APCC events, and becoming acquainted with congregants, questions about whether a field researcher can be a *complete participant* are replaced with questions of whether a researcher would be able to maintain a position of *complete observer* amongst the catching, and later addictive praxis of APCC Christianity.

[464] Foreigners are often referred to by slang names in various African nations. In the observer's personal experience of Sénégal and the Gambia, West Africa, foreigners are called either *Toubab* or *Toubabo*, depending on the language of the people's group concerned. For instance, if children see a foreigner they will repeatedly shout this word as loudly as possible, while Africans of all ages will use this nomenclature when casually addressing a non-African. In Tanzania, as with other Swahili speaking nations, the same practice was observed with the term *Mzungu*. Each interviewee of this study could identify at least one of these slang terms, such as the Akan word *Obruni*, whether they were from Western, Central, Eastern, or Southern Africa. These terms are not necessarily derogatory, but they are sometimes used in racist contexts. Furthermore, the term is no longer only restricted to Caucasian peoples. Though far less common, the use of these terms by Africans has been personally witnessed in reference to Arabic, Indian, Chinese, albino Africans, and African peoples from other nations.

was learned as a second language. Additionally, the researcher's Christian predisposition may have in fact facilitated supplementary researcher-participant correspondence. This was apparent when the researcher was promptly called "Brother Tom," over and against the relatively less intimate "Mr. Aechtner," once members of APCC discovered that the observing *Obruni* was not ignorant of Biblical scripture.[465]

Furthermore, previous to implementing the current project, the researcher worked for one year in West Africa as a medical physiology teaching assistant to the Dean of Medicine at the University of The Gambia.[466] During this time the researcher regularly attended an inter-African diaspora church.[467] This cumulative experience has provided direct interaction with many facets of West African culture, ranging from village life to urban and academic society. Though there is a danger in homogenizing Africans, African culture, and the African diaspora, the aforesaid encounters provide accessory experiences of working, living, and interacting with somewhat comparable communities.[468] This background provides an additional cultural reference point, which

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[465] Though it is not denied that religious affiliations can inappropriately inform research hermeneutics, it must also be conceded that non-religious commitments may act in similar ways. Furthermore, it is essential to note that without this religious connection the researcher believes the community involved would not have participated so generously with the present study. Indeed, the difference between "Mr. Aechtner" and "Brother Tom" is not merely superficial. Nonetheless, it may be postulated that the researcher could have developed the nomenclature of "brother" as a non-Christian, simply by participating in services, prayer meetings, and church events, whilst acting as a Christian adherent. This, however, begets some rather significant questions of ethics, deception, and yet further problems of bias. In this case, religious bias may actually constitute a critical strength to the present research study. As Turner identifies, for a Christian researcher studying African Christianity, "The degree to which there can be common participation in religious activities is naturally higher than if the movement had been tentatively identified as belonging to some non-Christian class." Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, 40.

[466] In addition to this, the researcher has also worked in Sénégal and Tanzania.

[467] The Gambia is a predominantly Muslim nation, such that most churches in the country, and specifically the Bajul region, are composed of non-Gambian Africans. The congregation of the church which was regularly attended consisted mainly of Ghanaians, Nigerians, and Sierra Leoneans. Thus, such a church can be adequately described as an inter-African Diaspora Christian community.

[468] Colin A. Palmer, "Defining and Studying," 30.

augments the six-month fieldwork conducted within APCC. Moreover, it also supplies a source of empathy and respect for the research community.

Eric J. Sharpe explains that the "study of religion" should take place within the context of acknowledging and respecting that which is considered sacred by religious adherents.[469] Such respect must be coupled with appropriate research empathy. Though it is difficult to rarify empathetic research behaviour, it is here suggested that fostering personal relationships between the researcher and researched is vital. Commenting on working in Africa, Harold W. Turner notes:

> Friendship, then, is the only door to an understanding of the inner reality of an African religious movement, and in many cases this will mean that the enquiry becomes to some extent a joint enterprise wherein both parties gain a deeper and a clearer comprehension. In Africa, this is made possible by the open-hearted and uninhibited way in which a stranger will be received once some reason for confidence has been established, and their community of interest has become apparent…. Once there was a sense of partnership in this task, the most intimate personal religious history was often freely available, for many enjoy recounting their own experiences and have a remarkable memory for dates and other factual data.[470]

While Turner's comments relate specifically to research in Africa, the same was found to be true while working with APCC members. Likewise, such friendship relationships are enhanced with a suitable deference for African worldviews.[471] "Methodologically speaking," explains Palmer, "the study of the modern African diaspora should, in my

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[469] Eric J. Sharpe, *Understanding Religion* (London: Duckworth, 1983), 60.
[470] Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, 39.
[471] For more on the concept of "worldview," see: Ninian Smart, *Worldviews: Crosscultural Explorations of Human Beliefs*, 3rd ed. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1999).

opinion, begin with the study of Africa."[472] To "begin with the study of Africa" researchers must first understand and respect African presuppositions; whether related to understandings of politics, family, community, and religion. As Anderson reiterates, it is necessary for western researchers to take African premises seriously.[473] It is here conjectured that this can only be developed through time spent interacting with Africans, both in Africa and the diaspora. Though not as extensive as the experience of scholars such as Anderson, it is hoped that living in West Africa, along with spending six-months interacting with the African diaspora, has provided the researcher with sufficient contact with various African worldviews.

A.2 The Problem of *Tribe*

As is apparent within this study, APCC is not composed of individuals claiming one nationality, let alone is it a community comprised of individuals from any one group within a single geographical region. Thus, it is important to delve into the methodological quandary of the various nomenclatures linked with African peoples. While living in the Gambia it wasn't uncommon to hear individuals describe their familial associations in relation to what they called a *tribe*, such as the *Fula*, *Mandinka*, *Serahule*, or *Wolof*. Interestingly, the same was usually the case when interacting with people in the African diaspora. For instance, when discussing the variety of African peoples and cultures in APCC with one interviewee, a graduate student in sociology, she reprimanded the researcher by asserting: "If you are saying *peoples group*, you are not identifying it very well." She thus explained, "Just say: *tribe*."

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[472] Palmer, "Defining and Studying," 30.
[473] Anderson, *Moya*, 8-10.

A tribe has been described as a "group of nominally independent communities occupying a specific region, which speak a common language, share a common culture, and are integrated by some unifying factor."[474] However, it is apparent that such anthropological conceptualizations of tribe do not adequately relate the variegated perceptions held by APCC participants. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Rufaro, a married couple who emigrated from Zimbabwe, explained that they were both from the "Shona tribe," yet apparently still belonged to dissimilar tribes, came from different regions, while they both spoke the same traditional mother-tongue. This reveals that it would be problematic to "assume that Africa's idea of *tribe* is the same as ours," while also recognizing that historically, "The label *tribal* can imply an unthinking, primal attachment to kin."[475] As such, the word tribe has not been used as an identifier within this study, and therefore, another form of taxonomy is required.

Due to the elaborate African relationships between language and identity, the term "ethnolinguistic group" was initially considered. However, this terminology brings with it two difficulties: 1. It was not readily understood nor endorsed by those being interviewed; and, 2. It can be academically correlated with linguistic anthropology, and such conceptions as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, to which this study cannot be dedicated. However, while this term was not well received by interviewees, it was noted that individuals often tended to use the designation "ethnic group." At the same time fieldwork confirmed that participants' use of tribe is "more like the meanings of our

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[474] William A. Haviland, *Cultural Anthropology: The Human Challenge*, 9th ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1999), 346-51, quoted in Curtis A. Keim, *Mistaking Africa: Curiosities and Inventions of the American Mind* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 98.
[475] Ibid., 102, 97.

phrase *ethnic group*."[476] Consequently the more generalized term "ethnic group" is used within this investigation.

A.3 Researching the Opposite Gender

While addressing some of the issues enmeshed within the practice of social scientific interviews, Andrew Herod notes that gender issues can feature prominently in the exercise. These concerns are not necessarily encompassed simply in gender bias, but may result from the impracticality of a male researcher interviewing female respondents. Herod notes that "many women understandably are often reluctant to invite unknown men to their homes" in order to participate in research projects.[477] This, it was feared, would restrict the present study, and perpetuate a trend in diaspora research, in which women are often bypassed as "passive migrants," with only male perspectives being reported.[478] Undoubtedly this impracticality threatened to obstruct the full potentiality of the present study. In fact, after publicly announcing the research project at church events, very few women were willing to participate in life history interviews. Despite this relatively poor start, eventually a strong contingent of female congregants demonstrated readiness to contribute. To ease the male researcher and female respondent disinclinations, women were often met in familiar public areas,[479] wives were occasionally interviewed after husbands,[480] and some women chose to meet with the

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[476] Ibid., 102.
[477] Andrew Herod, "Gender Issues in the Use of Interviewing as a Research Method," *Professional Geographer* 45:3 (1993): 309.
[478] Marie Rodet, "Migrants in French Sudan: Gender Biases in the Historiography," in *Trans-Atlantic Migration*, eds. Falola and Afolabi, 165.
[479] For instance, Leah Jumoke, the graduate student mentioned above, simply chose to be interviewed on the university campus, and the meeting place was set in front of the university bookstore.
[480] Such as Mr. and Mrs. Rufaro mentioned previously.

researcher in pairs, and then be interviewed successively.[481] Through this an adequate female cohort has been appropriately added to this study. Nevertheless, female and male representation was not entirely equivalent, such that, of the twenty interviewees seven are female. In addition to this, gender bias is inevitable, considering the sex of the researcher. However, keeping this in mind, gender concerns have been acknowledged and are investigated within the present study.

[481] Including both Amadi Dákë and Adeola Ayõ.

APPENDIX 2

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION[482]

Participant **[Pseudonym]**	**Sex** **[Male = M]** **[Female = F]**	**Country of Birth**	**Country of Current Citizenship**	**Years in Canada**	**Years Involved with APCC**
Austin Akinsanya	M	Nigeria	Nigeria	3	1
Moses Amazu	M	Nigeria	Nigeria	4	2
Joshua Ashänafinät	M	Ethiopia	Canada	8.5	6
Adeola Ayõ	F	Nigeria	Nigeria-Canada (Dual-Citizenship)	7	6
Aaron Çbô	M	Nigeria	Nigeria	2	1
Kayin Chidi	M	Nigeria	Canada	5	4
Amadi Dákë	F	Nigeria	Nigeria	1	1
Leah Jumoke	F	Ghana	Ghana	2	1.5
Andrew Mandla	M	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	7	6
Sarah Morowa	F	Ghana	Canada	8	5
Stephanie Marova	F	Liberia	Liberia	2.5	2

[482] Note: Though collected, two additional pieces of information, age and profession, were not included in this table. Age was omitted at the request of numerous participants, who did not want to divulge this information. As Pastor Ogye explained: "Africans do not wish to share their ages." Therefore, at the request of numerous participants, age has been left absent from this table. Secondly, profession was omitted to further maintain participant anonymity.

Elijah Nkamfo	M	Ghana	Ghana	8	6
Bayo Ôgbön	F	Nigeria	Canada	17	6
Kwame Ogye	M	Ghana	Canada	27	3
Ajani Oku	M	Nigeria	Nigeria	9	5.5
Kwasi Onyansafo	M	Ghana	Canada	30	4
David Rufaro	M	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	7	6
Mudiwa Rufaro	F	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	7	6
Darren Uro	M	Nigeria	Nigeria	4	4
Abraham Vimbika	M	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	1.5	1

APPENDIX 3

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF THE TERM DIASPORA[483]

Martin Baumann contends that while "the ancient notion 'diaspora' has become a fashionable term," until recently the word was actually, "distinctly confined to the histories of the Jewish and Christian traditions and their diaspora communities."[484] Originating from the Greek noun διασπορά,[485] the word is composed of the components *dia*, meaning "through," and *speirein*, denoting "to scatter."[486] It is, therefore, a term with "biological connotations," that has been "extended to pertain to human populations."[487] According to Cohen, this term was used "to describe the colonization of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the Archaic period (800-600 BC),"[488] however, it is generally accepted that the original meaning is constituted from the Greek translations of Biblical texts, such as Deuteronomy 28. These verses are taken to refer specifically to Jewish populations exiled from Judea by the Babylonians in ~586 B.C.E., and was later applied to those deported from Jerusalem in ~136 C.E. by the Roman Empire.[489] Jews continued to accept this descriptor in further dispersions of the community, such as the

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[483] Carol Bardenstein notes that while discussions of "Diaspora" usually commence "with a backward glance at philological starting points in the form of dictionary entries," this methodology "runs the risk of being a classic de-historicizing move – reducing the fluid multivalent life of a word over time to privilege specific earlier usages…" The present study *does* include such an approach, however, as is evident within this study, the oldest understandings of diaspora cannot be fully considered. Carol Bardenstein, "Figures of Diasporic Cultural Production: Some Entries from the Palestinian Lexicon," in *Diaspora and Memory*, eds. Baronian, Besser, and Jansen, 19.
[484] Baumann, "Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics," 313, 320.
[485] Ibid., 316.
[486] See: Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 181; Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, ix.
[487] Bardenstein, "Figures of Diasporic Cultural," in *Diaspora and Memory*, eds. Baronian, Besser, and Jansen, 19.
[488] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 2.
[489] Isidore Okpewho, "Introduction," in *The African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities*, eds. Okpewho, Davies, and Mazrui, xii.

migrations from Palestine in the 5th Century C.E.[490] The word was also adopted in Christian scripture, with its connotation reformed "according to Christian eschatology,"[491] such that the Christian Church was regarded as a spiritual diasporic community, scattered within this world "to disseminate the message of Jesus."[492]

However, as Khachig Tölölyan explains, "the term that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community."[493] This shift is linked to African studies, and derivation of the title *African diaspora*, which has played a critical role in using the term beyond its historical derivations.[494] Though it is not clear where exactly the term African diaspora originated,[495] it has often been traced to George Shepperson, Joseph E. Harris,[496] and the 1965 International Congress of African Historians.[497] Various scholars subsequently adopted this terminology, while Harris continued to use it in his research of

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[490] Baumann, "Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics," 317.
[491] The noun *diasporá* is used three times in the New Testament, appearing in James 1:1; 1 Peter 1:1; and John 7:35. The verb *diaspeírein* also appears three times, as found in Acts 8:1; 8:4; and 8:11. See: Ibid., 319.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Khachig Tölölyan, "The Nation State and its Others: In Lieu of a Preface," *Diaspora*, 1:1 (1991): 4-5.
[494] Martin Baumann explains: "The disciplinary application of 'diaspora' to non-Jewish and non-Christian peoples and their exile situation seems to have been undertaken first within African Studies." Martin Baumann, "Shangri-La in Exile: Portraying Tibetan Diaspora Studies and Reconsidering Diaspora(s)," *Diaspora* 6:3 (1997): 386.
[495] Dwayne E. Williams notes, for instance: "Elements of the African diaspora experience have been evident in the writings and efforts of most Black intellectuals since at least the eighteenth century." Dwayne E. Williams, "Rethinking the African Diaspora: A Comparative Look at Race and Identity in a Transatlantic Community, 1878-1921," in *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1999), 8n.
[496] Terry O. Ranger, ed., *Emerging Themes of African History: Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians Held at University College, 1965* (London: Heinemann, 1968).
[497] See: Joseph E. Harris, "Return Movements to West and East Africa: A Comparative Approach," in *Global Dimensions*, ed. Harrris, 41; Joseph E. Harris, "African Diaspora Studies: Some International Dimensions," *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 24:2 (1996): 6-8; and, Williams, "Rethinking the African Diaspora," in *Crossing Boundaries*, 107.

African dispersion in Asia.[498] Though there appears to have been a near decade before the terminology gained full momentum,[499] such ensuing compilations as those edited by Jacob Drachler, Martin Kilson, Robert Rotberg, and Graham W. Irwin helped formulate its general usage.[500]

As the terminology has been widely endorsed, its application is still debated within the African Studies community. For instance, while James Walyin explains that it "is a useful concept which powerfully evokes the extraordinary, far-flung experience of black life as shaped by the forces of imperial and colonial expansion, and by the effects of black slavery throughout the Atlantic economy," he cautions that it also "runs the danger of overlooking the specific – the local and the distinctive – black experience in favour of the general."[501] More hostile opposition is presented by Tony Martin, who suggests that the term is ethnically and culturally inappropriate for African populations.[502] These arguments parallel Michael Echeruo's assertion that "in a major

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[498] Joseph E. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971), vii, xi-xiv; It is valuable to consider Harris' authoritative definition of the African Diaspora:

> The African diaspora concept subsumes the following: the global dispersion (voluntary and involuntary) of Africans throughout history; the emergence of a cultural identity abroad based on origin and social condition; and the psychological or physical return to the homeland, Africa. Thus viewed, the African diaspora assumes the character of a dynamic, continuous, and complex phenomenon stretching across time, geography, class, and gender.

Harris, "Introduction," in *Global Dimensions*, ed. Harris, 3-4.

[499] Bauman refers to this as "the 'ten-year adoption gap.'" Baumann, "Shangri-La in Exile," 389.

[500] Jacob Drachler, ed., *Black Homeland, Black Diaspora: Cross Currents of the African Relationship* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975); Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press Cambridge, 1976); Graham W. Irwin, *Africans Abroad: A Documentary History of the Black Diaspora in Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean During the Age of Slavery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

[501] Walvin, "Black slavery in Europe," in *Emerging Perspectives*, eds. Bonnett and Watson, 25.

[502] Tony Martin insists that for Africanist scholars the term "diaspora":

sense, we have appropriated both the language and the theology of another historic discourse into our discourse, without fully addressing, much less acknowledging, the consequences of that appropriation."[503] Nonetheless, despite these contestations, scholars continue to use this taxonomy, and understandings of what the African diaspora actually is will undoubtedly continue to be refined and disputed.[504] Additionally, uniting the term 'diaspora' with Africans has also prompted its association with numerous other peoples groups.[505] As a result scholars have been challenged with the relatively undefined nature of the term, and continue to formulate the precincts of its meaning.[506]

> …be deleted from our vocabulary, because the term *African diaspora* reinforces a tendency among those writing our history to see the history of African people always in terms of parallels in white history. . . . There are parallels between black history and white history, of course, but it is unfortunate that blacks do not see our history primarily in its own right…So, we should do away with the expression *African diaspora* because we are not Jews. Let us use some other terminology. Let us speak of the African dispersion, or uprooted Africa as somebody suggested, or scattered Africa.

Tony Martin, "Garvey and Scattered Africa," in *Global Dimensions*, ed. Harris, 441; For additional criticisms of 'diaspora' in the context of the assimilation of African particularities to white history and experience, see: Kilson and Rotberg, eds., *The African Diaspora*; Harris, ed., *Global Dimensions*; Okpewho, Davies, and Mazrui, eds., *The African Diaspora*.

[503] Michael J. C. Echeruo, "An African Diaspora: The Ontological Project," in *The African Diaspora*, eds. Okpewho, Davies, and Mazrui, 3.

[504] Note: While Echeruo's contention must be considered, it appears that Martin's arguments are misconstrued. Though it is true that African history is often only communicated in relation to European influence, Martin's conflation of the Jewish diaspora with "white" European history is problematic. It fails to acknowledge that the dispersion of Africans may in fact resemble the Jewish diaspora, while at the same time, it ignores the fact that the word 'diaspora,' like other terms, can evolve beyond its original meanings. The quest for ethnic historical solidarity should not necessarily determine the usefulness of terminology. Moreover, Martin appears to forget that even Shepperson himself is aware that "the study of the great human migrations has become—and becomes—the study of ruling races," which he labours to avoid. George Shepperson, "Introduction," in *The African Diaspora*, eds. Kilson and Rotberg, 1.

[505] Palmer, "Defining and Studying," 27.

[506] See, Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies," 83-99; Tölölyan, "Rethinking *Diaspora*(s), 3-36.; Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, x; Baumann, "Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics," 313.

APPENDIX 4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

Isidore Okpewho demarcates three notable time-frames for "the African presence in the New World." These include: 1. The *labour imperative*, which "was marked by the one thing the West wanted most from Africa: the labour of her sons and daughters." During this period, "The slave trade was launched, and millions of Africans were exported to the Americas, or perished in the Middle Passage"; 2. The *territorial imperative*, described as "the era of imperialism"; 3. The *extractive imperative*, which is highlighted as the period "when Africa's mineral wealth had become the main focus of Western interest in the continent."[507]

Nonetheless, focussing upon Africans in the "New World" is somewhat constraining,[508] and thus Palmer identifies "five major African diasporic streams" which cover the greatest dispersions of African peoples. These include: 1. The pre-historical movement of humankind throughout Africa and the world; 2. The migration of the Bantu-speaking people across the southern portion of the continent; 3. The "trading diaspora" of the fifth century B.C.E.; 4. The major African dispersion associated with the Atlantic trade in African slaves; and, 5. The movement of African people's since the decline of slavery to the present day.[509] It appears that Palmer's first category, "the contours of

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[507] Okpewho, "Introduction," in *The African Diaspora*, eds. Okpewho, Davies, and Mazrui, xi-xxvii.
[508] See also other discussions of the African diaspora beyond simply the movement of Africans across the Atlantic: Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations," 11-45; Brent Hayes Edwards and others, "'Unfinished Migrations': Commentary and Response," *African Studies Review* 43:1 (2000): 47-68.
[509] Colin A. Palmer, "Defining and Studying," 27-8.

which are still quite controversial,"[510] along with the second stream's inclusion, may be too bold due to their pre-historical attributes. Nonetheless, within these categories it is important to note that Africa and Africans were not simply a static set of populations until foreign influence, but, were indeed communities that migrated over vast geographical compass. Furthermore, what is apparent from even the last three recognized streams is the significant spread of African populations; extending throughout Africa, Asia, Europe, and the New World.

Beginning in approximately the fifth century B.C.E. there was from Africa a "movement of traders, merchants, slaves, soldiers, and others to parts of Europe, the Middle East, and Asia."[511] During this diasporic age, "The Mediterranean in particular benefited from Egyptian and Nubian culture and learning," such that "ideas were arguably more significant than the number of people dispersed."[512] The consistency of interaction between Africa and other continents was most likely varied, and the level of contact was not uniform throughout Africa. This interaction was dominated by the Egyptians, Nubians, and relations with the Greco-Roman World.[513] The extent of this contact increased rapidly in the seventh century, in direct proportion with the rise and spread of Islam. African slaves were scattered throughout the Mediterranean and Middle East by Muslim traders, who "did business in the Sudan and on the Indian Ocean and Red Sea coasts."[514] It is through the trade of African slaves, along with gold and ivory,

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[510] Ibid., 28.
[511] Ibid.
[512] Gomez, *Reversing Sail*, 8.
[513] Ibid., 7-18.
[514] Hallett, *Africa to 1875*, 49.

together constituting "the three staples of Africa's external trade,"[515] that diasporic African communities developed in "India, Portugal, Spain, the Italian city states, and elsewhere in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia long before Christopher Columbus undertook his voyages across the Atlantic."[516]

It is roughly within the three and a half centuries after 1500 C.E., however, that arguably the most significant period of African diaspora occurred. The powerful foreign influences of the Portuguese, the Spanish, the English, the French, the Dutch, the Ottoman Turks, and the Omani Arabs began to impact far more regions of the continent.[517] Associated with the Atlantic slave trade, this period is thought to have exiled approximately two hundred thousand Africans to Europe, and eleven to twelve million to the Americas.[518] The masses of Europeans, along with ten times as many African slaves, rapidly populated the Americas. As a result, never before "had such large numbers of people relocated in such a short time…as in the so-called New World."[519] This period was marked by one of the most profound involuntary movements of people, in which "the cruelty was quite profligate"; depositing multitudes of Africans in "the Caribbean, Mexico and Brazil – in each case to work on tropical plantations."[520] Though it is evident that diasporas continued to result from Mediterranean and Indian Ocean

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[515] Ibid., 18.
[516] Colin A. Palmer, "Defining and Studying," 28.
[517] Hallett, *Africa to 1875*, 47-52.
[518] Colin A. Palmer, "Defining and Studying," 28.
[519] Michael L. Conniff and Thomas J. Davis, *Africans in the Americas: A History of the Black Diaspora* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 65.
[520] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 34.

coasts,[521] the African populations that developed across the Atlantic, in the Caribbean, Brazil, Spanish America, and the Thirteen British Colonies, were easily the most corpulent. This trans-Atlantic slave trade was brought to an end in the nineteenth century through the momentous efforts of William Wilberforce, leading to the abolition of slavery within the British Empire and enforcement through the British Navy.[522] Nonetheless, Africans continue to travel and establish communities outside of the continent to the present-day. This final diaspora movement, often described as the "new diaspora"[523] is now most closely linked with refugee migration, and the voluntary movement of peoples for the purposes of work and education.[524]

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[521] John Hunwick, "African Slaves in the Mediterranean World: A Neglected Aspect of the African Diaspora," in *Global Dimensions*, ed. Harris, 289-323.
[522] See: Robin Furneaux, *William Wilberforce* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2006).
[523] Falola and Afolabi, "Introduction," in *Trans-Atlantic*, eds. Falola and Afolabi, 1-2.
[524] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 177-96.

APPENDIX 5

A BRIEF REVIEW OF RELIGION IN THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

Gomez insists that the historical development of religious traditions in the African diaspora occurred primarily within three possible evolutionary lineages: 1. The Africanization of European Christianity; 2. The continuation and adaptation of traditional African religious elements; and, 3. The development of totally new religious movements, as derived from "the fabrics of Islamic-Judeo-Christian traditions."[525] The first of these diasporic religious categories is identified in the Southern United States, which established a configuration of Christianity that appears to have incorporated "analogues derivative of West and West Central African religions;" manifest in the charismatic work of the Holy Spirit.[526] Additionally, throughout the English-speaking Caribbean, Christianity was laced with "substantial African content." This developed in the use of "supernatural powers to inflict harm, and *Myalism*, the employment of spiritual resources and herbs to counteract witchcraft and other evil." Such trends developed into the religions of *Convince* and *Kumina*.[527] These relate to the second diasporic religious form, which appeared especially heavily in the African diaspora of Brazil and Cuba, where there were "many adherents of renewed African religions."[528] This included the formation of *Candomblé* in Bahia, *Macumba* near Rio de Janeiro, and the *Abukuá* in

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[525] Gomez, *Reversing Sail*, 170.
[526] Ibid.
[527] Ibid., 171.
[528] Ibid.

Cuba.[529] Finally, the third type of African Diaspora religion is represented by such movements as the *Rastafarians* of the Caribbean, resulting, in part, from an "onerous economic struggle."[530]

However, it has been the case that, for numerous reasons, traditional African religions have often "withered away" in the African diaspora; becoming "assimilated to folklore, and progressively secularized."[531] Nonetheless, African ritual has undoubtedly made its mark on the African diaspora's religious epistemology, as can be witnessed in the observations of Joseph M. Murphy. Murphy focuses primarily upon the Atlantic African dispersion, and deals with the traditions and practices found in five key diasporic belief systems: 1. Haitian *Vodou*; 2. Brazilian *Candomblé*; 3. Cuban and Cuban-American *Santería*; 4.Jamaican *Zion Revivalism*; and, 5. Various African American churches located in the United States of America. These traditions, unique in the heritage developed from "African, European, Native American, and still other sources," are also related in their recognition of "the special priority of their African roots."[532] In briefly examining these five religious movements, a general understanding of religion within the African diaspora may be attained.

Murphy contends that Vodou is the "oldest, most famous, and least understood of all diasporian religions," which can be described as "a system of movements, gestures,

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[529] Thomas E. Skidmore, "Race and Class in Brazil: Historical Perspectives," in *Global Dimensions*, ed. Harris, 196.
[530] Gomez, *Reversing Sail*, 171.
[531] Roger Bastide, *African Civilizations in the New World*, trans. Peter Green (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), 99.
[532] Murphy, *Working the Spirit*, 1.

prayers, and songs in veneration of the invisible forces of life."[533] This system, which has an emphasis on ancestor spirits and a great contingent of gods and goddesses, is thought to have definitive roots in African tradition, specifically imported by *Fon*, *Gun*, *Mina*, and *Ewe* peoples. It must be acknowledged that "the assumption that African culture was brought by slaves and then passed down generation by generation to the present or relatively recent past has been called into question by historical research in specific areas."[534] Nevertheless, Vodou reveals a profound conception of the role of religion within the African diaspora's quest for identity and freedom from oppression. For instance, within Vodou's worship of gods and spirits there exists a powerful "revolutionary spirit which gives Vodou its critical force and fearsome image." This revolutionary temper, sometimes referred to as a "spiritualized militancy," is thought to have contributed significantly to Haiti's twelve year war of independence, and is intrinsically linked to the anti-French resistance.[535] Furthermore, as Catholicism reasserted its influence upon the country in the mid-nineteenth century, a communal relationship formed between the two religious approaches.[536] This demonstrates one of the ways in which religious reorientation and adaptation occurred within the African diaspora in response to, and in evolution with, Western religious epistemologies.

Within Brazil, West African influences are a prominent cultural heirloom of the Atlantic slave trade and the resulting diaspora. This is represented in Brazilian clothing and art work, which appear, at least superficially, to closely resemble those found on the

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[533] Ibid., 10.
[534] Albert J. Raboteau, "African Religions in America: Theoretical Perspectives," in *Global Dimensions*, ed. Harris, 72.
[535] Murphy, *Working the Spirit*, 11-2.
[536] Ibid., 13.

continent of Africa. This cultural impact is also discernable in Brazilian religious life, which apparently bears the stamp of *Yoruba*, *Ewe*, and *Fon* practices and beliefs. This takes form in such religions as Candomblé.[537] This religious system recognizes a number of gods or spirits, whose company is formulated by a synthesis of African mythologies. These worshiped spirits are the creation of a dominant god, derived from the *Olorun* of the Yoruba, *Zambiapongo* of the Bantu, and *Nana Buluku* of the Fon. Robert A. Voeks suggests that the early Candomblé houses, or temples of worship, "offered perhaps the only viable alternative to the European social and religious order, to which slaves and freedmen had little or no access."[538] Additionally, Candomblé also represents a manifestation of African magical healing traditions, which came to embody a distinct portion of Brazilian religious praxis. Candomblé's "rich and complex cosmology," associated with "a rigidly defined social structure, and a highly portable animism," became a substantial influence within the slave communities, whose populations originated predominantly from the Bight of Benin.[539] Though generally confined to slave populations, subsequently banned by the Roman Catholic Church, and even criminalized in certain regions, Candomblé expanded at the end of the Atlantic slave trade; representing an attempt of the diaspora to maintain African religious tradition in the New World.

Also descending from the West African Yoruba culture, Santería, known as *Lukumí* or *Regla de Ocha*, expresses itself as yet another African diaspora religious

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[537] S.Y. Boadi-Siaw, "Brazilian Returnees of West Africa," in *Global Dimensions*, ed. Harris, 427.
[538] Robert A. Voeks, *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1997), 52.
[539] Ibid.

development. Stemming from a "mixture of the magic rites of the Yoruba and some of the traditions of the Catholic Church," this religion is considered a "typical case of syncretism."[540] With exclusive participation rites reserved for priests and the newly initiated, Santería is composed of animal offerings, along with dancing and singing in the worship of the *Orishas*, or spirits, who are created by the supreme god *Olorun*. The Orishas are identified with Catholic saints, and facets of Catholic ritual are incorporated into the Santería praxis.[541] What results is an additional example of African religious heritage, preserved and laced with European religion.

In Jamaica such combinations took a different form, represented by the "Afro-Christian" groups of the *Revival Zion*, which may include the *Revivalists*, *Pocomania*, and *Convince*. Originating in the Christian revival of 1861-1862, these movements formed with a particular African vigour, because as Darien J. Davis asserts, "The Great Revival allowed the African religious dynamic—long repressed—to assert itself in a Christian guise."[542] It appears, however, that Davis is exaggerating when he states that "Christianity has been a handmaiden"[543] to these movements, as the Revival Zion boasts a predominantly Christian base. This point is made when considering that unlike "the devotees of African religions in Haiti, Brazil, Cuba, Trinidad, and Grenade, members of Revival Zion and of Convince groups in Jamaica do not worship old African gods."[544] Though Revival Zion is considered polytheistic in nature, or at least not representative of

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[540] Migene Gonzalez-Wippler, *Santeria: The Religion: Faith, Rites, Magic (World Religion and Magic)*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harmony Books, 2003), 3.
[541] Joseph M. Murphy, *Santeria: African Spirits in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 21-38.
[542] Leonard E. Barrett, Sr., "Understanding the Rastafarians," in *Slavery and Beyond: The African Impact on Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Darién J. Davis (Lanham: Scholarly Resources, 1995), 228.
[543] Ibid., 227.
[544] Simpson, "Religions of the Caribbean," in *The African Diaspora*, eds. Kilson and Rotberg, 295-6.

Judeo-Christian monotheism in its inclusion of various gods, it is still "mostly Christian and the least African in its rituals and beliefs."[545] In describing this synthesis of religious concepts, George Eaton Simpson explains that with Revival Zion "the important spirits are Old Testament prophets, New Testament saints, angels and archangels, Satan, *Rutibel*, and beings from the de Laurence books on the occult and magic."[546] He continues to describe the rites of this unique Afro-Christian religion:

> Drumming, handclapping, singing (both collective and antiphonal), praying by the leader and individual prayers by the members speaking simultaneously, Bible-reading, personal testimonies, counterclockwise 'spiritual' dancing around the front part of the church, preaching in brief intermittent instalments, spiritual possessions, and, in some cases, public healing constitute the main features of 'divine worship.'[547]

It is divine worship rooted within a strong Christian praxis and belief system, convoluted with other various African and non-African practices.

Murphy also reviews what is often titled "the Black Church" in the United States of America. This community is described as "the shared institutions among Protestant Christian denominations that have been developed and administered by African Americans," which may also include "significant black initiatives within denominations largely administered by white Americans, such as Roman Catholic or Episcopal churches."[548] Moving beyond Murphy, Lawrence H. Mamiya and C. Eric Lincoln outline the historical Black Church as organized around seven major African-America denominations, which embody the "pluralism of black Christian churches in the United

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[545] L.E. Barrett, "Understanding the Rastifarians," in *Slavery and Beyond*, ed. Davis, 228.
[546] Simpson, "Religions of the Caribbean," in *The African Diaspora*, eds. Kilson and Rotberg, 296.
[547] Ibid.
[548] Murphy, *Working the Spirit*, 145.

States."[549] This religious element of the African diaspora, however, appears difficult to label, because, "Amid the diversity of class, colour, and sensibility that characterize these different institutions, it is impossible to abstract an 'essential' set of characteristics that can be applied to all of them."[550] Indeed, the complexity of these religious organizations is heightened when considering that they are not easily localized in the multifarious nature of American society. Nonetheless, Murphy insists that a commonality may be formed between African Christian movements in their shared African ethnicities, subtle African spiritual ancestry, and the "independent wisdom arising from its exclusion from white America."[551] What is apparent is that these churches are considered Christian in all general respects, while offering cultural distinctiveness that is uniquely derivative of the African diaspora in the United States of America. Of particular interest when conceptualizing the Black Church is the presence of somewhat analogous African-Christian organizations, found in countries outside of the U.S. As research demonstrates, the international Black Church is a diverse religious phenomenon, becoming as heterogeneous as the countries within which the African diaspora resides.[552]

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[549] These seven include: 1. the African Methodist Episcopal Church; 2. the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; 3. the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; 4. the National Baptist Convention, USA, Incorporated; 5. the National Baptist Convention of America, Unincorporated; 6. the Progressive National Baptist Convention; and, 7. the Church of God in Christ. Lawrence H. Mamiya and C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Church in the African-American Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 1.
[550] Murphy, *Working the Spirit*, 145-6.
[551] Ibid., 146.
[552] For example, consider the separate manifestations of African diaspora Churches in such countries as Britain, and the Netherlands. See: Gerrie ter Haar, "African Christians in the Netherlands, in *Strangers and Sojourners: Religious Communities in the Diaspora* , ed. Gerrie ter Haar (Leuen: Peeters, Bondgenotenlaan, 1998), 153-94; John Beya "The Francophone Presence in Britain Revisited: An Analytical Approach to French-Speaking African Congregations in Greater London," in *Strangers and Sojourners*, ed. ter Haar, 195-220.

APPENDIX 6

A BRIEF HISTORY OF PENTECOSTALISM

Characteristics associated with Pentecostalism, such as charismatic gifts involving healing, speaking in tongues, and belief in living prophets have been demonstrated throughout the history of Christianity, however, actual contemporary Pentecostalism has gained predominance since the nineteenth century.[553] The true birth of modern Pentecostalism, however, is frequently deemed to be January 1, 1901, which is associated with the famous Azusa Street revivals.[554] The events of this day, and the following nexus of incidences, are succinctly described by Miller and Yamamori:

> Modern-day Pentecostalism, however, dates to January 1, 1901, when students at Bethe Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, spoke in tongues under the tutelage of Charles F. Parham. A few years later, Parham took his message regarding Spirit baptism to Houston, Texas, where William J. Seymour, a black Holiness preacher, became convinced that the Holy Spirit was still in the business of working supernatural miracles. Seymour then began preaching the same message to a small gathering of people in 1906 in Los Angeles, igniting what became known as the Azusa Street revivals, named after the street where an interracial gathering of people began to replicate the acts of the first-century apostles: speaking in tongues, healing the infirm, and prophesying.[555]

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[553] See: Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 19-38; Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 17-20.
[554] See: Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*; Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
[555] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 18.

This meeting is seen as the catalyst which led to a ministry that lasted until 1923, and resulted in over three hundred Pentecostal denominations in the United States alone.[556] As Synan explains, "No sooner had Seymour begun preaching in the Azusa location than a monumental revival began."[557] This revival is said to have spread so rapidly that after only two years Pentecostal churches could be found in over fifty nations across the globe.[558] Due to this precipitous growth and spread, Pentecostalism has been described as a "religion made to travel."[559]

Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that while January 1, 1901 and Azusa Street are considered the origins of contemporary Pentecostalism, "similar manifestations occurred well before the twentieth century in Africa, England, Finland, Russia, India, and Latin America."[560] Though the North American mechanism for a resurgence of Pentecostalism is undeniable "there is evidence to suggest that not all Pentecostal outbursts around the world may be causally linked to North American initiatives."[561] Various scholars contend that many Pentecostal movements are not in fact related to North America Pentecostalism in any manner.[562] Furthermore, even the events associated with Azusa street demonstrate non-white African ancestry and related African

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[556] Wacker, "The Functions of Faith," 354.
[557] Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1997), 97.
[558] See: Iain MacRobert, *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988).
[559] Byron D. Klaus and Douglas Peterson, eds., *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel* (Oxford: Regnum, 1999).
[560] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 18.
[561] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 10.
[562] See: Paul Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions: A Pentecostal Contribution to Mission Theology* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1985); Juan Sepúlveda, "Reflections on the Pentecostal Contribution to the Mission of the Church in Latin America," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 1 (1992): 93-108; Poewe, ed., *Charismatic Christianity*.

diaspora propagation.[563] As Turner postulates, "Excepting early Christianity, Pentecostalism is the only worldwide church that was initiated by a black."[564] Arguably, Pentecostalism corresponds to an intricate amalgamation of African and Wesleyan spirituality, which is entrenched with the African and slave religious milieu found in the African diaspora holiness tradition.[565] Indeed, it is because of this noteworthy influence that the "Pentecostal Revival has been called a contribution from the black community to the white one."[566] [567] This is emphasized by George Eaton Simpson, Leonard Lovett, Ian Mac Robert, and Hollenweger, who underscore African and African diaspora influences.[568]

The African diaspora's impact on Pentecostalism is entwined with some twentieth-century African Pentecostal movements, due to African-American missionaries who went out from the Azusa street ministry in great numbers to Africa itself. The first group of African-American Azusa missionaries was dispatched to Liberia, and by January of 1907 twelve African-Americans were working throughout the country. During that period it can be said that the African diaspora was endeavouring to transport at least one representation of Pentecostalism to Africa. However, today a new diaspora is

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[563] Leonard Lovett explains that, "One cannot meaningfully discuss the origins of contemporary pentecostalism unless the role of blacks is clearly defined and acknowledged." Leonard Lovett, "Black Origins of the Pentecostal Movement," in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic*, ed. Synan, 138.
[564] Walter J. Hollenweger, "The Pentecostal Elites and the Pentecostal Poor: A Missed Dialogue?" in *Charismatic Christianity*, ed. Poewe, 201.
[565] Lovett, "Black Origins," in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic*, ed. Synan, 137.
[566] Simpson, "Black Pentecostalism," 206.
[567] It is interesting to note that Robert Mapes Anderson counters the black origins of Pentecostalism, as specifically outlined by Hollwenger. Despite this argument, however, it must still be accepted that there is indeed an African, and African diaspora role in the development of contemporary Pentecostal movements. See: Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 257
[568] Simpson, "Black Pentecostalism"; Lovett, "Black Origins," in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic*, ed. Synan, 137; MacRobert, *The Black Roots*; Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*.

exporting a contemporary, uniquely African Pentecostalism from the continent to non-African nations.

APPENDIX 7

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF PENTECOSTALISM IN GHANA

It has been well documented that distinctive African Pentecostal movements have marked the pallet of Ghanaian Christianity, and steadily influenced the persistent growth of Christianity across the country.[569] This contrasts with the relative failure of Roman Catholic missionary efforts to Ghana in the fifteenth century. In the nineteenth century, however, later efforts by the Catholic mission in1880 were significantly more successful; following the effective Protestant missionary endeavours of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in 1840, the Basel Mission of 1845, and the Bremen Mission of 1847.[570] Early in the twentieth Century, approximately eight years after the Azusa street revival, Pentecostal communities began to develop in Ghana, seemingly as a result of the work of the Liberian "Prophet" William Wade Harris who traveled to the country.[571] Also called the "Black Elijah," Harris preached a Christian message that was readily accepted by tens of thousands of West Africans, and thousands of Ghanaians. In the Ghanaian worship services that resulted from his ministry, local music and dancing were encouraged, along with "leaping, speaking in tongues, falling into trances, prophesying, relating dreams and visions, and giving personal testimonies."[572] Within this activity it became common to

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[569] Omenyo, "The Charismatic Renewal Movement," 169-89; Atiemo, *The Rise*.
[570] See: J. Kofi Agbeti, *West Africa Church History: Christian Missions and Church Foundations 1482-1919* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 3-112; Peter Bernard Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity: A Study of Religious Development from the 15th to 20th Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), 7-26, 41-2, 57-62.
[571] Gordon Mackay Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris: A Study of an African Prophet and His Mass-Movement in the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast* (London: Longman Group, 1971), 71-90.
[572] Opoku Onyinah, "Matthew Speaks to Ghanaian Healing Situations," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, 10:1 (2001): 125.

practice praying for the sick, and applying various spiritual aids, including anointing with oil, drinking holy water, ritual bathing, using crosses to ward off evil forces, as well as burning candles and incense.[573]

Nonetheless, the establishment of churches linked more directly to the traditional Pentecostal movements, that is, those maintaining closer ties with the American Azusa ministry, can be connected with Apostle Anim; an evangelist and preacher who initiated his work in 1917 and stressed healing in Christ. Sparked by an article in a Faith Tabernacle Church magazine, entitled "Sword of the Spirit," Anim began a new charismatic movement that would eventually become associated with the Apostolic Church of Bradford, England. In 1937 this church sent James McKeown to assist him.[574] The churches resulting from the work of these two men led, through various splits and secedes, to the establishment of The Apostolic Church, The Church of Pentecost, The Christ Apostolic Church, and The Assemblies of God; all of which remained the main Pentecostal churches in Ghana until the 1970's.[575] Emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit, in personal pneumatological experiences as well as miraculous healings and interventions, maintained noteworthy prominence within these established ministries, along with the plethora of ministries that would soon emerge. Contributing to the general focus upon the Holy Spirit was a visit by the British Evangelist Derek Prince to Ghana after he received a formal invitation from most of Ghana's Pentecostal churches. His emphasis on Demonology and ancestral curses heavily influenced Ghanaian Christians,

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[573] Ibid.
[574] Ibid., 126-7.
[575] See: Robert W. Wyllie, "Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism: Peter Anim and James McKeown," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 6:2 (1974), 109-22.

who also readily accepted the works of Dr. Rebecca Brown, and Emmanuel Eni's *Delivered from the Powers of Darkness*.[576] Consequently, Pentecostal teachings abounded within the nation, and numerous organizations, entrenched with markedly Ghanaian Christian conceptions, have continued to grow and increase.

Asamoah-Gyadu outlines this historical proliferation of Pentecostalism in Ghana through three chief stages. The first is the phase of the "Sunsum sorè," or spiritual churches, which originated with the aforementioned William Wade Harris, and a series of "prophets" that followed him.[577] These churches would fit within Harold W. Turner's "Prophet-healing" AIC typology.[578] The second historical "wave" incorporated the "Western mission-related Pentecostal denominations." These churches were developed through "indigenous initiatives but became linked quite early with foreign Pentecostal missions."[579] Finally, there are the "Neo-Pentecostal Movements," expressed elsewhere as the "new churches" of Ghana,[580] and described as "Pentecostal renewal phenomena associated with trans-denominational fellowships, prayer groups, ministries and independent churches, which came into existence or prominence from about the last three decades of the twentieth century."[581] These are categorized into the sub-groups of: 1. Charismatic Ministries; 2. Trans-Denominational Fellowships; and, 3. Charismatic Renewal Movements. Charismatic ministries, described as "autochthonous churches," were "born entirely out of indigenous initiatives," which appear "very keen to reflect

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[576] Onyinah, "Matthew Speaks," 128.
[577] "Sunsum" means spirit, and "Sorè" denotes worship. Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 21.
[578] Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, 9.
[579] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 23.
[580] Sanneh, *Changing Faces of Christianity*, 84; Paul Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, 23-7.
[581] Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 26.

their international character and connections."[582] Trans-Denomination Fellowships are not churches, but instead are "parachurch associations that encourage participants to remain in their churches and, with their charismatic experiences, try to bring about renewal from within."[583] Finally, Charismatic Renewal Movements are Pentecostal revitalization initiatives within "Traditional Western Mission Churches," which were not initially Pentecostal.[584] These three branches of Pentecostalism permeate modern Ghanaian religious culture, and are evident within the contemporary Ghanaian African diaspora, especially as "Neo-Pentecostal" and "Charismatic Ministry" movements.

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[582] Ibid., 27.
[583] Ibid., 28.
[584] Ibid.

APPENDIX 8

THE PREDOMINANCE OF PRAYER WITHIN APCC

William James postulated that prayer is at the center of all religions, and though some may disagree, it is apparent that James' supposition would be true at least for APCC.[585] While the church leaders act as God's prophetic emissaries within APCC, and congregants have access to the power of God as encountered in glossolalia, healing, and financial success, one of the most prevalent church practices is prayer. In APCC prayer takes various forms, including a communal prayer technique in which every member prays aloud, to the point of shouting, irrespective of those around them. In prayer meetings this was often accompanied by pacing to and fro, glossolalia, and the "laying on of hands" over individuals. This is punctuated by the pastor's guidance, as he would initiate and halt sessions by outlining what church members should pray for. Congregants are free to shout, sing, bow, and move in any number of ways as they beseech God together; worshiping, giving thanks, and offering personal requests in prayer. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori's description of Pentecostal prayer illuminates the multifarious nature of prayer in APCC:

> Some prayers are filled with thanksgiving; others are petitions. Unlike the beautifully scripted prayers of the Anglicans, Catholics, and others who have compiled prayers in books that are appropriate to every season of the calendar year as well as every moment of the liturgy, there is something primitive and personal about the prayers of Pentecostals. They tend to flow from the heart, expressing

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[585] William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: Collier Books, 1961), 351.

> spontaneous feelings of praise as well as the deepest anguish of the heart. Sometimes these prayers are focused on an individual's needs, other times on those of loved ones, the congregations, the community, or the world. And, not infrequently, prayer is a potpourri of needs and thanksgiving, personal and public.[586]

Within APCC prayer is both inescapable and obligatory. Each facet of church experience described within this study was linked to this practice. The weekly church bulletins do not read, "Welcome to APCC," but instead state: "Welcome to the House of Prayer." The third of five points in APCC's mission statement reads: "To create a house of prayer for all nations (Isaiah 56:7; Mark 11:17)." Prayer meetings are held throughout the week from 05:00 to 09:00, Monday to Saturday, and the participants exclaimed how prayer was integral to their lives, both as a means of communicating with God, and actuating divine intervention. In fact, it was not uncommon for interviewees to request that the researcher join them in prayer before or after an interview. The significance of prayer in APCC is promulgated through the church periodical, in which one contributor has written:

> Prayer is an explosive force! Prayer has the power to change situations both in the physical and spiritual realms. Although God knows our every need before we ask, He has instituted prayer as the only means through which He will unleash his great power to work for His children… Through prayer the destinies of nations were changed, barren women became productive incurable diseases were healed, lost souls were saved, people were delivered out of tribulations and God's power was demonstrated to unbelieving mockers."[587]

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[586] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 145.
[587] Regina Aina [pseud.], "Importance of Prayer," *The Witness: The Voice of* [APCC] 49 (2007): 4.

Furthermore, within APCC it is observable that "prayer is a means of externalizing concern for others as well as communicating theological reflections to members of the community."[588] In this way it serves a "cathartic role" for voicing concerns, both individual and communal, while affirming church beliefs. Moreover, such emotional catharsis takes place within the overarching empowerment that comes from prayer, which is the channel by which the African Pentecostal search for power is culminated.

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[588] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 145-6.

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