

From Divine Word to Divine Wealth: Sociological Analysis of the Developmental Phases of Pentecostal Churches in Ghana

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ABSTRACT - *There is an ongoing debate regarding the proliferation of Pentecostal churches in Africa and Ghana in particular. Consequently, Pentecostal denominations are seen as routes through which people gain fame and make wealth. Using a data collection in Ghana in the city of Tamale between July and December 2013, this paper provides an analysis of the different developmental phases of Pentecostal churches in Ghana. The results points to an increasing numbers of Pentecostal churches in Ghana. This increased is partly due to the increasing number of educated elites who have taken advantage of the economic potential in establishing Pentecostal churches. The paper reveals that the real intention of almost all pastors who have planted their churches is to see it grow to become a mega church or reaching a true entrepreneurial stage. The paper further reveals that it is not just a one stop journey, but has to pass through stages before achieving the self fulfilling stage. The paper thus concludes that in as long as the industry remains lucrative, a number of educated elites will join the vacation.*

Key words - Pentecostalism, Innovation, Entrepreneurial, Divine-actors

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades, there appear to be a dramatic shift of Christianity from the global north to the global south. Africa in the opinion of Meagher [2009] has been hit by series of religious revivalism, the implication of which social scientists are still struggling to come to terms with. The changing demographics, whereby Europe, which used to be home to ‘two-thirds’ of the world’s Christian population in the 1900s, now housing less than a quarter in the 21st century is one of the indications [Jenkins, 2007:2]. Indeed, Essien, [2010] is right when he indicated that the centre of gravity of Christianity has shifted towards developing nations. There has been a tremendous change in Christian activities in Africa, marking it out as ‘the heartland of Christian faith’ in recent times [Bediako, 1993; Johnson, 2010]. It is interesting to note that of all the Christian denominations in Africa, Pentecostal faith is leading in both membership and prominence, and Ghana is noted as one of the countries that continue to blaze the path formed by Pentecostalism [Anderson, 2004:115; GSS, 2012].

This changing dynamics of recent Pentecostal tradition is strikingly becoming the standard norm of the present generation of Christians, placing the Pentecostal faith on a new trajectory [Okyerefo, 2011; Kirmayer, 2004]. In almost all the Pentecostal churches (divine industries) in Ghana, the gospel is rationally carved such that belief in the Holy Spirit, healing, and deliverance from evil spirits form part of the daily activities. These actions are purposively undertaken to respond rationally to the needs of the numerous Pentecostal clientele [Stark, 1997]. Pastors (divine-actors) are convinced that for one to stay in the business and maintain his or her market share, he or she has to innovate by incorporating the Pentecostal style into their gospel [Anderson, 2004:116]. This explains why Gifford [2004:24-43], claim that, there is a paradigm shift in Christianity in favour of the Pentecostal divine industries in view of the latter’s mediation in public life. It is important to note that Pentecostal divine industries are rationally positioned to provide a space where divine-actors can get both material and spiritual support and accumulate wealth for themselves [Lauterbach, 2008]. Other arguments are to the effect that divine-actor creates platforms that enable them to achieve social recognition. In this regard, the ‘religious-game’ as experienced in Ghana points to the direction of the emerging Pentecostal faith as a key player on the socio-religious landscape. ‘Religious-game’, as used here, denotes the spiritual and social engagements each of the different strands of Christian faith in Ghana engages in, to remain useful to their clients. This paper provides sociological analysis of the activities of divine industries and the path to self fulfilment in the divine industry.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study was done in Tamale over a period of six months from July to December 2013. The data collection tools were purely qualitative involving observation, in-depth interview and focus group discussion. A total of four divine industries were selected in the study to ascertain the vision of divine-actors for their divine industries, including what they seek to achieve in the near future. The selected divine industries include the World Outreach Ministry, The King Christian Ministry, Winning Life Ministry, and Powerful Jesus Outreach Ministry, all in the Tamale Metropolis in the Northern Region of Ghana. They were purposively selected because of their locations in Tamale and the services they provide to their clients. Out of these four divine industries, the founders or senior divine-actors and senior associate divine-actors of each divine industry were engaged in an interview. Thus, a total of 8 respondents were engaged for an in-depth interview, using an interview guiding questions. There was also two focus group discussion organized to elicit more information from associate divine-actors. All the gestures both verbal and non verbal were noted in a field notebook. Each interview was recorded using an audio recorder, transcribed and analysed. English language was the chosen research language since almost all the pastors (divine-actors) could read and write in English.

3. GHANAIAN PENTECOSTALISM

The current wave of Pentecostal phenomenon as experienced in Ghana started in 1979 with the rise of interdenominational fellowships across educational institutions in Ghana [Meyer, 2004a]. This situation, it must be noted, is associated with trans-denominational fellowships, prayer groups, scripture unions, ministries as well as divine industries that came into existence and rose to prominence over the last few decades [Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:26]. It is interesting also to state that the emergence of this phenomenon was led by a group of graduate elites, whose identification with Pentecostalism, it is believed, enhanced their social status. Be that as it may, what actually determine the standards and conventions for evaluation and prestige is interpersonal networks among the elites [Lindsay, 2008]. As Ukah [2007] has indicated, because many of the divine-actors are university graduates with diverse experience, they are media friendly and utilize it to their advantage. Indeed, many of them have rationally introduced commercial practices in the production of religious goods [Stark, 1997]. The increasing rate of formal education in recent times provides a platform for the young, upwardly mobile educated professionals [Essien, 2010], having realised the social ills, decided to appropriate modern marketing techniques to project the image of Pentecostal divine industries [Onyinah, 2002]. In view of the knowledge of divine-actors about societal needs, in addition to the fact that Ghana as a developing nation experiences social and economic distress, the doctrine of divine-actors is highly embraced because it put more emphasise on the social ills and how they could be ameliorated using the divine word [Meyer, 2004a].

The hardship that people experience, as well as the prosperity teachings of the divine-actors leads to an increased desire of some people to appropriate what is considered goods of modernity [Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:27]. They do this through the integration of new ideas and traditional knowledge to carve new messages in line with the desires of local consumers. In view of the perceived or real anticipation of benefits in the divine industries, professional elites [Lindsay, 2008], decided to resign from their jobs, or a blend of professional job and the gospel, to take up the challenge of restoring hope and dignity in a society that seem to be losing hold of its responsibilities [Onyinah, 2002]. Though they have a blend of biblical and local ideas, some of them have their ideas drawn from imported books and cassettes from the United Kingdom and United States of America. These messages dwelt on prosperity, wealth and faith healing. The imported cassettes are rationally designed to increase public awareness about the presence and reality of demons and witches, and how they could be exorcised by divine-actors [Essien, 2010; Onyinah, 2002]. Thus, experts have argued that the presence of Pentecostal divine industries is due to the plural religious scene - the existence of the African Instituted Churches against which these new movements are defined [Meyer, 2004a].

Other observation in connection with this phenomenon is a marked increased in the integration of liberal ideologies, characterised by rapid movement of people and materials including growth of the mass communication industry [Ukah, 2007]. The zeal and vigour with which the movement started served as a catalyst against the mainline mission inspired Pentecostal divine industries that had been in existence since before the Second World War [van Dijk, 1999]. In view of the fact that Pentecostal elites and non-elites alike are able to add a cultural dimension to their sermons, and the fact that they are able to give culturally acceptable interpretations, both locally and internationally, the plausibility of the movement is sustained (Yidana & Mustapha, 2014). This development is in keeping with Anderson [2004:215] observation about the need to ‘give special attention to the hitherto neglected area of the relationship between the Christian gospel and the traditional pre-Christian religion that continues to give meaning to people understanding of life.’ It is worth noting that one of the innovative actions taken by divine-actors is the successful incorporation of local ideas and practices pertaining to old gods, witches, and water spirits popularly called *Mami water* in the Ghanaian context into the gospel, thus confirming the realities and existence of supernatural entities [Meyer, 2004b].

In all situations, clients of divine industries are convinced that they constitute special servants of God who alone are saved and favoured [Onyinah, 2002]. To them, a saved Christian is one who is born-again with sanctification and

complete change of the inner person, and an inward feeling of holiness [Meyer, 2004a]. To be sanctified is to be cleansed of all forms of sins and evil deeds. Consequently, prophets and members of Pentecostal prayer warriors often seek to cast out demons by invoking the Holy Spirit to turn the demonically possessed into born-again. In their view, the presence of the Holy Spirit is evidenced in tongue speaking, experience of vision, deliverance, as well as prophetism [van Dijk, 1999]. While Meyer [2004a] and other scholars have alluded to the fact that the born-again break ties and links with their extended family members as well as villages of origin, others maintain that the break emanates from the notion that African culture and tradition breeds jealousy, preventing them from making progress in life if they continue living with their extended family members in their respective villages. This, in my view, is ostensibly carved to get people from the rural communities to join them in the cities. No wonder many have described the current Pentecostal phenomenon as an urban phenomenon [Essien, 2010]. Having said this, it is important to point out the different dimensions of breaking from one's past. As Van Dijk [2001] has indicated; one dimension of the break has to do with an individuals' past life-style including drinking, stealing, and other forms of wrong-doings, as well as deliverance of individuals from ancestral worship. What is important is that, the fact that young men and women move away from their families to the cities for obvious reasons, does not mean they have cut ties. People travel in and out of their villages regularly and take part in traditional celebrations that symbolise their identity as a people regardless of one's religious affiliation. The steady growth the divine industries are experiencing across the country, especially amongst the urban dwellers is due to the fact that it represents the face of African Christianity [Okoyerefo, 2011].

4. CONSOLIDATING DIVINE-ACTORS POSITIONS

One feature associated with Pentecostal divine industries is their fragmented nature due to individual quest for autonomy. In many instances, the quest for autonomy is what often accounts for the widespread planting of divine industries [Sackey, 2006]. Planting of divine industries is conceptualised as a planned process of beginning and growing new local divine industries, or a dynamic process that involves both starting new divine industries and helping those divine industries grow [Hibbert, 2009]. It is important to note that of all the divine industries studied, two dimensions were observed with regard to their spread and expansion. One such dimensions is what I describe as a unilinal expansion or growth, and the second a multilinal expansion or growth. This is illustrated in Figure 1.1 below depicting how a typical Pentecostal divine industry expands both unilinally and multilinal.

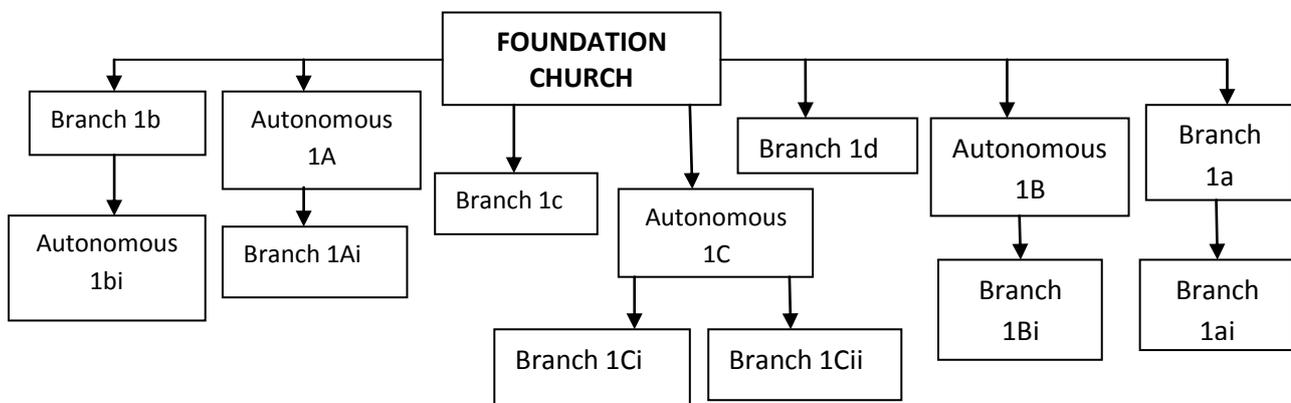


Figure 1.1 *Growth of a typical Pentecostal divine industry*

As is shown in the Figure 1.1 above, the foundation divine industry is a reference point as it is the first industry planted under this case. As it expands, branches are planted such as 1a, and 1b among others. For obvious reasons which are discussed later, the divine industry experienced secession and the first autonomous or independent divine industry 1A was planted, then 1B in that order. Each of these divine industries also starts as foundation divine industries on their own and also start planting branches, or as the case may be, experiencing secession. Some of the branches also have branches under them like the case of 1a, or they could also experience secession like the case of 1b. In many situations, the expansion of divine industries is either unilinal or multilinal.

4.1 Unilinal expansion

The unilinal expansion of Pentecostal divine industries denotes a case where new divine industries sprung up from existing divine industries such as those with branches. In view of the fact that they are branches of existing divine industries, they continue to maintain the ideology and vision of the 'mother' divine industry, whether the headquarters or

'mother' divine industry is situated locally or on foreign soil. The headquarters or foundation divine industry and the divine-actor often serve as a reference point for all other divine industries that qualify as branches, planted in other parts, locally or internationally. It is important to note that what account for this unilial expansion is the self-propagation and dynamism of some Pentecostal divine-actors who, in view of their level of education [Meyer, 2010], see a good working relationship with their associate divine-actors as a priority, and work with them as a team, where issues relating to the welfare of clients are dealt with in an atmosphere of respect, openness and transparency. This development serves as a recipe for Pentecostal growth. As a result, leaders find it easier planting new divine industries in other parts of the country and beyond within a short period.

This observation was made during interactions with the Kings Christian Ministry's founder, Rt Rev Lugutera, who emphasised that he deploys many of his associate divine-actors, mostly young men with university degrees, to new communities as full divine-actors to manage branches that have been planted. This action is deemed to be rational not only because it convinces disenchanted associate divine-actors who may have challenged his legitimacy or secede if things were not working well, but also helps the founder entrench his position, legitimacy and authority. Such leaders often try to maximise the potential of their associate divine-actors through the deployment to new branches to give them autonomy, even though they still owe allegiance to him as the founder of the divine industry.

4.2 Multilial expansion

The multilial-expansion is used to denote an expansion resulting from secession, where the divine industry in question starts as an autonomous entity, with an ideology different from the divine industry from which it seceded [Assimeng, 2010]. They serve as their own reference points (but take glory from the old when it fits them). After some time, these divine industries also start planting new branches in different localities to disseminate their ideologies. The multilial expansion results from situations where grievances are not well managed, and a subsequent challenge of the legitimacies of the founder by associate divine-actors. Though the confrontation may be conceived of as pride and the quest for power and money on the part of these associate divine-actors, many founders or senior divine-actors do not take it seriously. When the threats become serious and senior divine-actors attempt to discipline the disgruntled members using the industry's internal structures, they secede to plant their own.

5. CONCEPTUALIZING SECEDING AS DESIRE FOR WEALTH AND AUTONOMY

In almost all divine industries, calling oneself a divine-actor without any additional back up vocation anywhere, becomes an issue especially when it turns out that the divine-actors only work for their superiors without earning reasonable income in a country with escalating cost of living. This phenomenon it must be noted, places many of them in tight financial situations [Lauterbach, 2010]. In such circumstances, any attempt to act against the interests of such divine-actors leads to secession, borne out of frustration and a quest for autonomy, legitimacy, and survival.

Apart from conceptualizing the phenomena as survival strategies, ideological conflicts also continue to linger on in many Pentecostal divine industries [Assimeng, 2010]. In situations where there exist conflict in ideology, deliberate 'bending of rules' and regulations by persons who preach 'change' and 'innovation' gospel emerges, with the view that when society is developing from simple to complex, divine industries must also adapt to these changes by putting measures in place to address the changing demands of clients. Divine-actors with this mind-set argue that the old doctrines restrict them from exploring their divinely gifted talents, and when divine industries fail to take advantage of the changing circumstances, it goes against the interest and wishes of the divine industry and its clients. One of the divine-actors; Rev. Jonathan recounted circumstances under which he seceded:

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

It is interesting to emphasise that in the opinion of most of the divine-actors, many senior divine-actors are often afraid of losing their legitimacy to the young and dynamic divine-actors who appear very vocal with chains of university degrees [Meyer, 2010], and the ease with which they blend theory and practice [Yidana & Mustapha, 2014]. Such perceived fear usually informs the way they behave and the disciplinary actions they take against their associate divine-actors. Indeed, when these strategies of 'pin-them-down' backfire, tempers rise and the resultant effect is often resignation and subsequent planting of new breed of divine industries as in the case of Jonathan as stated above.

6. FINANCING DIVINE INDUSTRIES

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

Another form of internal sourcing of funding is their reliance on 10% payment of tithe, a ritual taxation from the monthly earning of clients who are full-fledged members of these divine industries [van Dijk, 1999]. Throwing more light regarding how the tithe plays a key role in their financing, one of the divine-actors indicated that: ‘assuming you have about ten people working in a bank, ten working as politicians and ten from universities, the divine industry can rely on the tithe of these persons to function.’ By implication, the more clients a divine industry has working in well-paid institutions, the richer the industry becomes with the 10% tithe as contribution. What is observed is that divine industries structure their activities and operate as profit maximisers and earn their revenue by charging contribution from their clients, but only long after they have attracted them to their respective divine industries [Poutvaara & Andreas, 2004]. During the research, it was observed that all the new clients were introduced to the congregation and had their personal details noted including their work place and the positions they occupy in their respective institutions. The reasons for such an exercise was simple; for record keeping, even though an informant had indicated that such details are often used to check how much each person earns as a monthly income so that they will know how much to expect from them as ‘ritual taxation’.

Tithing remains highly identifiable and personal in that they are displayed on tithing cards that indicate the value of the tenth of the person monthly income pledged [van Dijk, 1999]. The cards are sensitive and access to such confidential information by leaders of the divine industry turn to dominate an element of members’ identity. Before they donate during service at the divine industry, members of Pentecostal congregation anticipate return and reward, whether material or immaterial, and expect improvement in their position and fortunes. As part of the strategies to ensure that clients donate as well as reduce the rate of free riders, during the usual offertory (donations) on Sundays, some divine-actors and their aides consciously ask clients to raise their donations (currency notes) for prayer before it is giving to God, in order that God will give them back twice of what they have given. From whatever they get, 10% is paid to the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council for administrative purposes for those who have registered with it. As has been emphasised, a threat of afterlife punishment is seen as credible and no client wants to be a victim of such situation [Poutvaara & Andreas, 2004].

The additional investment in schools and clinics all serves as additional income generating ventures to inject more funds to the running of their divine industries. For a financial sustenance, some divine industries have established charitable Non Governmental Organizations that they use to mobilise funding from external sources, some of which go to support the divine industry. While some of them are satisfied, the new entrants to the Pentecostal business are yet ready to ‘stand on their own feet.’ Support for divine-actors and the supporting staff, as well as the needy in the divine industry come from these contributions. As a result, efforts are often made to ensure that it is done well. One of the actors indicated that though they are winning souls for Christ, they also have families to feed, and observed that:

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

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

It has been observed that because of elections in many of the developing nations, most politicians especially in Africa, and Ghana for that matter, are often careful not to offend voters by interfering in religious affairs, especially regarding imposition of taxes on religious institutions [Hackett, 2011]. Though this assertion may seem plausible, it is important to understand that in the spirit of encouraging religious freedom, the state has provided a tax waiver for divine industry donations, ‘collection or offering’ as it is locally referred to in Ghana. In accordance with this consideration, the

Internal Revenue Act of 2000, Section 10(1) (Act 592), exempts from payment of tax any income accruing to or derived by an exempt organisation including persons who, or that function as religious, charitable or educational institutions of a public character. The implication of this provision is that so long as a religious organisation is engaged in an ecclesiastical, educational or charitable activity that is not aimed at making profit, it is exempted from payment of taxes.

However, if a religious organisation engages in an activity or venture that is income-generating or businesses as a divine industry that has achieved their true entrepreneurial status, it is obligatory for them to pay taxes on those activities in accordance with the tax rules of Ghana [Norman, 2013]. Though this may seem ideal, most of the Pentecostal divine industries vigorously operate companies that actively transact business with their members and the general public, operate public transport services, and promote financial and insurance companies in addition to their primary goal of winning more souls to God. The tax laws of Ghana also require all paid staff of religious organisations whether they are divine-actors of different grades, to pay taxes on their monthly or yearly income. Many employers within these institutions do not adhere to the provision for a simple reason that their employee are on part time and depend on allowances, which are not taxable according to the tax laws. It is on the basis of this that Rt Rev Luguterah of Kings Christian Ministry put it that:

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

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

7. FROM DIVINE WORD TO DIVINE WEALTH: THE PATH TO MAKING FORTUNE IN THE DIVINE INDUSTRIES

In almost all situations under the current generation of Ghanaians, the get-rich syndrome is a problem in many societies and Pentecostal divine industries are seen as routes of achieving these riches [Essien, 2010]. Considering the rapidity with which Pentecostal entrepreneurial divine industries are growing, one is convinced that the ambition of every divine-actor is not just the planting of divine industries [Hibbert, 2009], for the sake of planting, but to ensure that the divine industries grow to attain the status of full entrepreneurial divine industries, or what others describe as mega divine industries. It is this desire that has put a lot of Pentecostal divine industries in a competitive spirit [Yidana & Mustapha, 2014]. Moreover, young divine-actors entrusted with the responsibility and control over the lives of segments of congregations [Essien, 2010], who consciously or otherwise are also nursing the ambitions to develop themselves, muster courage to experiment the possible ways of rising from being employees, to the status of planting divine industries and nurturing them to grow to fulfilment. That is, to attain the status of a mega divine industry. Rising through these stages in the planting of divine industries however, is dependent upon the flexibility and innovation of the actors in question and how they apply their enterprising skills. It is therefore relevant at this stage to trace the developmental paths to success as far as Pentecostal divine industries are concerned.

7.1 Foundation phase of divine industries

The foundation stage denotes the first phase in the development Pentecostal divine industries. This is usually evangelisation often done in different ways. It usually starts with either the divine-actor alone or he and his wife or a woman and her husband. The techniques that are often employed by divine-actors include the door-to-door evangelisation, distribution of leaflets, and preaching in moving vehicles [Essien, 2010]. During this phase, the divine-actors are pre-occupied with the mind-set of self-employed persons trying to make sure they succeed in whatever they want to achieve. It is important to note that what generally motivate most people to develop the desire for self-employment, in this case the development of a new divine industry are spiritual as well as the desire for status achievement [Hibbert, 2009]. Many people believe that forces that motivate divine-actors are partly based on the quest for individual security, even though it is important to add that the desire to take control over one's life, career, and destiny also plays a major role. The quest is often preceded with the feeling that relinquishing control of a divine industry to a spiritual mentor all the time is not in the 'dictionary' of happiness as far as some divine-actors are concerned, and their conviction is that with the little experience they acquire as mentees in the spiritual enterprise, they could execute and manage the task of a divine industry on their own [Lauterbach, 2010]. This phase of divine industry's development marks the defining moment in the lives of many divine-actors, considering the fact that the actions they take are mostly aimed at getting autonomy to do things in line with their visions as is divinely directed, or in some instances, doing

things in line with visions they set out for themselves. The platform is often created for them to do the same or similar activities they did while they were employee, but here, they figure out how to do it by themselves and for themselves with innovation.

7.2 Playing the role as sole proprietors

Upon a successful evangelisation with the self-employed mind-set, they progress onto the second phase of the developmental journey of the divine industry with a managerial perspective. What pre-occupies the mind of the divine-actor at this phase is the thought of how to succeed in the management of the divine industry. Apparently, the actor engages the services of other people he or she thinks can help him or her to attract loyal clients. At this stage, the divine-actor acquires a building, and in many instances, a school building for his or her evening and weekend services with the few members he or she is able to convert. Before appointing members to preside over the different departments of the divine industry, he or she runs the divine industry as a manager, the finance officer, and secretary. In fact he or she is all in one. It is worth noting that many of them have charismatic endowment in them [Bell, 2013; Kirmayer, 2004]. With these leadership qualities, divine-actors succeed in their endeavour by virtue of the fact that they accept challenges and responsibilities by ensuring that others in their congregation also succeed and flourish. By getting the most out of their associated divine-actors; they are able to delegate aspects of the running of the divine industry to these actors and devote their attention to higher goals. It is important to note that the chances of the divine-actor to move beyond this stage depend upon their ability to, not only manage but lead; this enables the divine-actor in question to rise to assume the role of owner and leader of their divine industry.

7.3 Assuming responsibilities as managers

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

7.4 Stage of diversification

The fourth phase of the divine industry's development is where the divine-actor starts investing the profits/returns of the divine industry in other establishments, aside from the activities of the divine industry. As they generate additional returns, the founder as a purposive actor with a rational mind in the entrepreneurial business, begins to incorporate other exciting challenges through prudent management of the financial and human resources to generate more returns. Investing in other ventures for maximum returns involve smart leverage of assets, and many founders create additional institution based on the same model or system. Through the engagement of other investments, they get into the career of not just selling basic religious products and services, but also selling an entire business. The additional institutions many of the divine industries incorporate include hospitals, schools, and supermarkets among others [Essien, 2010]. At least some of the divine industries at this stage with financially formidable congregations add residential development to their holdings. In order not to fall into the trap of an administrator or manager, founders appoint people as CEOs, while they the founders become the directors or silent partner, sharing in the returns while enjoying the relief of not having to share the routine responsibilities of running the activities from the inside. They achieve this objective through the broad and comprehensive strategies they incorporate, in addition to the fact that they deal in all sort of products and services.

7.5 The stage of self-fulfilment

The fifth and final phase is where the divine industry reaches the stage of a mega divine industry or true entrepreneurship [Warf & Morton, 2010]. Having experienced different things through the different phases of accomplishment and insight, the divine-actor is able to boast of accomplishing the ultimate goal and dream in a really life changing way. Many divine industries at this level often have hundreds and thousands of branches under them. thus, the divine actor does not only depend on the church for his or her finances, but other areas as schools, hospitals and transport

services that he has invested the money in. Money comes automatically from profitable ventures that feed success with more success but do not require a snowballing effect.

8. CONCLUSION

As an ever-increasing phenomenon, the activities of Pentecostal divine industries are widespread in Ghana [Sackey, 2006]. This development ties in well with claim made by [Essien, 2010] to the effect that the centre of gravity of Christianity has shifted from the global north to the global south. The prominence and continued visibility of Pentecostal divine industries in Ghana is due to the fact that divine-actors, divine-actors are able to innovate with the gospel, have been able to synchronize their activities in line with local needs and expectations. The paper further reveals that in view of the individual or collective desire for autonomy, divine-actors have taken it upon themselves to establish their own independent divine industries. There is an ongoing debate that divine-actors establish divine industries ostensibly to serve God. It is however worth noting that, though there may be a divine directive, the desire for financial gain often takes a better part of their attention. Like any business venture, rewards do not come immediately. The owner has to invest and nurture the business before the dividends will start showing. Consequently, divine-actors have to pass through different phases of the developmental journey to be able to reap in the returns of their investment (both time and human resource). As a result, the ultimate desire of all divine-actors is to get to the self fulfilling stage whereby they see themselves as directors with multimillion shares under their disposal. With the current trends of Pentecostal growth and the innovation that go with it, I stand to argue that it will take a long time before the activities of these divine industries will wane in Ghana.

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