

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
DEPARTMENT FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS**

**A THEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF THE PARTICIPATION OF
THE CLERGY IN POLITICS IN GHANA**

BY

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is in no way a reproduction, in part or whole, of any work ever submitted for the award of a degree. It is my own original research undertaken under supervision.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated first and foremost to the glory of God who gives all wisdom for good works. To my help mate, Winyfred Nana Yaa Tete and our kids, Barak and Gabriella. To the Hon. Marietta Brew Appiah-Opong, former Minister of Justice and Attorney General and Hon. Kwasi Amoako Atta, Minister of Roads and Highways for their diligent services to the nation and finally to the members of my current Congregation, PCG-Grace Congregation, Community 11, Tema.

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ABSTRACT

In the Ghanaian society, there seems to be a public opinion that suggests that the clergy is forbidden by convention to have anything to do with active political participation. Though some clergy have been playing various roles in Ghana's politics, they have done that mostly in spiritual support; thus through prayer and fasting, promoting peace before, during and after elections, serving in advisory capacity, advocacy, making inputs and commenting on government policies and decisions. "The question is often asked whether the pastor (clergy) should take part in politics. Some argue that the pastor as a citizen has the right just like anybody else, to engage in politics."¹ What form should the participation take and are there any theological justification for the participation by the clergy? In the process of achieving the aims and objectives of this research, the phenomenological approach which seeks to study the perception, perspective and understanding of a particular situation was used. Theological interpretations of biblical texts were also used when it came to the theological bases for the ordained clergy's involvement in national politics. Methods of data collection included both primary and secondary sources. In addition, questionnaires which included closed questions as well as open minded questions were distributed to selected individuals, clergymen and other Christians for their various responses to be unruffled. This was a purposive sampling in which the respondents were intentionally picked because of their interest in the subject matter through discussions. Secondary sources of the data collection which dealt with published and unpublished works including literature on religion and politics and articles were analyzed. The participation theory and the theory of liberation were used as the conceptual framework for this work. My motivation for this study is to establish the theological basis for the involvement of the clergy in politics and the extent of the participation.

¹ J. N. Kudadjie and R. K. Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, Asempa Publishers, Accra, 2004, 55.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The involvement of the ‘ordained clergy’² in politics is “linked to the issue of the relationship between the church and the state”³ which is complex, dicey, and very controversial but cannot be glossed over. These questions are often debated on, which are; should the church as a body seek to play a role in political affairs or shun any involvement in politics and concentrate on its mission?” What about the individual clergy? Should they be encouraged to participate in politics or shun it? To what extent or level should their political participation be? Is it justifiable for the clergy to participate in politics? It is hoped that this research will unearth the theological justification for the clergy’s participation in politics.

The issue of the church and the ordained clergy’s involvement in nation building and especially through politics cannot be taken for granted since it is believed that politics is a way of life and a way of seeking the wellbeing of the people of the society through governance; so, all citizens including the clergy ought to be involved. It is important to know and understand here as noted by Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah in their book, “that doing politics or involvement in politics means “both the active engagement with possible holding of a political office, and the ordinary exercise of one’s civic rights relating to the machinery of government.”⁴

² The term Ordained Clergy is used in the context of this research to mean Reverend Minister of the Historic Mainline Churches and other well established Churches with fully established institutional structures and who are also fully recognized or are part of the Christian Council of Ghana or Ghana Pentecostal Council.

³S. Waje. Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, Nairobi: Hippo Books, 2008, 83.

⁴ J. N. Kudadjie and R. K. Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, Accra, Asempra Publishers, 2004, 49.

In our Ghanaian society, there seems to be a public opinion that to suggest that it is wrong for the ordained clergy to participate in national politics especially in the historic mainline churches namely the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Methodist Church Ghana, the Evangelical Presbyterian and the Anglican Church, Roman Catholic Church. The rest are some churches that belong to the Christian Council of Ghana and other well-established and known Pentecostal and Charismatic Church such as Church of Pentecost, Apostolic Church, and Assemblies of God etc.

Long before the 4th Republic of Ghana, the church and its leaders played active roles in nation building, though the process has not been rosy. Pobee notes that, “the churches have contributed solidly to the progress of Africans and Ghana.”⁵ The church as a religious body is one of the important institutional structures making up the total social system. In Africa as opined by Pobee, most of the communal activities and other social institutions of African people are inextricably bound up with religion and the spirit –world. It is clearly therefore agreeable when Pobee said that, “political life is laced with religion.”⁶ This means also that, the ordained clergy’s pastoral responsibilities are laced with civic responsibility.

Nevertheless some clergymen and women have been playing various roles in Ghana’s politics since her independence to date as their forms of civic duties. They have done that mostly in spiritual support such as through prayer and fasting, promoting peace before, during and after elections, serving in advisory capacity, advocacy, making inputs and commenting on government policies and decisions⁷ hence, considering the ‘dual citizenship

⁵ J. S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Accra: Asempa Publishers, Christian Council of Ghana 1991, 15.

⁶ J. S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 11.

⁷ F. Acheampong, *Religion and Politics in Ghana’s 4th Republican elections 1992-2008*, thesis presented to the University of Ghana-Legon, Accra, June 2010, 2.

nature' of the Christian arising from being a person and being a Christian⁸, the clergy as a Christian has both civic responsibility as a citizen and religious duties which have some sort of political component.

As indicated by Walls and Ross, the church has a mission to fulfill and these are noted as 'five marks of mission.' The fulfillment of this mission is co- spearheaded by both the lay and the clergy for the total good of the nation in which the constituents of the church membership also tumbles. Three of the marks of mission as noted by Ross in the introduction which are; (i) to respond to human need by loving service (ii) to seek to transform unjust structures of the society and (iii) to strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustain and renew the life of the earth⁹ are also part of seeking the welfare of society that form part of national governance and politics.

In co- directing the church's mission, the clergy end up fulfilling dual roles, thus seeing to fulfill the mission of the church and engaging in civic responsibilities that are also part of national politics. The clergy's involvement in national politics and at the same time fulfilling the pastoral responsibility shows integral interlink even though the political involvement to some extent could be seen as pastoral responsibility. There is therefore a correlation between the two entities. Could there be theological basis for correlating the ministerial or pastoral calling of the clergy with their participation in national politics as far as the church's mission to the society is concerned? This research apparently seeks to find out the theological basis for such correlations.

⁸ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 1.

⁹ A. Walls and C. Ross ed., *Mission in the Twenty-first Century; Exploring the five Marks of Global Mission*, (London, Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd 2008), xiv.

Today, there are clergymen whose utterances, deportment and role being played as part of their pastoral and civic responsibility depict that they have non-negligible responsibility towards national building and governance as far as national politics is concerned. Consider Rev. Prof Emmanuel Martey whose recent utterances generated a lot of political controversies in the media while he was in the seat as the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and has been perceived as bidding the mandate of a political party other than being neutral and commenting genuinely. Pastor Dr. Mensah Otabil is noted as being too and unnecessarily hard on one party and being in bed with the other; the same can be said about Bishop Duncan Williams, Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Kwaku Asante, who is serving as the Chairman for the Ghana Peace Council and Rev. Owusu Bempah who is also noted for giving constant prophesies against one political party and in favor of the other, etc.

Certainly, the political statements made by these clergymen cannot just be taken for granted. While a section of the citizenry see this as normal exhibition and execution of pastoral responsibility on the part of the clergy, others view it as despicable. In recent developments, Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Martey has been noted to be very critical on politicians and even indicated that some politicians planned to bribe him with one million dollars, a 'V8' vehicle and a house at 'Trasaco', just to muzzle him to stop criticizing the then government. One of the several responses to the Rev Prof Martey's allegation was by Mr. Ofose Ampofo, a Vice Chairperson of the National Democratic Congress who stated that "if he (Rev. Prof. Martey) now wants to do politics, he should announce that he has retired from the gospel ministry and is now a politician with his cassock removed and replaced with his political

cloak so that we can all come into the political arena to talk.”¹⁰ It is quite clear that in this response, Ofose Ampofo was referring to party politics and not politics as a civic responsibility. This statement of response seems to confirm a certain notion that religion and politics do not mix indeed and that once you are an ordained clergy, politicking is a no go area. On the other hand, could Rev. Prof. Martey and the presumed bold clergymen and women who are able to seriously address political issues also see it as both a pastoral and civic responsibility to do so as far as national governance and politics is concerned? Could these clergymen and women assume that they are just performing their roles as the prophets of the Bible such as Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Amos etc. did as the Scriptures report. This research is hoped to identify the basis for the involvement and find out if there is or are any theological basis for the correlation.

Some Western Christian Missionary societies in Africa, for example the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM)¹¹ founded by Canadian and American missionaries and the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA)¹² maintained separation of the church and the state. Pastors of these Western Christian missionary societies who advocated strict separation of church and state were forbidden to have anything to do with politics, because it was deemed dirty and worldly. If they wanted to go into politics, they had to surrender their ministerial licenses.¹³ They held themselves aloof from politics and were deeply suspicious of it and were discouraged from having any involvement with the state.¹⁴ The question then is; which of the two positions, aloofness or involvement, is biblical? Which is the best for the clergy?

¹⁰Ofose Ampofo's response to Prof. Emmanuel Martey's political comments and allegation of politicians trying to bribe him and muzzle him, Peacefonline.com, Rev Martey has been exposed by the Holy Spirit, update on 7th September, 2016

¹¹ Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) began in 1893 by Canadians Walter Gowans, Roland Bingham and American Thomas Kent with the vision to evangelize the 60 million unreached people of sub-Saharan Africa.

¹² The Evangelical Church of West Africa is now called Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA), one of the Protestant denominations in Nigeria.

¹³ Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, 83.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 83.

In Ghana, the commonest reasons given as to why the clergy should not engage in politics is because “Politics is a dirty game”¹⁵ or the fact that “politics and religion do not mix.”¹⁶ The question is always asked whether the clergy should take part in politics. This may be so because some members of the Christian community still see politics as unchristian, dirty, and controversial and the fact that it breeds corruption or that there cannot be clean politics without bribery and corruption as perceived by some citizenry. For this reason, the clergy should not engage in.

On other hand, some also argue that since the clergy is also a citizen, he has the right like anybody else to engage in politics as a civic responsibility “the church has a mandate to educate her members to be responsible citizens by helping them to appreciate their leadership in the nation.”¹⁷ Thus, the clergy who is the shepherd or overseer of the church cannot pretend to be unconcerned. Is it not better then, that they get themselves more acquainted and actively involved in the political life of the nation at all levels so as to get the people well organized and prepared to take up their responsibilities as citizens of the nation. Though it will be difficult to refuse such a position the real issue is: the form this participation can take and how far they can go is the issue?¹⁸ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah allude that the proper thing for the pastor (clergy) to do is to exercise his civic responsibility or right as a voter and that where there is party politics, it is not advisable for the pastor (clergy) to seek election due to the fact that the political situation in Africa and also Ghana with regards to party politics has not been played well.¹⁹

¹⁵Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2004, 50.

¹⁶Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 50.

¹⁷ Ibid, 50.

¹⁸ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 55.

¹⁹ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 55.

In as much as “it is incumbent on the church to increase their public education and awareness campaign on the real meaning of politics and good governance to enable their members appreciate the position of Christians in the development agenda of the nation,”²⁰ “the church has a mandate to educate her members to be responsible citizens by helping them to appreciate their leadership in the nation.”²¹ The clergy is expected to co-lead with the leadership of the laity in the clarion responsibility as stated above as the shepherd or overseer of the church. By doing so, he is involved in the political life of the nation. One could then deduce that there is thus a correlation between clergy participation in politics as a civic responsibility and pastoral or ministerial duties. In this instance the clergy cannot totally be alienated from the political of the people.

“Politics is a pervasive part of society, affecting individuals and groups, as well as areas like religion and the economy, technology and science. Nobody can claim that politics is irrelevant to their lives.”²² For the researcher, it is impossible for the clergy be completely uninvolved in the social and political life of the nation in which they live. This is again so because, they also enjoy the benefits and social amenities provided by the nation. Once they live and are part of the nation, they will have to continue to contribute their part towards its well-being and progress

Though Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah state clearly that “the pastor (clergy) is to be the shepherd of the flock hence cannot effectively hold the flock together, if he is an outspoken party man, the flock will be divided, since they are likely to belong to different parties. Therefore, for the sake of the church and maintaining the unity of the Spirit, the pastor

²⁰Christian Council of Ghana, Christian Home Week Series Vol 1 “*The church’s Political Role in Nation building*” Accra, Christian Council of Ghana, 2016, 1.

²¹ Ibid, 1.

²² Kunhiyop, African Christian Ethics, 106.

(clergy) should abstain from direct involvement”²³One may be tempted to agree to the above accession since most of the statements by these clergymen are given different interpretation alluding to the fact they may be in favor of a particular party and hence always speaking in favor of such political parties. But it is important to know that their civic responsibility cannot be undermined.

However, the other view is that the political involvement of the ordained clergy could go beyond the level of civic responsibility since the clergy is first and foremost a citizen with rights and that there are also biblical and theological basis for the involvement. This is so because as Stott puts it, concerning the Christian on earth here, the clergy also, like any other Christian has dual citizenship; being of this world and that of heaven as well. Emmanuel Kwaku Asante in his book “Stewardship” Essays on Ethics (1999), in writing about the Christian’s involvement in politics agreed with Stott that “there is no doubt that the Christian has a dual Citizenship.”²⁴ The Christian is therefore a citizen of heaven and of a particular human society and quoted the ‘Priestly Prayer of the Lord Jesus in John chapter 17, that the Christian is in the world but also not of this world.’²⁵

In the same vain, the ordained clergy who is also in the first place a Christian, has the same dual citizenship identity; a citizen of heaven and a citizen of the society of residence and so cannot pretend not to be interested or refuse to participate in national politics by which the members of congregation that he or she pastors are governed. In this sense, the clergy is still in a way subject to socio-political pressure.

²³ K. N. Kudadjie and R. K. Aboagye-Mensah, 2004, 50.

²⁴ E. K. Asante, *Stewardship*, Essays on Ethics of Stewardship, (Accra: Willas Press, 1990), 76.

²⁵E. K. Asante, *Stewardship*, Essays on Ethics of Stewardship, 76.

In as much as pastoral roles cannot be thrown away, the civic responsibility and participation in politics by the clergy can also not be taken for granted. As citizen, no one should be aloof with regards to leadership and governance of the society. The clergy has no justification for political non-involvement. In this wise, there is a correlation between the clergy's civic responsibility and participation in national politics. The researcher hopes to fish out the theological basis for the correlation.

Service and Mission to the society by the Christian Church in its agents such as the clergy must therefore "be found in the honest and faithful pursuit of diverse activities of life since by virtue of the dual Citizenship and as part of the human community, the clergy is already immersed in politics."²⁶ The clergy therefore must as a matter of this ideology of dual citizenship bring to bear on politics as Waldo Beach noted "his transcendent loyalty to God in Christ Jesus."²⁷

Kunhiyop is eulogized for citing that Christians have come to realize that politics affects economic development, for it is in part the process of persuading governments to act in certain ways and is thus a means of getting things accomplished. That failure to get involved in politics may result in economic deprivation while involvement may help to improve their community's infrastructure, education and lifestyle.²⁸

It is important to know and understand here in no equivocal terms as far as the researcher is concerned that doing politics or involvement in politics means "both the active engagement with possible holding of a political office, and the ordinary exercise of one's civic rights

²⁶ Ibid, 76.

²⁷ W. Beach, "*The Christian Life*," (Richmond, Virginia, C.L.C Press 1966), 261 in E.K. Asante, "Stewardship" 77-78

²⁸ Ibid

relating to the machinery of government. However, it must also be noted that the Church is not a political organization or party where the clergy may want to misuse the church's mandate and mission for personal interest or gains. But it should also be possible for the clergy to be on 'secondment' or part time basis as a 'Tent Minister' to directly hold or serve a political office such as Minister of State or a Member of Parliament.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Though it is suggested that the clergy may not be involved directly in national political activities such as being a Minister of State or as a Member of Parliament, etc., they may be involved in certain civic responsibilities such as registering to vote and voting, educating church members on their civic and political rights so that they can make informed decision, commenting on government policies, serving as a polling official for the Electoral Commission (EC) etc. It is important to note here that the clergy is first and foremost citizens with equal rights just as any other citizen, and can still pursue their political ambition by holding a political office which goes beyond performance of civic responsibility. J. I. Buabeng noted in the work that Ghana's attempt to institutionalize democratic order was not without active involvement of the Church.²⁹ He also noted that the church had played an important role in promoting and sustaining Democratic culture in Ghana.

In this perceptive, it is important to bring to the fore the role played by the clergy as an agent of the church in promoting and sustaining democracy. This is because mention cannot be made to the role of the church in nation building without reference to its agent, the clergy. From all these discourses, it is clear that the clergy has a role and a responsibility to play in national politics alongside the pastoral role. Therefore, if the church has played influential

²⁹ Ibid, 87

role in national issues such as politics, then there was no way the clergy could have been alienated since the execution of the church policies in favor of both the congregants and the citizenry is co-spearheaded by the clergy and the laity. This work seeks to justify why such individuals, irrespective of their vocation of calling as clergy could pursue such goals and ambitions of political participation at the level of holding a political office.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The purpose of the research is aimed at the following;

1. To examine the relationship between religion and politics and the clergy and political participation.
2. To analyze the political participation of the clergy in Ghana's political history.
3. To discuss the theological basis for the participation of the clergy in national politics.

1.4 Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following questions;

1. What is the relationship between religion and politics as well as the clergy and political participation?
2. To what extent has the clergy's political participation been in Ghana's political history?
3. What are the theological basis or justification for the clergy's political participation in Ghana?

1.5 Literature Review

Millard J. Erickson clearly states and discusses four (4) functions of the church in discussing "the role of the church namely as Evangelism, edification, worship and social concern. In

the discussion, he goes ahead to talk about the willingness to serve and adaptability as the character of the church.³⁰The church's social concern includes such responsibilities as showing love and compassion to both the Christians and non-Christians in the society as well as condemning unrighteous peddles by some citizens. Quoting from Sherwood Wirt, in the book 'the Social Conscience of the Evangelical,' Erickson stated with reference to the fact that "it is clear that Jesus cared about the problems of the needy and the suffering, He healed the sick and even raised the dead on occasion."³¹ The church as noted by Erickson is to show concern and take action wherever it sees need, hurt or wrong. This discourse will help to deal with the issue of the church and politics and the church's responsibility towards the nation and its citizens.

The Chapter One of the book "Gospel Ferment in Malawi: Theological Essays," by Kenneth R. Ross discusses the "Wind of Change in Malawi under the heading. "The Truth Shall Set You Free: Christian Social Witness in Malawi 1992 – 93. The author here discusses a pastoral letter that was issued by the Catholic Bishops at Lent 1992 calling for an end to one-party system and adopt a multi-party system of government. Ross notes in the manifesto the acknowledgement of the Leader of the United Democratic Front (UDF) an opposition party in response to the outcome of the referendum held to determine the way to go with the effort of the Church leadership. Basically, the pastoral letter was engineered by the Seven Catholic Bishops and the Presbyterian Blantyre Synod. In the manifest as noted by Ross, "the United Democratic Front, the first to be issued by an opposition party after the referendum victory, began with quotation from the Pastoral letter and stated that the

³⁰M.J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 2nd ed. Baker Books 2007, 1060 -1061.

³¹ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 1067.

movement for political reform had occurred in response to the call from the Catholic Bishops.”³²

The action by the Church was a surprise to many who widely held the view and thought that the Church had been in thrall to the one-party regime. “The preceding political history was that since achieving independence from the British rule in 1964, the national life of Malawi had been marked by the extent of the political control exercised by the ruling Malawi Congress Party under the leadership of “Life” President Hastings Kamuzu Banda”³³ The resultant effect was that under the one-party state it was unconstitutional and illegal to form any other political party. People as well as other businesses were frequently forced to give donations to the Government. Public discourses were shaped by party propaganda which no one could question. The public were also controlled by the government and were unashamedly used for propaganda purposes, while no alternative view was tolerated in public or private. The Churches though were free of state control over their internal affairs, were required to give the regime their stamp of legitimacy and restrict their witness to personal spirituality and morality.

Ross again notes that the two major Churches in Malawi at time Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Central African Presbyterian each claimed the adherence of around one quarter of the population were publically silent on social issues throughout the 1964 – 1991 period. Though they could have used their access to the government to raise issues of concern, this opportunity was not made use of until 1992 when Catholic Bishops broke their

³² Towards a better Malawi: United Democratic Front Manifesto, July 1993. P3 in Kenneth R. Ross, *Gospel Ferment in Malawi: Theological Essays*, Mambo Press, Gweru, 1995, 9.

³³ Kenneth R. Ross, *Gospel Ferment in Malawi: Theological Essays*, Mambo Press, Gweru, 1995, 10.

30 year silence on social issues through the issuance of the pastoral letter to call for an end to one-party system and give way to multi-party democracy. Kenneth R. Rose's work, though is about Malawi; Ghana held a similar circumstance that led to the overthrow of Nkrumah's government when an attempt to push for one-party state was made. In a similar scenario, as Ghana returned to a democratic rule in 1992 Ross continues to discuss the Churches meddling in Politics involving the confrontational critique of the political developments. While the synod leadership of the Presbyterian Church spelt out its intentions to be actively involved in the referendum through educating people, promoting freedom of choice, monitoring at the polls and prayer, the Catholic Bishops worked on a more thorough and detailed treatment of the referendum in the form of a pastoral letter entitled: "Choosing our Future." The Bishops assessment was "what the people are seeking is genuine democracy in which the leaders are servants of the people who elected them and not master, in which leaders are answerable and accountable for their action to those they lead, a true government of the people, not a government by or for the privilege."³⁴

In the book, three (3) factors were noted to have accounted for the outcome of the action by the church and the leaders of the churches in Malawi. These are the fact that the churches were in touch with the people, the importance and role of the Catholic and the Word Alliance of Reformed churches in offering solidarity and finally the fact that though the churches had been silenced for almost 30 years yet the 'dangerous memory' remained.³⁵

Another book that was reviewed was by John S. Pobe, 'Religion and Politics in Ghana'. The motivation for the study which led to the publishing of the book was "the turbulent

³⁴ Pastoral Letter to the Catholic faithful on the occasion of the National Referendum 1993 by the Episcopal Conference of Malawi, 2nd February, 1993 in Kenneth R. Ross, *Gospel Ferment in Malawi*: 25.

³⁵ Kenneth R. Ross, *Gospel Ferment in Malawi*: 27-28

political times Ghana went through for ten years before”³⁶ According to Pobee, the nation had to face politicians and soldiers who loved power, and were too soon overwhelmed by power, and often claiming to have a sense of ‘call’ to save the nation from unscrupulous politicians or soldiers-turned-politician.³⁷ The book itself is a study of religion and politics in Africa with special reference to Ghana. In the introduction, religion was defined as “a system of beliefs, practices and philosophical values concerned with the definition of the sacred, the comprehension of life and salvation from the problems of human existence.”³⁸ It goes ahead to state that “Religion has three cornerstones: belief, ritual and spiritual experience.”³⁹ Again, religion is one of the important institutional structures making up the total social system. It was also stated that in African societies, religion is all-pervasive. That in most of the communal activities and other social institutions of Africa people are inextricably bound up with the religion and the spirit-world. Both puberty, marriage, death, widowhood and installations to traditional offices all partake of religion. Pobee then concluded with this point that politics itself is laced with religion and that the metaphysical has always been a factor in politics.⁴⁰ Religion which is an important institution in the Ghanaian society has a real presence in the society in the sense that it influences politics. Pobee’s work is related to this work in the sense of the components of religion and its correlation with Politics.

Pobee also discussed the part played by the “historic churches”. The term was used in the book to represent the mainline churches to distinguish them from the so-called independent

³⁶ J S Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Asempa Publishers, Accra, 1991, 5.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ George A. Theodorson and Achilles G. Theodorson, 344 in J. S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 10.

³⁹ I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*. Harmondsworth, Penguin 1971 in J. S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 11.

⁴⁰ J. S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 11.

African Churches. This definition does fit into the scope of the current work. In giving examples of the historic churches, Pobee made mention of the Catholic Church, the Anglican which stated as the English Church Mission and later became the Church of the Province of West Africa, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church (i.e. the Bremen Mission), the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (Basel Mission) and the Wesleyan Methodist Church now the Methodist Church, Ghana. Apart from these historic mainline churches the formation and impart of the others who belong to the Christian Council of Ghana were also mentioned. These included African Methodist Episcopal Church, Baptist Church, and Evangelical Lutheran Church etc.

The leadership of these churches played diverse roles in the political scene of Ghana over the years. The current work will seek to bring to the limelight the continuous effort of the clergy in political participation in Ghana in particular relation to the Church belonging to the Christian Council of Ghana and other well established churches with institutional Structures. As noted by Pobee in the work 'Church and State' in Ghana 1949 – 1966 "engagement of social services was and still is a plank of the Churches" work in Africa. That churches have been partners with governments in running schools and hospitals. "Such work brought intellectual and physical development to Africans. It also ensured that the brush of Christianity had been at work on many in society sometimes beyond the avowed Christians."⁴¹The testimony and effort of the church as a religious institution towards political participation is also shredded in the words, "Here then is the testimony of the doyen of Ghana politics that the church and missionaries have made a significant contribution towards the consciousness of Africans and their development."⁴² "The testimony of

⁴¹ Pobee, *Religion and Politics*, 58.

⁴² R. Orchard, the Ghana Assembly of International Missionary Council, 1957, 48, in J. S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics*, 58.

Nkrumah, the Prince of African nationalism is that the dedication, sacrifices and courage of the missionaries are the foundation of the enlightenment, development and the liberation of Africa.”⁴³ While Pobee makes mention of the African churches, the current work is limited to Ghana.

K. N. Kudajie and R.K Aboagye-Mensah’s book ‘Christian Social Ethics put the roles of the church in the state under four heading: Prophetic, Advocacy, Awareness building and Education, and Transformation.⁴⁴ For them, on the basis of the biblical historical record and teaching, as well as the history of the church, it is legitimate for the church to be so involved.⁴⁵ In the Chapter four of their book, Kudajie and Aboagye–Mensah discuss the Christian and National Politics where they stated that “for many people, doing politics means: joining a political party, being a party activist; speaking on party political platforms; standing for elections and being elected to a district regional or national assembly; being appointed a minister⁴⁶ etc. and indicated that these common views of politics are not entirely wrong.

Having discussed some of the common views against a Christian’s involvement in politics such as the assumption that politics is a dirty game; that religion and politics do not mix; the need of those who accept political positions in a particular government to contribute something to the party in power which may lead to bribery and corruption is against simple Christian values such as honesty and trustworthiness, Kudadjie and Aboagye- Mensah conclude that though there are risks and there are real dangers, it does not mean that no

⁴³ Pobee, *Religion and Politics*, 58.

⁴⁴ Kudajie and Aboagye-Mensah, 2004, 41.

⁴⁵ Kudajie and Aboagye-Mensah , 49.

⁴⁶ Kudajie and Aboagye-Mensah, 49.

Christian must take part ⁴⁷ but for the pastor (clergy), it must end at just the level of civic responsibility and not into party politics so that he or she serves well as a preacher to speak against all forms political ills. Kudajie and Aboagye-Mensah are again quick to say that the pastor can just exercise his civic responsibility of casting a vote and that it is not advisable for the pastor to seek election on a party ticket or even take up party membership especially in the African political atmosphere where the party-game is not played well. The concluding fact to these issues is that, it is enough if the ordained clergy faithfully and sincerely teaches his church members the word of God, and counsels them in the way they should live righteous and victorious Christian lives and imbibe in them good moral values.

Another book that was also reviewed was John Stott's 'New Issues Facing Christians today.' In this book, Stott makes mentions of Lausanne Covenant⁴⁸ that speaks not just of "Social responsibility but of 'Socio-political involvement'. He alludes that it is the use of the word "political which causes red warning lights to flash in the minds of many evangelicals.⁴⁹ Stott talks about politics as of living together in a community. According to its narrow definition as Stott puts, politics is the science of government. That it is concerned with the development and adoption of specific policies with a view to their being enshrined in legislation. Stott opines that it is about gaining power for social change.⁵⁰ Stott goes ahead to state that genuine Christian concern will embrace both social services and social action. In furtherance, it was noted that some cases of need cannot be relieved at all without political action and if we love Christians and our neighbors, and want to serve them, their services

⁴⁷ Kudajie and Aboagye-Mensah, 51.

⁴⁸ The Lausanne Covenant is a 1974 Christian Religious manifesto promoting active world-wide Christian Evangelism. One of the most influential documents in modern Evangelical Christian, it was written and adopted by 2,300 evangelicals at the international Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne, Switzerland from which it takes its named.

⁴⁹ J. Stott, *New Issues Facing Christians Today*, Marshall Pickering, Zondervan, 1990.

⁵⁰ J. Stott, *New Issues Facing Christians today*, 14.

may oblige them to take (or solicit) political action on their behalf. Stott then went ahead to pose the question, ‘why, then, is there so much hostility to the idea of the church becoming politically involved?’⁵¹

Acheampong Fredrick has also done some work on “Religion and Politics in Ghana’s 4th Republican Elections (1992-2008).” His interest sought to find out what has been the level of utilization and appropriation of religion in the politics of the 4th Republican elections in Ghana, focusing on the recurrent and new religious issues that come in these elections and identify the main actors who drive these issues.⁵² Again, Acheampong was interested in identifying the extent to which various forms of religions are used in the politics of elections and the reasons or motive behind such choices under the 4th Republic. In this current work on the other hand, the researcher seeks to discuss the ordained clergy’s civic responsibility and National politics and explore the theological basis for the correlation.

From a historical perspective, M. U. Ariwode in writing on the Christian in politics, discussed the various roles played by John Calvin, John Knox and Holy Johnson.⁵³ John Calvin as a French theologian reshaped the political life of his people by promoting the fusion of Religion and the state as all His reforms were approved by the City Council before implementation. The policies stopped the papacy and the state from intruding into each other’s affairs as Ariwode recounted. Not only that, Calvin offered political refuge to many persecuted Christians and was able to introduce meaningful political changes in the life of

⁵¹ Ibid, 15.

⁵² F. Acheampong, *Religion and Politics in Ghana’s 4th Republican elections 1992-2008*, thesis presented to the University of Ghana-Legon, Accra. 2010, 5.

⁵³ M.U. Ariwode, *Christian Messenger*, vol. 30 No 7, *Christians in Politics*, (Accra: Presbyterian Press Ltd, December 2016), 7.

the Swiss in Geneva people through his sermons, writings and active participation in politics even though he was a Churchman.⁵⁴

Another fellow Ariwode discussed in that article was John Wesley. According to Ariwode, Wesley could not have brought about lot of social reforms in the society if he had only confined himself to the pulpit and had not gone a step further into politics. Wesley came into prominence during the industrial revolution in Britain.⁵⁵ In his discussion, Ariwode stressed that no other person could have been so courageous and radical than Wesley, without being hanged on the gallows. He preached against vices of the society, flooded the markets and streets of Britain with pamphlets on social vices and the necessary remedies. Ariwode also made mention of John Knox as very influential persona who brought a lot of changes and led the Scottish reformation that led the Church of Scotland to enjoy democratic system of representative government. Scotland gained independence from the papacy and the French but also restored the relationship that has disintegrated Scotland and England.

Holy Johnson (a.k.a. James Johnson) was described by Ariwode as a Christian statesman, a Nigerian architect after graduating from the Foura Bay College in 1850. He was later appointed as a member of the legislative council of Nigeria by the then colonial government of Britain and he played his role in the political scene even though he was an African Reverend Minister.

The book titled Religion in Public Life was also reviewed to support the argument raised on religion and politics. In the introduction by Christopher Lewis, it was stated that “perhaps

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵M.U. Ariwode, Christian Messenger, vol. 30 No 7, *Christians in Politics*, (Accra: Presbyterian Press Ltd, December 2016), 7.

religion is the same as politics: it is a political activity under the cover of God.”⁵⁶ For Lewis, religion, is to be inevitably political for it provides a critical perspective on public life. He further note that, we might move on to ask whether politics is inescapably religious; is political decision-making ultimately lost without the backing of a religious world-view in the light of which the politics make sense? If public life and religion should enjoy a close relationship then they ought perhaps to be linked institutionally at the highest level.⁵⁷

Another work that has been done which could serve to be a basis for this current project is by Joseph Ignatius Buabeng.⁵⁸ The purpose of that study was to investigate the nature of the relationship that existed between the Church and the State during the rule of the NDC Government in Ghana (1992-2000). J. I. Buabeng noted in the work that Ghana’s attempt to institutionalize democratic order was not without active involvement of the Church.⁵⁹ Buabeng again noted that the church had played an important role in promoting and sustaining Democratic culture in Ghana. This will help deal with issue on church and politics. In this perceptive, it is important to bring to the fore the role played by the Clergy as an agent of the church in promoting and sustaining democracy. Between the Clergy’s pastoral duties and their involvement in national politics, there seems to be a relationship which the researcher hopes to explore theologically.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

The participation theory and the theory of liberation were used as the conceptual framework for this work. The participation theory propounds and assumes that individuals can make a

⁵⁶ Dan. Cohn-Sherbok and David McLellan, *Religion in Public Life*, St. Martin’s Press, Great Britain, 1992, 1.

⁵⁷ Dan. Cohn-Sherbok and David McLellan, *Religion in Public Life*, 2.

⁵⁸ J.I. Buabeng, *The Church-State Relationship in Ghana under Rawlings’ Democratic Era (1992-2000)*, thesis submitted to the University of Ghana, Legon in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Award of MPhil Degree, Study of Religions. 87

⁵⁹ Ibid, 87

difference by participation through the various means. However, sometimes some observers argue that political participation by the masses is more illusionary than real and that power is actually concentrated in the hands of a small elite group of influential people. “This elite theory is disputed by the advocates of pluralism, who argue that in a democratic society, power is diffused rather than concentrated and that political phenomena are too complex to be reduced to the simplistic terms of elitist theory. On the other hand, the liberation theology can be briefly described as a form of contextual theology, in which the experience and circumstance of the interpreters are given a prime importance as the first step in seeking to be a disciple of Jesus.⁶⁰ For Moltmann, it is “important for the theology of liberation of the poor to be embedded from the start in the wider context of the Kingdom of God; for that a name to the positive goal which is to be reached through the liberation from oppression and poverty.”⁶¹

1.7 Methodology and Methods of Data Collection

For the purpose of achieving the aims and objectives of this research, the phenomenological approach which seeks to study the perception, perspective and understanding of a particular situation⁶² was used. This approach was used in critically analyzing the data that were gathered from individual and interviews that were being conducted. Basically, the Phenomenological method is “an approach to the study of religions that suspends judgments about the phenomenon being studied, by bracketing out potentially distorting presuppositions stemming both from confessional Christian theology and from positivistic

⁶⁰ Chris Rowland, *Liberation Theology and Politics*; Religion in Public Life, ed by Dan Cohn-Sherbok and David McLellan, New York, St. Martin Press, 1992, 80.

⁶¹Jurgen Moltmann, *God for a Secular Society, the Public Relevance of Theology*, Londen, SCM Press 199, 1.

⁶² P. D. Leedy and J. E. Ormrod, “*Practical Research: Planning and Design*.”8thed. (New Jersey: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 135.

science in order that by using empathetic methods, he or she could enter into the experience of believers or adherents to achieve understanding- in- depth.”⁶³

Theological interpretations of biblical texts were also used when it came to the biblical and theological bases for the ordained clergy’s involvement in national politics. This approach was used to study and discuss the essence of the peoples’ mental, spiritual and societal development. The theological approach is fundamentally rooted in Richard King’s “Religious Studies as a’ broad church’ model.” In this model, “Theology is regarded as merely one among many methodologies in the study of religions.”⁶⁴

1.7.1. Methods of data collection

Methods of data collection included both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources involved interviewing individuals that included both the clergy and the laity. Respondents were visited in their offices and homes which some of them used as offices. As a face-to-face method of gathering views and information, the researcher used the method in collating relevant information on the subject matter. This enabled the researcher to interrogate and seek further clarification on their opinions. In addition, questionnaires which included closed questions as well as open minded questions were distributed to selected individual, clergymen, Christians and non-Christians for their various responses to be unruffled. This was a purposive sampling in which the respondents were intentionally picked because of their interest in the subject matter through discussions. Thirty-five (35) questionnaires were sent out and thirty (30) returned fully answered. Out of the number

⁶³ James L. Cox, *A Guide to the Phenomenology of Religions: Key Figures, Formative Influences and Subsequent Debates*, New York, The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006, 209.

⁶⁴ For details on Richard King’s Models or paradigms, see Cox, *A Guide to the Phenomenology of Religions*, 217.

thirty-five (35), fifteen (15) were clergy of different denominations and congregations and twenty other lay persons (not clergy) from different backgrounds.

Secondary sources of the data collection which dealt with published and unpublished works including literature on religion and politics such as the Christian Messenger, articles were analyzed and categorical arguments for and against the question of whether pastors should be actively involved in politics, for example as presented by J. S. Pobee (1991), Kenneth R. Ross (1995), Ebenezer O. Addo (1997), J.N Kudajie and R.K Aboagye-Mensah (2004), Samuel Waje Kunhiyop (2008) and Jeff Haynes were examined. It is highly noted that, these tools that were used helped to deal with the question, ‘what are the theological basis for correlating the duties of the clergy with the involvement in active politics.

1.8 Scope of the Study

A lot of work has been done in this area of religion and politics, Church and Politics, Church and Society by some scholars such as J. S. Pobee (1991), J. N. Kudajie and R. K Aboagye-Mensah (2004), E. Obiri Addo, E. K. Asante etc. From all these works, it could be established that the clergy may not be totally alienated from national politics. There are civic responsibilities they take part in and some of these civic responsibilities may be political in nature or part of national political activities. For example educating congregational members on the procedure of elections or using the pulpit to drive home the need for all members to participate in an electoral processes devoid of violence, voting etc.

Most of these activities are the traditional or normal deeds regarding national politics that the clergy commonly get involved in without any fear or complain from any person. This is because, in most cases, the clergy seem to want to strictly play the neutral role. It is so for

the reason that it has been the role the church has mostly played over the years; to be neutral. But the point here is can the clergy not go beyond this and be more practically involved in the governance of the nation?

This current work will deal with the clergy, and political participation in Ghana: exploring the theological justification for the correlation. To achieve the above as stated, at least thirteen (13) ordained clergy from the historic mainline Churches mainly Presbyterian of Ghana, Methodist Church Ghana, Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana, and the Baptist Church, Full Gospel, Salvation Army, Assemblies of God and some other members of the churches mentioned were given questionnaires as part of the interviews conducted. In addition the policies of some of these churches regarding the clergy's involvement in national politics were also examined. The unflinching hope of the researcher to also consult the Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Martey and Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Kwaku Asante to know their motivation for involvement in national politics and to discuss with them their candid opinion, on whether the clergy can go into national politics could not fully materialize. On the other hand, their statements and books were extensively used. However, other church leaders were consulted to know their view. The prime focus of the work was to examine the theological justifications for the clergy's involvement in political participation.

1.9 Importance of the Study

It is hoped that the research contributes to the already existing academic discussions on religion and politics, church and politics, church and society and the involvement of the ordained clergy in national politics. The work also attempts to examine the theological basis for the clergy's participation in politics. It will also serve as the basis for further academic research work.

1.10 Organization of the Study

The study is organized into five (5) chapters. Chapter one deals with introductory issues such as the background to the study, statement of the problem, aims and objectives of the study, research questions, literature review, scope of the study, importance of the study and organization of the study. The chapter two deliberates the Religion and Politics while the third chapter explores the clergy and politics in Ghana; theological basis for the involvement of the clergy in national politics in societal building. The fourth chapter encompasses the analysis and discussion of the findings of the research. Chapter five deals with the conclusion indicating the summary and finally the recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

RELIGION AND POLITICS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses religion and politics; what is politics? Political participation, politics as a civic responsibility, religion and political participation. In politics people disagree. Disagreement in politics comes in lots of folds which includes: how they need to stay; who ought to get what; how should strength and other resources be disbursed; should society be based on cooperation or war? Additionally, they disagree about how such topics need to be resolved; how should collective decisions be made; who ought to have a say; how a good deal influence must all of us have and so on. But, according to Aristotle, those traits of politics make it the 'master science': this is, nothing less than the interest through which people attempt to improve their lives and create the good society. Politics is, chiefly, a social pastime.

Religion really has a role to play in politics and so both religious and Political have always combined efforts in nation building. During both colonial and post-colonial periods in Africa, religion and politics have shown a significant, mutual concern for each other⁶⁵. Haynes argues therefore that “criticism of the government and for me support to the government on good governance must be a shared responsibility that must be both vociferous and broad-based before senior religion leaders add their weight to it.”⁶⁶ That if religious leaders (including clergy) fail to join in the outburst against a clearly unpopular government once they have reached a certain stage of intensity it would no doubt suggest to ordinary people that they and the regime were as one; the result might well be popular

⁶⁵ J. Haynes, *“Religion and Politics in Africa”* East African Educational Publisher Ltd Nairobi, Kenya, 1996.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 85

criticism of the religious leaders themselves for keeping silent while others attack the government. It goes to assert the fact as noted by E. O. Addo that “religion can be used to regulate power relations and it can also be used as a means of socio-political control”.⁶⁷

2.1 Conceptualizing Politics

According to Thomas M. Magstadt and Peter M. Schotten, in the book ‘understanding Politics’, Politics comprises the process by which rulers are selected and empowered to make decisions, take action to attain common goals, and reconcile conflicts with a political community. Politics plays important role in human affairs. Three fundamental concepts and essential to better understand the role of Politics in human affairs; these are order, power and justice.

“Order means the structures, rules and practices accepted or enforced by a group of people. Political science begins by identifying a specific kind of social order known as a community.”⁶⁸

“A community is an association of individuals who show a common identity. The identity normally defined by geography because people who live in close proximity often know each other, enjoy shared experiences, speak same language and have similar values and interests. Communities normally arise to fulfil certain social functions such as physical security, economic prosperity, and cultural enrichment – that cannot be met by individuals acting on their own.”⁶⁹

⁶⁷ E. O. Addo, “*Kwame Nkrumah – A case study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*” University Press of America, Inc. Lanham Maryland 1996, 18.

⁶⁸ Thomas M. Magstadt & Peter M. Schotten, *Understanding Politics Ideas, Institutions and Issues* 4th ed. St. Martin’s Press, New York, 1996. 2.

⁶⁹ Ibid

It is important to note that every community is maintained and perpetuated by a political order or government, which refers to these persons and institutions that make and enforces rules or laws for the larger community. All humans within the confinements of the community are part and have roles to play in maintaining order and seeing to the growth of the community. This entails the execution and assertion of power through governments.

Power entails the ability of governments and leaders to make and enforce rules and influence the behavior of individuals or groups by rewarding or pushing certain behaviors. Peace guarantee security, promoting economic growth or pursuance of effective policies cannot be maintained without power.

The issue of justice comes to play in politics based on the fact that the governors are always vastly outnumbered by the governed. This gives rise to competitions for fair shares which sometimes result in conflicts. The question that comes in mind then is to determine whether the power gained by governments is exercised fairly in the interest of all; both the ruled or the rulers. It is in this scope that in dealing with politics, order, power and justice serves as fundamental concepts. In this sense, Politics concerns the way humans are governed involving order, power and justice.

Politics is about the making of decisions that affect our everyday life.⁷⁰ According to E. Asante, “it deals with the management of the economy, the level of wages, the scope of social services, the organization of education, the formulation of policies governing foreign relations and on other aspects of our everyday life. It is a mechanism by which society is

⁷⁰ E. Asante, *Culture, Politics & Development*, 89.

controlled and managed for the good of all.”⁷¹ The concept of politics being defined as a study of state, government and country wide group is taken into consideration as the traditional method, and it is not always taken into consideration as adequate today. This issue of above definitions emphasizes the legal structure only as opposed to also being attentive to what is taking place in the state. In defining politics, informal structures, statistics and fact of politics ought to be protected. Consequently, cutting-edge political thinkers defined politics otherwise and as which includes taken as the contemporary technique.

The definition of politics via contemporary political thinkers like Harold Lasswell and Robert Dahl have described politics in terms of strength, influence, and authority. In step with those thinkers’ strength has obtained outstanding position in political idea. Harold Lasswell considers, “Politics” as the study of shaping and sharing political powers while Robert A. Dahl described Politics as “any continual pattern of human relationship that involves, to a considerable volume of strength, rule or authority.” In line with the view of these thinker’s entire politics is directed in the direction of capturing and retaining power. “Power” is the important concept in politics – who get, what, when and the way”.

In line with the modern approach to the definition of politics, a philosopher called Miller said ‘politics’ is both to bring about a change, and or resist a change. Competition between people to meet their desires while resources are limited and call for its usage is extra, conflicts stand up. Politics is a way to clear up this struggle. Further, according to Peter B. Haris “The present-day emphasis in the study of Politics is laid on disagreements and reconciliation or decision of those confrontation. The current technique additionally

⁷¹ Ibid

considers Politics to revolve around the hassle of the attainment, consolidation and distribution of political energy whether or not in a simply current state or a hypothetical state”. Political organization and politics cannot function in vacuum. Social and monetary forces affect the political system as a result, they ought to be taken under consideration.

In line with Heywood, Chancellor Bismarck is reputed to have advised the German Reichstag that 'Politics is not a technological know-how ... however instead an art'. The art according to the context of Bismarck become the art of presidency, the workout of manage society through the making and enforcement of collective selections. This is possibly the classical definition of politics, advanced from the unique meaning of the time period in historic Greece. The term “‘Politics’ denotes the life of the city (Polis) and the responsibility of the citizens (Polites)”⁷² Politics was a topic which treated all of the activities and affairs of the city nation.

Therefore, politics became a total take a look at society, nation, and mortality and so on. In many methods, the belief that politics amounts to 'what concerns the state' is the conventional view of the discipline, meditated in the tendency for academics to take a look at or recognize the personnel and machinery of presidency. To have a look at politics is in essence to have a look at authorities, or, extra widely, to observe the workout of authority. David Easton an influential US political scientist advanced this view within the writings and defined politics as the 'authoritative allocation of values'. In line with Easton, politics encompasses the diverse tactics through which government responds to pressures from the bigger society, mainly by means of allocating advantages, rewards or penalties. In addition, 'authoritative values' are therefore the broadly commonplace in society, and are considered

⁷² J. Stott, *New Issues Facing Christians Today*, 14.

binding via the mass of residents. On this view, politics is related to 'policy' that is, with formal or authoritative decisions that set up a plan of action for the community. As Stott notes, it is the art of living together in a community. "It is concerned therefore with the development and adoption of specific policies with a view to their being enshrined in legislation."⁷³

A few Political Scientists like Paul Janet, George Catlin, Hans Eulan have customary the view which states that politics deals with the nation and authorities. Paul Janet writes "Political Science" is involved with the principles of the state and principles of government. George Catlin states "Politics approaches either the activities of political lifestyles or the observation of those activities. And these activities are normally handled as activities of the various organs of government". Similarly, Hans Eulan considers in his definition of politics that the observation of formal government is a fundamental challenge of politics.

Politics also concerns how the sources of power and authority may be channeled into creating viable public policy. It involves competition and conflicts because it concerns the relationship between at least two groups in the society e.g. the haves and have-nots and the social and economic framework which arise from the interaction⁷⁴ "Politics is often defined as the art and science of government. Government refers to the institutions and processes through which binding decisions are made for a society⁷⁵. Politics then according to Leslie Paul Thiele, then pertains to the means employed to organize and regulate collection human existence. It is said that politics is found everywhere that human are found. This agrees to

⁷³J. Stott, *New Issues Facing Christians Today*, 14.

⁷⁴ L. P. Thiele, *"Thinking Politics"* 2nd ed. Chattam house Publishers, New York 2003. 26.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 26.

the fact that no areas of human life are completely beyond its reach or wholly untouched by its efforts.

Politics as Public Affairs is considered as any other broader idea of politics which moves past the slender realm of government to what the notion of 'public life' or 'public affairs' is. In different words, the distinction among 'the political' and 'the non-political' coincides with the division between an essentially public sphere of existence and what can be the concept of a personal sphere. That is regularly traced again to the works of the well-known Greek philosopher Aristotle who declared that 'man is by way of nature a political animal', by way of which he meant that its miles only within a political network that human beings can stay 'the coolest lifestyles'. From Aristotle's perspective, politics is a moral pastime concerned with growing a 'just society'; known as the 'grasp science'. Both advantageous and bad images had been generated with politics regarded as a basically 'public' activity.

Politics as public activity on the other hand has also been portrayed as a form of unwanted interference. Liberal theorists specially have exhibited a desire for civil society over the state, seeing that 'personal' life is a realm of preference, private freedom and individual obligation. This is most truly tested through attempts to narrow the world of 'the political', typically expressed as the desire to 'maintain politics out of private activities consisting of commercial enterprise, sport and own family existence. Politics from this point of view is quite unwholesome without a doubt as it prevents human beings from acting as they choose. For instance, it can intervene with how corporations conduct their enterprise, or with how and with whom we play sports, or with how we convey up our kids.

Politics as Compromise and Consensus: This concept of politics relates no longer so much to the arena within which politics is carried out. Alternatively, it refers to the way in which

decisions are made. Particularly, politics is visible as a selected means of resolving conflict: this is, by using compromise, conciliation and negotiations, in place of pressure and bare strength. That is what is implied when politics is portrayed as 'the art of the viable'. This definition is inherent within the normal use of the time period. This view politics has been dated to the writing of Aristotle; mainly, to his belief that what he referred to as 'polity'. 'Polity' consistent with Aristotle is the perfect system of presidency, as it is 'blended' in the sense that it combines each aristocratic and democratic functions.

A current exponent of Aristotle's view is via Bernard Crick who presented the definition of politics as the activity by which differing pastimes within a given unit of rule are conciliated via giving them a percentage in energy in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the complete network. The important thing to politics primarily based in this view is consequently a huge dispersal of strength. Accepting that struggle is inevitable and Crick argued that after social corporations and interests possess power they need to be conciliated; they cannot simply be beaten. That is why Crick in addition portrayed politics as 'that method to the hassle of order which chooses conciliation as opposed to violence and coercion'. This sort of view of politics displays a deep dedication to liberal-rationalist concepts. It's miles primarily based on resolute faith within the efficacy of dialogue and discussion, in addition to at the notion that society is characterized by way of consensus rather than via irreconcilable warfare.

Politics also concerns the production, distribution and use of assets in the direction of social life. In effect it could be noted that politics pulls strengths and the capability to attain a preferred final result, through a specified approach. Politics also engages established relationships and arrangements systems by which one organization of humans is managed

through another. Further, Marx used the term Politics in two situations. In one scenario, Marx used 'politics' in a conventional experience to consult the equipment of the state and also cited 'politics' in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 as 'merely the organized strength of one magnificence for oppressing another. In line with Marx, politics, collectively with regulation and lifestyle, are part of a 'superstructure' this is awesome from the monetary 'base' that is the real foundation of social existence.

At a deeper degree, political power, in this view, is consequently rooted in the class system; as Lenin proclaimed, 'politics is the maximum concentrated form of economics'. Instead of believing that politics may be restricted to the state and a slender public sphere, Marxists believed that 'the financial is political'. From this attitude, civil society is believed to be with the aid of class conflict and is the very heart of politics.

Politics, in a broader sense involves the activities through which humans make, preserve and improve the general guidelines under which they stay. Even though politics is likewise an academic concern, it is far absolutely the study of the activities as mentioned above. Politics consequently is inextricably linked to the phenomena of war and cooperation.

2.2 Political Participation?

As the name suggests, political participation simply means that a person is partaking in the political process by making his or her opinions and beliefs known. In the social sciences, the term 'political participation' is often used to describe an action taken by a citizen to influence the outcome of a political issue. It is one of the ways through which citizens can contribute to their communities and be active members of society. "Political participation must satisfy at least two criteria: it must be voluntary, and there must be a reasonable

possibility that the participants' actions, whether undertaken individually or collectively will have an effect on policy or policy makers".⁷⁶

Political participation is a critical part of any democratic dispensation. There are many different forms of political participation, and whether we like it or not, we may probably have taken part in some of them at different points in our lives. Some of the most common examples of political participation are: Voting: In a democracy, voting is the single most important form of political participation that a person can take part in because it ensures that politicians are elected by the people, rather than being assigned to their position of power by someone else.

Another is Protest; Involving in strikes and others: Whether or not it is a constitutional right to join in any public protests, participating in any form of protests or demonstrations to drive home any demand is another important form of political participation because you are making your opinions known in a very obvious way, with the hope that your actions will influence or initiate change in a particular area of politics. Getting involved in public consultation is also another form of political participation: Like voting, public consultations offer ordinary citizens the chance to get together in a group with a politician or elected official in order to make their opinions and feelings known.

Again, serving as an Electoral Officer for the Electoral Commission in times of electioneering process, as Registration Officers, Exhibition Officers, Polling Officers, and Observers etc. to monitor the process. Other forms include writing a letter to a public

⁷⁶Thomas M. Magstadt & Peter M. Schotten, *Understanding Politics Ideas, Institutions and Issues* 4th ed. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1996. 2.

official, signing a petition, blogging about a political issue, holding a public official position, partisan political participation and involvement in political societies e.g. political parties, joining an activist or interest group, volunteering for a campaign for social and political justice. Political organization and politics cannot function in vacuum. Social and monetary forces affect the political system as a result, they ought to be taken under consideration. “Political participation must satisfy at least two criteria. It must be voluntary, and therefore must be a reasonable possibility that the participants actions whether undertaken individually or collectively will have intended effect on policy or policy makers.”⁷⁷

Regarding categorization of the forms of political participation, Thomas M. Magstadt and Peter M. Schotten discussed the following categories of political participation. Citizens who wish to participate in politics have two alternatives – by engaging in legal or through illegal activities. Legal forms include conventional, organizational, professional and unconventional approaches. Conventional participation encompasses the most familiar methods of political activity such as attending a political rally responding to political poll, watching a candidate on television or putting a bumper sticker on their car, voting. Organizational (Institutional) participation is where relatively small percentage of citizens play an active role in organized politics by contributing more time, money to political parties of their choice that belong to a public interest. This could also be non-partisan, serving on government bodies especially at the state level and local level. Participants here normally are paid only nominal fee or sometimes nothing at all. This form of participation can save to provide valuable firsthand experience in the procedures, norms and practices of governing.

⁷⁷ Thomas M. Magstadt and Peter M. Schotten, *Politics, Ideas, Institutions and Issues*, 276.

Professional participation entails participant groups who exercise authority through paid political positions or elective office political party officials, political appointees, staffers, parliamentarian etc. These seek full-time careers in political governance. Unconventional participation refers to forms of political action that are legal but nonetheless inappropriate by a majority of citizens e.g. lawful protests and demonstrations, supporting a boycott etc. Illegal forms constitute acts such as civil disturbances which involve breaking specific laws to demonstrate this injustice using all forms of illegal means or breaking rules and laws just to register how unjust a policy seem to be or displeasure about a governmental structure. Another example could be using other means to unlawfully undermine the power of government or authority. Citizens in democracies participate in politics and exert their influence by expressing their opinions and casting their votes. Citizens who participate in politics are able to aggregate their opinions and interests. This can be done or expressed through polls, which have great influence in the political process. Political Organizations are a group of organized bodies as political parties and interest groups who seek to influence government policies or form governments to rule the state. The most effective forms or means of citizen participation in politics involves the aggregation of individual interests and opinions into collective expression of public sentiment. Political parties and other interest or pressure groups are two important structural ways by which citizens may influence government under favorable conditions. The main purpose of a political party is to select, nominate and support candidates for elective office. These political parties typically strive to gain or retain political power in particular terms by capturing control of the government.

Political theory is concerned with the formulation of the ends and limits of state authority.⁷⁸ As noted by A. Appadorai, Political theory is primarily concerned with the purposes or

⁷⁸ A. Appadorai, *Substance of Politics*, University Press, Oxford, 2004.

purpose which man proposes to himself as a moral being, living in association with other moral beings. Participation Theory – this propounds and assumes that individuals can make a difference by participation through the various means. However sometimes some observers argue that political participation by the masses is more illusionary than real and that power is actually concentrated in the hands of a small elite group of influential people. “This elite theory is disputed by the advocates of pluralism, who argue that in a democratic society, power is diffused rather than concentrated and that political phenomena are too complex to be reduced to the simplistic terms of elitist theory.”⁷⁹

2.3 Political Participation as Civic Responsibility

Civic responsibility entails a wide range of activities; together with growing civic sensitivity, and participation in constructing civil society, and benefitting from these civic engagements. Civic engagement encompasses the notions of world citizenship and interdependence. Through civic engagement, individuals are empowered as agents of effective social change for a more democratic world” (Coalition for Civic Engagement and leadership, 2005). Comparable terms, together with active citizenship or community engagement may be utilized by many in region for civic obligation.

Civic responsibility as described by Gottlieb and Robinson is a lively participation of a person within the public existence of a network, with a focal point at a good. As described in the social change version, citizenship or civic responsibility is the technique wherein the individual and the collaborative group turn out to be responsibly connected to the community and the society to art work for exceptional exchange on behalf of others and the community Civic engagement could be defined as “performing upon a heightened

⁷⁹ Thomas M. Magstadt and Peter M. Schotten, *Politics, Ideas, Institutions and Issues*, 305.

experience of responsibility to at least one's groups or communities. Civic Responsibility, simply put is the responsibility of a citizen. It is comprised of actions and attitudes associated with democratic governance and social participation. Civic responsibility refers to actions that are not required by law but are helpful to the community and involve citizens working for the common good. Civic responsibility is different from civic duty. Civic duties include, for example, obeying the laws of the country, paying the taxes levied by the government, or serving on a jury or as a witness in court. Civic duties are required by law to be obeyed. On the other hand, civic responsibilities encompass actions like registering to vote and voting, and serving on statutory boards and committees. These are actions that are not required by law to be obeyed. The government, Civil Society Organizations and the individual citizens all have a role to play not only in ensuring that the right conditions exist for the protection and enforcement of fundamental rights, but also for the exercise of civic duties and responsibilities. Examples of civic responsibility include participation in government, registering to vote and voting, volunteering to perform certain roles in the society and the nation at large, participating in communal labor etc. Actions of civic responsibility can be displayed in advocacy for various causes, such as political, economic, civil, and environmental or quality of life issues. Civic responsibility may similarly embrace helping to stimulate public activities, boosting corporate giving to assist the community, working to register voters, advocating for the needy, obeying all laws and behaving in an ethical manner.

Activities that fulfill civic responsibilities typically fall under the categories of respecting laws but dissenting when necessary, establishing balance between the responsibilities and rights of citizens, addressing social problems, working to include all citizens in the democratic process, questioning government, using community resources wisely, and

negotiating differences among citizens. Others include helping to create a good society by educating people on issues relating to active citizenship; playing a central role in making citizens aware of their rights and responsibilities, and prepare them to undertake those rights and responsibilities; join in building community leadership through facilitating access to information and training, and playing an effective role in promoting a strong, capable and responsible civil society which is able to work in partnership with an active and equally responsible State.

2.4 Conceptualizing Civic Responsibility

Civic responsibility described as "the responsibility of a citizen" with reference in advance statements above. Interestingly, the expression 'civic responsibility' has not been cited in Merriam-Webster nor Oxford dictionaries. However, the phrase 'responsibility' definitions consist of compulsory tasks, conduct, service, or functions that arise from one's position (as in life or in a group) and "an ethical or legal obligation" as contained in the Oxford dictionary. Civic, by means of contrast, is defined as "of or referring to a citizen, a metropolis, citizenship, or community affairs". Based on this, it would seem logical to conceptualize civic duty as the obligations or responsibilities that come with citizenship.

Being a member of a particular community comes with numerous privileges and commitments and with the extension of rights there is additionally the implication of obligations. Defining civic obligation or citizenship is a hard venture given its fluidity and the numerous components it could refer to. Attempting to outline civic responsibility may be a daunting venture because of regularly overlapping constructs, values, and interpretations. Gottlieb and Robinson point out that there is a time period that civic responsibility inspires notions of what it means to live in a democracy, similarly to the

complementary thoughts of citizenship, social duty, civic engagement, and network involvement.

The concept of citizenship or civic responsibility can be “talked be a category, to a tie, to a position or to an identification, constructed on one of them, or even on numerous of them” as noted by Tilly. Crick has a more complete definition of citizenship or civic responsibilities; he brings four meanings as follows: it may apprehend felony status in addition to rights and duties within the nation; it is able to check with the notion that nations with consultant authorities and democracy rely upon high degrees of participation via active citizens; it could discuss with an appropriate of global citizenship and the notion of appearing as citizens of one world; and can also symbolize an educational process wherein people are taught in school how to perform the duties implied in the second and third meanings.

The idea of participation has been broadly used within the discourse of improvement. For a good deal of this period, the idea has cited participation in the social arena, within the community or in improvement tasks. For Gaventa and Valderrama, the concept of participation, however, is being related to rights of citizenship and to democratic governance. The concept of civic responsibilities or citizenship has been disputed for a long time and price-weighed down one in democratic concept. Civic obligation or citizenship to a few, implies a set of individual rights, while to others it is seen as a broader set of social and obligations. As Lister states, civic responsibility or citizenship as participation may be seen as representing an expression of human organization inside the political area. Widely civic obligation as rights allows human beings to behave as agents.

‘Political participation’ contains the interactions of the individual or organized corporations with the nation, and which regularly focus greater on mechanisms of indirect participation. Political participation has been described in wide or narrow terms by distinct authors depending on the approach of inquiry. Verba and Nie, then talk about political participation according to the conventional study is defined as those legal activities with the aid of personal citizens which can be extra or less at once aimed toward influencing the choice of governmental personnel and/or the moves they take. One could further describe political participation in extensive sense as taking part within the method of components, citizen participation or citizenship passage and implementation of public rules.

This is indeed noted with reference to that fact political participation is greatly associated with representative democracy and oblique participation. The principle subject is in action by way of citizens geared toward influencing decisions taken specially by using public representatives and officers. It is the agreeable that political participation expresses itself in man or woman and collective moves that encompasses particularly vote casting, campaigning, contacting, group motion and protest, all oriented toward influencing the representatives in government, instead of active and direct participation in the technique of governance itself.

2.5 Religion and Political Participation

Religion is a significant factor in the choice of leaders.⁸⁰ According to Ben-Willie Golo in a lecture on Religion and Politics in Global Society, “All over the world, religions have become political and engaging in secular politics and political authorities in their respective

⁸⁰ Rose Mary Amenga-Etego, Religion and Democratisation: A Perspective, in Unpacking the Sense of the Sacred, ed. Abamfo O. A., Ben-Willie K. Golo, and Lawrence K. Boakye, Oxfordshire, 2014, 27.

countries.” Religion performs a complex and multifaceted role in politics. In line with Wald and Allison, faith or faith in politics is neither an unvarying source of appropriate nor a consistent evil impact...faith has the potential each to allow and corrupt political life. Haynes, notes that there are two things to note about the nature of political relationship between religion and the state. The first is that, the relationship between religion and politics is both dialectical and interactive because each shapes and influences the other. In other words, one influences and conditions the other: there is a clear impact of religion on politics and politics on religion.

Secondly, it is important to acknowledge the creativity and constantly changing of the nature of religions. Therefore, their relationship with politics also varies in course of time and religion can shift, almost abruptly, its position in relation to – from to opposition of incumbent government regimes. Smidt said that appeals to precise citizenship, the general public interest, and common good properly are normal in non-secular doctrine, which may additionally boom civic responsibility, even though privatizing pressures can decrease such benefits. That is, religion has both public impact and a non-public impact and the opposition among those motivations drive the impact of faith on democratic citizenship. Faith influences political activity in an expansion of approaches: from the effect of non-secular lifestyle on vote preference as noted by Guth to the correlation between church attendance and civic abilities also described by Jones-Correa and Leal, Unique styles of non-secular ideals influence political participation differently. Although a few macro non-secular ideals substantially growth macro political behavior, believers in an involved God are less in all likelihood to participate politically. Individualistic, micro ideals have no impact on national politics. For that reason, the scope of the religious notion suits with the scope of the political activity, in that extra macro issues translate to countrywide political participation.

Faith organization promotes civic and political skills in a number of ways. First, they offer a community of individuals who come together for a common (frequently religious) motive. In doing so, those individuals may be mobilized to participate in a huge range of activities, along with political ones. Secondly, spiritual establishments are forums wherein people analyze and learn particular abilities or skills that lead to multiplied political efficacy, engagement, and interest. Man or woman received skills found out from taking element in religious activities have a spillover effect onto the political area. This relationship particularly is indirect, in that people honestly observe abilities or skills found out via actions undertaken in one arena (non-secular establishments) to every other (politics), because of the similarity of the tasks and the applicability in their newfound abilities or skills. Non-secular institutions endow people with the inducement to have interaction in politics, providing information and resources important to perform those duties.

The clergy or reverend minister in the Christian context is to be set apart or consecrated or commissioned and licensed to perform Christian roles as a priest or minister of the Gospel of a specific denomination. Clergy is another term usually used for the ordained reverend ministers in the denomination. The term clergy is therefore used in this discussion to mean commissioned reverend ministers who have successfully finished serving their probationary period. The term is mostly used in the historic mainline churches such as the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Methodist Church, Ghana, Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana, and other well established Churches under Christian Council of Ghana, the Ghana Pentecost and Charismatic Council and other established church with institutional structures.

In most of these churches mentioned above, a minister is commissioned after going through a course of study. The commissioned minister then serves two (2) or three (3) years of

probationary period after which the fellow is ordained. During this period of probation, such a minister is not considered as a fully-fledged minister until the period of the probation elapses. During this period of probation, one is licensed to perform certain pastoral roles such as administering of the sacraments of Communion and Baptism after which comes the ceremony of ordination. In the Presbyterian Church of Ghana for example, the two years probationary is still considered as part of the ministerial training through practical experience where the probationer is stationed in a congregation under an experienced minister for final grooming and subsequent ordination into the ordained ministry of the Church.⁸¹ The process is almost the same in the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana and the Methodist Church, Ghana; just that for the Methodist Church, the probationary period is three years.

Basically, the duties of the clergy as enshrined in the various constitutions and Manuals of Order of the various Church generally could be summed up to include; Being responsible for studying, teaching, preaching the Word of God and interpret religious laws, doctrines, and or traditions; Administering the Sacraments such as Baptism, the Lord's Supper and preparing people for participation in other religious ceremonies or activities. These includes Administering religious rites or ordinances, conducting special ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, and confirmations etc. Others include Collaborating with committees and individuals to address financial and administrative issues pertaining to congregations; Devising ways in which congregation membership can be expanded. Organizing and engaging in interfaith, community, civic, educational, and recreational activities sponsored by or related to their religion; participating in fundraising activities to support congregation

⁸¹ Presbyterian Church of Ghana, *Constitution*, (Accra, Waterville Publishing House of the Presbyterian Press Ltd 2016 ed.), 12-13.

activities and facilities; Performing administrative duties such as overseeing building management, ordering supplies, contracting for services and repairs, and supervising the work of staff members and volunteers; Planning and leading religious education programs for their congregations; Responding to requests for assistance during emergencies or crises or disasters by referring people to community support services, psychologists, and/or doctors as necessary

Further duties of the clergy are sharing information about religious issues by writing articles, giving speeches, or teaching; praying with and for the congregation, promoting spirituality, encouraging the people in the worship and service of God. Exercising pastoral care and paying special attention to the nurture of children, encouragement of youth, and the well-being of the aged, the poor, the sick, the troubled and care for the dying; taking active interest in the church groups and committees in the congregation and ensuring their proper supervision.

In addition to the above, it is incumbent on the clergy to participate in governing responsibilities including the leadership of the Congregation; implementing the principles of participation and inclusiveness; getting involved in the decision-making of the Church and its task of reaching out in concern for and service to the life of the human community as a whole call all persons to faith in Christ Jesus and ensure the planting of new Congregations; being responsible for sharing in the Ministry of the Church in the governing bodies above the Session, leaders or boards and in ecumenical relationships; being responsible for the induction of group executives and the inauguration of Church committees and Church groups at the relevant levels of Courts of the Church; performing

any other functions pertaining to the charge given or seconded to by the Church (i.e. as chaplain, teacher, lecturer, etc.)

Clergy are key actors in both channels of civic participation. They may be an important goal no longer only due to their function as leaders of the largest voluntary corporations, but additionally due to their usually excessive stage of political, civic and social involvement. They may be not simplest instrumental in mobilizing the assets of congregations and different religious establishments, however they are also critical activists in their very own right, contributing personal strength and monetary assets to a host of reasons role inside the conventional political process which has lengthy been identified, from the observations to modern-day social scientists. In looking back again on the clergy's participation in politics, it is important to be reminded again of the definition as John Stott defines in two (2) clear terms. "Broadly speaking, politics denotes the life of the city (polis) and the responsibility of the citizen (Polites). It is therefore concerned with the whole of our life in human society. Politics is the art of living together in the community".⁸² According to the narrow sense, however, "politics is the science of government, it is concerned with the development and adoption of specific policies with a view to their being enshrined in legislation. It is about gaining power for social change."⁸³ Ebenezer Obiri Addo, 'Religion and Politics' in Ghana defined Politics as "the art of management of power."⁸⁴

Power in relation to governance which is carried out through national activities. To be involved in national politics, is to be involved in political life of the nation that is to say that

⁸² J. Stott, *New Issues Facing Christian Today*, 14.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 14.

⁸⁴ E. O. Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah, A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, (New York, Oxford: University of America, Lanham, 1997), 16.

national politics is in relation to governance, management and contributing to the progress and growth of the nation. To be engaged in national politics could be understood in the words of Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah to mean both the active engagement with the possible holding of political office, and the ordinary exercise of one's civic rights relating to machinery of government.⁸⁵ If the view is right to go by, then it means that every citizen has a part to play in national politics. The clergy is then involved directly or indirectly in politics whether religious or secular. Clearly, most contributions pronounced by clergy are not linked directly to congregational carrier applications but are directed at out of doors agencies, many of which can be actually religiously inspired. Clergy are most active in what have been labelled as pronouncement or cue-giving, taking stands on troubles or speaking to a bigger public or public officials. Stable minorities are also concerned in electoral campaigning in one manner or any other, and a good smaller institution engages in what we would think about as vigorous action which include boycotts, full sermons on debatable political issues, forming political look at and action organizations in the congregation, or conducting protest marches. only a few of clergy are appointed to public office, however best a handful suggest applicants from the pulpit and even fewer run for public workplace. The clergy as an agent of the church are people with the mandate of superior officers or body assigned to stand in the stead of the appointing officer or body. It could also refer to as one who exerts power or produces effects, a person who acts for another in business, law, politics etc. and natural force acting on matter.⁸⁶

In this paper, the term 'Agent' is used in the sense of a divine representative that exist to effect positive change that is in keeping with the will and rule of God in society.⁸⁷ This

⁸⁵ K. N. Kudadjie and R. K. Aboagye- Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 9.

⁸⁶ E. Asante, *Culture, Politics and Development; Ethical and Theological Reflections on the Ghana Experience*, Accra: Challenge Enterprise, 2007, 98-99.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 99.

means that when the term is used in relation to the ordained clergy it is used in the context of the clergy appointed by the church and thus performing roles on behalf of the church both in the church and in the society at large. And so if it is accepted that the church assists people in their role as worshippers to become fully human enabling members of the society to attain personal fulfillment and to respond to the real human needs of the communities,⁸⁸ the role of the clergy as an agent of the church cannot be ruled out. The clergy cannot be passive when it comes to socio-political economic dealings of the society. As an agent, the clergy does not only represent the church alone but Jesus Christ who according to the Christian faith is the foundation of the church. In all most capacities, the clergy serve the as an ordained or commissioned representative or agent. The clergy again in the discharge of the duties also do represent the church as required.

2.6 Religion and Politics in Ghana

Religion is one of the important institutional structures making up the total social system.⁸⁹ There are two basic political characteristics of the Ghanaian religious system and for that matter, any religious system.⁹⁰ Addo notes that religion can be used to regulate power relations and it can be used as a means of socio-political control. Religion thus plays vital role in the political life of the people. For Geertz, religion reflects a society's way of organizing itself. It has the ideal quality to it that calls leaders to account.⁹¹ Christopher Lewis categorically states in the book 'Religion in Public Life', a collection of a series of lectures given in Canterbury Cathedral Library in the late 1990 and early 1991 that "Perhaps Religion is the same as Politics. It is political activity under cover of God"⁹² On the other

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ J. S Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 11.

⁹⁰ E. O. Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 18.

⁹¹ E. O. Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 17

⁹² Christopher Lewis, the *Introduction to Religion in Public Life* ed. Dan Cohn-Sherbok and David McLellan, *St. Martin's Press, New York*, 1.

hand, Lewis was quick to also ask “or are they entirely separate pursuits, religion being an individual and spiritual matter whereas politics is for the collective and material world.”⁹³ For Lewis, a characteristic answer from Christian; is that religion has to do with the whole of life and involves all kinds of ethical choices, although it is not party-political. To this, it is agreeable to then say that religion is inevitably political for it provides a critical perspective on public life. If religion is to do with the whole life, then the clergy cannot be unconcerned about the political life of the people. Otherwise, they may be accused of failing to bring their religion and moral roles to bear on dealing with the world.

Religious influence and the impact of religious leadership in the Ghanaian political arena is an already existing venture and so the clergy today cannot seem to be unconcerned. Due to the relationship between the Church and the State, the clergy has every right to be involved meaningfully in the political, social and economic life of the nation. This is because, “the church (to which the Clergy belong) cannot live apart of the nation. Neither can the state live apart of the Church. The church and its leadership has contributed enormously towards the upliftment of society and state, and it continuous to do so.”⁹⁴ There is a clear case of Church- State relationship and this relationship cannot be abrogated. Since time in memorial, the clergy have played vital roles in electioneering processes with supposed direct involvement it.

Frederick Acheampong agrees to this when he states: “it clear to state that since the independent role of religious bodies and leaders in the democratic dispensation (including elections) of the country over the periods have been in the areas of ensuring peaceful and

⁹³ Ibid,

⁹⁴ Kudadjie and Aboagy-Mensah, *Christian and Social Ethics*, 30

transparent elections, open endorsement for candidates, calling of elections, peaceful transitions”⁹⁵ where without some sort of involvement by the clergy, it is deemed right for the Clergy to go beyond just civic responsibilities. Getting practically involved in national politics could include participating in all other electioneering process from registering to voting, taking appointment to serve as an electoral officer, serving in any other portfolio such as MP, Minister of State, member of council of state etc.

There is every indication that religion and politics in Ghana are definitely entwined together such that the political leadership always brings on board the religious leaders. This is so because most of the times, both the political leadership and that of religious always take advantage of the other. This is why Acheampong states that “Recognizing the influence and the importance of religion and politics, the politicians looks forward to using religion for political gains. On the other hand, religious leaders also see it as opportunity or a means of influencing the political process.”⁹⁶ In this case, how can the Clergy also entreat the congregants and take active part in the political game to offer leadership in nation building and still maintain the pastoral integrity? Nevertheless, this is where serious critics of the Clergy’s involvement in politics would say that the church and its agents must restrict themselves to the spiritual assignments of the Church. But this position too is flawed on the basis that, historically, in Ghana, the Church and its Clergy had been involved in the affairs of communities in many ways even before the independence of the nation.⁹⁷

The works of the Basel, Wesleyan and the Bremen Missionaries could attest to this in the provision of schools by which education was introduced, establishment of roads, hospitals.

⁹⁵ Pobi, *Theology*, the Ghana Bulletin of Theology, 4(4) : 3 (1973)

⁹⁶ F. Acheampong, *Religion and Politics in Ghana’s 4th Republican Elections (1992-2008)*, unpublished work. 2

⁹⁷ Kudadjie and Aboagy-Mensah, *Christian and Social Ethics*, 28

They also helped to improve agriculture and crops like pineapples, cocoyam oranges and cocoa. They also introduced vocations like shoe-making, tailoring, smithery and others. It can be seen therefore, that right from its beginning in Ghana, the Church and (led by its Clergy) has made important contributions to the development of language, the economy, agriculture, architecture, communication and transport, health care, education and vocational training.⁹⁸ If politics is about governance in the provision and improving of all the above as stated for the good of the total populace which the Church has spearheaded, then the Clergy must continue in getting involved practically more appropriately. Those who are interested must be encouraged to be involved but with circumspection. As noted by Acheampong, “religion has played a major role in all the electoral processes under the 4th Republic”⁹⁹ for example. It has exerted “much power in the politics of self-identity and maintenance of power.”¹⁰⁰

In this chapter, the discussion has predominantly centered on politics, conceptualization of politics, political participation; politics as a civic responsibility; conceptualization of civic responsibility, religion and political participation and religion and politics in Ghana.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 28-29

⁹⁹ F. Acheampong, *Religion and Politics in Ghana's 4th Republican Elections (1992-2008)*, 67

¹⁰⁰ E. Dovlo, *The Role of Religious Bodies in Ghana's Political Development Process*, in *Legon Journal of the Humanities* 8(1) : 2(1995)

CHAPTER THREE

THE CLERGY AND POLITICS IN GHANA

3.1 The Church, Clergy and Political Participation in Ghana

“One notable feature of Africa’s liberation has been the active role of the Christian churches in the drive for social justice and participatory democracy.”¹⁰¹ “Some people say that the church should not be involved in politics. This reveals a general misunderstanding of the essence of the church and the role it plays in society. First of all, a collection of people must be concerned with the wellbeing of the people. It is the people themselves who create the political environment and therefore the church as such cannot but be involved in politics.”¹⁰² “People are seeking for genuine democracy in which the leaders are servants of the people who elected them and not their masters, in which leaders are answerable and accountable for their actions to those they lead, a true government for the people; and not a government by the people for the privilege few.”¹⁰³

It is incumbent on the church to aim at educating, explaining economic, social and political issues to enable their constituents to make informed decisions of national interest. There is therefore no way by which the churches can be undermined or underestimated by the degree to which they have been energized before in the political struggle by drawing on the resources of their faith. The church has indeed contributed immensely to the establishment of participatory democracy. It is important to understand that the Christian faith has made a

¹⁰¹ Kenneth R. Ross, *Gospel Ferment in Malawi: Theological Essays*, Gweru, Mambo Press, 1995, 31.

¹⁰² “A Statement of the role of the Church in the Transformation of Malawi in the Context of Justice and Peace”, Produced by the Administrative Conference Blantyre Synod CCAP, January 1993, 1-2 in Kenneth R. Ross, *Gospel Ferment in Malawi*, 25.

¹⁰³ “Choosing our Future: Pastoral Letter Toto the Catholic Faithful on the Occasion of the National Referendum 1993”. The Episcopal Conference of Malawi, 2 February, 1993 in Kenneth R. Ross, *Gospel Ferment in Malawi*, 25.

mark for social justice and the promotion of democratic participation. The subject of the clergy's involvement in the political life of the nation is linked to the issue of the church's relationship with the state. Prof. Kwesi Dickson propounds that 'the issue of church and state is one which has exercised the minds of Christian leaders in Africa. ¹⁰⁴As the euphoria of independence began to sour in the face of the rising economic and political difficulties, the consequences of this situation for the citizens began to arouse the churches to anticipate a Christian concern.

However, the effectiveness of this intervention proved limited. This was due to the following three factors as noted by Dickson in his write up on the subject, 'the Church and the quest for democracy in Ghana. Firstly, the church was yet to undertake any serious examination of the inherited theology which seemed not related to faith or the totality of life since it was just coming out of the colonial era. Secondly, the majority of the church members were not abreast with the efforts being made by their leaders. Thirdly, not having the nexus binding religion and life.¹⁰⁵ From that level point to date, the church and the leadership have moved from the stage where they seem not have gotten the axis right with regards to the need to bridge the gap between religion and politics. They seem to have come to the realization that, there is a relationship between the Christian faith and the totality of the life of the people. Hence, in a way, the church and its leadership which is perceived by both politicians and non-politicians alike to be playing a neutral role when it comes to government could no long stay aloof. In acts such as the relegation of the social, economic and other needs are not adequately met, the church cannot remain unconcerned. It is in line with this analogy that some people are of the view that church should have a policy that

¹⁰⁴ E. O. Addo, Kwame *Nkrumah*, 261.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

would allow or even push its clergy with the expertise in leadership, governance and economic empowerment to practically get involved in national politics without considering the secularity of the state.

Though Ghana is a secular nation, governance and societal building has been a shared responsibility between the government and the religious bodies. Christian leadership has over the years been spearheading and has mostly been at the forefront throughout the ages contributing to the realization and establishment of participatory democracy and provision of other social needs of the people. These have been the activities of the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG), the Catholic Bishops Council (CBC) and the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC). Through this partnership, there has always existed a religion-state relations for the sake of the citizenry. There is a clear indication of the feeling of integrated religio-political system.¹⁰⁶ So, the fact that religion and politics in Ghana are in bed cannot be denied.

In Ghana, throughout all the political regimes, the church and its leaders have not allowed the government to ‘push away’ its efforts to help stabilize democracy and uphold the rule of law. During the populist military regime of former President Jerry Rawlings for example, there was a tensed relationship between the ‘main stream Historic Christian Churches’ in the early 1980s¹⁰⁷. It was noted that the Protestants and the Roman Catholic Church hierarchies (spearheaded by the clergy) joined forces in attempts to prevent what they saw as a concerted attack by the state upon their position when the Catholic Standard Newspapers was banned in 1986¹⁰⁸ because the paper sought to bring to the fore the political

¹⁰⁶ J. Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*, (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1996) 87.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 98.

¹⁰⁸ J. Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*, 98.

ills that eventually affected the whole citizenry. In light of this development, the churches hierarchy linked up with political opponents of that regime – mainly Progressive group including lawyers, doctors and journalists to push the government gradually towards democratic election, which took place in late 1992.¹⁰⁹ The efforts by the Christian leadership led by its clergy was worthwhile since it was not to seek their selfish interest rather a move to improve state-religious organization interaction for the good of the Nation at large. Therefore, it is well noted that the leadership of the church co-led by the clergy joined forces to pursue common goals of societal growth, progress and well-being.

The role played by the clergy in the struggle could be seen as pastoral despite the fact that they carried along their civic responsibility in the face of national political interest. As J. Haynes noted with regards to “The Christian Churches and Democratic Reform in the 1990”, the stabilizing role played is rooted in their complementary relation to political society. Yet, Haynes states that in recent times, such leaders (the Christian leaders) have on occasions, in the absence of alternatives become the focal point of opposition – the mouth piece of the public opinion, speaking on behalf of citizens.¹¹⁰ One can still deduce the struggles and fight by the clergy who courageously oppose weak and damning policies of the government for the good of the whole citizens. This then propounds that, the clergy’s role in national politics perhaps may not be alienated from their pastoral responsibilities.

To continually seek the good of the nation and its citizenry, the church co-led by its ordained clergy and the state must develop a relationship of mutuality and a move of interdependence. The clergy continues to be bold in this in forging to achieve propensity. If the clergy can

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 98.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 106.

really be described as genuine, they must be seen as dedicated and committed to societal issues due to the fact that there is a sound basis for showing social and political concern if the church can continue to exist in William Temple's perceptive phrase that "The church is the only cooperative society that exist for the benefits of non-members."¹¹¹ This is why its agent, the clergy must as a matter of religious responsibility see to the growth of the society through political activism since no one can exist in isolation from the political life of the State. But the according to John Stott, the church should not enter this field without the necessary expertise. ¹¹²

As it has already been noted, religion, especially the church and its agents (including the ordained clergy) has played very vital role in the political and democratic life of the nation Ghana and the 4th Republic is no exception. The 4th Republic of Ghana, began in 1992 with a multiparty elections on November 31st which was won by Jerry John Rawlings the then leader of the PNDC; a military government which was transformed into a civilian party; National Democratic Congress (NDC). The term 4th Republic is because it was the 4th attempt by the nation Ghana to restore democratic governance.¹¹³ There has been six elections since the 4th Republic began, with the 7th being the 2016 general elections.

No one can deny the fact that religion has played a major role consolidating democracy in Ghana. Paul Gifford has noted that the mainline churches have been characterized by an element of direct political involvement¹¹⁴ which suggest that one cannot deny the involvement of the clergy in the politics of the nation.

¹¹¹ Quoted by John Stott in "New Issues Facing Christians Today", Great Britain, Marshall Pickering, 1999, 29

¹¹² John Stott, New Issues Facing, 17.

¹¹³ Electoral Commission of Ghana, Preface to election 2004: Ghana's Parliamentary and Presidential Elections, Accra: Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2005, 1

¹¹⁴ P. Gifford Ghana's New Christianity: *Pentecostalism in a Globalizing Economy*, 161

Some clergy have not hesitated in critically commenting on national political issues which are normally blown out of proportion by sections of the populace. In today's dispensation, one could mention the names of the Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Kwaku Asante, Chairman of the Peace Council, Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Martey, immediate past Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Pastor Mensah Otabil, Founder and General Overseer of the International Central Gospel Church (ICGC), Prophet Owusu Bempah, Head Pastor, Glorious Word Ministry International and a host of others. The question is; why are these clergymen, not concentrating on the core religious business of preaching the Gospel alone? This could be perhaps as a result of two most important factors; first, the fact that the Church and the society has a mutual relationship of interdependence and so the church's clergy cannot adopt an apathetic attitude towards politics which is the way the nation is governed.

The second factor is that, the ordained clergy as an individual is also part of the society; a citizen with civic responsibilities and so has the moral obligation to contribute his/her part in national building. If the church has a role to play in the nation, then the clergy also has a responsibility of carrying out with the church's role as its agent, even though there has been times people and the mass seem to suggest that the church and its clergy must confine its activities to what Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah (2008) terms as spiritual welfare of its members and that they must not be involved in the political life of the society.

3.2 The Clergy and Active Political Participation in Ghana

Historically, the Church has been involved in the affairs of the nation of Ghana in various ways such as the provision and establishment of schools, hospitals, roads and agriculture etc. as noted by Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah. Again the Church as an institution has been

involved in the political life of the nation where for example, during the Nkrumah regime (1951 – 1966) and even later, there were some clergymen of the Church (ordained clergy) who entered Parliament on political party tickets¹¹⁵ and they served the nation in various capacities as Cabinet Ministers and Ambassadors. Examples of such clergy who were involved in active partisan politics are Rev. C. K. Dovlo, Rev. S. Dzirasa, Rev. Ernest B. Stafford, Rev. Arthur Howarth, Rev. V. K. A. Saifah, and Rev. J. S. Stephens.¹¹⁶ Reference is being made to the Church- State relationship because, the roles played by the church in the socio-politico economic life of the nation is normally co-led by its agents- the clergy. Therefore, anytime the church's role in national matters is mentioned, reference is made to the clergy.

The mission and role of the church is normally championed by the clergy. This is the reason why the clergy's name cannot be erased as far as the political, social, economic and religious life of the people are concerned. The clergy's religious role in affairs of the nation as agents of the church and the political participation correlate. This is because the church that is pastored by the ordained Clergy is also part of the society and so cannot live in isolation. The Christian Council of Ghana and the Catholic Bishops' Conference (formerly known as "Ghana Bishop's Conference") co- led by its clergy leadership have always played active role in defending the oppressed. As clearly stated by J. S. Pobee (1991), the C.C.G. and G.B.C. were courageously involved in Ghana's political life with the aim of defending the dignity and rights of the citizens and not just the oppressed.¹¹⁷ For instance, the clergy of these Christian religious organizations were so courageous to send a memorandum to the government dated 7th March, 1978 which reads "the church's task is to protect and defend

¹¹⁵ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethic*, 28-29.

¹¹⁶ Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 58.

¹¹⁷ Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 59-61.

the right of every human and to protest against the violation of rights by fellow man or woman”¹¹⁸ that is to simply put as stated by Pobee “It is thus a sacred trust of the church to defend human rights and political maturity of the African nation.”¹¹⁹

This view as held before is still in the mission of the church today which its agents are supposed to champion at all cost. This is so because of the church’s theological basis for social concern. The refusal on the part of the clergy to get fully or partially involved in national politics may mean, they can extricate themselves from the society which cannot be true. Hence the need to uphold the relationship between church and the society. The clear signal is that though the Ghanaian societal setup is a secular one, the Nation is still in bed with religion especially Christianity and its ordained clergy. Rev. C. A. Ansa who was a Presbyterian Minister and the Secretary of the Christian Council of Ghana,¹²⁰ wrote “the church cannot live apart of the State, neither can the State live apart of the church”¹²¹ Once the church cannot live separately from the State, the clergy can also not live exclusive of the nation. Leaders in politics must as a matter of necessity tap from all caliber of people, skills, expertise and the knowledge in the quest to addressing problems of the nation. The clergy though has the prophetic mandate to preach the good news as required by the Christian faith, cannot pretend to be unconcerned with the development and wellbeing of citizens, some of whom are members of the church.

Politics also has to do with the citizenship.¹²² The Greek word ‘politikos’ means “a citizen” and therefore once the clergy are also citizens, they cannot be indifferent about political

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 61

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Ibid, 67

¹²¹ *Towards a New Community*, (Accra:1978) 2 in Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, (1991), 67

¹²² Kudadjie and Aboagye- Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 49.

issues just on the bases of being members of the clergy. That is also not to say that at all cost, all of them must be active in it. The clergy are again political beings, and so have some political obligations which are normally seen as a civic responsibility. Unfortunately, as Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah stated, for many people engaging in politics means, joining a political party, being a party activist, speaking on party platforms, standing for elections, or being elected¹²³ to certain political positions and so the clergy should stay aloof from it. Even though these common views may not be entirely wrong, it is helpful to note that one can be involved in the politics of the nation without having to do with some of the things stated above.¹²⁴ However by virtue of being a citizen with civic roles to perform, other people are of the view that, the ordained clergy who have interest in politics should be encouraged to partake but not on partisan line.

There is no law in Ghana that debars any citizen from getting involved in politics of a sort as a civic responsibility except in the case of Chiefs who are not permitted by the Constitution of Ghana to participate in active politics. All other citizens both the religious and secular alike have equal right to contribute their quota in the nation's developments through politics even though there are conventions in the religious set up in the Christian religion especially that seems to suggest the Ordained clergy needs a special permission from the highest decision-making bodies of the Church before being allowed into active politics.

As part of the civic responsibility, the clergy from the time of the 1st Republic to date, have played a leading role in politics. For example, in March, 1959, a private meeting of a

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

Christian Council delegation with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was called by the Clergy of the CCG when he made it clear that there would be no trial for detainees with regards to “Preventive Detention Act of 1958”. A sub-committee was appointed in January, 1959 under the guidance of the then Chairman, Rev G. T. Eddy of the Methodist Conference charged to seek audience with the Prime Minister and a few members of Government on the then affairs of the country.¹²⁵

Regarding the clergy’s participation in politics, it is important to note this question as Stott raised; whether Jesus was involved in politics? From the ministry of Jesus Christ, it could be simply noted that though He did not form any political party, His whole ministry was political¹²⁶ since He was so concerned about the whole life of the community; the basis for the clergy’s involvement. The clergy’s civic responsibility is therefore part of national politics since fulfillment of these responsibilities are geared towards governance and the welfare of the Citizen. Writing on Religion in Ghana, the eminent Ghanaian anthropologist, Dr. P. A. Sarpong noted that the Ghanaian is by nature highly religious.¹²⁷ For this matter, if the average Ghanaian is described as a highly religious person, then within their religiosity is at least an iota of political quest for involvement. Both the religious and secular or non-religious are also governed in the state by the same principles and philosophy. For example, there is only one constitution for all even though there are different ‘holy’ books that govern and explicitly teaches how the various religions must live. There are also social amenities which are used by all. There is again one executive, one legislature and one judiciary setup for all citizens.

¹²⁵ E.O. Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 139.

¹²⁶ Ibid,

¹²⁷ A. O. Atiemo, *Religion and the Inculturation of Human Right in Ghana*, London: Bloomsbury, 2013, 85.

All citizens enjoy the same human rights as stipulated in the Constitution in spite of the fact that there are different religions that the citizens find themselves to belong. For this reason, there are certain civic responsibilities expected of all, irrespective of your religious background because the citizenry is governed by one political setup; No citizen can then live in isolation with any excuse of being different from the others. The ordained clergy who is a leadership agent of the church belonging to a particular denomination cannot seem to be adamant of the political needs of the nation. And in effect, becomes political in a way since there are civic responsibilities expected to be played. One cannot hide behind religion and relegate responsibilities as a citizen. Every responsibility performed by any citizen is geared towards governance of the nation and so such responsibilities as expected are part of normal politics.

To seek to establish the spiritual needs of the members of the congregation cannot be done without engaging in the total good of the national citizenry. One's duties as an ordained member of the clergy are clearly interwoven with civic roles as the life lived by the congregants must reflect Christian values so as to call people into the faith. The experience, knowledge, skills acquired by the ordained clergy must bring a positive impact on the good of the nation. This is again so because religion in Ghana connects with most aspects of life, and in the public sphere.¹²⁸ The training and knowledge acquired by the clergy through ministerial formation and seminary education becomes meaningless if it cannot affect and bring the desired changes reflecting in the political and social life of the members of the church. The fact that "in practice, prayers are offered at important state functions, and institutions such as Parliament and the Judiciary beginning their daily sessions with prayers

¹²⁸ Atiemo, *Religion the Inculturation*, 85.

or in some cases with elaborate Church service¹²⁹ is an indication that politics and religion are bedmates and so the pastoral roles performed by the clergy in the fulfillment of the “priestly or ministerial” calling and performance of civic roles has a relationship that no attempt should be made to separate them; they dully correlate.

It is noted that religion reflects a society’s way of organizing itself, that it has an ideal quality to it that calls leaders to account.¹³⁰ There is also the accession that religious values often influence political action by providing a common orientation toward what the society deems important.¹³¹ E. O. Addo asserts that religion is thus the source for the symbols that make politics possible; that in the Ghanaian context for example, it offers a rallying point by connecting followers with their leaders.

Religion can be used to regulate power relations, and it can also be used as a means of socio-political control.¹³² In this wise, religion as noted by Addo has the capacity to build and to establish political trust.

The discussion above is a clear indication of a relationship between religion in Ghana and politics and that the two have always played vital roles in the socio-politico religious set up of the nation. In as much as possible, the clergy stands the utmost advantage of fostering the relationship that already exists. If religion has a place in the political life of a nation, then it’s ‘agents’ also have a place in development of the nation through the fulfillment of civic responsibility. As already been noted, religion has played pivotal role through its leaders at

¹²⁹ Ibid, 86-87.

¹³⁰ Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 17.

¹³¹ Ibid, 18.

¹³² Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 18.

various stages of national needs. The church has used its agents to clearly establish that the Pastoral role in the political life of the nation cannot be undermined. For instance, a week of National Repentance was declared on the 27th June to 3rd July, 1977 during the Acheampong era (1972-1978) with official reason been that the ills of the nation, political, and economic were due to the sinfulness of the nation.¹³³ Hence the crises of national woes and the call by government for religious leaders spearheaded by the Christian leaders to lead a call on the Most High God for divine intervention. In this instance, whether the declaration was politically motivated or not or with the aim of diverting attention from the misdeeds of the political leaders, the indication is that political leaders or the government of the day still acknowledged the place of religion and their leaders in the political life of the nation in partnering national development, solving national issues and using it as a medium to win back the confidence of the citizenry.

The clergy who engaged in this move to bring decorum to the nation have not only played a spiritual role as prophets but have also undertaken a civic responsibility in helping to bring order in a situation that could have led to a state of confusion. In this 4th Republic, under the leadership of the late President, Prof. Evans Fifi Atta Mills, national week of prayer and fasting was also declared and it became a yearly affair until his demise. This was led by the Christian leadership.

The Christian religion and its leadership have thus played various roles in the political life of the nation. These roles at the same time are considered as civic responsibility expected as usual of the Clergy due to the fact that the divine roles and the civic role by the ordained

¹³³ J. S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana, A Case Study of Acheampong Era; 1972-1978*, (Accra: Ghana University Press, 1992), 6-7

Clergy are not separable and that they are interrelated. The ordained clergy have also served as a mediator in cases where there are misunderstanding between government and student, civil society groups, workers and any other body on the other hand. For example, in the regime of Acheampong, the leadership of the Christian Council of Ghana and the National Catholic Secretariat did serve as mediators between the warring factions namely Acheampong on the one hand and the students and professionals on the other.¹³⁴

In time of strikes, the clergy of the various religious groups especially the Christian Council of Ghana, Catholic Bishops Conference and the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Councils are called upon to mediate to have the striking groups rescind their decision to go back to work, while the government seeks to find solutions to their grievances. The 4th Republic under the leadership of John Dramani Mahama is a clear example when the leadership of the Christian Community and the National Peace Council headed by Rev Prof. Emmanuel Kwaku Asante had to intercede and mediate in getting the Ghana Medical Association members to go back to work in 2015 during their strike for better conditions of service.

In the 2012 election for example, when the opposition NPP decided not to accept the election results as to be declared by the Ghana's Electoral Commission, the leadership of the CCG, the CBC and the National Peace Council had to move swiftly to mediate to allow the result as made ready to be presented while the opposition peacefully prepared to take Court proceedings to address their grievance for national peace to prevail. The clergy has not in any way seen to have relegated to the background. They have also not refused to perform any role that is geared towards nation building and development. Even at a time

¹³⁴ J. S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 9.

when the historic Churches in the Acheampong's regime were suspicious of the declaration of the National week of repentance and failed to honor invitation to the nation's service by the government and ignored the call, some other clergy such as Rev. Abraham de Love, a self-styled "International Evangelist", founder of Philadelphia Mission of Africa, Rev. Brother Charles Yeboah Korie of F'Edem Church, Rev. Dr. K. O. Thompson, Cherubim and Seraphim Church of Ghana etc. stepped in to support Acheampong.¹³⁵

The ordained clergy's roles in national politics as part of his/her civic responsibility cannot be separated most of the times when there is a national issue affecting all citizens or section of the populace. For instance, in times of national tragedies and disasters as fire, outbreak, flood, violence, diseases outbreak, and road accidents which may cause whole communities to question their confidence in God's purposes, the clergy must be there to reassure the affected people¹³⁶ who may not only include his members alone but others as well, that nothing can separate us from the love of God as contained in Romans 8:31-39. In the Clergy's bid to shepherd in difficult national disaster times they may not only have to comfort but also organize and direct aid to families so stricken¹³⁷. The clergy's initiative to provide clothes, goods shelter and other resources¹³⁸ are all part of civic responsibility.

Again, in times of suffering from confused political rivalries, increase in crime rates, agonizing economic failures, the clergy has a part to play in many acts of gallantry commitment, sacrifice and leading the church as religious body as part of mission to make contributions and other commitments to alleviate such agonies. These times of National

¹³⁵J. S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 8.

¹³⁶ P. Laron, E. Enyagu and M. Hunter, *Pastor, A Practical Guide for Church Leaders*, (Accra: Christian Press, 2002 ed.), 95.

¹³⁷P. Laron, E. Enyagu and M. Hunter, *Pastor, A Practical Guide for Church Leaders*, 95.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

disasters or tragedies as it happened here in Ghana during the June 3rd flood and fire disaster that killed hundreds of people and displaced several other citizens and their families are considered as national issues; they needed political attentions as the whole nation was thrown into a state of disarray and mourning, all citizens including the clergy had a civic responsibility to help sort out the needs of the affected citizenry. Situations like these call for prompt response from the church and its agents because solutions cannot only be left on the ‘shoulders of government.’ The clergy’s involvement in these times of national tragedies show execution of civic roles, thereby constituting to the wellbeing and governance of the State.

In other times, the ordained clergy have also been involved in political talks on what E. O. Addo refers to as ‘religious platform.’ That is to say, the clergy through their sermons contribute to political discourse on religious platform using the pulpit. Most at times, the content of some of the clergy’s sermons presentation depict political views under a religious guise as put up by Addo. In recent times, well-known ordained reverend ministers who got involved in these state of presenting political talks on religious platforms included; Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Martey, at the time, he was the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and Bishop Owusu Bempah are noted for that.

3.3 The Clergy and Politics as a Civic Responsibility

Failure to accept the socio-political implications of the Gospel would be a lack of responsiveness to the Gospel itself, and hence a defect of faith.”¹³⁹ The ordained minister’s assignment must reflect to project the good of the larger society with the re-ordering of society. In performing this role, the clergy as ordained agent of the church must accept the

¹³⁹ Asante, *Stewardship*, 202.

socio-political needs of the nation and see to concern him/herself with it. The faith of the church may be vague if the ‘agent’ and other believers relegate or refuse to join the larger society to provide answers to the questions of human’s anxiety and insecurity. This is because, as noted by E. Asante, “The church has a proper mission in the political, social and economic order”¹⁴⁰ as society anticipates the coming of the Lord as propounded by the church. To accomplish this mission, the ordained minister has a role to play which is part of the civic responsibility. This reflects in the civic role expected of every citizen. If the Christian faith has any “truth” to go by, it must be practical and this must be co-championed by the clergy.

Without practicing the “truth” of the Gospel to bring out socio-politico-economic benefits and wellbeing of the society and its citizens, who are the primary focus of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the mission of reaching out to the world would be vague. It is in line with this that the researcher agrees with the words of the great theologian, Jurgan Moltmann, that “truth must be practicable; unless it contains initiative for the transformation of the world, it becomes a myth of the existing world”¹⁴¹. Truth must be Practicable; leaders of the Christian faith, have in times past applied their theological convictions to concrete socio-political solutions.¹⁴² The clergy have no excuse but to make the Christian faith and mission practical by concerning themselves with the socio-political situations of the society. Playing a role in the socio-political situation of the nation by the ordained Clergy is a civic responsibility. For Asante, theology is both ‘political’ and ‘social’ language in so far as it articulates God’s activity and involvement in the organization of human society.¹⁴³ Then it

¹⁴⁰ Asante, *Stewardship*, 203.

¹⁴¹ J. Moltmann, *Religion, Revolution and the Future*, (New York: Charles Scriber’s Sons, 1 1969) in E. Asante, *Stewardship*, 203.

¹⁴² E. Asante, *Stewardship*, 203.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

will not be out of place to agree with the assertion that the ordained clergy, trained theologically must be political and social appreciating the political and social needs of the nation, so that concern is not only placed on what James H. Cone notes as just ‘rational study of the being of God’, rather the study of God’s liberating activity in the world, God’s activity for the oppressed.¹⁴⁴

The clergy first and foremost are citizens of the nation with civic responsibilities as has already been noted; these civic responsibilities could be social, political and economic. Failure on the part of any citizen to fulfill these is irresponsibility. The clergy cannot be irresponsible as far as public obligation of the citizens is concerned. For instance, politically, it is a civic responsibility for the ordained clergy to register to vote, voting, working for the electoral commission apart from educating and encouraging their family members and the congregational members to do same alongside the mission of preaching the gospel. Economically, it is important for the clergy to pay tax as a civic duty and a civic responsibility to teach congregational members to do same as well as seeing to it that the church as whole pays the required taxes to be deducted from the salaries of the church workers. Socially, the clergy must as a matter of civic responsibility, see to provide certain social amenities as seen championed by the church. The philanthropic attitude of the Christian and the church must continue unabated and the clergy has no just cause not to champion this course. By doing all these, the ordained clergy may influence the political business of the nation. However, as noted Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, pastor (clergy) is first and foremost an individual Christian. And in spite of the various roles expected to be played as part of the civic responsibility the temptation to think that one alone has all the answers or most appropriate answers to intricate political and social problems must be

¹⁴⁴E. Asante, *Stewardship*, 203.

avoided.¹⁴⁵ To execute the church's mission is to be involved also in the needs of the nation that could be political, social, economic which culminates into civic responsibility. To borrow the words of S. W. Kunhiyop in relation to the Christian and the involvement in social and political life of the country, it is also impossible for the clergy to be completely uninvolved or unconcerned about the social and political life of the nation or society in which he/she lives.¹⁴⁶

As a citizen of the nation, the clergy also enjoys the benefit offered by the government such as provision of social amenities, maintenance of roads, hospitals, police protection, provision of health services etc. Just as the "church lives in the world and therefore needs the world"¹⁴⁷ the clergy also lives in the society and so needs the society. Therefore "an attempt to deny this will lapse into a position of irrelevance and insignificance in relation to the life of the world."¹⁴⁸ In the same vein, the clergy's denial of his/her civic responsibility lapses into a position of irrelevance and insignificance in relation to the life of the society. The clergy cannot seem unconcerned and be irresponsible in the discharge of civic responsibility or pretend to live in isolation and succeed in the mission entrusted in the church. In as much as the ordained minister seeks to minister to individuals and families, they must seek to be "involved in removing the causes of needs in the society, engage in both political and economic activities for the wellbeing of the populace, transform structures of the society, rehabilitation of persons who seem to be social outcast, champion the quest for justice for the marginalized and facilitate the liberation of the oppressed in the society."¹⁴⁹ To be indifferent in the quest to achieve the above will result in failure to make

¹⁴⁵ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 57.

¹⁴⁶ Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, 99.

¹⁴⁷ Visser'tHooft and Oldham, *The Church and its Function in Society*, 126, in S. W. Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, 99.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 99.

¹⁴⁹ J. Stott, *Making Christ Known*, 202, in J. Stott, *New Issues Facing Christians Today*, (1999 ed.), 5

any positive impact on the life of the people in the society who are to be reached out to with the gospel. In this essence, one can only agree with the statement by John Stott that “there is a relationship between evangelism and social responsibility because evangelism and social concern have been intimately related to one another throughout the history of the church.”¹⁵⁰ The agent of the church, the ordained clergy entrusted to fulfill the mission of the church cannot be undaunted and succeed in this ministry.

The engrossment of the clergy in national politics is always linked to the church’s engagement in National politicking. The participation of the church in the social, cultural, political, and economic development of society has shown clearly that while the church seeks to avoid any kind of political reduction of the Christian faith, the church is increasingly aware that the Christian faith has a concrete dimension involving certain socio-political attitude and commitments.¹⁵¹ As agents of the Church, the Clergy cannot undermine this. The mission of the church which is the mission of Jesus Christ is carried out in a societal setup that uses politics in getting leaders and policies in place to govern it. The ordained clergy’s mission assignment which is the mission of the Lord Jesus Christ handed over to the church to carry according to Asante, “has a positive bearing upon the transformation of human society not only in the private domain of thought and feeling, but also in the public domain of law, government and economics”.¹⁵² The clergy cannot then limit the mandate only to the spiritual sphere but extend it to the political scope of the nation, hence the need to be involved in it. There are still wrong notions about politics as far as the church, the Christian and the clergy are concerned. These wrong notions which seems to have negative impact or connotation for the clergy’s involvement in politics include, the

¹⁵⁰ J. Stott, *“New Issues Facing Christians Today*, 3.

¹⁵¹ E. Asante, *Culture, Politics and Development*, 98.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

fact that “Religion and Politics do not mix”, “Politics is dirty” as noted by Asante, Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah. There is therefore the suggestion that there cannot be clean politics without corruption and insults and making of promises that may not be fulfilled; and the assumption that “Politics brings division and self-centeredness to the disadvantage of others.

However ‘politics’ is also about the management and governance of the society for the common good. This encompassing regulation of the affairs of the society, making of decisions that affect our everyday life, dealing with the management of the economy, the scope of social services, the organization of education, the formulation of policies and a mechanism by which the society is controlled and managed for the good of all¹⁵³ the clergy has the responsibility to engage in. There is the opportunity to contribute to national development for the comfort of the entire citizenry which include the congregational members. Conversely political envelopment, has two dimensions for the clergy.

First is participation as a civic responsibility for example registering to vote and voting, educating congregational members on government policies, guiding them through the process of voting to elect the right candidates to lead the nation, peaking or sharing views on political policies of government and other political parties etc. without being involved in partisan politics. And second, participation in the dimension where one gets involved in professional politics. This is normally done by registering and having a political party membership card, campaigning on political party platform, using of political party paraphernalia, contesting for election and being voted for on political party tickets, defending openly political party policies to the disadvantage of others etc. this is where one joins political societies. Joining a political society means engaging in partisan politics.

¹⁵³E. Asante, *Culture, Politics and Development*, 89.

Nevertheless, the kind of political participation that is been pushed for the clergy is beyond that of civic responsibility but is also not professional politics. This kind falls between the two dimensions which is can be referred to as ‘inter civic and professional political participation’. The kind is where the clergy does not register and have a political party membership card or campaign on political party platform, use of political party paraphernalia but could contesting for election and being voted for as an independent candidate, or take apolitical appointment to serve the people, defending openly political policies that is in the interest of the larger society etc. Eventually, this is could to one joining a political society.

Glancing through the various constitution of the mainline historic Churches in Ghana, especially the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, the Methodist Church, Ghana, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana (EPCG), and some other well-known Churches such as those which fall under the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council like; the Church of Pentecost, Assemblies of God Church etc. none of these churches debar its ordained clergy from joining any political society. But once you are a clergy of these churches, you cannot get involved in partisan politics per say without asking permission from the church’s highest governing body. You need to be permitted before you could get into any other venture for example to contest for a public office (e.g. Member of Parliament or President of the State). The convention is that, once an ordained clergy, you cannot engage in any other service without permission from the church’s highest governing body; like the General Assembly in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana setup. An exemplary instance was a case in court involving the Rev G. N. Kumasa an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana against the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. The fact of the case is that Rev G. N. Kumasa contested on the ticket of the Peoples National Party (P.N.P) in the third Republic and had

won the elections as a Member of Parliament for Manya Krobo. The Presbyterian Church of Ghana insisted that as a priest or minister of the Church one becomes a father to all irrespective of their political affiliation.

Therefore, any minister who wanted to be involved in partisan politics would have to resign as a minister of the church. When such a person wants to come back after partisan politics, he or she must reapply and the application would be considered on its merit.¹⁵⁴ “While the P. N. P. wanted the Church to continue to recognize Kumasa as the Church’s agent, the Church declined. Rev Kumasa then took the case to court and the Church won on the basis that the Plaintiff ought to have known the Church’s position on partisan politics before joining the Church. For it is said that one cannot freely join a group and kick against its tenets. Hundred (100) cedis was then awarded in favor of the Church.”¹⁵⁵

There is every indication that, as the Churches encourage their clergy to get involved in civic responsibilities, they do not allow partisan political participation even though their constitutions do not make it explicit that the clergy cannot get into political participation. These churches rather encourage their clergy to be involved in politics at the ordinary level of exercising one’s civic rights relating to the machinery of government¹⁵⁶ without the possibility of holding a political office.

In fact, in the event that a clergy is appointed to serve as a Minister of the State, one must seek clearance from the Church’s hierarchy before accepting to be engaged. This comes to

¹⁵⁴J. O. Y. Mantey and D. Aboagye-Danquah, compiled & ed, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Synod Decisions and the Rationale Behind the Decisions (1975-2000)*, (Accra:Adwinsa Publications (Gh) Ltd, 2014), 31-31 &38-39.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Kudadjie and Aboagye- Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 49.

the question, “how far can the ordained clergy participate in national politics? And what form must the participation take?” J. N. Kudadjie and R. K. Aboagye-Mensah are of the view that the proper thing for the ordained clergy (Pastor as they put it) to do, is to exercise the right as a voter; that where there is party politics (engagement in political societies) it is not advisable for the clergy to seek election say into parliament on a party ticket; or even to take up party membership.¹⁵⁷ This is so in particular reference to the African situation where the party-game has not been played well so far.¹⁵⁸ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, goes ahead to state that “apart from exercising the political right of voting, the clergy can also influence the political climate and opinion in a number of ways, by doing their work well as a pastors”¹⁵⁹

According to Kudadjie and Aboagye –Mensah, the clergy must remain faithful to Christian standards and should not compromise with the world. This will serve as a good example and inspiration to the society, particularly, members of the church in the political and business world.¹⁶⁰ It is assumed to be enough if the clergy will teach members of the Church the word of God and counsel them in the way they should live righteous and victorious Christian lives. In Ghana it is quite difficult for any ordained clergy of a well-known church to defy the odds against the convention to boldly declare the intention and going ahead to contest on the party ticket while still in the full time ordained Ministry. It is the wish of the researcher to one day in the soonest of time or near or far future to see the Ordained clergy both in full time Ministry in the church or as a Tent (Part-Time) and still has the courage to contest in an election on a particular political party ticket.

¹⁵⁷ Kudadjie and Aboagye- Mensah, *Christian Social Ethic*, 55.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 55.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 55.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 55.

Aboagye-Mensah and Kudadjie in furtherance stated that, the pastor (clergy) is to be the shepherd of the flock and so cannot effectively hold the flock together, if he is an outspoken party man. The assumption is that the flock will be divided since they each belong to different parties. And so for the sake of the church and maintaining the unity of the spirit the ordained clergy (Pastor) should abstain from direct involvement. But all the above as propounded by Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah may belong to the past, the clergy from all indicate could venture into the 'inter civic and professional political participation for the start and later culminate fully into party politics.

Though Ghana has not seen any clergy put himself/herself up to contest for presidency, nevertheless in the 2003 general elections in Nigeria, a Pentecostal ordained clergy, Rev. Chris Okotie, ran for the Presidency¹⁶¹ even though he lost miserably. It seems therefore till date that, the ordained clergy's involvement in national politics may not go beyond civic responsibility even though as an agent of the Church, they may have the mandate to see to it that the church's role as a component of the societal or national development and wellbeing is carried out. However, the contemporary role the clergy could play to the political society in engaging in politics is not the type of politics that seeks power to rule over the realm neither for the clergy to assume political positions or office. Rather, pursue policies, courses and interests similar to the society with the goal of attaining political position in the direct machinery to rule or direct the affairs of the nation in terms of policies.

3.4 Theological Basis for the Clergy's Participation in Politics

Scholarly analysis of political participation has historically focused on the mass public, with little interest to clergymen, although Verba, Schlozman, and Brady have referred that

¹⁶¹ S. WajeKunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, 87.

clergymen can also show “distinct configurations of participatory factors and degrees of hobby”¹⁶². We take their trace through drawing on converging views from both the literatures on mass participation and on clerical politics. collectively, these provide partially competing theories stressing: the non-public assets of the potential activist, along with socioeconomic reputation and mental engagement; professional ideology, inclusive of theological perspectives and ministerial role orientations; problem mobilization, specifically time table priorities and ideological views; organizational mobilization, stressing the motivation supplied by way of outdoor companies and facts flows; and contextual impacts, related to the instantaneous social and congregational surroundings of the clergy member.

The classic works on mass political participation often utilized the “Socioeconomic Status version,” positing that political involvement is fabricated from high social elegance, wealth, and superior education—all of which deliver citizens with the assets for effective movement.¹⁶³ Further, most studies find that older citizens, who have greater lifestyles experience, recognize extra approximately politics, and are more settled of their communities, evidence higher pastime tiers¹⁶⁴ Are clergy affected by socioeconomic status variables within the same way as different residents? At the start glance, status views may appear much less applicable to clergy, as socially homogeneous, nicely-knowledgeable professionals with middle-magnificence earning. Certainly, maximum pupils prevalent this premise¹⁶⁵ concluding that such fame explains the clergy’s feature high quotes of political

¹⁶² K. Schlozman, S. Verba, and H. Brady, (1995). Participation's Not a Paradox: The View from American Activists, 1995, 414. *British Journal of Political Science*, 25(01), 1.

¹⁶³ B. Seasholes, (1974). Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality. By Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. 428 pp. *Social Forces*, 53(1), 133-133.

¹⁶⁴ S. Rosenstone, J. Hansen, and K. Reeves, (2003). *Mobilization, participation, and democracy in America*. New York: Longman, 1993. 136-141.

¹⁶⁵ H. Quinley, *The prophetic clergy*. New York: Wiley, 1974.

participation.¹⁶⁶ This assumption likely derived from early scholars' consciousness on mainline Protestant clergy, who did have a tendency to exhibit those traits.

Clergy within the evangelical way of life, however, come from nearly every imaginable social magnificence heritage (often operating-magnificence), have differing academic studies, and revel in a huge variety of earning. This transformation in non-public reputation is reflected in the congregations they serve: those with large, middle-magnificence congregations aren't handiest wealthier, however have at their disposal extra sources (and perhaps incentives) for political involvement.¹⁶⁷ In this recognize, Catholic priests might also represent an intermediate case, drawn from a number of social backgrounds, but attaining a reasonably excessive level of professional education prior to entering the clergy. Different reputation factors may have different affects amongst clergy than inside the mass public. For instance, older residents are typically greater active, however in the 1960s, at least, Quinley determined that more youthful clergy had been most politically engaged, perhaps because of their great training, the political stimuli of the civil rights.¹⁶⁸ In recent years, the equal pattern has regarded amongst young conservatives: Nowadays, evangelical Protestant ministers are increasingly better educated, grew up inside the midst of protracted "lifestyle wars" over abortion, gay rights, and intercourse education in the schools, and can be especially motivated via the brand new politicization of conservative.

Many analysts argue that the maximum important personal resources contributing to clergy political involvement are attitudinal, not socioeconomic arguable though. Mental

¹⁶⁶ K. Beatty, and O. Walter, *A Group Theory of Religion and Politics: The Clergy as Group Leaders*, (1998) *The Western Political Quarterly*, 42(1), 129.

¹⁶⁷ G. Sapp, *Perspectives in educational psychology*. New York: MSS Educational Pub. Co.1975, 164

¹⁶⁸ H. Quinley, *The prophetic clergy*. New York: Wiley, 1974.

inclinations which include robust political interest and a feel of political efficacy result in extra political interest (Verba and Nie 1972; Jennings and Van Deth 1989; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). within the mass public, of path, these orientations frequently result from higher fame and training, however amongst expert leaders the persevering with enjoy of conducting “public” hobby might also alternative for reputation and training in producing attitudes conducive to participation. Indeed, if church membership produces civic abilities and attitudes (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Putnam 2000), church management should have an even stronger impact. Every other supply of mental engagement is robust partisanship. As there is some proof that clerical partisanship has been strengthened in recent time, showing the equal polarizing inclinations visible among different activists (Nivola and Brady 2006), we anticipate people with sturdy birthday celebration attachments to be greater lively in governmental politics, even though perhaps now not in social motion sports.

As opposed to focusing on socioeconomic status assets or psychological engagement, the conventional clergy studies harassed different attitudes, especially theological beliefs that highlight this-worldly political involvement, foster approval of the church’s political position, and argue that ministers must be politically lively (Hadden 1969; Quinley 1974). Certainly, we've got formerly confirmed that such theological and expert position orientations are effective predictors of activism (Guth et al. 1997). Given their centrality to clerical worldviews, theological perspectives have usually been essential in discussions of pastoral politics. Hadden (1969) and Quinley (1974) located that “this-worldly” modernists, having abandoned supernatural Christian orthodoxy for an extra liberal, naturalistic religion, have been far greater energetic than “different-worldly” traditionalists. Different scholars have argued that it is not a lot theological tenets however the underlying social theology of

clergy that affects political action. Protestant modernists and Catholic clergy commonly have a communitarian social theology that stresses the significance of “horizontal” relations among human beings because the prime cognizance of faith, even as Protestant traditionalists still see the dating between the character and God as their significant problem, developing an individualist social theology that de-emphasizes social and political motion.

There may be massive evidence, but, that the connection among theological views and political activism has modified. Clergy who were no longer simplest orthodox, however additionally otherworldly, fomented early Christian right activism. Whilst some students have argued that such beliefs had been downplayed to facilitate activism, there's little survey proof to affirm this contention. Alternatively, at least a few traditionalists have changed their social theologies to accommodate a larger political function for Christians, which include clergy. Those revisions have been encapsulated in a brand new social theology that we've referred to as “the civic gospel” (Guth et al. 1997). Many analysts of political participation have careworn trouble mobilization: the manner in which political attachments, ideals, and problems prompt human beings to come to be involved. Political scientists have lengthy cited that ideological commitments regularly stimulate activism. Now and again the strength of ideological dedication is key, whatever its path, however extra frequently we discover ideological “asymmetry” in activism (Nexon 1971; Verba and Nie 1972). This phenomenon can also be partly defined by using Verba, Schlozman, and Brady’s argument that residents with sturdy sentiments on new problems including abortion or the environment are activated through the ones emotions¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ K. Schlozman, S. Verba, and H. Brady, 391-415.

If the countrywide time table is not “balanced” in its ideological incentives, we should anticipate eras of gain for one facet or the other. Clergy can be encouraged greater typically by the troubles they understand to be the most crucial confronting. In advance paintings, we observed that clergy differed on the precedence of moral reform and social justice agendas. Ethical issues such as abortion, gay rights, faculty prayer and playing commanded the attention of many conservative clergy, but modernists were extra inclined to fear about social welfare guidelines, the surroundings, girls’ rights and similar questions. Eventually, ministers’ attitudes on precise troubles may additionally influence their activity. People with sturdy sentiments on moral troubles on the one hand, and social welfare issues on the alternative might be anticipated to be greater energetic in both political and social arenas.

Activism additionally effects from organizational mobilization. This can take the form of birthday celebration efforts to turn out the vote (Teixeira 1992), hobby organization leaders looking for elicit member activity (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995), or different establishments attempting to spark off residents. Such mobilization has been disregarded in studies of clerical politics; however need to be particularly pertinent, as clergy are enmeshed in complex organizational networks. They collaborate with different clergy in local agencies, are worried in denominational networks, and might join special functions companies appealing to clergy. Within the equal vein, there are conscious of religious and secular media. To tap such outside mobilization, we first requested ministers whether or not they belonged to and have been lively in numerous religious interest corporations.

Political activism by clergy, in particular at some stage in a presidential election, can also be influenced by way of the mobilization efforts of non-secular religious interest groups.

Further, the political data assets clergy use, specifically the politics-laden spiritual TV and radio packages available to Christians might make a difference in clergy involvement. Ministers' preferred political facts assets may also have enormous relating social application activity.

A number of scholars have suggested that the social context of the clergy influences political and national politics. These assertions take a number of forms. Some argue that activism is most likely in large urban areas, with their attendant concentration of social problems and greater stimulus to action (Crawford and Olson 2001; Djupe and Gilbert 2). In the same vein, the social class of the congregation may have an impact, as ministers and priests strive to provide either political voice or social services for congregants. And, of course, the attitudes and expectations of congregations should influence at least some clergy activity.

The question emerges: How best can the church keep its presence in the world while keeping worldliness out? "In the end there are only two possible attitudes which Christians can adopt towards the world. One is 'escape' and the other is 'engagement'. But then Christians become indistinguishable from the world and on that account are no longer able to develop a distinctive attitude to it. They simply become part of it."¹⁷⁰ "What, then, is the biblical basis for social concern? Why should Christians get involved?"¹⁷¹

This was how John Stott in addressing the issue of the 'biblical basis for social concern.' From Mark 16, it is evident that Christ anticipated the church that would be part of the activities of society yet free from the evils thereof.¹⁷² As such, Christians are an integral part

¹⁷⁰ J. Stott, *New Issues Facing Christians Today*, 17.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² T. Kis, I. Makaryk and N. Mychajlyszyn, *Towards a new Ukraine III*. Ottawa: Legas, 2001, 700

of the civic community and they cannot evade responsibility towards society. Acts 4:19, obedience to God first after the ascension of Jesus and the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, the disciples began to accomplish their mission to induce others to relinquish the world. This also prompted the wrath of the Sanhedrin. Because of Peter and John's testimony of Jesus, they were detained overnight and the movement they led was now under attack by hostile forces from the political establishment.

This experience introduces the first persecution of the apostles. The next day they were brought before a council of Jerusalem's "rulers" (Acts 4:5), to explain the "power of the name" that had apparently healed the crippled beggar (see Acts 3:1-8). Peter "filled by the Holy Spirit" gives a persuasive and powerful response to whatever accusation is implied by the council's question. Wall suggests that Peter's response is a "compressed rehearsal of what has already been proclaimed by Peter both on Pentecost (2:22-46) and at Solomon's Portico (3:12-26)"¹⁷³ He starts with a respectful salutation: "Rulers and elders of the people" (Acts 4:8). Thus, respect for men in authority is required of a Christian including the clergy (Matt 22:21; Rom 13:7; 1 Pet 2:13-17). The speech is addressed to the very "rulers" he earlier accused of acting in ignorance regarding scripture's prophecies about Jesus. (Acts 3:17-18).

Even though he does not actually demand their repentance in this case (cf., 3:19), the "sharpened contrast between 'Jesus . . . whom you crucified' and 'Jesus . . . whom God raised from the dead' (4:10) makes clear that these rulers are not aligned with God's purposes."¹⁷⁴ The unstated implication is that they must repent and turn to God for the

¹⁷³ D. Wall, (2002). *Earth First! And the anti-roads movement*. London: Routledge, 2002, 10&89

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

forgiveness of their sins. After the speech, verse 15 suggests that the two disciples, and most likely the healed man, were taken from the council chamber while the members of the Sanhedrin discussed what they ought to do. They had heard and seen the evidence and could not offer a countervailing opinion (Acts 4:14). Rather than repent they began to discuss what course to pursue, on the basis of expediency. The discussion finally turns on a political solution: “we must warn these men to speak no longer to anyone in this name” (v. 17). Peter and John were summoned again into the council chamber to learn the results of the deliberation. They cautioned them “not to speak or teach at all in the name of Jesus” (v. 18). The apostles famously defied the council’s verdict. There is considerable irony in Peter’s exhortation to these judges that they must judge themselves, since to do so would lead to self-condemnation.

An important principle suggested is Obedience to God first. Established authority per se was not what the apostles found they must stand against, for Jewish Christianity in its earliest days often accommodated itself to the established forms and functions of Judaism as a baby to its cradle. But where that established authority stood in opposition to God’s authority, the early believers knew where their priorities lay and judged all religious forms and functions from a Christocentric perspective.¹⁷⁵ In other words, whenever Christians face a choice between their honest conviction regarding God’s will for them, and the commandments of men, they can afford only to follow what they believe to be God’s will.

The clergy have the right of conscience to resist human authority when it conflicts with divine authority. The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary (SDABC) notes that if a

¹⁷⁵ R. Longenecker, *The Christology of early Jewish Christianity*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981, 36-43.

Christian “steadfastly recognizes God’s prior claim to his full allegiance, no man can call him dishonest, and his soul is safe” (Nichol, 1980a, 6:169). Kis clarifies: “The laws of the land at all levels may at times conflict with some of God’s commandments. While magistrates bear responsibility for the law, each citizen including the clergy is accountable to God for the choices he or she makes”¹⁷⁶ If the clergy leads the Christian community and appeal to freedom of conscience in the explanation of their conviction and the appeal is rejected, faithfulness to God first may result in persecution. Going back to Peter and John, the ban on them would both warn them and provide a legal basis for further action, should such be needed (cf., Acts 5:28).

A legal precedent had been set that would enable the council to take, if necessary, more drastic action in the future. Occasions for such action were soon to be multiplied as Luke tells us in Acts 5:12-16. Matthew 22:15-21: Separation between Church and State. This periscope is part of the controversy series initiated by those Pharisees who had already decided to kill Jesus (Matt 12:14). Despite their flattering introductory words, the ensuing three controversies on taxes (22:15-22), the resurrection (vv. 23-33), and the Great Commandment (Matt 22:34-45), they are not seeking instruction or dialogue, but they are trying to entrap him. It has to be noted from the onset that the thrust of the narrative, as shown in verse 26 is that “Jesus is the master of the situation and refuses to be caught. This is not abstract doctrine on church and state” (Boring, 1994, p8:420).

Bible scholars are in general agreement that these confrontations took place on Tuesday of the Passion Week in the temple courts. The Pharisees sent their disciples, who were younger men, in the hope that Christ would not recognize them. The comments: “The Pharisees

¹⁷⁶ T. Kis, I. Makaryk and N. Mychajlyszyn, *Towards a new Ukraine III*, 701.

feared that if they themselves came to Jesus with the question, He would immediately suspect a plot, for He had no doubt met most, if not all of them”(Nichol, 1980d, 5:481). Luke speaks of these disciples as “spies” (Matt 20:20), implying that the Sanhedrin had sent spies to follow Jesus nearly everywhere He went for the rest of his public ministry (see Matt 9:3; Luke 11:54). The Pharisees sent their disciples along with the Herodians, a Jewish political party, who unlike most of the Jews openly supported the reigning family of Herod and its pro-Roman policies, including taxation. The Pharisees, on the other hand, were popular with the people because they in principle resented and resisted the tax, but did not go as far as the radical nationalists who publicly resisted its payment. Carson notes: “A common enemy makes strange bedfellows; and common animus against Jesus erupts in plans to trap him up by fair means or foul” So they came to Jesus and inquired: “Is it right to pay taxes to Caesar or not?” (Matt 22:7). The spies wanted Jesus to commit Himself, one way or the other. Boring suggests that the “tax could be paid only in Roman coin, most of which contained an image and inscription considered blasphemous by many Jews: “Tiberius Caesar, August Son of the divine Augustus, high priest.” The question was calculated either to alienate the nationalists (if Jesus approved the payment of taxes to Rome) or to make him subject to arrest by the Romans (if he disapproved the payment of taxes). The politically explosive question that confounded Jesus involved the problem; recognizing the duplicity of his opponents, Jesus could not be forced into a reductionist reply. He chose to answer them on his own terms and asked for the “legal tender” with which the tax was paid. They handed Jesus a denarius (Matt 22:19); and Jesus asked his questioners a question: “Whose portrait is this? And whose inscription?” and they replied, “Caesar’s” (vv. 19-21). Jesus then said to them: “Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s, and to God what is God’s” (v. 21). This answer accords with Jewish teaching that men ought to pay taxes to their superiors, since kings, even pagan ones, owe their position to God (cf., Prov 8:15; Dan 2:21, 37-38).

Jesus' answer is more profound than that and can be fully grasped in the light of religion-state relations in first-century Rome. There every indication that the Jews, with their theocratic heritage, were ill-equipped to formulate a theological rationale for paying tribute to foreign and pagan overlords. It was not only the Jews that linked religion and state, but paganism insisted even more strongly on the unity of civil and religious obligations. Christians later faced the wrath of Rome for their refusal to participate in emperor worship—which was judged by the state as treason. Seen in this light, the messianic community Jesus determines to build must not ignore the just claims of the state, because there are certain “things which are Caesar’s.” However, God’s authority is supreme; and the messianic community’s supreme loyalty belongs to God. The comments: “There are certain ‘things’ in which Caesar has no right to interfere. . . . God’s jurisdiction is absolute and universal; Caesar’s, subordinate and limited” (Nichol, 1980d, 5:482). This sets forth the fundamental principle that determines the Christian’s proper relationship to the government.

Romans 13:1-7: Obedience for the Sake of Law and Order. In Romans 13:1a Paul gives the command: “Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities.” The occasion for this command has been frequently debated. Some scholars suggest that Paul by writing this was resisting the attitude of certain Christians who, due to their citizenship in the kingdom of God, no longer thought they needed to obey the laws of sinful human authority.

The basic and most important mandate of the clergy is the proclamation of the ‘Good News.’ As clergy, the Good News is what they are supposed to proclaim as the most important assignment. The proclamation must then be demonstrated. This is because as put up by Ken Gnanakan, though “proclamation is urgent, the demonstration of it is a priority. The world must hear the message of the Kingdom, it will also want to see some concrete demonstration

of this message.”¹⁷⁷ The church must help the clergy to concretize the good news of God through tangible expressions of the kingdom. This would call for the need to participate reasonably in engaging in civic responsibility and political activities. The story of God choosing to be a partner in the suffering humanity in the Immanuel as indicated in Isaiah 7:14 and, Matthew 1:23, draws the attention of all people including the Clergy to reciprocally respond to the invitation in stewardship partnership.

God’s presence in caring for His people is always felt as the church and its agents get involved in the social, political and economic gains of the society. The influence of the clergy must be beneficial to the political formation and transformation of the society. Though God’s initiative in continuing to become a partner with human being in the biblical story even after the fall of human in the Garden of Eden seem to unpredictable and expected, “the unexpected nature of God’s actions in choosing to be with us in a solidarity of suffering humanity is an indication of how partnership with God happens.”¹⁷⁸ If God, due to His unexpected nature decided to choose to share in the suffering of humanity, then the clergy as a co- leader of the Church with the leadership of the laity have no business in standing aloof to socio-political and economic needs of the State. .

God’s action of salvation through Jesus, the Christ of God really speaks of the dynamic presence of God in His creation as one who is for all His creation and not against any part of it. “In the midst of a symphony of groaning, our hope in God’s plan for New Creation makes it possible to speak of God as our Creator and continuing source of life, as our Liberator who sets the captives (us) free; and as our Advocate continually present with us

¹⁷⁷ A. Walls and C. Ross, *Mission in the Twenty-First Century*, 9.

¹⁷⁸ Letty M. Russell, *The Future of Partnership*, the Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1979, 25.

as a witness.”¹⁷⁹ Referring to the statement above is an indication that God’s attention is on His world and therefore the clergy as “chosen or called” (1 Peter 2:9) co-vessels for the mission of God in reaching out to the world have an obligation to seek the wellbeing of the state and the people there in part of which are the church’s constituents. This also denotes that God’s liberating activities have been handed over to the Church and the Clergy as agents to unite with God’s action to bring hope to the hopeless. Though this may not necessarily be in the area of politics, political participation may not be taken out of the context.

The call to mission is a call to partner with God in showing concern to God’s world. That is to say that, the clergy’s involvement in civic responsibility and National Politics is a means of partnering God in stewardship. This kind of partnership in stewardship entails both economic and business partnership. In other words, it also means taking care, managing God’s elements of the world as well as liberating God’s people from destruction and mismanagement. As noted by Letty Russel, “For some the story of Jesus of Nazareth in Luke 4:18-19 really comes as Good News”¹⁸⁰ Sent to heal the brokenhearted, proclaim liberty to the captives, sight to the blind, setting the oppressed free and announcing the year of the Lord’s favor. (Isaiah 61:1-2. Compare Luke 4:18-19) The participation or partnership with God in stewardship is an action by God and a call on all, with the mandate to see to its fruition because the whole of God’s creation seem to be under situation of political, social and economic oppression as far as leadership is concerned. As noted by Letty Russell the Church must also use their Christian religion, personal, economic and social power to seek justice and wellbeing of the society. All these are acts of God that seek partnership with those in authority.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 33.

¹⁸⁰ Letty S. Russell, *The future of Partnership*, 32.

The clergy with the prophetic mandate of reaching out to the world with the message of the good news as noted by Ken Gnanakan, need to concretize the message to make it meaningful to their economic and social circumstance. One of the ways to achieving this is for the clergy to also join in the political processes of electing responsible politician to handle the governance of the Nation. And perhaps be involved to the level of inter civic and professional participation as already explained. This cannot be overemphasized. Considering Luke's record of the declaration of Jesus Christ, "the Spirit of the Lord is upon, because he has anointed me to preach the good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor' demonstrates the essence of the good news." (Luke 4: 18-19) The clergy cannot may just be adamant to the call or just proclaim the message and leave it there. There must be an active involvement in improving the wellbeing of the people of the society that also entails his or her constituents. The mandate should extend to all the facets of the national life of the people in order to appreciate the essence of the presence of the clergy and the church in the society.

As noted by Valdir Raul Steuernagel, as a mark of missions, the clergy should always seek to transform the unjust structures of the society to continue to bring peace to all. The 'shalom' of God embraces all without rigors to social status. It is a gift from God but the tenants of society and selfish desires of its leadership seem to have made the 'shalom' of God discriminatory. In the face of injustices all over, it behooves on the leadership of the Church and the Clergy to help bring meaning into the life of the vulnerable in the society through the preaching of the good news and the 'practicalization' of the good news.

The clergy need to apply a holistic approach to carrying out the mission of the Church. This holistic approach must focus on extending the grace and the 'shalom' of God into the hearts of the needy and the downed hearted. The grace must be the focus in reaching out to the feelings intuitions, thoughts and actions of the people in the society in the sense that, where there is nakedness, clothes must be provide, in sickness, effort must be made to bring healing in terms of the physical, emotional, psychological and economic facets thereby sowing the seed of comfort and hope in the face of hopelessness.

The mission of the Lord is a focus on the community as a whole. The clergy cannot only be uninterested and unconcerned. In the boldness of the office as a clergy, and in getting involved in civic responsibility and national political participation for the good of the whole society which includes the clergy's constituents, the clergy must be bold to condemn all social and political ills, criticize leadership and the bad policies of government while giving alternative ideals. This is why the clergy must be knowledgeable and have ideas that could build the society. The clergy need to be bold in condemning every form of hypocrisy, bribery, corruptions and mediocrity that tend to eat into the very fabric of societal growth thereby impeding development. Preaching the good news in the spirit of truthfulness will mean that the clergy must be fair to all governments at all time without fear or favor. This will bring out the power of the good news in transforming the society for the benefit of all.

Ezekiel states the condemnation of the rulers who sought their own interest only, as the ordinary people suffered hardship.(Ezekiel 34) Micah (Micah 4:1-5) like Isaiah (Isaiah 2:1-4) prophesied universal peace and prosperity as well as condemning the way the needy and poor were being treated by the rich and the powerful¹⁸¹ in the society. The clergy must be

¹⁸¹ J. N. Kudadjie and R. K. Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 32-33.

supported in this call to missions to be able to discharge well the prophetic and pastoral duty and still be relevant in political participation. All effort must be made in order for the clergy not to be seen unconcerned about national governance. Taking up civic responsibilities seriously and where possible even venture into the handling of inter and civic and professional political participation and further taking appointment to achieve national agenda of wellbeing of citizens for national growth and development this ought to be a priority alongside the mission of the church.

In the New Testament, the first and best example that could be considered is Jesus Christ Himself. In Matthew 17:24-28; there was a discourse between Jesus and Peter after Peter had been questioned by one of the officials responsible for tax collection, “*Doesn't your teacher pay the temple tax?*” After a while, Peter was instructed by Jesus Christ to go to the lake, throw out a line, and take the first fish caught, open its mouth to find a coin and use it to pay for their taxes so as not to offend them. How can the clergy in any way be exempted from these responsibilities because of religious duties? The clergy has no excuse to ever think of alienating him/herself from national political building by relegating to the background his /her civic responsibilities and duties. The clergy's national political involvement and upholding of basic civic roles has a correlation and reflects basis in Scriptures. It is important to note, however, that it is our theological presupposition that affects our understanding of the relationship between the church and the State¹⁸² and once the relationship is affected, the clergy's attitude as far as national politics and his/her civic involvement are also affected due to these presuppositions.

¹⁸² Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, 87.

On the other hand, as noted by Kunhiyop, “those who have a more holistic view base on their understanding of God’s involvement in a sinful world argue that the church needs to be more involved in the world.¹⁸³ As stated above, if the church needs to be more involved in the world, then it means the clergy must at all cost be involved having gone through rigorous holistic theological training. This holistic theological training broadens one’s scope of understanding of God’s involvement in a sinful world and hence due to the holistic view that is then upheld, it then becomes imperative for the ordained clergy to engage in both national politics and civic responsibility. “Our understanding of the function of the church in society and its relation to the community and to the State depends in the last resort on our doctrine, or our undefined and unconscious assumptions regarding the relation of the church to the world.”¹⁸⁴

As ambassadors of the Lord Jesus Christ now on earth, the clergy as part of the Christian community but first and foremost as members of the society cannot remain aloof if they are to be salt and light of the world. (Matthew 5:13-16) Kunhiyop indicates that, the early church began its missionary outreach as a minority in a pagan and hostile state¹⁸⁵ but thought of having a relationship with the State to win the citizenry for Jesus and His Church. That is why the apostles saw government as divine institution by God with the right to enforce order and restrain certain types of antisocial behavior.¹⁸⁶

In the book, “Mission in the Twenty-first century” – Exploring the Five Marks of Global Missions” five marks of mission have been discussed including “the proclamation of the

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ W. A. Visser’tHooft and J. H. Oldham, *the Church and its Function in Society*, (London; Allen and Union, 1937), 108.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ A. Walls and C. Ross, *Mission in the Twenty-First Century; Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*, London, Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008, XIV.

Good News of the Kingdom. The other four are; “to teach, baptize and nurture new believers; to respond to human need by loving service; to seek to transform unjust structures of the society; and to strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustain and renew the life on earth.”¹⁸⁷ These missions of the church are fulfilled under the co-leadership of the clergy. These elements as mentioned in the five marks of Mission as carried out by the church, teaching and nurturing new believers serve, seeking to transform injustices in the Society, Safeguarding integrity and sustaining life on earth cannot be relegated or taken for granted by the clergy or be considered as secular so that they are not a concern to the clergy. Once these are marks of mission of the church, they become the clergy’s responsibility. If God Himself is interested in society – its spiritual, economic, political, moral life etc. and so working along-side those unjustly suffering and those working for the good of society, how can the clergy as an ambassador or agent of the Lord withdraw or withhold his/her contribution or stand aloof to its management.¹⁸⁸

Concentrating on this pastoral mandate, the clergy has the responsibility of engaging in the other social needs of the people as envisaged in a clear order to fulfill the mission of the Lord as put up by Ken Gnanakanthat “Proclamation is urgent, but demonstration is the priority.” The world must hear the message of the kingdom, but it will also want to see some concrete demonstration of this message.¹⁸⁹

Theologically, in concluding the matter, the clergy cannot just proclaim the Good News and leave it there, there must be an active involvement in showing societal concern in order to

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics*, 53.

¹⁸⁹ K. Gnanakan, *To Proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom (1)*, in “*Mission in the Twenty-First Century*,” ed. A. Walls and C. Ross, 9-10.

concretize and make the mandate complete and tangible. “All four narratives of Jesus’ public life and Ministry, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John agree that Jesus’ passion and mission were to proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom of God and that He identified Himself as the one embodying the Kingdom and its message”.¹⁹⁰ The mandate of the Gospel is to save the world, it is to be reached out to, and the clergy must lead to concretize this by being involved in all facets of the national needs; religious, political, economic, social etc. as civic roles since the two worlds cannot be separated. “Transforming the unjust structures of the society must mean addressing not only the global injustices which prevent the poor from accessing development, but also questioning our aspirations of development towards lifestyles we now find to be unsustainable”.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ D. Bookless, *To Strive to safeguard the Integrity of creation and sustain and Renew Life of the Earth (ii)*, in *Mission in the Twenty First Century*, ed. A. Walls and C. Ross, 95.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS OF RESPONSES ON THE CLERGY'S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS.

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the church, clergy and political participation, the clergy and active political participation in Ghana, the clergy and politics as a civic responsibility. The chapter also discussed the theological basis for the active participation of the clergy in politics. Having established the fact that there are theological basis for the clergy's active participation in politics, it is important to also seek the thoughts and perceptions of the general populace on the topic under discussion. This is because of the fact that a lot of people in the society think that religion and politics do not mix, and so the clergy must limit their work to the church and just shepherd or pastor the flock without any form of political involvement. There are some who see politics as a "dirty game" because it involves 'underhanded' deals and sordid compromises of Christian principles¹⁹² and therefore the ordained clergy should not be involved in this "dirty game" to dent their image.

The clergy's involvement in national politics cannot continue to be based on opinion of a few people on just conventions and assume that politics is a no go area for the clergy. It is in line with these that a questionnaire was designed as part of the researcher's work to ascertain the real views and opinions of a cross section of Christians from different backgrounds including; teachers, group leaders, church office workers, some politicians, the clergy and laity.

¹⁹² Asante, *Stewardship*, 75.

4.1 Some Responses from the Questionnaires

Here are some of the responses and opinions or answers given by the people who were ready to respond to the various questions on the questionnaire.

Table 4.1.1: The table below shows the number of the various groups of people who responded to the questionnaire and those who did not return the questionnaire at all.

PERSONS	NO. THAT RESPONDED	NO. OF QUESTIONNAIRE NOT RESPONDED
1. Clergy		
a) Presbyterian	5	1
b) Methodist	3	1
c) Evangelical Presbyterian	1	1
d) Baptist Convention	1	
e) Full Gospel	1	
f) Charismatic/Pentecostal	2	
2. Teachers	2	
3. Lawyers	2	
4. Politicians	2	1
5. Church group leaders	4	
6. Evangelist	1	1
7. Executives – Local Council of Churches	2	
8. Senior High School Chaplains	2	
9. Church Administrative Workers	2	
TOTAL	30	5

The total number of people who responded to the questionnaire are thirty (30) which includes; thirty (13) Reverend Ministers (clergy) from various Churches; Five (5) from the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, three (3) from Methodist Church of Ghana, one (1) each from the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Baptist Convention, and Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship, and two (2) Charismatic/Pentecostal Pastors. Other people includes; two(2) teachers, two(2) lawyers, two(2) politicians, four(4) church group leaders, one(1) evangelist, two(2) executives of the Local Council of Churches, two(2) Senior High School Chaplains, two(2) Church Administrative workers. In all about thirty-five (35) questionnaires were sent out but thirty (30) were returned and about twenty-five (25) people

were interviewed. All those who answered and responded to the questions disclosed their identity as to who they are and what they do as requested in the questionnaire.

It is worth noting that, in all thirteen (13) out of fifteen (15) clergy who were given the questionnaire fully answered. The clergy were from different denominations as indicated in table 4.1.1 above. Again, seventeen (17) out of 20 questionnaires given to the other people (lay persons) were also returned copiously attended to. Out of the above data obtained, the succeeding analysis were made as deliberated below.

4.2 Perception on Politics

This table 4.2.1 indicates the various perceptions on politics as collated from the questionnaire. The table also shows the respective number that responded ‘yes’, ‘no’ and those who think that the various perceptions were mere assumptions.

Table 4.2.1: Perception on Politics

PERCEPTION	YES	NO	ASSUMPTION /NO ANSWER	TOTAL
1. Politics is a dirty game	21	0	9	30
2. Politics and Religion do not mix	8	16	6	30
3. Politicians are corrupt and dishonest	13	8	9	30
4. Politicians indulge in aggression, indecency and insults.	16	14	0	30
5. Politics is divisive and acrimonious	7	18	5	30
6. Politics involves violence and dabbling in unacceptable practices.	19	5	6	30
7. Politics breeds enmity among families, loved ones etc.	7	17	6	
8. Should the Clergy participate in politics?	19	11	0	

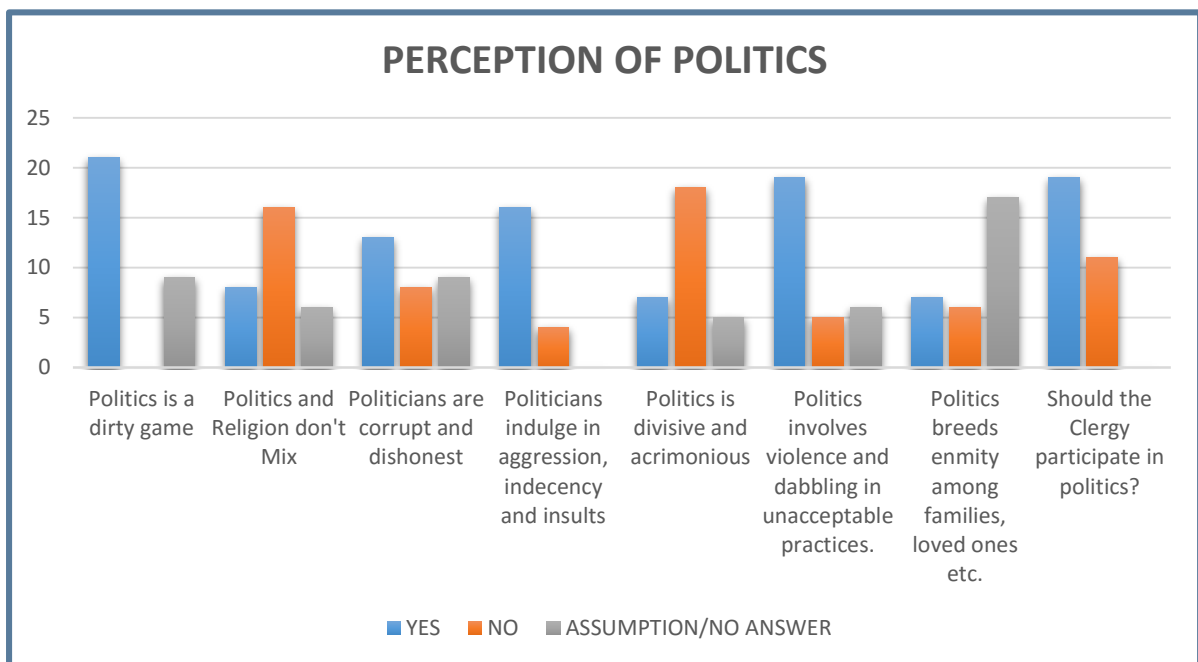
4.2.1 Interpretation of the table 4.2.1 above

Out of the thirty (30) questionnaires that were returned, nine (9) stated that, it is an assumption that politics is a dirty game. The rest of the twenty-one (21) asserted that politics is a dirty game. Unfortunately, none of the twenty-one respondents who said politics is a dirty game could give any concrete evidence to ascertain why they believe politics is a dirty game. Their only response given to this was that politics involves high stakes and the politicians make it dirty with their tricks, insults and lies. On the statement that “Politics and Religion do not mix”, sixteen (16) out of the thirty (30) responded ‘No’, six (8) responded ‘Yes’ while the other six(6) also responded that it is just an assumption that politics and religion do not mix. The questionnaires indicated that thirteen (13) out of the thirty(30) believe that Politicians are corrupt and cannot be honest while eight (8) respondents did not agree that the Politicians are corrupt and cannot be honest. The other nine (9) think that the assertion is just an assumption in the minds of people.

Again, out of the total number of thirty (30) questionnaires that were returned, sixteen (16) of the respondents were of the view that there is too much aggression and insults in politics and so decent people should not get involved. The other fourteen (14) believe that the assertion is wrong and that what people see and hear regarding politics are all normal in the struggle to get leaders elected to lead the citizens. They were also of the view that there are more decent people who are doing politics and that what is being said about them is not necessarily true. Seven (7) persons were of the view that politics brings about division, acrimony and it involves high stakes while fifteen (18) refuted the assertion but five (5) believe it is just an assumption.

The questionnaires also specified that nineteen (19) out of the thirty (30) people who responded to the questionnaire believe that politics involves practices such as violence, killings especially involving “juju or black magic”. The supporting fact for those who held this view was that as Africans, “juju”, spiritual killings and the use of charms in politics cannot be ruled out even though they could not give any concrete evidence. However, six (6) people did not share this view but believed it is just an assumption and five (5) responded no. On the issues of whether politics creates enmity among families, friends, love ones and members belonging to the same community; six (6) persons said this is just an assumption, ten (7) people agreed with the statement whereas, seventeen (17) did not agree to the statement.

Figure 4.2.1: Bar chart showing the perception on politics



Furthermore, the questionnaire showed that based on the above statements as discussed; Nineteen (19) people responded that the clergy should also get involved in national politics. Some of the reasons to the need for the ordained clergy to get involved in politics included the following; that it is their rights as citizens, that no religious leadership or convention

should debar them from participating in politics, that the ordained clergy being the “leaders” of the churches are really the supposed conscience of the society and the prophetic mouth piece of God. They must get involved so to speak the mind of God and guide affairs directly and even take political appointments.

The table as indicated below shows the various percentages of the total number of the thirty (30) respondents to the questionnaires who said ‘yes’, ‘no’ or were indifferent or gave no answers on the issue of the participation of the clergy in politics.

Table 4.2.2: showing the percentage of Participation of the Clergy in Politics

RESPONSE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
YES	19	63%
NO	11	37%
INDIFFERENT	0	0%
NO ANSWER	0	0%
TOTAL	30	100%

Some other responses that were gathered through the various discussions are that, in spite of the negative perceptions about politics, the clergy must be involved so as to clear the veil of wicked perceptions associated with it. One other view is that both religion and politics seek to deal with issues of life and since both seems to seek the wellbeing of the people, everybody including the clergy must be involved because the two; “Religion” and “Politics” are bedmates and interrelated. In as much as people agree to the clergy’s involvement, they were of the view that they should shun partisan politics which is likely to dint their image and holy office. The other eleven (11) respondents were of the traditional view that the clergy should stay away from politics and must respond to their civic responsibilities. From this scenario, one can deduce that the kind of political participation that is being yearn for is what the researcher terms as ‘inter civic and professional/partisan politics where the clergy’s participation goes beyond civic responsibility but not partisan too.

Nine (9) out of the thirty(30) respondents who however opined that the clergy should not be involved at all gave some of these as reasons to support their views were that, it is not only by participating or getting involved in politics that the clergy can contribute their quota to nation building. The players of politics and the politicians have made it dirty – therefore the clergy cannot get involved without dinting their image. This is because the political game in Africa is not well played and so the clergy must rather concentrate on the core business of the church. On the issue of the extent to which the clergy can get involved in national politics, divergent views were expressed. These views comprised the following: twenty-five (25) responded that the clergy can just present their views on governance issues or national issues at all time as seen to be done by many bold clergy today while five were indifferent. In sharing or expressing their views however, there is the need to be fair without being partisan. Another sharp view expressed was the fact that the Clergy can be involved at all levels even at the partisan level; sixteen(16) responded yes, ten(10) said ‘no’ and four(4) were indifferent. This will help point to the fact that with truthfulness, honesty and diligence one can still be a minister of the Gospel and also climb the political platform to do politics with decorum. Such a move can help clear some if not all, ill motives that are associated with politics. An example given is in relation to the current Speaker of Parliament, the Right Honorable Rev. Prof. Mike Quaye, who happens to be a reverend minister for the Baptist Church. He was a Member of Parliament (MP) some years back before ascending to the highest office as Speaker of Parliament. From this example, there is a clear indication that other bold, honest and diligent ministers (clergy) in other Churches who are interested in politics or holding a political office can venture into it.

Another view is that the clergy should continue to contribute their quota to national development by voting, through constructive criticism and also to offer solution to national

challenges without necessarily getting involved. Twenty-nine (29) responded yes to this while only one (1) was indifferent; these are at the level of civic responsibilities. They could also continue to play the advisory role or take up other leadership positions such as being part of the Peace Council or doing public education both at the Church level and in the society at large to raise good leaders. The response also calls on the clergy to be involved in politics as far as bringing peace and harmony in the political arena is concerned. The move could assist to reduce corruption, bribery a political anarchy and all other ill associated with politics. In responding to the question “but how do we get leaders elected? Is it by our own selection through the elections? All the respondents agreed to the fact that God chooses leaders, and there is no disputing fact about this!

However, some were of the belief that sometimes, the people refuse to listen to the voice of God and go ahead to elect their own leaders after their own hearts. Again though it was agreed that God chooses His own leaders, due to the manipulation of the political system, we cannot be sure whether the political leaders are elected on a clean sheet or not.

On the other hand, ten (10) people kept on to say that may be if the clergy come aboard the will above reproach. Their reason was that the clergy as leaders are required in the bible to be above reproach as indicated in scripture (1 Timothy 3:2-7) and uphold righteousness, then they can better serve the political interest of the people. This is because the scripture says “righteousness exalts a nation but sin is a reproach to its people.” Again when the righteous rules the people rejoice but when the wicked rules the people perish. The ordained clergy who are supposed to be beacons of righteousness can better serve the people with diligence if given the opportunity. Generally, the believe and anticipation is that, when the

clergy gets involved in politics at all levels, the course of the gospel can be championed to win more souls for the Lord.

However, five people (5) were quick to pour out their sentiments that the clergy may not necessarily be exonerated from bribery and corruption. They brought to the fore the story of Israel, who requested for a King and the Lord gave them one in the person of Saul. However, in the course of his work, his mind was corrupted so, he disobeyed God which led to his rejection. In effect, it is easier to agree to the fact that God chooses His own leaders but sometimes due to human depravity and frailty, the leader becomes corrupt. There is therefore no guarantee that once the clergy gets into politics at all levels, all forms of corruptions and other political ills which hinder growth would be cleared. To them, though it is believed that God chooses leaders, since the human mind has become corrupted, whoever gets involved in politics may be corrupted.

The responses on the questionnaire further stated emphatically that the clergy should get involved in national politics but not in partisan politics with only three (3) people sharing the view that the clergy could get involved in politics at all levels; local, national, and at the partisan levels. The reason given to this view is that the clergy is part of the citizenry and so has an obligation to be involved to give a supposed godly advice as expected according to scripture. This response was in relation to the question “which of the following views do you hold in relation to the clergy’s involvement? The clergy should not participate at all at any level in any way; the clergy could be involved in politics but not partisan; the clergy could be involved in politics at all levels (local, national and partisan) No one opted for the view that the clergy should not participate at all at any level for whatever reason.

Some reasons given for the clergy's involvement at the national level but not partisan include the following; that the clergy as a citizen of the nation should as part of their civic responsibility show concern for national interest and wellbeing of the people and not in any form of partisan interest as noted by Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensa who noted that in this case the best thing for the clergy to do is not to get involved in partisan politics. Again, since the clergy leads a group of congregational members with different political affiliations, it will be expedient to remain neutral so as not to incur the displeasure and disapproval from any group of people. To seek interest in national politics is to seek the interest of the nation at large but to extend it to the partisan level may bring chaos and distrust in the Church. The clergy must avoid partisan politics because partisan politics is assumed to be usually full of insults and other ungodly activities. Therefore the clergy must avoid any form of partisan involvement to uphold the integrity of the "Holy office" they occupy. It is even believed that this level, partisan involvement by the clergy may create division and that members of the congregation on the other side may not adhere to the sermons that may normally be preached by such clergy who may get involve in partisan politics.

The some respondents also shared the following as the biblical basis for the clergy's involvement in national politics; Israel's demand for a leader to lead them like the other nations (1 Samuel 8:1-9), Responding to the request of the Israelites quest for a King to lead them as the other nation, the Lord appointed Saul who become the political leader of the nation of Israel. (1 Samuel 10:1) It was also indicated Subsequently the case of David and Solomon who continued in that order until the turn of Rehoboam, under whose leadership the Kingdom of Israel was divided into two (2); the Northern Kingdom led by Jeroboam a political revolt who took custody of ten (10) out of the twelve (12) tribes of Israel leaving only two (2) under the care of Rehoboam. (1 Kings 12:1-24)

Mention was also made of Joseph, a devoted man of God who rose to be appointed as the Prime Minister of Egypt under Pharaoh. Daniel, in the book of Daniel was also not left out. Another respondent quoted Daniel 2:21, “God changes the times and seasons, He removes Kings and setup Kings. He gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who have understanding.” He further explained that So Daniel was appointed one of the leaders due to God’s divine wisdom bestowed on him and his friends according to Scripture. (Daniel chapter 1) Though Joseph and David were not priest in their time neither were they Levites, they were known in scripture as devote men of God. According to the respondent, the above examples goes to buttress the point that it is God who chooses His own people as leaders in which case He gives them guidance and wisdom to execute their duties.

One of the respondent quoted Proverbs 14:34, which says “Righteousness exalts a nation but sin (which was explained by the respondent to include corruption, fraud, nepotism, selfishness etc.) is a reproach to any people.” To this wise, the clergy who are expected to show high levels of exemplary life blamelessness and righteousness living should be counted upon to exhibit a high sense of godly leadership, hence the need for the clergy to be involved in politics of the nation. Some other respondents mentioned Romans 13:1 – 7 as making provision for the clergy’s participation in politics with the respondents asserting that asserted that, the requirement in the scripture is a civic responsibility which must not be overlooked. Additionally, Matthew 22:21 was also quoted as the basis for the clergy to be involved in both national politics as civic responsibility. A story in Jeremiah 29 which talks about the command and message of the Lord through the prophet to the captives in Babylon to seek the good and wellbeing of the nation is a clear case to show political and social concern as noted by John Stott.

All the respondents of the questionnaire representing 100%, agreed to the fact that indeed all citizens have basic responsibilities to fulfill. For me, this is not far from right to agree to the point that performance of civic responsibilities and involvement in national politics correlate. This is because in paying of taxes for example as a civic duty, it is the civic responsibility of all citizens to pay the taxes and then hold the politicians and all those who have the mandate to protect the public purse accountable. There is the need to play a part in making sure that the taxes paid are used for the required development.

On the question of the reaction of the people when one day an ordained clergy defies all odds to get involved actively in national politics by contesting for a political position like Member of Parliament, these were some of the responses that were given in the questionnaire. One respondent had this to say, “Such a clergy must resign immediately from the ordained ministry and rather concentrate on the new venture in case there is the desire to get involved in partisan politics or revert to part-time ministry. Another respondent also stated, “I will be surprised and so will advise the said clergy on the dangers involved in active partisan politics will bring to bear on the calling as an ordained clergy.” However, others responded as follows: I would be not be surprised at all. I even hope that such bold clergy would be allowed to operate if only the systems in their particular denomination would permit effective execution of both duties. A clergy respondent hinted that, in the face of this kind of involvement, people will surely read meanings into the actions of political involvement. He even mentioned this to buttress the point that two personalities whose comments on the wake of the 2016 general elections generated a bit of uneasiness was the former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, the Very Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Martey and Bishop Owusu Bempah; though the Owusu Bempah’s church does not include the churches under study in this project, it has come to light that he should not be relegated

especially in a time like this when he had his predictions right. Even though the clergymen did not necessarily participate in any partisan politics, their utterances were considered by most members of the then ruling government as political and critical against the government.

Furthermore, with the exception of one respondent who did not give any response, all the other twenty-nine (29) respondents did not agree with the “hands off politics” position of the clergy. These were some of the reasons given to this. As a citizen, the clergy needs to contribute their quota in the development and governance of the State. There seem to be the simple assumption that the clergy in politics when given the opportunity will rule with the mind of God. Other roles that the clergy could play according to the response to the questionnaire includes the advisory role, commenting on damning government policies and programs. But this must be done with circumspection so as not to be seen as being partisan. Some were also of the view that the clergy could meddle in partisan politics by serving as counselors to the forefront runners or the main players with circumspection so that at the same time the members of the congregation may not be misled or be divided. Meanwhile it is also suggested that it would be in the best interest of the clergy and the congregation as a whole for the clergy to just limit their involvement in national politics to praying for the community, speaking against mismanagement, corruption, cheating and other societal ills.

On the other hand, by convention as held by the some of the churches, the clergy who decides to be deeply involved in national politics by holding political offices should not hold full time office as a clergy but as part-time ministers so that they can seek to be elected into Parliament on individual or independent ticket or even on party ticket. Such clergy must be aware of the effects of their actions and be ready for the consequences it will have

on the ministry and the church in general. With the exception of one fellow who did not responded to the questionnaire, all the others agreed to the fact that the clergy move into or be appointed into the following offices such as a Council of State member, Minister of State if appointed, Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executive if appointed by the President, an Assembly Member or a Presiding Member etc. In this regards the clergy can also have the opportunity to serve diligently and be of a good examples through godly leadership. This will also provide the opportunity to work hard to clear the perception that politics is a “dirty game” and the fact that religion and politics do not mix. This move may not come on a silver plate as all appointees are to pay a certain level of allegiance to the appointing authority; say the President and the party whose government is in power.

In spite of all the discussions with regards to the responses from the questionnaire, it could be deduced that the clergy could get involved in national politics but the extent to which they get involved is the issue of contention. This is because the responses indicated some sort of involvement they seem to oppose. There seem to be the impression of an opposition to the whole church as a divine institution meddling in politics. On the other hand, while agreeing that the church should not meddle in politics, the assertion also that religion should not mix with politics cannot be wholly accepted. Nevertheless, to draw the dichotomy between the church not meddling with politics and the extent or form to which the clergy could get involved remains the challenge and the contention unresolved.

4.3 Findings

There is every indication that most people including the ordained clergy wish to identify themselves with the politics of the nation except that the clergy though have their own likes and dislike for certain political parties and governments, do not want to be branded per say

as belonging to a particular party. This was seen from the fact that all those who responded to the questionnaire disclosed their identity.

It was established that, the statement that ‘Politics is a dirty game’ and so the clergy should not get involved is not necessarily true but an assumption. This is because there is no concrete or scientific evidence that politics is a dirty game as respondents could not give any concrete evidence to ascertain it. The only response given was that politics involves ‘a head to foot’ risks and the perception that some political personalities make it dirty with their tricks, insults and lies. This could also not be proven. It has been an age long contention and presumption.

One of the reasons why people think that the clergy should not participate in politics is that “Politics and Religion do not mix.” However this point is floored on the basis that religion and politics have been bed mates over the years. There is every evidence that religion has played a pivotal role in the socio-politico economic development of the nation. Again, from the discussions in chapters two and three, there are theological basis for the clergy’s participation in politics. The various responses also showed that the statement is just a supposition that politics and religion do not mix.

Based on what people hear and read in the news about the supposed activities of some politicians, it is believed that they are corrupt and cannot be honest and so the ordained clergy must not partake while. The view that there is too much aggression and insults in politics as perceived by many so decent people like the clergy should not get involved cannot be glossed over since we hear a lot of insults, accusations and counter accusation coming from various politicians and their opponents in Ghana. The assertion cannot totally

be labelled as wrong. What people see and hear regarding politics should not be assumed as normal in the struggle to get leaders elected to lead the citizens.

From the analysis of the responses, it was deduced that though politics could bring about a certain level of division, acrimony and involving high stakes, it is believed to be normal. It is only the followers of the various parties who are mostly seen to be engaged in the above negative activities but not the politicians themselves.

As Africans, violence, the use of 'juju' (black magic), or calling on 'malams', spiritual killings for rituals and the use of charms in politics cannot be ruled out even though there could not be any substantial evidence to this. In this case, the ordained clergy who seem to be interested should not be afraid of these spiritual manipulations. It should not deter the clergy from engaging in politics. For the Bible clearly states, "no weapon formed against you shall prosper, and every tongue which rises against you in judgement shall be condemned. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness is from Me" (Isaiah 54:17).

Again, (2 Corinthian 10: 3-5) states, "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war according to the flesh. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but mighty in God for the pulling down strongholds, casting down arguments and every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ."

At least these scriptures and other assurance in the Bible such as Jeremiah 1:19 which says surely they will fight against you but they shall not prevail against you. For I am with you,

“says the Lord, to deliver you” are enough to guarantee the clergy that their safety is of the Lord and so there is no need to be afraid of evil plans.

However, there are clear evidences today in Ghana’s politics that shows that politics may not necessarily creates enmity among families, friends, love ones and members belonging to the same community. The Marfo and the Jinapor brothers where each of the brothers belong to opposing parties seeking power at the same time. Another example involves the Rawlings family where at a point in time ‘wife and mother’, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings left the National Democratic Congress which was founded by her husband, Jerry John Rawlings to form another different political party known as the National Democratic Party, an action which the husband did not publically condemn. At this same time, their first daughter, Dr. Ezenator Rawlings also contested as a Parliamentary Candidate and won on the ticket of the Party her father founded. There was no public disintegration in the family. The clergy can also show an example in this regard without the congregation and the family disintegrating. From the above examples, there is no doubt that the perception that the congregation could disintegrate if the reverend minister is politically inclined is an issue of perceptive defect.

Also, the following were some of the reasons why the clergy could get involved in national politics; that it is their rights as citizens and so no religious leadership or convention should debar them from participating in politics. Again, the ordained clergy being “Leaders” of the churches are really the supposed conscience of the society and the prophetic mouth piece of God and so could get involved at all levels so as to speak the mind of God and guide affairs.

On the other hand, the clergy could still get involved in other services and action for the good of the society and the populace without getting soiled up in the political dealings of the Nation. As J. Stott said, the clergy could still lead the church to always engage in humanitarian work through engagement in some economic activities that could serve to benefit the whole citizenry. This could be done in relieving human needs and the cause of the human needs, encouraging and leading philanthropic activities for the good of the whole or section of the society, seeking to minister to individuals and families through the establishment and the transformation of the structures of the society that impedes growth and development and engineering or spearheading the quest for justice.¹⁹³

It is in line with this that the researcher agrees with John Stott that ‘It is exceedingly strange that any followers of Jesus Christ should ever have to ask whether social involvement was their concern, and that controversy should have blown up over the relation between evangelism and social responsibility.’¹⁹⁴ Politics is also part of social concern and so for anyone including the Ordained Clergy to seek to get involved do so as a societal responsibility. Reverend Ministers who wish to get involved in the political venture could do it as they revert to ‘Tent or Part-Time ministry.’

For those who think that ‘religion and politics do not mix’ and that politics is also a dirty game, must emancipate and liberate themselves and know that participation by church or the clergy in national politics does not mean that they have accepted the attitudes and standards of the society. It is true though, that the church must be separate in terms of values and morality because Jesus said, “you are not of the world” (John 17:16). Paul also said,

¹⁹³ Stott, *New Issues Facing Christians Today*, 14-15.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 3.

“Do not conform to the pattern of this world. (Romans 12:2), the church and its clergy must seek to transform the values and the morality of the world or the state.¹⁹⁵ They must not fail to give a reforming example.

Kunhiyop had this to say on the issue of involvement in national politics: “The church and every Christian (including the clergy) should be active in the world.”¹⁹⁶ For Toivo I. Palo, the church as a body cannot remain aloof from political life if it is accepted that the Word is intended not simply for the individual but also for the community. This should be openly admitted instead of pretending neutrality and shunning involvement on delicate political issues.¹⁹⁷ John V. Taylor expresses this on the issue:

The church must be rooted in the society within which it has grown up. Its members are a part of that society, sharing its traditional points of view, influenced by its past history, and involved in its strength and its weakness, its rise or fall. A church which is cut off from the rest of society, living a separate, enclosed life of its own, will be ineffectual; and will probably, in the end, become paralyzed or perish altogether.¹⁹⁸

If this important principle as stated above guides the Christian community, it will help govern the relationship between the church and the society and the clergy’s involvement in politics. This is so because, like the church, the clergy will be ineffectual, become alienated and lose their prophetic mandate if they seem to live separate and unconcerned life in the governance of the society where the members are part.

¹⁹⁵ Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, 34.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 35.

¹⁹⁷ T. I. Palo, *Political Engagement as an Ethical and Religious Questions*, in S. W. Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, 35.

¹⁹⁸ J. V. Taylor, *Christianity and Politics in Africa*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957, 54.

It is in accordance with this that the Researcher agrees with John Stott that the other way by which the clergy could respond to the political needs of the state apart from ‘escape’¹⁹⁹ is through engagement. For Stott, engagement means turning our faces towards the world in compassion, getting our hands dirty, sore, and worn in its service and feeling deep within us the stirring of love of God which cannot be contained.²⁰⁰

Politics is a pervasive part of society, affecting individuals and groups, as well as areas like religion, technology and science. Nobody can claim that politics is irrelevant to their lives.²⁰¹ Even though the clergy are in some extent already involved in some sort of national political issues using the pulpit, if those who are economically and politically good are encouraged to get involved by taking practical part in it and accept to take up political appointment, better Christian values could permeate the society. This will help clear the erroneous impression that ‘politics is a dirty game’ and again the fact that ‘religion and politics do not mix.

¹⁹⁹ J. Stott explains ‘escape’ as turning our backs on the world in rejection, washing our hands and steeling our hearts against its agonizing cries for help, in his book *New Issues Facing Christians today*, page 18.

²⁰⁰ J. Stott, *New Issues Facing Christians Today*, 18.

²⁰¹ S. W. Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, 106.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

Nation building in Ghana since the colonial era has been a shared responsibility between the state and Christian churches. Although there has always been general perception that politics is a ‘dirty game’ in Ghana and so any involvement of the clergy may tarnish their reputation, yet there are no concrete facts to support this assertion.

With this regard, the clergy as has been argued by some citizen could still participate in politics as citizens. As the clergy seeks to exercise the right to vote, they can also get involved in other political activism by seeking election into parliament on a party ticket or go independent. On the other hand, they could still influence the political climate and opinions without necessarily getting involved in active politics.

It is also important to note that since the church is rooted in the society, part of the responsibility of the church is to speak for the voiceless and seek for the transformation of the society. In the light of this the clergy and the church have a role to play in all the political affairs of the state.

The response to “the question whether the pastor should also take part in politics or not” has been argued out that since the Pastor is also a citizen, he has the right, like anybody else, to engage in politics. This has its roots in the fact that as noted by Kunhiyop, “the Church and every Christian should be active in the world”²⁰²

²⁰² S. W. Kunhiyop, *African Christian Ethics*, 105.

5.1 Summary

The purpose of this research was aimed at examining the relationship between religion and politics and the clergy and political participation; analyzing the political participation of the clergy in Ghana's political history; and discussing the theological basis for the participation of the clergy in politics. In shaping out the purpose of the research the ensuing questions were formulated so answers could be settled out; what is the relationship between religion and politics as well as the clergy and political participation? To what extent has the clergy's political participation been in Ghana's political history? What are the theological basis or justification for the clergy's political participation in Ghana?

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of this research, the phenomenological approach which seeks to study the perception, perspective and understanding of a particular situation²⁰³ was used. This approach was used in critically analyzing the data that were gathered from individual and interviews that were being conducted. Basically, the phenomenological method is "an approach to the study of religions that suspends judgments about the phenomenon being studied, by bracketing out potentially distorting presuppositions stemming both from confessional Christian theology and from positivistic science in order that by using empathetic methods, he or she could enter into the experience of believers or adherents to achieve understanding- in- depth."²⁰⁴ The interviews were contacted through face-to-face, chat or by means of social and new media such as Facebook, WhatsApp etc.

²⁰³ P. D. Leedy and J. E. Ormrod, "*Practical Research: Planning and Design*." 8thed. (New Jersey: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 135.

²⁰⁴ James L. Cox, *A Guide to the Phenomenology of Religions: Key Figures, Formative Influences and Subsequent Debates*, New York, The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006, 209.

Theological interpretations of biblical texts were also used when it came to the biblical and theological bases for the ordained clergy's involvement in national politics. This approach was used to study and discuss the essence of the peoples' mental, spiritual and societal development. The theological approach is fundamentally rooted in Richard King's "Religious Studies as a 'broad church' model." In this model, "Theology is regarded as merely one among many methodologies in the study of religions."²⁰⁵

Methods of data collection included both primary and secondary sources. In the primary source, it involved interviewing individuals that included both the clergy and the laity. Respondents were visited in their offices and homes. Some of them worked from their homes. As a face-to-face method of gathering views and information, the researcher used the method in collating relevant information on the subject matter. This enabled the researcher to interrogate and seek further clarification on their opinions. In addition, questionnaires which included closed questions as well as open minded questions were distributed to selected individual, clergymen, Christians and non-Christians for their various responses to be unruffled. This was a purposive sampling in which the respondents were intentionally picked because of their interest in the subject matter through discussions.

The kind of involvement by the clergy been sought after in this research is what could be termed as inter civic-professional/partisan participation where the clergy could go beyond politics as civic responsibility but also not at the level of professional or partisan. Example of this form of participation could to extend contesting as Member of Parliament on individual platform or otherwise, taking appointment as Council of State member or Minister of State in any government or accept the appointment as an Metropolitan,

²⁰⁵ For details on Richard King's Models or paradigms, see Cox, *A Guide to the Phenomenology of Religions*, 217.

Municipal or District Chief Executive after seeking permission from the respective Church governing body or authority (e.g. The General Assembly Council of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana etc.

The perception that politics is a dirty game so most people in our society categorically speak against the clergy getting involved is also not the best. It is an erroneous impression to think that when serious Christians venture into it they may easily be corrupted. This is a mind blowing misconception that cannot muster any strong support from either history or the scripture. If they continue to confine themselves to the pulpit and alienate themselves from national politics and engagement in other socio-economic activities, society and its people in general will be at the losing end. The clergy's participation could even cleave up to the level of partisan politics to clear wrongly held views about politics.

The call for practical political involvement in national politicking in nation building and governance in Ghana comes with lot of relevance, since it is clearly noted that the vibrancy of the religious scene in Ghana is indicative of the central place religion occupies in the consciousness of the people.²⁰⁶ These are the same reasons why most religious leaders like the clergy are consulted for help just as the politicians seek to help through power struggle. Some politicians even go to extend of seeking support from some powerful religious leaders like Pastors, Prophets, Evangelist (clergy) for prayer support. In this case a clear indication of a correlation is identified here. And so it will not be out of place to get some of these clergymen and women who are also good in other areas of the economy to get involved in more practical ways in governance and nation building.

²⁰⁶ Atiemo, *Religion and the Inculturation of Human Right in Ghana*, 95.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on work done on the current topic, I wish to make the following recommendations; further research should be done in the following areas; The clergy and partisan politics; the way forward; the impact of the pastors involvement in Politics on the Congregational Members; The church and political organization in Ghana's democracy, the impact of political comments by the clergy on the church and society.

The stage where the clergy genuinely stayed clear of open support for a particular candidate as political group must be a thing of the past but not to use the pulpit also to drive home such demand. The call for the clergy to get involved in politics or not has been an age long debate. Since society keeps on changing because of dynamism, it is expected that one day and in the soonest of time, the ills or the cover preventing the clergy's involvement in even partisan politics will be removed and those harboring the dual ambition of being a clergy (Tent/Part Time) and a politician will then be bold to venture into it.

The Christian community must be bold to present capable and knowledgeable clergy candidates for presidency, as members of Parliament and lobby governments to appoint others perhaps as Council of State members, District/Municipal and Metropolitan Chief Executives, Ministers, Directors of the various boards and government institutions etc. The view which seeks to suggest that the clergy must just concentrate on the basic preaching of the word, admonishing people to be just and live a more dignified life as citizens is though important and still relevant, limits the clergyman or woman.

The University through the Department for the Study of Religions could also collaborate with the various churches to research into pertinent areas of the society that affects religion

and the society to make the Department more relevant as far as the study of religions is concerned. The Department for the Study of Religions should help publish the various works of their students to motivate them to do further study as early as possible to make them more relevant theologically and to enable the clergy do sound theology regarding religious and social issues.

5.3 Conclusion

By conclusion, the five marks of mission as discussed by Walls and Ross is revisited in an attempt to explore the five marks of Global Mission. Fulfillment of these marks call for deliberate and pragmatic involvement by all and sundry to see to fruition of the mission of the Lord. The marks being; “proclamation of the Good News of the Kingdom; teaching, baptizing and nurturing new believers; responding to human need by loving service; seeking to transform unjust structures of society; and striving to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustaining and renewing the life of the earth.”²⁰⁷ The clergy has an obligation to be concerned with the society through whatever means possible. The clergy in performing this role cannot ignore any aspect of God’s world of creation on the basis of its presumed secularity. Politics which seek to engage in the governance of the state cannot be let out if the clergy is to perform the role as a steward. This is so because the steward in simple terms, is a person entrusted with the management of another’s property.²⁰⁸

Engaging in the mission of the Lord by the clergy in all the spheres of the society’s needs including showing interest in the politics of the nation confirms the fact that, they are officials (stewards) of God. Ambassadors who seek to control the world’s needs (domestic

²⁰⁷ A. Walls and C. Ross, ed. *Mission in the Twenty-first Century*, xiv.

²⁰⁸ E. K. Asante, *Stewardship*, 20.

affairs) and overseeing the Lord's world thereby helping to regulate its affairs. It is for this reason that the researcher concludes that the ordained clergy could still be involved in politics at all level but with decorum. Political participation calls to the fact that 'every individual is endowed with wisdom and therefore has something useful to contribute in respect of governance.'²⁰⁹ Again as noted by Asante, no one can dispense the contribution of any individual; everyone's wisdom is needed for the best result to be achieved. It is therefore worth noting that the clergy's wisdom in political participation cannot be dispensed off on the basis of assumptions.

As noted by Lesley, "rights and responsibilities, obligations and prerogatives of citizens and government"²¹⁰ cannot be underestimated. The clergy has rights and responsibilities, obligations and prerogatives as citizens. They cannot be limited by their position as clergy and yet are working within an organized framework or structure. "Politics, as often defined as the art and science of government refers to the institutions and processes through which binding decisions are made for a society."²¹¹ Politics then according to Leslie Paul Thiele, pertains to the means employed to organize and regulate collection of human existence. It is said that politics is found everywhere that humans are found. This agrees to the state that "No areas of human life are completely beyond its reach or wholly untouched by its effects."²¹²

However not everything is or should be political: in this sense politics becomes pervasive in the sense that it is involved in creating and maintaining the separate yet interrelated sphere of human affairs. In the sense of politics being pervasive, it brings many concerns into the

²⁰⁹ Asante, *Culture, Politics & Development*, 81.

²¹⁰ Leslie Paul Thiele, *Thinking Politics*, New York Chatham House Publishers, 2003, 26.

²¹¹ L P. Thiele, *Thinking Politics*, 26.

²¹² Thiele, *Thinking Politics*, 26.

public realm, determines what things are to remain, as much as possible, shielded from public realm. Religion could not be separated from politics same as economics. All other areas of human life cannot also be separated and yet the constitutional right protect certain areas of their life e.g. privacy of individuals and their families. Politics stretches our lives by supplying the scope and limits of our activities and relatively.²¹³

The clergy's involvement in politics brings a logical question, and that is can everyone make a difference in societal building? If the answer is 'yes', then it is also means that everyone can take action and make their respective views known. Making a difference illustrates, there are many parts that one can play to help shape the society. This could be done through direct or indirect means. Direct means such as protests to influence policies, "consumer boycotts, expressing your opinion orally, or writing or even having your opinion sampled in a poll, can have an impact."²¹⁴ What is important to note may serve as the basis for clergy's involvement in National Politics is that "All humans are 'homo politicus' (political humankind), that is to say; are all Political animals and have a part to play at one point or the other in national or social governance. All persons are part of the drama of politics and are affected by it."²¹⁵ "It also means that all humans need to play a role in determining the course of the dramatic events that affects our lives"²¹⁶ by this political game. None can remain aloof.

²¹³ Thiele, *Thinking Politics*, 48.

²¹⁴ John T. Rourke, *International Politics on the World Stage*, Dushkin/MuGraw-Hill, USA, 1999, 12.

²¹⁵ J. T. Rourke, *International Politics on the World Stage*, 12

²¹⁶ Rourke, *International Politics on the World Stage*, 24

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APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRE

Samples of questionnaire used

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENT FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

TOPIC:

The Clergy and Political Participation in Ghana; A Theological Exploration of the Basis for their Correlation.

By: TETE, LAWRENCE KWESI (REV.)

INTRODUCTION

There are notions being held by some people that for example “politics is a dirty game”, that “religion and politics also don’t mix” for this reason there is a school of thought that the ordained clergy cannot take active part in national politics. Another School of thought is that politics involves one contributing his quota towards national development and nation building as part of the civic responsibility of all citizens. And so the other view is that the ordained clergy cannot be alienated from national politics because the role as a clergy and civic responsibility in connection with national politics are interrelated. This questionnaire is part of a project that seeks to discuss and draw conclusion on the ordained clergy, civic responsibility and national politics, a theological basis for the correlation. For this reason, I humbly call on you to respond to the following questions in relation to the topic as stated above.

1. Brief information about yourself, as to who you are?

(eg; Reverend minister, teacher, lawyer, politician, church group leader etc.)

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2. Which of the following assertions or perceptions do you agree with as negative about politics?

- a. Politics is a dirty game YES NO Just an Assumption
- b. Politics and religion do not mix? YES NO Just an Assumption
- c. Politicians are corrupt and cannot be honest
YES NO Just an Assumption
- d. There is too much aggression and insults, thus decent people should not get involved. YES NO Just an Assumption.
- e. Politics brings about division, acrimony and it involves high stakes.
YES NO Just an Assumption
- f. It involves bad practices such as violence, killings especially involving juju (black magic). YES NO Just an Assumption
- g. Politics creates enmity among families, friends, love ones and members belonging to the same community. YES NO Just an Assumption

3. In your opinion, do you think that the ordained clergy should not be involved in national Politics as a result of the issues stated in ‘2a’ – ‘2g’ above?

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To what extent should the ordained clergy be involved in national politics?

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4. Do you agree with the statement that “God chooses leaders, so Christian leaders especially the clergy should be actively involved in national politics at all level? Please what is your reason for the answer given?

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Which of the following views do you hold and why?

- a. Clergy should participate at all
- b. Could involve in national politics but not partisan politics.
- c. Could involve in politics at all levels (local, national and partisan)

Reason for your choice of view.

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5. Briefly share any biblical bases for the clergy’s involvement in national politics.

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6. All citizens have basic civic responsibilities to fulfill. Does the performance of basic civic responsibility and involvement in national politics have any relation or do they correlate?

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7. What biblical or theological bases can you give to the need for the ordained clergy to get involved in national politics and civic responsibility?

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8. What would be your reaction if one day you see a clergy not only being involved in national politics but also partisan politics?

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9. Would you agree to the fact that the ordained clergy should participate in governance, but must be circumspect, shunning the negatives and using that opportunity to promote God’s will?

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10. Do you also agree with the “hands off politics” position for the clergy?

YES NO

Can you please give reason(s) to your position on the above?

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11. While perhaps agreeing with the fact that the church should not meddle in party politics, do you also agree that the clergy should also not meddle in partisan politics
YES NO No position on that

What is the reason for your answer?

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12. In your opinion, do you agree that the clergy should limit their responsibility to only praying for the community, speaking against mismanagement, corruption, cheating, and other societal ills? YES NO

What is reason for your answer?

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13. Should the clergyman seek election into parliament alongside his/her pastoral role?
a. On Individual/Independent ticket. YES NO
b. On party ticket. YES NO

What is the reason for your answer in each of the instances in 'a' and 'b' above?

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a) What would be your reaction should an ordained clergy seek election or be appointed as;

- I. Council of State Member
- II. Minister of State
- III. Metropolitan, Municipal or District Chief Executive
- IV. Assemblyman
- V. Presiding Member

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b) Which of the above do you think the ordained clergyman should not be involved in?

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c) In your opinion, should the ordained clergy seek any of the above positions?

What is your reason for your answer?

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