Black Church Political Mobilisation a manifesto for action

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Foreword

by Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo, Reverend Nezlin Sterling, Bishop Eric Brown and Pastor Agu Irukwu¹



PASTOR MATTHEW ASHIMOLOWO



REVEREND NEZLIN STERLING



BISHOP ERIC BROWN



PASTOR AGU IRUKWU

We tend to associate Manifestos with political parties. As political documents they set out the party's policies, programmes and commitments to voters. They tell you all the key things the party will do for you in order to persuade you to vote for them. In short, these documents set out the programme a party proposes to follow if elected or returned to office. We know that when political parties get into power they are often reluctant to be constrained by their 'manifesto commitments'. So much so that in The People's Manifesto (2010) Mark Thomas says that party manifestos should be 'legally binding'.² But manifestos are also written by advocacy and campaign groups advancing or representing particular concerns and interests, setting out their case for public support and communicating their intentions and aspirations.

Our manifesto, 'Black Church Political Mobilisation: A Manifesto for Action', is the first of its kind for the Black Church in Britain.³ Whilst we can't promise tax cuts or an expansion in welfare provision; neither can we promise new fiscal policies to stimulate growth in the medium to long-term, what we hope to do is to signal our maturing presence and renewed commitment to mobilise African and Caribbean churches and the wider Black community for social and political action. By encouraging our churches to actively engage in the socio-cultural, political and economic institutions locally and nationally we hope to strengthen communities, promote active citizenship and the common good.

Finally, we wish to thank all those who contributed to the consultations and to acknowledge our indebtedness to the National Church Leaders Forum (NCLF) Steering Group for initiating and co-ordinating the production of the Manifesto.⁴

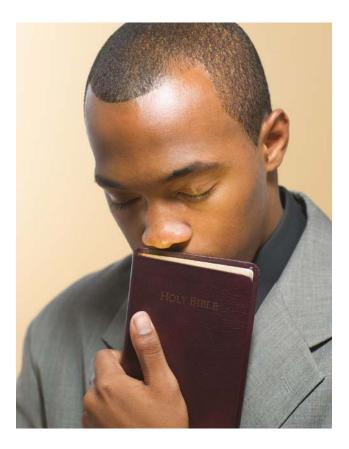
Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo is Founder and Senior Pastor of Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC); Rev Nezlin Sterling is former General Secretary of the New Testament Assembly (NTA). Bishop Eric Brown is former Administrative Bishop of the New Testament Church of God (NTCG) and is the Pentecostal President of Churches Together in England (CTE); Pastor Agu Irukwu is Chair of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) Executive Council UK and Senior Pastor of Jesus House.
Mark Thomas, The People's Manifesto, Reading, Ebury Press: 2010.

³ The original idea for the Manifesto arose out of a seminar organised by CTE in July 2012 to discuss the Black Church and political mobilisation. The key speakers were Dr Robert Beckford (leading Black theologian and documentary filmmaker), Rev George Hargreaves (political activist and campaigner) and Simon Woolley (Director of Operation Black Vote).

⁴ NCLF Steering Group: Dr R. David Muir Co-Chair, Pastor Ade Omooba Co-Chair, Bishop Dr Joe Aldred, Rev Celia Apeagyei-Collins, Dr Marcus Chilaka, Dionne Gravesande, Pastor Mabs Nkumu, Dr Michel Sacramento.

Executive Summary and Recommendations

The growth of African and Caribbean churches (often referred to as Black Majority Churches, BMCs) has been a significant development on the British social and religious landscape. Today, these church communities are making enormous contributions to social and community cohesion, welfare provision, education and mentoring, crime reduction programmes and volunteering, music and culture. They are often seen as the most cohesive section of the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities. Recognising their growth and contribution to the spiritual, religious and social life of the nation, one commentator remarked that 'Black Christianity may well prove to be a key agent in the re-evangelisation of Christian Britain⁵. While many are increasingly becoming more involved in community engagement and politics, there is a growing recognition that more needs to be done to effectively serve the church and the wider community.



We recognise the extent to which churches may be able to put into action some or all of these recommendations will depend upon their size, capacity and resources. However, these are a modest attempt to stimulate further debate and prayer about the role of African and Caribbean churches in contemporary society, leading to a new awareness, renewed commitment and action to transform our communities for the common good.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

Church and Community

- The BMCs are among the most cohesive and coherent organisations in African and Caribbean communities, therefore, they should seek ways to extend their community engagement and welfare provision in partnership with the Government, local authorities, key providers and decision makers.
- BMCs should audit and measure the impact their social and welfare services are having in their communities.
- It is important that the Government, local authorities and policy makers understand the Christian motivation and values underpinning the work churches do in their communities. We therefore encourage BMCs to work in partnership with other key stakeholders to promote effective 'faith literacy' programmes.

Police and Criminal Justice

• Although relations between the police and BME communities have been historically poor, they are improving and BMC leaders should encourage their members to consider the Police Service as a career choice.

- The presence and role of BMCs in the community can provide a valuable partner for the police in reducing crime and promoting safe, prosperous and cohesive communities. We would encourage Police and Crime Commissioners, County and Borough Commanders and the wider justice agencies to seek creative ways to work in partnership with BMCs.
- BMCs should seek ways to establish uniform cadets in their churches as part of their outreach programme to young people and families.

Prisons

- The disproportionate number of BMEs in our prisons is a scandal. We urge the Government to work with BMCs and other key agencies to facilitate a national dialogue on the disproportionate representation of Black people in prison and work to reduce it.
- BMCs are encouraged to form strategic partnerships with the prison services and to support organisations and agencies working towards the rehabilitation and resettlement of prisoners.

Mental Health

- African and Caribbean communities are disproportionately affected by poor mental health and its associated problems and challenges. We, therefore, call upon the Government, health providers and health professionals to work with BMCs and the wider BME communities to address the issue.
- We call upon BMCs to work strategically with health professionals and service providers to challenge health inequalities, promote mental health awareness and secure better outcomes for BME communities.

• BMCs should equip their leaders to have a better awareness and understanding of mental health issues and the range of services available; they should also support groups and organisations working to promote better treatment and outcomes for African and Caribbean communities, especially for young men aged 13-24.

Voting and Political Mobilisation

- Political engagement is a part of our civic duty and Christian responsibility. We encourage BMC leaders to do more to promote and teach the importance of active citizenship and political engagement for the common good.
- BMCs should encourage members of their congregation to vote; they should also support the National Voter Registration Campaign and play an active role in hosting and supporting hustings for local, national and European elections.
- We call upon all the main political parties to seek creative ways to engage with BMCs and BME communities in the political process on an on-going basis and not just during the election season.

Family and Marriage

- We recognise the importance of family and marriage as gifts from God and, therefore, encourage our churches to continue to teach, promote and model the importance of strong and stable marriages and relationships for the welfare of children and society.
- BMCs should provide more practical help and support for single parents.
- Given the large amount of BME young people in care, BMCs are encouraged to work with the Government, local authorities and other agencies to promote fostering and adoption awareness workshops.

Youth and Education

- BMCs should find practical ways to support the education and training of young people, as well as encouraging parents to spend more time with their children.
- Greater consideration should be given by BMCs to working with key local and national agencies and organisations to provide outreach programmes targeting vulnerable youths.
- BMCs should work in strategic ways to support and sponsor Christian-led schools and educational programmes.
- BMCs should collaborate with each other and partner with higher education institutions to provide theological education for its leaders.

Media, Music, Arts & Culture

- BMCs should consider the use of expert and professional support, to evaluate how to engage more effectively with media, music, arts and culture.
- BMCs should employ in-house staff or external services to handle communication on matters where the voice of the Church should be heard.
- BMCs should develop constructive and meaningful engagement with professional music, arts and other aspiring artists based in their congregations.
- Church leaders should work with local authorities, and cultural and creative industries to formulate initiatives that encourage BMC representation. This will make for inclusion and reflect the true breadth of diversity in our communities.

International Aid and Development

- The world is a global village and we encourage all BMCs to play a more active role in supporting national and international organisations and agencies working to assist the poor and alleviate poverty.
- We call upon the Government to examine the conditions it attaches when giving aid to poorer countries that might be perceived as displaying attitudes of residual imperialism and cultural hegemony, undermining the recipient nation's sovereignty and cultural values.
- We call upon BMCs to match/exceed the Government's donation of 0.7% of their income to overseas aid and development as an integral part of their Christian commitment to the poor.

Introduction

Who We Are

We are The National Church Leaders Forum (NCLF).⁶ NCLF consists of key leaders in the African and Caribbean churches in the UK. In an effort to bring greater cohesion and unity to the Black Majority Church (BMC),⁷ the NCLF was formed in 2011. African and Caribbean churches are growing significantly. In London alone, 48 per cent of churchgoers in 2012 were Black Christians, up from 44 per cent in 2005 - a higher increase than for any other ethnic group. In the capital city there are a number of mega churches, including Ruach (Bishop John Francis), New Wine Church (Pastor Michael Olaware), Jesus House (Pastor Agu Irukwu) and Kingsway International Christian Centre (Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo). A number of significant events have taken place in these churches over the years. In 2006, Prime Minister Tony Blair paid tribute to the role of Black Majority churches when he spoke at Ruach in Brixton; Prince Charles and the Duchess of Cornwall visited Jesus House in November 2007 to celebrate the Prince's 59th birthday, praising the work of the church as a 'wonderful and shining example'. And with a congregation of over 10,000, Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo, according to Micklethwait and Wooldridge, is arguably 'Britain's most successful preacher'.8

With so many BMC churches and denominations, NCLF aims to be the representative voice of Black Christians in the UK. NCLF had its first meeting at Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC) in May 2011 which was attended by key leaders of the African and Caribbean churches in the UK.⁹ The main purpose of this initial meeting was to look at how African and Caribbean churches effectively serve their communities and the wider society, especially how they engage with political issues and policy makers.

A follow up meeting was held at the Church of God of Prophecy, Wembley. A series of subsequent consultations, chaired by Dr Joe Aldred, were conducted with activists at the offices of Operation Black Vote (OBV) in London, with academics at Queen's Foundation in Birmingham, with church leaders at the New Testament Church of God Leadership Training Centre in Northampton, and with young people in London at Churches Together in England (CTE). The views of pastors and leaders unable to attend the consultations were canvassed through questionnaires. The material from these consultations has been used to inform this manifesto.

This is the first time we have produced a document like this to mobilise the Black Church constituency. We want our churches to fully engage with the wider socio-political issues it raises in the hope that, like the men and women of Issachar, we will better 'understand the times' (1 Chronicles 12:32) and know what we must do to be 'salt and light' (Matthew 5:13-16) in our communities. Furthermore, as Christians we follow the example of our Lord Jesus Christ who 'did not come to be served but to serve and to give his life as a ransom for many' (Mark 10:45). We are committed to understanding the issues that affect our communities and seek to represent these to government, media, policy makers and key stakeholders.

8 See John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, God is Back: How the Global Rise of Faith is Changing the World, London, Allen Lane: 2009, p.135.

9 See Appendix 1.

⁶ NCLF is supported by key church and denominational leaders, including, Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo, Pastor Michael Olawore, Rev Kingsley Appiagyei, Pastor Kofi Banful, Rev Esme Beswick, Bishop Eric Brown, Bishop John Francis, Pastor Agu Irukwu, Rev David Shosanya, Bishop Wilton Powell, Apostle Alfred Williams, Rev Nezlin Sterling.

⁷ Black Majority Church is a term used to describe 'Black' or 'Black-led' churches. The term 'Black Church Movement' is sometimes used as an umbrella term to describe the development of post-Windrush African and Caribbean denominations and congregations, as well as a way of describing a sociological and historical reality of the formation of denominations and congregations whose composition is made up of more than 50% of people from an African or African Caribbean heritage. A recent study by Roehampton University (Being Built Together: A Story of New Black Majority Churches in the London Borough of Southwark, June2013) use the term 'nBMC' to refer to African and Caribbean churches formed after the 1950s.



Why This Manifesto?

We issue this manifesto in anticipation of the 2015 general election. Ethnic minorities now make up 8 per cent of the electorate; people of African and Caribbean heritage make up a significant proportion of this group. Operation Black Vote (OBV) has identified 168 marginal seats in which the BME vote could decide who wins and who loses. With such a high number of Christians among Black communities, the BMC in Britain is set to have a significant say in who wins this next election. Voter registration among the Black community has historically been poor, which means the political power of our constituency remains untapped. This manifesto forms part of an attempt to mobilise people in the Black church and the wider community so that their voice is heard by our political leaders. We do not see political engagement as optional. Rather, we see it as a mandatory part of our Christian faith as responsible citizens in accordance with biblical teaching.

What We Seek?

Each section represents an area of particular concern to the BMC. Black Christians have already been active in making a difference in these areas but we are still some way from seeing the full extent of change that our communities need. Our churches have entered a new era in their development in the UK. We hope that this document will make a small contribution to the church's thinking on some of the issues raised, and that the recommendations are discussed, explored and acted upon.



Section 1: Church and Community

'Also, seek the peace and prosperity of the city to which I have carried you into exile. Pray to the Lord for it, because if it prospers, you too will prosper.' Jeremiah 29:7

'Churches such as yours have long been the bedrock of our local communities. This can be seen in your work in schools, your contribution to welfare, your support for the vulnerable and the most needy...You promote important values: respect, tolerance, family, trying to bring up children properly, caring for the less well-off and ensuring that we all make the most of the talents we've got.' **Prime Minister Tony Blair, speaking at Ruach on Monday 3 April, 2006**

The Current Picture

Churches have historically been an integral part of community life in Britain. We often hear it said, especially by those outside the church, that the Black Church in the UK is 'a sleeping giant'. For many church leaders this is both uninformed and patronizing. To talk of a 'sleeping giant' portrays a very negative picture. At best it speaks of inactivity by the church; at worst it conveys indifference. When we look closely at some the social, pastoral and welfare programmes and projects undertaken by the church over the last three decades we can see that this is a wrong assessment of African and Caribbean churches.

Far from being 'a sleeping giant', they have been actively pastoring, sheltering and equipping their communities with the right mental and spiritual attitudes and disposition to address and confront racism in society; they have been pioneering and developing Saturday, Sunday and Supplementary schools to help young people in the church and the wider community to raise their aspirations and educational attainment; they have initiated and sustained successful housing associations; they have started community cohesion; they have founded a campaigning organisation to represent the concerns of Christians in the public square by providing advice and legal support; they have provided leadership for a host of evangelical and ecumenical organisations and partnerships; they have transformed many urban areas through the purchasing of premises for worship and community engagement; they have impacted the spiritual climate of the nation by their leadership of the Global Day of Prayer initiative and other gatherings; they have resourced and developed aid agencies to respond to international disasters and to support overseas development projects; and they have been partners with the wider Christian community trying to authentically witness to new life in Christ.

In view of the impact of the Black Church movement in Britain, one commentator sees its role as a 'key agent' in transforming the nation's religious life.¹⁰ The BMC does not simply exist for the sake of its people but also for the communities around it and so is engaged in serving the local community.

The Biblical Picture

Jim Wallis reminds us of the importance of the 'common good' and its centrality in the teachings of Jesus. According to Wallis, Jesus gave the 'summation of ethics and the religious laws' in His response to the question about the 'greatest commandment in the Law' found in Matthew's Gospel: 'Teacher, which is the greatest commandment in the Law?' Jesus replied: 'Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind.' This is the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like it: 'Love your neighbour as yourself.' All the Law and the Prophets hang on these two commandments.'¹¹

(Matthew 22:36-40)

This statement has profound implications for our public and private lives; it makes explicit the clear connection between loving God and loving your neighbour and is the best catalyst, says Wallis, 'for movements aimed at improving the human community' and the common good. We also recognise our responsibility to serve our communities because of Jesus' teaching that we are 'salt and light' (Matthew 5:13-16).

Where Do We Go From Here?

Our motivation for serving our communities is love for God and love for our neighbour (Matthew 22:37-39). If our churches are to work in effective partnerships with the government and local authorities, they must recognise this Christian basis for our actions. We often serve our communities out of a deep faith commitment and shouldn't be expected to act in ways that will compromise or undermine our Christian values. There needs to be greater 'faith literacy' among policy makers. In this regard we welcome opportunities to work with local authorities, government and policy makers. Ultimately, we seek legislative safeguards which allow us to adhere to Christian values so that we can serve our communities with integrity and in obedience to God.



REV LES ISAAC OBE Founder of Street Pastors

Street Pastors is an inter-denominational Church response to urban problems, engaging with people on the streets to care, listen and dialogue. It was pioneered in London in January 2003 by Rev Les Isaac, Director of the Ascension Trust, and has seen some remarkable results, including reductions in crime in areas where teams have been working. There are now some 9000 trained volunteers in around 250 teams around the United Kingdom.

Each city project is set up by Ascension Trust and run by a local coordinator with support from Ascension Trust and local churches and community groups, in partnership with Police, Council and other statutory agencies. Street Pastors now operates as an international franchise also. (www.streetpastors.co.uk)

Section 2: Policing and Criminal Justice

'There is a striking and inescapable need to demonstrate fairness, not just by the Police Service, but across the criminal justice system as a whole, in order to generate trust and confidence within minority ethnic communities, who undoubtedly perceive themselves to be discriminated against by "the system". Just as justice needs to be "seen to be done", so fairness must be 'seen to be demonstrated' in order to generate trust.'

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny, Sect. 46.30, (February 1999).

The Current Picture

Historically, the attitudes of Black Britons towards the police and the criminal justice system have been generally sceptical. Two decades after the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence and the subsequent Macpherson Inquiry (1999), trust and confidence in the police among Black and minority ethnic communities is still low. And recent revelations concerning the use of undercover agents to spy on the Lawrence family during the police investigation may cause further erosion of trust. Nearly half of ethnic minorities (46 per cent) do not think that a complaint from them will be taken seriously by the police. They are more than twice as likely to be worried about possible police harassment (40 per cent compared to 17 per cent of White people). An in-depth study of 47 young ethnic minority people's attitudes suggested that young Black men remain wary of being perceived as criminals by the police. The Independent Police Complaints Commission notes that smaller proportions of those from ethnic minority groups than from the White population say that they would complain if they were unhappy with the way that the police had treated them.

These attitudes are understandable in light of the experience that many Black people have had with the police and criminal justice system.

Even though Black people make up between just 2-3 per cent of the population, they constituted 15 per cent of those who were stopped by the police in 2008/09. There is likely to be even greater mistrust of police among Black people after the death of Mark Duggan and the handling of the ensuing riots that spread to many of our nation's cities.

The Biblical Picture

Justice is central to biblical teaching and indeed intrinsic to our understanding of who God is. John Rawls in his classic book, A Theory of Justice, argues that justice is fundamental to the basic structure of society and its institutions.¹² The police and justice system are essential to the order, peace and welfare of society. We need legitimate structures and institutions to allow us to conduct our daily affairs. The New Testament talks about the 'powers that be' in civil society as individuals or a group who collectively hold authority, arguing that the 'powers that be are ordained of God' (Romans 13:1). They are there 'to carry out God's justice' (Romans 13:4), dispensing justice and meting out punishment to the guilty.

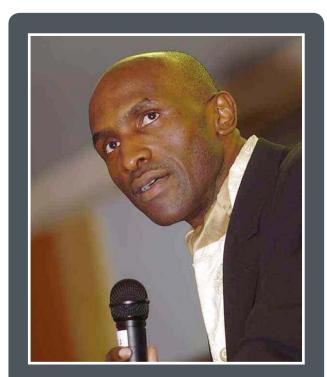
The Bible makes it clear that God is a God of Justice. Justice is more than obedience and adherence to systems of legal codes with accompanying types of punishment; it is about relationships, interactions and how we treat people in all walks of life and promote social harmony. Critical to these ideas is concern for the marginalised, the weak and the 'stranger'.

The prophet Jeremiah says: 'Thus says the Lord: Act with justice and righteousness, and deliver from the hand of the oppressor anyone who has been robbed. And do no wrong or violence to the alien, the orphan and the widow.' (Jeremiah 22:3-4)

Whether we refer to it as 'the Fall', structures of injustice, or the 'human condition', it is clear people will fall foul of the law for a host of reasons and the requisite punishments will follow. But they should not be written off. The Bible speaks clearly of forgiveness, hope, restitution and rehabilitation for all wrong doers (for 'all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God', Romans 3:23).

Where Do We Go From Here?

Although police-community relations with BMEs are improving, there is still a long way to go in building greater 'trust and confidence' in the Police Service. However, we believe that it is important that BMC leaders encourage members of their congregations and organisations to join the police. BME recruitment (like many other leading institutions and professions) should be seen as a critical step in improving the performance and responsiveness of the police, as well as making it more representative. Of course, we recognise that recruitment of more BMEs to leading public institutions is only part of the solution; there also needs to be significant internal 'culture shifts' and 'organisational learning' to retain and progress BMEs when they are recruited. Because of negative stereotypes, many Black people in Britain today feel that they will not be treated fairly by the criminal justice system. Churches have the advantage of being perceived as part of the community, unlike the police who are sometimes seen as 'outsiders' because of the nature of their short-term posting in different areas. This puts BMCs in a very strategic position with regards to crime prevention and resettlement programmes. BMCs are also a very valuable resource to local police, who can consult them on crime and other issues in the community.



REV NIMS OBUNGE MBE, DL Founder and CEO of the Peace Alliance

The Peace Alliance is a National Charity working in partnership with local communities and statutory organisations on innovative crime reduction and community cohesion initiatives. Launched in July 2001 as a local initiative in Haringey, it was the result of a Church–led response to crime in the community. Key partners from the Church, the Home Office, the Metropolitan Police and the Borough Council and community leaders pledged to work together to promote peace in Haringey.

Our main aim is to provide young people who are NEET (i.e., not in education, employment or training) and those at risk of becoming NEET opportunities for volunteering, mentoring and skills based training in preparation for employment and to foster improved social cohesion and a sense of belonging. We also aim to work with the prison and probation service to support young offenders' rehabilitation through volunteering, training and mentoring. As part of wider social and moral education, churches and their leaders have an opportunity and a responsibility to teach and reinforce the values and virtues of active citizenship, community cohesion and a healthy respect for authority. There is a real opportunity for creative partnerships between the churches and a host of justice agencies, including the Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC), Chief Constables, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner and the wider police service.

Churches can help with crime prevention and community cohesion in the following ways:

- Developing and delivering outreach programmes to those most likely to commit crimes;
- Encouraging congregations to join the 'Adopt a Cop' initiative;
- Participating in the local police Independent Advisory Groups (IAGs);
- Setting up uniformed youth services like Boys' and Girls' Brigade and encouraging young people from the BMCs to join the Police Cadets and other uniformed groups;
- Praying for and supporting the local Divisional or Borough Commander and key local crime reduction partnerships.



SHELDON THOMAS Founder and Chief Executive of Gangsline

The problem of criminal gangs and its relationship to gun and knife crime in London and elsewhere is a growing concern. Sheldon works with young people to steer them away from such gangs and youth crime. Through his experience as a former leading gang member, he now dedicates his life to engage directly with gang leaders. Sheldon is an advisor to the Home Office and the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) on gang culture and violence. With his experience, expertise and Christian faith Sheldon is helping disillusioned and disenfranchised young people in society reach their potential and contribute positively to their communities. (www.gangsline.com)

Section 3: Prisons

'For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me.'

(Matthew 25:35-36)

The Current Picture

One of the themes that featured significantly in the consultation was the disproportionate number of Black and minority people in prisons in the UK. Of course, debates about the prison population and the way people are treated in these penal institutions are not new. Often they oscillate between deep fault lines in public opinion and party policies as to the best way to treat offenders and protect the public. In 2010, the main political parties made promises and expressed strong views on the issues of prisons and the criminal justice system. The Conservatives told us that they wanted to 'fight back against the crime and anti-social behaviour that blights our communities' by taking steps to 'reduce the causes of crime, like poverty and broken families'.13 Recognising that the previous Government in its last three years had released some 80,000 criminals early from prison because 'they failed to build enough places', the Conservatives promised to 'develop the prison estate and increase capacity as necessary to stop it'.14

In the Labour Party Manifesto of 2010 there is a stated belief that most of the crime and anti-social behaviour are caused by '50,000 dysfunctional families', therefore, they will continue to intervene early with their 'no-nonsense action to tackle the problems' caused by this group.¹⁵ Informed by the 'tough on crime and causes of crime' mantra of Tony Blair before he became Prime Minister in 1997, there is recognition that the lack of youth provision has some bearing on youth crime. This leads to a commitment to ensure that there are 'more things for young people to do' and a promise that 'we will double the availability of organised youth activities on Friday and Saturday nights'.¹⁶

In attempting to give an answer as to why prison numbers have increased and why prisons have become over-crowded under Labour, the following argument is advanced:

'There are more criminals in prison— not because crime is rising but because violent and serious offenders are going to prison for longer.'¹⁷

Like the Conservatives, Labour also wants to tackle the overcrowding problem in prison. This they'd hoped to do by providing 96,000 prison places by 2014 and ensuring a transfer of EU and other 'non-national prisoners abroad and work to reduce the number of women, young and mentally ill people in prison'.

In the UK, like the US, the debate about Black people in prison should be seen in the wider social context and concerns about Black and minority ethnic disproportional representation in other socio-economic matrices, including stop and search, deaths in custody, unemployment and mental health. In the US, the legal scholar Michelle Alexandra has referred to the mass incarceration of Black men and its effects on the African American family as the 'new Jim Crow'.

¹³ Invitation to Join the Government of Britain: The Conservative Manifesto 2010, p.55.

¹⁴ Invitation to Join the Government, p.57.

¹⁵ The Labour Party Manifesto 2010: A Future Fair For All, p.36.

¹⁶ The Labour Party Manifesto 2010 A Future Fair For All, p.37.

¹⁷ The Labour Party Manifesto 2010 A Future Fair For All, p.39.

In the UK, we incarcerate more people than any other European country with the exception of Luxembourg. The prison populations in England, Wales and Scotland are among the highest in Western Europe.

England and Wales have an imprisonment rate of 153 per 100,000 and in Scotland of 152 per 100,000 of the population. This contrasts with rates of 100 per 100,000 or below for most of Britain's neighbours and 74 per 100,000 or below in the Nordic countries. In March 2011, the prison population was 85,400; by March 2012 it had grown by 2,131 to 87,531.

On average, five times more Black people than White people in England and Wales are in prison. A large proportion of prisoners are often among the most excluded or victimised within society and face particular risks when imprisoned. Ethnic minorities, for example, can encounter racism within prisons. A major report by the Equality and Human Rights Commission in 2010 highlighted its concern about the crisis of Black incarceration, along with deaths in custody.¹⁸

The Biblical Picture

The Bible speaks of the plight of prisoners and the fact that God cares about them. This, of course, means that we shouldn't forget about them.

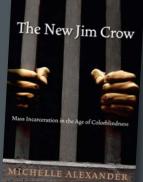
Indeed, there is an injunction to visit them in prison. Jesus says: 'I was sick and in prison and you never visited'. (Matthew 25:43 Message Version). We are warned not to be like 'the goats', of whom Jesus said they will be judged because of their lack of concern for prisoners and others.

Where Do We Go From Here?

The disproportionate number of BMEs in our prisons is a scandal. It raises serious social, moral, political and judicial questions for our churches, as well as for the Government and the wider justice agencies. There needs to be a national debate on this issue. We need to understand better its causes and consequences; and equally important, we need to see if there are underlying ideological factors explaining this disproportionality.

Mass Incarceration As The New 'Jim Crow' in America

'Mass incarceration is, metaphorically, the new Jim Crow and all those who care about social justice should fully commit themselves to dismantling this new racial caste system...the basic



architecture of the New Jim Crow (i.e., the criminalization and demonization of Black men) has turned the Black community against itself, unraveling community and family relationships...'

Michelle Alexander, The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness, 2010, New York, New Press: pp.11-17.

Clearly the situation needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency. We urge the Government to work with the BMCs and other key agencies to facilitate a national dialogue on the disproportionate representation of Black people in prison and work to reduce it.

The care and resettlement of prisoners should be seen as an important part of the work of our churches, offering hope to ex-offenders and their families. The Church should also engage challenging the systemic social, economic and political realities that lead to the over-representation of Black young men and women in British prisons. Through this aspect of our mission and community engagement we can make a valuable contribution to controlling and reducing offending behaviour as we share the good news and model positive alternatives.

One of the main concerns highlighted in the joint report of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons and

the Youth Justice Board¹⁹ (and picked up in the Preliminary thematic findings report, February 2012, for the evaluation of Daedalus), is the importance of education, training and employment (ETE) in the resettlement process – especially in the first month after release when the 'incidence of reoffending is greater'.²⁰ Mindful of the relationship between (1) poor literacy levels and youth offending/reoffending and (2) the need to provide practical support for young offenders to reintegrate them into their communities, we urge churches to form consortiums and develop partnerships with key agencies to provide and develop the following services and programmes:

- Church and community-based literacy and numeracy classes;
- Employment training and skills;
- Resettlement Advocates/Mentors in churches²¹
- Work experience placements;
- Support for the Prison Outreach Network and greater collaboration with Prison Chaplains.

Most of the African and Caribbean churches have prison outreach ministries. We would like to encourage them to continue with this valuable work in supporting prisoners and their families. We would also recommend that churches seek effective partnerships with the prison and rehabilitation and resettlement agencies and organisations.



REV EMMANUEL KING Chairman of Prison Outreach Network and Prison Chaplin for Rochester YOI and Isis, Belmarsh

The Prison Outreach Network (PON) is a Christian network of volunteers working in HM Prisons, Young Offenders Institutions and Immigration Removal Centres since 1986. PON was founded by and for Christians who have a passion and desire to use their gifts and talents to share their faith and proclaim the Gospel in these institutions. The individuals that form the PON family come from diverse social and ethnic backgrounds, generations and churches. Together these individuals use their variety of skills, abilities and competences to share their faith. (www.prison-outreach-network.org)

¹⁹ Tye, D (2010) Children and Young People in Custody 2008-2009.

²⁰ Evaluation of the London Youth Reducing Reoffending Programme (Daedalus): Preliminary thematic findings report, February 2012, p.7.

²¹ Although this would be informed by the experience and function of the Resettlement Brokers, we would be seeking to provide something like the 'wraparound' support package spoken of in the Riots Communities and Victims Panel report where it's argued: 'Regardless of the length of prison sentence it is clear to the Panel that the chances of a prisoner reoffending upon release are reduced where that person receives a "wraparound" support package.' (See Final report, After the Riots, 2012, p11.) The recommendation arising out of this is that probation, prisons and voluntary and community sector partners 'work together with the aim of ensuring every young adult is offered a mentor to support them on completion of their prison sentence'.

Section 4: Mental Health

'I am deeply concerned about the continued high levels of admission detention suffered by some Black groups especially the Black Other group - mostly Black second and third generation young men. There are some very serious questions that need answering about the way these people are being treated.' **Professor Lord Patel of Bradford**²²

The Current Picture

African and Caribbean communities are disproportionately affected by poor mental health and subsequent social problems. Black people are more likely to be diagnosed with schizophrenia and more likely to be treated with higher doses of medication. The Martiniquan psychiatrist, Franz Fanon, would see the problem of this disproportionality as one caused by racism and the psychological effects of colonialism and negative stereotypes of Black people.²³ Additionally, they are also more likely to be detained in locked psychiatric wards. Rates of admission and of compulsory detention in mental health institutions are higher among Black people than any other ethnic group in the UK.

They are also more likely to experience poor outcomes from treatment and also, according to Mental Health Media, less likely to engage with mainstream mental health services, 'leading to social exclusion and a deterioration in their mental health'.²⁴ Many people in our communities are sectioned under the Mental Health Act; in some cases this is the wrong assessment. We are particularly concerned by the fact that so many of our young men take their own lives – Black Caribbean and Black African men aged 13-24 years have the highest suicide rate of any group.

The Biblical Picture

Many Christians, including African and Caribbean Christians, take the possibility of demon possession as a reality. The biblical text is clear that on a number of occasions, Jesus cast out demons. However, it is also clear that many mental health disorders and illnesses are chemical in orientation. Nonetheless, regardless of the cause, mental illness requires a loving, intelligent, sensitive and godly response. Regardless of the inevitable tensions created by the dualism of the physical and spiritual, Christian pastors and leaders must take seriously the stigma that is created by association with mental health, and the social and emotional devastation that can be visited upon families. The church should be a place of care, comfort and understanding for those who suffer mental illness. We should, as Paul states, 'bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ' (Galatians 6:2).

Where Do We Go From Here?

The area of 'mental health' can evoke a number of different responses from Christians. Churches often offer practical support for those suffering from poor mental health. But more needs to be done to ensure that our counselling adopts a more holistic approach to the spectrum of mental health issues faced by our communities.

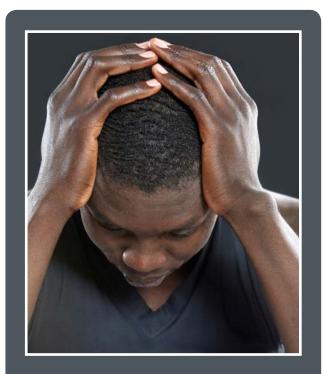
²² Remarks by Professor Lord Patel of Bradford, chairman of the Mental Health Act Commission, following the publication of the Count Me In Census 2007 which looked at 257 NHS and independent institutions.

²³ See his classic Black Skin, White Masks, London, Pluto Press: 1986. In this text, Fanon offers a 'psychoanalytical interpretation of the Black problem' and ways in which Black people can extricate themselves from a self-imposed 'inferiority complex'.

²⁴ See www.mental.org.uk/help-information/mental-health-a-z/B/BME-communities/

We also need to ensure that our leaders have a better understanding of mental health issues and the range of provision available, recognising that at present far too many Africans and Caribbeans only access the services at an acute stage. When this happens they end up being out of work for a long time, and family life and relationships are damaged. Additionally, care and treatment at this acute stage cost a lot more.

The work of organisations like Black Mental Health UK should be supported by African and Caribbean churches. As an organisation trying to educate our communities about the effects of a range of health-related inequalities, as well as campaigning for better mental health treatment and outcomes for Black people, we commend their work. Greater consideration should be given to working with organisations like these, developing effective partnership arrangements by making use of the expertise and resources available within the wider health professional environment.



Mental Health Minimum Data Set

- Once in contact with mental health services, rates of access to hospital services were higher for all minority groups (except Any Other ethnic group) than for the White British group.
- Caribbean, African and Other Black groups' rates were roughly double those of the White British group after age and gender had been taken into account.
 (Before taking these factors into account, the differences were even wider).
- Less than 40 per cent of White British and Irish inpatients were subject to detention under the Mental Health Act but over
 60 per cent of inpatients from the Mixed White and Black African, Caribbean, African and Any Other Black backgrounds were subject to compulsion.

Source: Mental health crisis care: commissioning excellence for Black and minority ethnic groups - A Briefing for Clinical Commissioning Groups, March 2013.

Section 5: Voting and Political Mobilisation

'We live in a human condition, so we cannot through politics grasp for an absolute ideal, as Plato thought with bewitching single-mindedness... Politics is too often regarded as a poor relation... Where there is politics there is freedom.'

Bernard Crick, In Defence of Politics

The Current Picture

Over the last couple of decades we have witnessed an era of declining election turnout. Accompanying this decline, and undoubtedly contributing to the cause of it, we have also seen the weakening of the core political institutions (i.e., elections to parliament and membership of political parties). Compounding this decline is what is referred to by Paul Whiteley as the 'generational effect' at work in our political system: young people (aged 18-25) find politics irrelevant to their everyday lives and therefore don't vote.²⁵

There are a host of reasons why people don't vote. According to Evans, these include:

- They lack a sense of civic obligation; they have little belief in their ability to influence politics (their sense of political efficacy) or in the effectiveness of the political system;
- They do not trust their political representatives;
- They do not identify closely with any of the political parties;
- They lack a general sense of interest and involvement in politics.²⁶

Ethnic minorities now make up around 8 per cent of the electorate. According to Ethnic Minority British Election Study (EMBES) 68 per cent of BME voters supported Labour in 2010, compared with 16 per cent for the Conservative and 14 per cent for the Liberal Democrats.²⁷ Traditionally, BME voters have supported Labour, believing that the party better represent their concerns around issues like unemployment and discrimination. However, the BME vote for Labour in 2010 was down from that of 2005. This trend is expected to continue.

According to Heath and Khan, this shows that the BMEs 'are not a bloc vote that automatically supports Labour irrespective of Labour's performance' as ethnic minority voters are 'concerned with issues of performance in much the same way as are the White British'.²⁸ This means that BME voters are one among many groups that both the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats still struggle to win over. The success of the populist, right-wing UK Independence Party (UKIP) in the May 2014 local elections and in the European election (winning 27.5 % of the ballots) is a new phenomenon in British politics, adding another dimension to contemporary 'race and politics' for BME voters.

Black and minority ethnic people do not participate as much as they should in the democratic process: they tend to vote less in elections, as well as participate less frequently in party politics. In some African and Caribbean churches political activism is almost non-existent.

The Biblical Picture

The Bible is an important source for Christian moral, ethical, social and political thinking and action. We

²⁵ See Andrew Sparrow's interview with Paul Whiteley (What makes people vote?) in Britain in 2010: Annual Magazine of the Economic and Social Research Council, p.45.

²⁶ Geoffrey Evans, 'Political Culture and Voting Participation' in Patrick Dunleavy et al (eds), Developments in British Politics, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan: 2002, p. 85 27 Professor Anthony Heath, University of Oxford, and Dr Omar Khan, the Runnymede Trust, 'Ethnic Minority British Election Study – Key Findings', (Runnymede Trust: February 2012), p.1.

²⁸ Professor Anthony Heath, University of Oxford, and Dr Omar Khan, the Runnymede Trust, 'Ethnic Minority British Election Study – Key Findings,' (Runnymede Trust: February 2012), p.3.

do not see political engagement as optional. Rather, we see it as a mandatory part of our Christian faith in accordance with biblical teaching. The central message of the Gospel that 'Jesus is Lord' has implications for every area of individual, communal and national life. In the Old Testament, the prophet Jeremiah urged the exiles in Babylon to 'seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare' (Jeremiah 29:7). We are committed to seeking Britain's welfare by seeking God's will in our nation's politics. In the New Testament, the Apostle Paul reminds us to 'pray for kings and those in authority' (1 Timothy 2:2). We can participate in the political process as citizens, as well as pray for those in government and positions of authority.

Where Do We Go From Here?

At the Birmingham consultation at Queen's Foundation, the nature of Black Church political mobilisation in Britain was compared and contrasted with the US. Although it was recognised that our historical and church context were different, it was felt that there were important lessons that we could learn from our American counterpart in the way we organise and mobilise our constituency in the struggle for social justice. How we organise some of our church activities, structure the content of our biblical and theological curriculum, prioritise the sorts of local and national meetings we organise and attend is a good indication of our commitment.

One participant observed and commented that there was a radical discontinuity (bordering on indifference) and imbalance in the attention we give to prayer compared to social and political action:

'We turn up in large numbers for prayer meetings and gatherings like Global Day of Prayer (GDoP) and the Festival of Life (FoL), but we don't turn up for political meetings and campaigns. We pray - and this is normative for Christians - but we don't show sufficient concern for taking concrete action...There is not enough action by leaders in our churches. There is voter apathy; therefore, we need to encourage people from our constituency to register to vote, join political parties, run for councillor, stand for Parliament.²⁹

The National Voter Registration Campaign aims to have one million eligible African and Caribbean voters registered to vote by the next General Election. The campaign is sponsored by the National Church Leaders Forum in collaboration with Operation Black Vote and is set out below:³⁰

National Black Christian Voter Registration 5-Point Plan

Your Vote is your right, your influence your authority - use it well

POINT 1

Encourage every eligible African and Caribbean person in the UK to register to vote and use their vote wisely

•••••••

POINT 2

Appoint a voting advocate/officer in every local congregation

POINT 3

Have Voter Registration Forms available in every local church

POINT 4

Include social, cultural, economic and political analysis in preaching and teaching

POINT 5

Hold political 'hustings' at least annually (during local, national and European parliamentary elections)

²⁹ Birmingham Consultation, 8 October 2012.

³⁰ This is part of the 'Awakening the sleeping giant' Black churches political agenda. For information email: info.nclf@gmail.com



We recognise that we have a significant role to play in increasing Black people's engagement with politics. We are committed to teaching our congregations that 'Your vote is your right, your influence, your authority—use it well'. Practically, we encourage and support initiatives to get as many people registered for the 2015 general election as possible. This involves having voter registration forms available in the churches, each church appointing a 'voting officer' in each local congregation and organising hustings ahead of local and national elections. We aim to have one million eligible African and Caribbean voters registered to vote by the next general election and will work in collaboration with Operation Black Vote (OBV) and other agencies to this end.

Although some people are finding new ways to engage with the democratic process through a variety of social media (e.g., e-petitions), there is the danger that participatory democracy continues to be further undermined, creating a 'democratic deficit'. Indifference to this state of affairs will have serious consequences on our body politic and the legitimacy of Parliament and political governance. We urge and encourage members in our churches and communities to seek ways to play an active role in politics and community affairs, joining political parties and standing for elected office. We urge all political parties to explore creative ways to engage Black and minority ethnic communities, paying particular attention to recruitment, retention and promotion of these under-represented groups.

Section 6: Family and Marriage

'Marriage is our society's most pro-child institution. If you want kids to do well, then you want marriage to do well.'

David Blankenhorn

'Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.'

Genesis 2:24

'The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.'

UN Declaration of Human Rights (Article 16)

The Current Picture

Today, it is difficult to define 'family' as its modern boundaries are becoming more elastic. The definition (along with changing attitudes about marriage and relationships from the recent British Attitudes Survey 30) now extends beyond some of our traditional 'nuclear', 'extended' and 'single-parent' categories to embrace 'blended families' 'same-sex marriages' and 'heterosexual families'. Undoubtedly, many feel that the traditional view of family and Christian marriage is undermined by some contemporary views and practices. While this may well be the case, there is also the reverse: Christians have an opportunity to strengthen these institutions by modelling good marriages, family relationships, and by supporting those whose relationships are under pressure from many of the challenges of modern life.

In African and Caribbean families in the UK, there are many things that we do well to build and strengthen our families and young people. The Black Church has always played a significant role in the lives of individuals and families, but there is still a lot more that we can and need to do. A lot of the early work carried out by the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) was on the causes and consequences of family breakdown in many parts of inner city communities. What CSJ



clearly showed was the way in which unemployment, low educational attainment, drugs and alcohol dependency blights the lives of young people and families.

The number of Black children in care, and in need of fostering and adoption, is another area of concern for the African and Caribbean communities to grapple with. It may not be a major election issue, but it is one which affects our communities and will continue to do so a long time after the elections in 2015. What role can the church play here? How can it support individuals and institutions trying to address this problem? A decade ago, Childlink Adoption Society (formerly the Church Adoption Society) were campaigning for more Black Christians to consider providing permanent homes to children. The basis for the appeal by Jacqui Sutherland from Childlink was a simple one:

'Christian families often have the stability and permanency that is necessary for a child who has only known insecurity. Also BMCs are a family-friendly environment which provide a strong support network. These children have so much to offer and would benefit inestimably from the love and security of a family environment.'³¹

Historically, we recognise that there have been problems around transracial adoption. Some people believe that it is preferable for Black children to be fostered or adopted by Black families. But given the amount of Black children in care and the inordinate amount of time they have to wait to be fostered and adopted, this is something that our churches and communities must now take more seriously. The scale of the challenge is recognised by Government. In a speech in 2012, the Secretary of State for Education had this to say:

'I won't deny that an ethnic match between adopters and child can be a bonus. But it is outrageous to deny a child the chance of adoption because of a misguided belief that race is more important than any other factor. And it is simply disgraceful that a Black child is three times less likely to be adopted from care than a White child. I heard, recently, of a foster carer whose local authority refused to let her adopt her foster child. The child was happy, and contented - she loved him, and he loved her. But she was White, and he was Black. And the local authority insisted that he would have to be moved to Black adoptive parents. Eventually, when no Black adopters could be found, common sense prevailed and the adoption went ahead.'³² In 2012, the Office for National Statistics reported an increase of nearly 10 per cent in adoptions in England and Wales compared to previous year, making it the highest level since 2005. This meant that more than 5,200 children were given parents in 2012. Most children adopted (63%) were between one and four years of age. Figures for 2012 revealed that there were 67,000 children in foster or care homes. On average, children in care wait nearly 21 months before finding a home; and in some areas they have to wait for almost three years.

A number of members in our churches do a sterling job in fostering children and young people. In one particular church we have evidence of a couple who have fostered over 37 children.³³ With the support of the local church and the community many of those fostered have found a family and a family-friendly community that have allowed them to flourish. There is clearly work to be done here by our churches and the wider community.

'If there is a loving family, ready and able to adopt a child, issues of ethnicity must not stand

Michael Gove, former Secretary of State for Education

in the way.'

The Biblical Picture

We are firm believers in the basic importance of faithful marriages and healthy families for the good of our society. The Church is a family. It is a family of believers ('members of the household of God'³⁴) united in the Trinity (in a Trinitarian relationship with the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit). In Scripture, family is the first institution we come across, but it

33 Epainos Ministries (New Testament Church of God in East London).

³¹ Focus: the magazine of the African and Caribbean Evangelical Alliance, Dec-Feb 1994, p.5.

³² Speech delivered by Michael Gove MP on 23 February 2012 at the Isaac Newton Centre for Continuing Professional Development on reforms to the adoption system.

is far from perfect. According to the testimony of the Bible we see a number of dysfunctional families wrestling with problems: we see murder (Cain kills his brother Abel); incest (Noah and his daughters); attempted patricide (Absalom tries to kill David); adultery (David and Bathsheba) and some of the worst consequences of favouritism in families (Joseph and his siblings). These are all themes and issues that modern families and society are aware of.

We recognise marriage as a gift from God, created by him for the welfare of men and women (Genesis 2:18), the care and nurture of children (Genesis 1:28) and the context for sexual expression (Genesis 2:24; Matthew 19:5). We believe it to be the fundamental building block of society and that faithful monogamous marriage benefits society. We are therefore committed to protecting and promoting the biblical view of marriage—the permanent union of one man and one woman. We also recognise that the church has to find ways to engage and respond to the issue of gay and lesbian relationships in a pastoral way.

Where Do We Go From Here?

It is critical that we continue to teach, promote and model the importance of marriage in our churches and communities. We can also support single parents in a number of ways. These could include:

- providing child care for working single parents;
- offering pastoral counselling and support for those struggling with the pressure of parenting alone;
- organising mentoring schemes and programmes for boys and young men, particularly for children with no father present;
- ensuring that foster parents in our churches and communities are supported;
- working with local authorities to promote fostering and adoption awareness workshops and programmes.

Section 7: Youth and Education

'The children now love luxury; they show disrespect for elders and love chatter in the place of exercise. Children are tyrants, not the servants of their households. They no longer rise when their elders enter the room. They contradict their parents, chatter before company, gobble up dainties at the table, cross their legs and tyrannize their teachers.'

Socrates (469-399BC)

'I see no hope for the future of our people if they are dependent on the frivolous youth of today, for certainly all youth are reckless beyond words...When I was young we were taught to be discreet and respectful of elders, but the present youth are exceedingly impatient of restraint.'

Hesiod (8th century BC)

The Current Picture

Young people often get a bad press: they are seen as fickle, feral, lazy, disobedient to parents, disrespectful of teachers and prone to rioting. But this has pretty much been the picture of young people from time immemorial. And we see the elders of one generation simply repeating similar concerns about the young that the previous generation said about them and their bad behaviour. Indeed, things appear not to have changed much, as can be seen in the two quotations above by the philosopher and the poet.

Young people, undoubtedly, have to cope with many additional pressures that simply were not around twenty or thirty years ago. A report by UNICEF in 2007 revealed that Britain has the worst troubled young people in Europe.³⁵ The report is designed to monitor and compare performance of countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in securing the rights of children. Looking at the family and peer relationships as one of the six dimensions of child wellbeing (other dimensions include 'material well-being' and 'educational well-being)' and analysing why Britain scored so low in relation to Spain and Sweden, researchers came to the conclusion that in the UK



parents were struggling to spend time with their children whilst in these two countries 'family time appeared woven into the fabric of everyday life'.³⁶ With all the talk about the state of young people in the country, this report put the low well-being of children in the UK firmly on the agenda. Compared with 20 other OECD countries, including substantially poorer countries such as Poland and Greece, the UK came bottom on three out of six dimensions of

June 2011), p.1.

³⁵ UNICEF (2007) Child Poverty in Perspective: an overview of child poverty in rich countries, Innocenti Report Card 7. UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, Italy. 36 Children's Well-being in the UK, Sweden and Spain: The Role of Inequality and Materialism (Ipsos MORI Social Research Institute in partnership with Dr Agnes Nairn,

well-being, and came bottom overall in the league table. It is clear that from other studies that drink and drug abuse, early sexualisation and social pressures all add considerably to the picture of troubled young people.

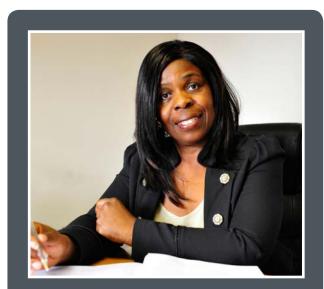
Although now showing encouraging signs of improvement, Black boys remain one of the lowest achieving groups of pupils in the UK. The long term impact of educational failure is concerning as Black boys are under-represented in further and higher education, over-represented in prison, over-represented among the unemployed.

By the age of 22-24, 44 per cent of Black young people are not in education, employment or training (NEET). The issue of criminal gangs is a problem for all our communities and some of these youths are in our churches. At one of our consultations, an advisor to the government and Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) on gangs referred to these young men as 'the lost generation'. More positively, over the past 30 years we have seen increasing attainment by Black students in higher education as well as the development of church-led schools and training institutions.

The Biblical Picture

Youths need to be trained up in the way they should go (Proverbs 22:6). It is not good enough to simply present young people with information and expect them to make the right life choices. The Bible is clear that they need instruction and training. Parents, pastors and community leaders all have a responsibility in providing this instruction. This needs to be backed up by practicing what we preach so that our young people have good role models to follow.

This training is not simply good life advice; we are told to bring up our children in the discipline and instruction of the Lord (Ephesians 6:4). We are therefore committed to teaching our youth Christian values, helping them to be responsible citizens. We believe that this will result in the best outcomes for them and for our communities. We recognise the biblical injunction that parents should be the



DR CHERON BYFIELD CEO of Excell3

Excell3 established the National Black Boys Can Association in direct response to this national challenge. The Association acts as the umbrella under which locally based Black Boys Can projects are provided with direction and support. Black Boys Can projects operate in many urban areas throughout the country where there is a high minority ethnic population.

These programmes provide training and support to Black boys. They are proactive, action-oriented projects that aim to give Black boys educational opportunities, valuable life skills, and the self-esteem, confidence and determination to succeed. All these qualities are essential if they are to overcome disadvantage and make the most of their formative and adult years.

The programmes are taught by positive role models; who believe in the ability of Black boys to succeed. Recently the organisation was successful in their bid from the DfE to open a Free School (The King Solomon International Business School), providing an opportunity for African and Caribbean churches to explore ways of working to provide education services. **(excell3.co.uk/black-boys-can/)** primary educators of their children. However, the church and wider community also have a significant role to play.

A church leader heavily involved in leadership training and mentoring summarised the matter in this way:

'We don't understand the language of our youths. We need to meet with young people. The strategy of God in the book of Esther can be a lesson for us: God used the older Mordecai who passed on the idea to the young Esther, who had access to the King. . . The church has not been consistent in listening to its young people... they are feeling the pain. We need to get young people on board; avoid "us" and "them". Leadership is everything. Everything is about leadership. We are going to invest in people; some are passionate, but they don't know what to do. Let's invest in raising young leaders. To the young I say: the passion you carry is from God.'³⁷

Where Do We Go From Here?

The BMC is uniquely placed to help Black youth overcome some of the challenges they face. The poor performance of the UK in the UNICEF report mentioned above was explained by the researchers as British parents struggling to spend time with their children. The Bible emphasises the importance of parenthood and provides us with comprehensive teaching on how to bring up children. As local church leaders we will place a high priority on emphasising the importance of parenthood to our congregations and communities, as well as teaching biblical parenting principles. We will also continue to initiate and support church-led schools and educational programmes so that parents are free to choose this option.

The BMC is in a strategic position to help with the challenges of disaffected young people in many of our cities.³⁸ We will therefore continue to encourage and support churches to run outreach programmes targeting vulnerable youths, as well as work with police and local crime reduction partners. Many of our large denominations are beginning to provide theological education and training for ministers and leaders. We commend this effort and encourage better collaboration between denominations to support theological education and ministry formation. Additionally, we would like to see more members of our churches and constituency becoming teachers and playing a more effective role as school governors.



37 Rev Celia Apeagyei-Collins

38 See Aldred, Hebden and Hebden (eds) Who is my neighbour?- a church response to social disorder linked to gangs, drugs, guns and knives: http://www.cte.org.uk/ Groups/236211/Home/Group/Resources/Relationships/Pentecostal_and_Multicultural/Who_is_my.aspx;

Section 8: Media, Music, Arts & Culture

Secular music, do you say, belongs to the devil? Does it? Well, if it did I would plunder him for it, for he has no right to a single note of the whole seven. Every note, and every strain, and every harmony is divine, and belongs to us.

William Booth (1829-1912)

We all want progress, but if you're on the wrong road, progress means doing an about turn and walking back to the right road; in that case, the man who turns back soonest is the most progressive

C.S. Lewis - Mere Christianity

The Current Picture

The impact of media, music, arts and creative culture upon our communities and society at large is, unquestionably, powerful. The BMCs are not immune from the pressures and power of contemporary media.

Pre-1980s, we had little access or control of our own pathways to mainstream media. Additionally, fear and ignorance immobilised the enagagement of some key leaders, resulting in little record of proactive involvement in many of the deepest crises faced by our community. This was the prevailing picture, even though there were a few leaders and active lay members who laid the foundation and paved the way for what we have today.

During those times it was BAME Newspapers, which were the most consistent in referencing the activities of BMCs. The most notable is The Voice Newspaper through its dedicated religious pages "Soul Stirrings" which is still edited by award winning journalist and PR specialist Marcia Dixon.³⁹

More than ever before whatever the Church does or says – and indeed its inactivity or silence which speaks louder – is fully observed through the prism of 'the media'. Certainly the phenomenon of social media has quadrupled mass communication



whereby every individual becomes 'the messenger' or definer of truth.

Today, specialist Christian media organisations, like OHTV, Premier Christian Radio/Premier Gospel, UCB and Keep The Faith Magazine all run multiple on and offline outlets which attract audiences beyond the Church. This enables Church leaders and other Christian and non-Christian commentators time and space to discuss mainstream stories and their perspective within the context of the faith community. Two cases in point are the Victoria Climbié Inquiry⁴⁰ and the so called England Riots in 2011, caused by the death of Mark Duggan.

39 Marcia Dixon has been editor of Soul Stirrings for the Voice Newspaper since 1988. It is the longest running religious section in BAME weekly publishing. www.the-voiceonline.co.uk www.marciadixonpr.co.uk New media has fragmented audiences, and traditional terrestrial sources have failed to satisfy not only Black faith-based audiences but Black audiences in general. Questions are being asked of major media providers – particularly our nation's public broadcaster – the BBC.⁴¹

These issues are repeated in the music industry: BAME stakeholders for what is often referred to as niche music, like Gospel, are being squeezed out of mainstream airwaves by the decisions of corporate businesses; as in the example of UK's largest commercial radio broadcaster Global Radio which changed both the branding and music policy of the longstanding (considered a heritage) south London radio station Choice FM (now Capital Xtra).

After more than sixty years of contributing at every level in media, music, arts and culture, British Gospel has 'earned its place at the table' as part of the music culture within our communities.

Internationally recognised British Gospel artists like Worship leader Muyiwa Olarewaju and Riversongz, known for blending song lyrics with African World Music, and Choirs like 'Britain's most celebrated' London Community Gospel Choir, LCGC, have represented the sound of British Gospel music all over the world. They have performed many times as guests before the Queen and foreign royals. In 2013, LCGC, led by founder/director Bazil Meade, marked 30 years with a sold out event held over two days at the Royal Festival Hall, South Bank Centre. This event broke the Guinness World Book of Records for 'the biggest Choir singing in performance'.⁴²

A selection of landmark and notable initiatives by sector organisations include:

 Award-winning Artistic Director Andrea Encinas, co-founder of British Gospel arts Consortium (BGAC) - a sister organisation to LCGC, leads one of a growing number of organisations which



GMIA

GMIA⁴³ (Gospel Music Industry Alliance) is the first organisation set up to inform, resource, promote, unite and represent the interests of the BMCs music in the UK music industry.

GMIA played a role in the process and launch of the first Official Christian and Gospel Albums Chart (supervised by **www.official charts.com**) and is also an affiliate member of AIM -Association of Independent Music, the first music industry trade body to recognise the sector in this way.

On April 15th 2014 the GMIA (Gospel Music Industry Alliance) was invited by Diaspora⁴⁴ to a Round Table Meeting at The House of Commons hosted by the Right Honourable David Lammy MP (for Tottenham) entitled Together We Can Build A Diverse Music Industry aimed at transforming prevailing music industry trends.⁴⁵

⁴¹ http://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/apr/20/black-journalist-accuses-bbc

⁴² London Community Gospel Choir – LCGC and Bazil Meade pictured on page 27. www.lcgc.org.uk

⁴³ GMIA - www.gmia.org.uk The only national representative organisation for the music of BMCs

 ⁴⁴ Rose Nunu, Founder of Diaspora, co-chaired the Roundtable with David Lammy MP. The discussion focussed on a government based statistic revealing that 95.7% of the UK music industry workforce is white and asked the question 'Will there be any BAME music industry stakeholders by 2020?'. Diaspora Equality & Diversity in Music www.diaspora.uk.com, a not-for-profit music foundation. GMIA is represented on the Executive Board of Diaspora leading, Diaspora's Gospel Music Sector Committee.
45 Creative Cultural & Skills / The National Skills Academy http://ccskills.org.uk/downloads/Building_a_Creative_Nation_-_Evidence_Review.pdf

operate within the DoE National Curriculum music provision. They are often cited in Ofsted reports for their contribution to improving pupil performance levels.

- Liverpool Lighthouse (LJM Group) established in 2004. It was the first dedicated gospel arts centre in Europe and was part of the central programming for 2008 Liverpool City of Culture. Their Urban Gospel Music based project, Harmonize, is now an exciting Alternative Provision (AP) Free School.⁴⁶
- GreenTree, an independent specialist music and arts business, are organisers of Gospel Summit, an annual music industry business event for the sector. They conducted and published the first ever Feasibility Study Report on the Gospel Sector which was partially funded by and submitted to Arts Council England.⁴⁷
- DOXA Partnership company has given the Borough of Croydon its first independent cultural arts theatre, which is due to be launched in 2015. DOXA Partnership created the successful theatre production 'Dream Across The Ocean' based on true stories of Caribbean migrants from the Black Churches settling in Britain during the 1960s.⁴⁸

The Biblical Picture

Media, music, arts and culture are all about communicating – and communication fits all that the Church is about – whether it is the Word of God (Bible) or our lives lived to demonstrate God's best. Jesus, in probably his most famous message, known as 'the sermon on the mount' (Matthew 5:13-14) describes to His followers who they are and their position in the world: "Ye are the salt of the earth...." "Ye are the light of the world..." "A city set on a hill cannot be hid".

As we stand in the place of Jesus in the world our messages need to be substantiated by who we are - preventing decay within our communities and society at large (salt), bringing clarity in acts of justice and mercy, shared with love and compassion (light).

The Apostle Paul was also very passionate and demonstrated his boldness to speak to the



GUVNA B

Solo Hip Hop artist GuvnaB represents one of the most successful artists out of the BMCs whose appeal reaches across the Gospel and Christian music scene and into mainstream. He won a MOBO and became the first Gospel artist to reach the No.1 spot in the Official Christian and Gospel Album Chart in June 2013. He is one of a growing number of Gospel artists who've become a mentor and ambassador for good causes. (www.guvnab.com)

culture of his day (Acts 17: 22-31). He also described us as "letters read by men" (2 Corinthians 3: 1-3).

46 Harmonize Academy Liverpool http://www.harmonizeacademy.org/

47 GreenTree www.thegreentreegroup.co.uk

48 http://www.croydonadvertiser.co.uk/Musical-trio-tune-plan-arts-hub/story-22882046-detail/story.html

Where Do We Go From Here?

It can be argued that more than at any other time media, music, arts and culture are key drivers of our present age. They are part of our ability to mobilise our churches for action.

Although many work at dividing religion or belief in God from the State, in the world of media, music, arts and culture this is not so: freedom for expressing the telling and re-telling of life stories, the meaning of life, belief and consciousness are a part of our inherent inalienable right which we pass on to successive generations.

In the increasingly aggressive environment of media the Church needs to become more adept and consistent in managing media tools and maintaining clear, quality communications with integrity.

Some Gospel performers see pursuing high visibility in the media as a positive answer to the perceived negative stereotypical forms of Hip-Hop/ Rap and RnB/Soul. Some artists, through encounters in prisons and gang culture are using their platform for social change. This is being particularly demonstrated among young men who are now mentors and happy to be deemed role models, sometimes acting as ambassadors for major high-profile charities and campaigns.⁴⁹

There is room for the growth of British Gospel Music in the three E's (enterprise, economy and employment) with greater BMC involvement. Entrepreneurs in the Gospel sector are running SME businesses (e.g. independent record labels) and organisations that utilise music as the platform, offering skill training, music & arts education and community participation projects which promote inclusivity and cohesion.

British Gospel Music is a primary example of how one aspect of BMCs culture has and continues to impact media, music, arts and culture, while engaging as an agent of social transformation and spiritual experience.



Section 9: International Aid and Development

'Jesus told a parable one day, and He reminded us that a man went to hell because he didn't see the poor." **Dr Martin Luther King, Jr.**

The Current Picture

The interconnectedness of our world means that we can no longer be shielded from the suffering inflicted elsewhere through war, natural disasters or economic migration. The presence of this unnecessary suffering diminishes our collective human potential. Central to our Christian faith is our belief that all people are created equally in the image of God, with inherent dignity and infinite worth.

The world is a global village. Our information and communication technology means that we are never more than a click away from hearing and seeing the plight of our fellow brothers and sisters around the world, of which there are about 1.4 billion people still living in poverty. Through the Department for International Development (DFID), the British government has recommitted itself to ensuring that 0.7% of GDP will go towards international aid. To this end, the UK government is working with international organisations and the governments of poorer countries to help end poverty.

In recent years there has been increasing consideration of the role of faith-based values or religion in development. In 2012, DFID published its 'Faith Partnership Principles – Working effectively with faith groups to fight global poverty'.⁵⁰ The then Secretary of State for International Development stated:

'Faith makes such an important contribution to development. Most people in developing countries engage in some form of spiritual practice and believe

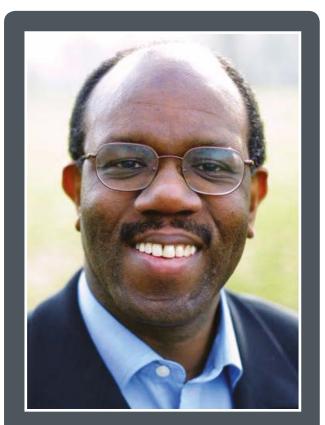


that their faith plays an important role in their lives. Faith groups can inspire confidence and trust. They are often seen as a true part of the local community and more committed to it than perhaps other groups. Indeed, they are often the first group to which the poor turn in times of need and crisis and to which they give in times of plenty.'

Christian organisations continue to support the mission to eradicate poverty and to alleviate worldwide suffering. Organisations such as Christian Aid, RAFFA International Development Agency,⁵¹ Micah Challenge and Tearfund are amongst those who have become strategic partners in this important mission. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were a global response to global poverty.⁵² There are eight

- 51 RAFFA International Development Agency was founded by the Church of God of Prophecy in 2006. One of its key aims is to improve awareness and understanding for international development co-operation.
- 52 The 8 MDGs will expire on 31 December, 2015, with a post-2015 agenda put in place.

⁵⁰ Department for International Development (2012), The Faith Partnership Principle: Working effectively with faith groups to fight global poverty (https://www.gov.uk/ government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67352/faith-partnership-principles.pdf.)



REV JOEL EDWARDS Micah Challenge International Director

The mission of Micah Challenge is to be a global voice on poverty for the Church. It aims to educate, inspire and mobilise Christians to bring impact on issues of poverty and injustice. As a global movement of Christian agencies, churches, groups and individuals it aims to deepen people's engagement with the poor as an integral part of the Christian faith.

Unsurprisingly, the name comes from the seventh century biblical prophet who exhorted his fellow countrymen and women to 'do justice, love kindness, and walk humbly with your God'. (Micah 6:8) (www.micahchallenge.org) MDGs including, eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary education; promoting gender equality; improving maternal health and reducing child mortality rates.

Although Britain is our home, many of us retain strong links with our countries of origin. We therefore have a strong interest in relations between Britain and the nations from which we have come. We are thankful for the generosity that Britain has shown and continues to show by giving financial aid to our native lands. However, aid often has predetermined spending aims and other strings attached; and some never reach those who need it most.

It would be much simpler to define poverty as a lack of income, and hence focus on the processes of economic growth and of (re)distribution, but this would be to fail in our responsibility to work for people living in actual, complex and multidimensional poverty. Poverty is not only material deprivation, with the potential for short-term direct remedy, but also and more importantly the deprivation of opportunities for a good life. The absence of important capabilities, which do often, but not always, manifest themselves in material deprivation, is the deep scar of poverty. Poverty is broad and complex; and although some Christians have a pessimistic attitude to matters of aid and international relations (believing that all human efforts to build a peaceful world free from poverty and injustice will fail), it is encouraging to see how Pentecostals and Evangelicals in the US are trying to respond positively to some of these major global issues.53

We are concerned by what appears to be an encroaching ideological imperialism, or 'residual' cultural hegemony, which is affecting British aid and foreign policy, particularly regarding the issue of same sex relationships and lifestyles. Many of our home nations hold to traditional values and, therefore, believe the orthodox definition of marriage, i.e., that it can only be between one man and one woman. Countries such as Uganda and Nigeria have introduced legislation to protect this definition of marriage. For doing so they have been criticized by the British Government with accompanying threats of having their aid cut. We believe that by making assistance 'conditional' in this way, so that weaker nations are forced to 'follow the leader', the master-slave relationship is reinstated and ultimately our home nations are no longer free from British rule. Additionally, there is a long-held view that aid can create a dependency culture that ultimately undermines independence, self-development and national self-respect. Ultimately, a nation may feel that its political economy, as well as its moral autonomy is weakened.

The Biblical Picture

In Scripture there is a vision of a God who controls the destiny of nations and is in control of world history and politics (Daniel 4:1-32). There are visions of peace, international trade and commerce. Although we encounter conflicts, disputes and wars, good relations and trade are also encouraged. In 2 Chronicles 1:16-17, we see King Solomon and his government officials engaging in international trade as well as receiving revenue from the 'income of traders' (1 Kings 10:15). The Bible states that God's hands are 'stretched out upon all the nations' (Isaiah 14:26); and there is the often cited poetic and prophetic vision of a time when nations 'shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war



anymore' (Isaiah 2:4). We pray and work for a just, peaceful and prosperous world order, where nations obey the rule of law and treat each other with respect regardless of the size of their population, GDP or military arsenal.

Any nation that lends money to another is in a position of power over the nation that borrows (Deuteronomy 15:6). There is a risk that this position of power can be abused. Only by lending freely, without extra conditions, can the relationship remain equal and dignified (Deuteronomy 15:10). As our individual relationships should be marked by freedom and true equality, so should our national ones national freedom and sovereignty must be nurtured and respected.

Where Do We Go From Here?

For many of us, the commonly held understanding of development is 'improvement' –i.e., development is about 'making things better'. This notion of growth, adaptation and progress fills many sub-consciously and consciously held understandings of development, be they social, political or economic development. We hold a fundamental identification with the aspirations and rights of the poor and the oppressed. We believe we should act in situations of suffering and injustice because we believe that they violate God's standards, and devalue us all. Responding to what is wrong is not just an option, it is a mandate. We have an obligation to speak with and for the poor.

The British public is generous in the way they respond to international disasters and emergencies and we hope this commendable display of support for and solidarity with suffering people will continue. We recognise some of the complexities around aid, trade, 'conditionality' and national sovereignty. We call upon the British Government to examine the conditions it attaches to aid, ensuring that it does not undermine a nation's moral foundations and cultural values. Also that there are safeguards to ensure aid does not easily fall into the wrong hands. It is not enough to just send aid—it must be tracked to ensure that it reaches those who need it most. Many leaders in the BMC have strong links with their nations of origin. We are ready and willing to help the British Government ensure that taxpayer's money is spent wisely to help the most needy. We call on the UK Government to avoid expressions of ideological imperialism and invest in meaningful partnership. Other nations should have the ability to build their own economies, develop technical capability and construct thriving and prosperous societies. If the relationship between Britain and these other nations is to be truly equal, Britain must respect their sovereignty. Britain's Commonwealth ties means that it has long-held bonds of friendship with many countries in the world, promoting cultural, political and economic partnerships and co-operation. We believe the strengthening of these bonds will enhance Britain's place in the world, as well as its contribution to global good governance (i.e., creating the right economic, legal and social frameworks which will encourage economic growth and allow citizens to participate and hold their governments to account).

Christian compassion and concern extends beyond our immediate borders. We stand in solidarity with the poor and dispossessed globally. According to Duncan Green, it is hard to imagine 'a more worthwhile cause' than the fight against such things as 'the scourges of poverty, inequality'. These global issues, argues Green, will define the twenty-first century in the same way as the fight against slavery or for universal suffrage defined earlier eras.⁵⁴ Our global village not only facilitates greater awareness of poverty and suffering, but it also allows us to take individual and corporate action to assist in numerous ways.

We commend the Government's commitment to international development, even in times of austerity and encourage our churches to match the Government's commitment and donate at least 0.7% of their income to overseas aid and development as an integral part of their Christian commitment.



Church and Community:

Policing and Criminal Justice:

Prisons:

Mental Health:

Voting and Political Mobilisation:

Family and Marriage:

Youth and Education:

Media, Music, Arts and Culture:

International Aid and Development:

Appendix 1 Attendees at NCLF's Initial Meeting at Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC) and Consultations

NAME	CHURCH/ORGANISATION
Father Olu Abiola	Council of African and Caribbean Churches
Rev Yemi Adedeji	One People Commission
Rev Ade Adesina	Power House International
Rev Kayode Adisa	House on the Rock
Pastor Modupe Afolabi	Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG)
Dr William Ackah	Birkbeck College, London University
Rev Olabiyi Ajala	Holding Forth the Word Association
Rev Sayo Akinlola	New Covenant Church
Rev Olusayo Akintola	New Covenant Church
Dr Sola Fola Alade	Trinity Chapel (RCCG)
Bishop Dr Joe Aldred	Churches Together in England (CTE)
Rev Crispin Allison	Holding Forth the Word Association
Rev Chuks Anierobi	The Shepherd's Ministries
Rev Celia Apeagyei-Collins	Rehoboth Foundation
Rev Tayo Arowogolu	New Covenant Church
Snr Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo	Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC)
Pastor Yemisi Ashimolowo	KICC
Pastor Kofi Banful	Praise Chapel
Pastor E Beswick	Joint Council of Anglo-Caribbean Churches
Rev Stephen Brooks	Excell3
Bishop Donald Bolt	New Testament Church of God (NTCG)
Bishop Dr Eric Brown	NTCG
Rev Herma Butler	The Light of Life Full Gospel
Rev Winston Bygrave	London School of Theology
Fredrick Clarke	Mighty Men of Valour
Rev Marcia Da Costa	Love Unlimited Ministry
Rev Ade D'Ameiola	KICC
Pastor Sam Davis	Seventh Day Adventist Church
Esther Dunmoye	KICC
Pastor Omawunmi Efueye	House on the Rock
Rev Ben Enwuchola	The Nigerian Chaplaincy
Juliet Fletcher	GreenTree Productions
Dionne Gravesande	Christian Aid/NTCG
Bishop David Greaves	New Testament Assembly
Pastor Alex Gyasi	Highway of Holiness

NAME	CHURCH/ORGANISATION
Rev Claude Halm	Trinity Baptist Church
Rev Carlton Hanglan	The Light of Life Full Gospel
Rev George Hargreaves	The Christian Party
Rev Marie St Hillire	New Life Assembly
Bishop Simon Iheanacho	UK World Evangelism
Lee Jasper	Black Activists Rising Against Cuts
Rev Jean Bosco Kanyemesha	London Fire Church/Peace Int'l
Pastor Grace Komolafe	The Prayer Trust Ministries
Leroy Logan	Metropolitan Police Service/REALLITY
Rev Damian Luke	Praise House
Matilda Macattram	Black Mental Health UK
Bishop Wayne Malcolm	Christian Life Centre
Shirley McGreal	Keep the Faith
Dr R David Muir	Faith in Britain
Rev Dr Lynnette Mullings	The Queen's Foundation
Bishop Mark Nicholson	Act Christian Church
Rev Mabs Nkumu	Airs-Ministries Church of God
Bishop Obasyi	Christian Church of God
Pastor Nims Obunge	Freedom's Ark
Rev Segun Olaleye	New Hope Christian Ministries
Rev Abbih Oloyede	City Chapel
Rev Dipo Oluyomi	KICC
Ik Omoigiade	Faith in Britain
Pastor Ade Omooba	Christian Victory Group, Christian Concern
Archbishop F N Onyaku-Opukiri	Born Again Christ Healing Church Int'l
Pastor Elizabeth Ossei	Christ Evangelical Church
Soji Otudeko	KICC
Rev Lola Oyebade	House on the Rock International
Rudi Page	Church of God of Prophecy (CoGoP)/RAFFA
Pastor Pete Pennant	Council of Black Led Churches
Bishop Wilton Powell	CoGoP
Noel Robinson	KWM
Rev Tony Shatimehin	New Wine Church, Woolwich
Rev David Shosanya	London Baptist Association
Rev Nezlin Sterling	New Testament Assembly
Rev Sheldon Thomas	Gangsline
Rev Phyllis Thompson	NTCG
Rev Y. G. Ti	French Hope of Glory Int. Ministry
Rev Denis Wade	Micah Ministries
Rev Lloyd Wade	Micah Ministries
Simon Woolley	Operation Black Vote (OBV)

Black Church Political Mobilisation a manifesto for action



DR R. DAVID MUIR



PASTOR ADE OMOOBA

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