EVANGELISM AS PUBLIC THEOLOGY:
THE PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT OF THE GOSPEL OF THE KINGDOM CHURCH IN SEMARANG, INDONESIA

by

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ABSTRACT

It is argued that an exclusive theology of evangelism can contribute to a public theology in a multicultural and Muslim majority context. The result theologically contributes towards a contextual articulation of an exclusive faith to a pluralistic public. On the practical level, this theology of evangelism provides a public theology for Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics to express their exclusive faith to the wider Indonesian public, mainly the Javanese Muslims.

A unified paradigm of theology as wisdom is utilised in this research to discern the psychological, cosmic and public aspects of the belief and practices of ordinary Charismatics. This 'ordinary theology' is portrayed through qualitative research in a case study megachurch in Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia. An interdisciplinary approach towards these psychological and cosmic aspects is done by employing a Jungian personality psychology theory and a managerial philosophy for a non-profit organisation.

This study shows the influence of evangelism in the extensive public engagement of Indonesian Charismatic megachurches. These findings indicate a potentiality of such exclusive faith to speak publicly that is elaborated through Miroslav Volf's proposal on political pluralism, which assumes an authentic voice for religious exclusivism. This provides an alternative articulation of Charismatic academic theology besides the common systematic expression.

DEDICATION

Imeiliana,
through whom the love of the Triune God has been flowing
to restore my trust to enter the mystery of a relationship.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Area Minister
CRCS	Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies
FAPB	Forum Anti Pemurtadan Bekasi (The Anti-Apostasy Forum of Bekasi)
FGBMFI	Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FKUB	Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama (The Forum for Religious Harmony)
FPI	Front Pembela Islam (The Islamic Defender Front)
FPTS	Francis Psychological Type Scale
FTN	Feed the Nation
GBI	Gereja Bethel Indonesia (The Indonesian Bethel Church)
GIA	Gereja Isa Almasih (The Church of Isa Almasih)
GITJ	Gereja Injili di Tanah Jawa (The Javanese Evangelical Church)
GKC	Gospel of the Kingdom Church
GKMI	Gereja Kristen Muria Indonesia (The Muria Christian Church)
ICDS	Indonesian Consortium for Development Studies
ICG	International Crisis Group
JKI	Jemaat Kristen Indonesia (The Indonesian Christian Congregation)
MBTI	Myers-Briggs Type Indicator
MHC	Miracle Healing Center
MIK	Media Injil Kerajaan (The Gospel of the Kingdom Media)
MK	Mezbah Keluarga (Family Altar or Cell Group)
OCMS	Oxford Centre for Mission Studies
PCRI	Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Initiative
PDI	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (The Indonesian Democratic Party)
PDIP	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)
PDS	Partai Damai Sejahtera (The Prosperity and Peace Party)
PESAT	Pelayanan Desa Terpadu (The Foundation of Holistic Rural Mission)
PGI	Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia (The Indonesian Council of Churches)
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (The Indonesian Communist Party)
PKM	Penggelar Karpet Merah (Red Carpet Roller)
SK	Sheep Keeper
SPC	Surabaya Praise Centre
SS	Sheep Supervisor
TSOA	The School of Acts
WLI	Wagner Leadership Institute

INTRODUCTION:

EVANGELISM AS PUBLIC THEOLOGY?

1. An Autobiographical Account

'Looks Chinese, what would he do here?' That was a common utterance that I often heard when I attended Islamic assemblies in public squares or in the main hall of a Grand Mosque. Their discomfiture is most likely caused by the quite low percentage of conversion to Islam among Chinese-Indonesians. This condition which was not only influenced by the segregation policy of Dutch colonialism, but was also affected by the 'resinification' of the Chinese communities in South East Asia as well as, what is called by Hefner the 'religionization' of *abanganism* or the local expression of Islam mainly in Java.[1] The situation worsened during the New Order in Indonesia (1966-1998) when the authoritarian regime imposed an assimilation policy on Chinese-Indonesians. This policy was, as Jacobsen concludes, somewhat a disguise of 'asymmetrical power relations in which the dominant "other" utilises the dominated "other" in a more or less Machiavellian way to legitimise its own political agenda'.[2]

I was born in the midst of such cultural homogenization which caused a lack of awareness of my distinct background. My parents also never told me anything relating to our Chinese descent. I did not know until one day when I was representing my school in a competition which was held in a *Madrasah* (Islamic school) relatively close to my

[1] Robert W. Hefner, 'Where Have All the *Abangan* Gone? Religionization and the Decline of Non-Standard Islam in Contemporary Indonesia' in Michel Picard and Rémy Madinier, eds., *The Politics of Religion in Indonesia: Syncretism, Orthodoxy and Religious Contention in Java and Bali* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 72. See also. Michael Jacobsen, 'Islam and Processes of Minorisation among Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia: Oscillating between Faith and Political Economy Expediency', *Asian Ethnicity,* Volume 6, Number 2, June 2005, 73-77.

[2] Jacobsen, 'Islam and Processes of Minorisation', 86.

Christian school. I was walking in the hallway during the break when two students from the *Madrasah,* coming out of nowhere, were suddenly in front of me. Both of them, a boy and a girl, roughly pushed and bullied me. They were threatening, 'Chinese, gives us your money!'. I was shocked yet I tried to remain silent and look calm. I answered, 'I don't have any' and tried to stay away, yet they kept following me and insisted, 'you must have money!'. I speeded up my walk to reach the main hall where the competition was held. Then I realised that they had already gone.

Such an 'aha' moment that revealed my Chinese identity came when I was about nine years old. It was for the very first time I was called 'Chinese' and it was linked to the possession of money as well. Instead I was always told by my parents that I was an Indonesian, no more or less. My parents never speak Chinese at home, and neither do I. Rony Chandra Kristanto was my only name as written on my birth certificate. I never knew or struggled with my identity and physical appearance until that day. Later on, I realised why my mother sometimes looked at me, smiled and said, 'your skin is not too light and your eyes are wider, it's good for you'. She meant if my Chinese appearance was disguised, or if others could not recognise it, then she hoped my life would be more secure or easier under such a regime.[3]

Nevertheless, my major epiphany which not only changes 'the fundamental meaning structures' but also touches 'every fabric of a person's life' came almost a decade later.[4]

[3] My father lost his chance to continue his medical education because the new regime closed the university when he was in the second year due to its founder's involvement with the communist party. He, just liked the majority of ordinary Chinese-Indonesians, was required to change his name to anything that sounded Indonesian. He was later officially changed his name from *Tjan Thiam Kian* to be registered as Agus Haryanto and my mother changed from *Oey Hok Lioe* to become Agnes Suciati Wiguno. My sister and I were not given Chinese names because my father thought that it would bring difficulties in the future.

[4] Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography* (California: SAGE, 1989), 70-71.

My father hurriedly returned from the city centre on Thursday, 14 May 1998 after he had seen people act brutally, just as he had seen in 1980, when a riot targeting Chinese-Indonesians also occurred in my hometown.[5] My father instinctively felt that a similar riot would break out soon. I helped my father, who hastily pulled down the signboard of my mother's food stall in front of our shophouse. A Javanese rickshaw driver, who usually took my mother to the market, advised us to clear up any sign indicating a business activity in our shophouse. In the following hours, I climbed a starfruit tree in our backyard and saw dark smoke from many points of the city. It came from hundreds of burning houses, shops, cars and motorcycles that mostly belonged to the ordinary Chinese-Indonesians, those who had no relationship with the top thirty richest Chinese-Indonesians, who were perceived as the cronies of Soeharto, the president.[6]

The riot marked the fall of the authoritarian regime, as well as the culmination of thirty-two years of systematic discrimination which was covered up with an assimilation policy toward Chinese-Indonesians. They were banned from expressing anything relating to Chinese identity during that period. Chinese schools were closed, temples were supervised or threated, the language was prohibited from use in public (even in some places Chinese characters were erased from gravestones), a minimum allocation was given to enter state schools or universities, and the only possible occupation was commerce. This explains why both students who bullied me equated Chinese with money, since during that period the vast majority of Chinese-Indonesians avoided public

[5] Surakarta is approximately 100 kilometres from Semarang, the capital of Central Java. I was just born when the previous riot happened, and according to my parents it was one of our Madurese Muslim neighbours who accommodated my mother and her few months old baby in their humble home behind our rented house.

[6] See further. Christian Chua, *Chinese Big Business in Indonesia: The State of Capital* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 29-85.

participation and accumulated capital as a consequence. I believed this was designated to set the Chinese-Indonesians as the most accessible target of scapegoating, to be victimised, to release a political tension or other accusations toward the regime when it was needed.[7]

Meanwhile, another major epiphany happened a few months later when I experienced personal encounter with Charismatic Christianity during my first year in university. The encounter drastically shifted my life direction and brought me to respond to what I believed was a personal calling to enter full-time ministry. I initially preferred to take a short-term Bible course and soon after participated in the ministry, since at that time I was involved in evangelising street children with some youth members of a Pentecostal megachurch in Semarang. However, through a confirmation from some friends and others I was unfamiliar with, it became clear that was not what God wanted me to do. It was rather a longer route through taking theological education that was to be my vocation.

I realised during this doctoral research that what I have been attempting to do since my graduate programme is essentially to link both major epiphanies through a theological reflection on the suffering of the Chinese-Indonesians who were victimised during Soeharto's regime, particularly those whose properties were robbed and burned during the riot on 14-15 May 1998. However, I gave up my prepared proposal which resulted from six months of intensive research after I heard three different people (whose shops, houses and cars were robbed or burned) half-heartedly sharing their sufferings. They intonated the same reflection that digging the past was not useful and they had already

[7] See. René Girard, *The Scapegoat* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University, 1986), 12-23.

buried it. What was more important to be shared was how God had restored everything which was lost. They could open new stores, build new houses and even had more cars. They also emphasised that the life of the looters was not even better since that time. Interestingly one was a Charismatic, another one was a Reformed, and the last one was a Catholic. I began to presume that this was seemingly the operative theology of Chinese-Indonesians, regardless their denominational background, to cope with their sufferings. The sufferings are not emphasised yet they are instead, in Denzin's term's, relived by giving a new meaning when they retrospectively retell their experiences.[8]

I later spent a few months observing the largest Charismatic megachurch in my hometown, which claimed 15,000 weekly attendance at that time.[9] I found an observable link between the teaching of the senior pastor and the understanding of members who were business owners. A profitable business was considered one of the signs of God's providence in a context where business was the only possible livelihood. Then gaining profit could be considered a sign of divine provision to cope with the corrupt bureaucrats, who required them to pay more for every permit. I emphatically confirmed a contextual struggle yet at the same time critically warned them on the changing context where officially ethnic discrimination ended with the legalisation of new regulations, constitutional amendments and the law of citizenship which accommodated everyone born in Indonesia as an equal citizen regardless of ethnicity. I therefore advised Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics to be financially involved through more extensive public engagement, which could be started from their cell groups and

[8] Denzin, *Interpretive Biography*, 71.
[9] See. Rony C. Kristanto, *Injil bagi Orang Kaya? Teologi Kemakmuran sebagai Teologi Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: TPK, 2010).

the megachurch's departments. One of the signs of divine provision could therefore be found in the welfare of their workers and neighbours instead of the individualistic enjoyment of the owners in the previous period.

My suggestion for the necessity of more extensive public engagement would later be implemented in my new assignment to develop a new department that coped with the public relations under a Pentecostal megachurch, in Semarang, whose majority members were Chinese-Indonesians. When I more frequently, and intentionally, met many Muslims, either leaders, scholars or ordinary people, mostly they did not recognise the distinctiveness of Pentecostalism compared to other type of Christianity. What became their main association was the size of the church that I belonged to and my Chinese appearance not my doctrinal statement. This fact is somewhat similar to the finding of Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies' (CRCS) research that Pentecostalism is most likely associated with fast growth and affluent attendees by ordinary Muslims.[10] However, I rather regarded my Chineseness as a stepping stone to cross not only cultural but also religious and social gaps.

Quite often strangers greeted me in a shopping centre or somewhere else. 'Hey brother Rony, I know you were the speaker in a religious gathering a few months ago'. I was at once curious and asked how they recognised me in the midst of hundreds or thousands of assemblies, one of them simply answered 'you were the only one with an Oriental appearance'.[11] Instead of my faith, it was my slanting eyes and lighter skin colour

[10] Zainal Abidin Bagir, 'Pentecostal-Muslim Relations in Indonesia: Indifference, Potential for Conflict and Prospects in Harmony' in Christine E. Gudorf, Zainal Abidin Bagir and Marthen Tahun, *Aspirations for Modernity and Prosperity: Symbols and Sources Behind Pentecostal/Charismatic Growth in Indonesia* (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2014), 172-174.
[11] As an allusion of the so-called Chinese-looks.

compared to most of them that became their way of identifying me. I therefore concluded that Chinese-Indonesians, including Charismatics, rarely conduct intentional relationship with the Muslims. Meanwhile, if the megachurches were associated with the assumed affluent Chinese, then the megachurches could obviously hold a significant role to bridge the available gaps.

Racial prejudice is quite evidently the initial barrier to be reduced or eliminated. Overcoming that barrier would bring the Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics to cope with a religious difference, particularly with Muslims, and to bridge a social gap between the assumed affluent and those who felt less privileged financially. However, what had disturbed me was while I received quite openly wider public acclamation from grassroots Muslims and scholars,[12] my fellow Charismatics most likely suspected my approach as compromising the exclusive salvific faith and neglecting the evangelistic task. My theological struggle was somewhat similar to Pinnock's who was 'struggling with the impasse of Christologies that did not acknowledge the universality of God's

[12] Sumanto Al Qurtuby, a Muslim scholar, categorises my initiative among the grassroots initiatives in what he calls 'reconciliation from below' which will result in an ability 'to understand the depth and complexities of each religious tradition, change mutual distrust to common trust, strengthen communal ties, and transform their 'inner conflict' to 'inner peace''. The interfaith camp is considered by a national newspaper to be a down-to-earth approach in interfaith dialogue, with a low cost and easily duplicated programme where the participants are actively involved through their personal testimonies. This three days camp for the interfaith youth was proposed by a state university lecturer as a creative and original method to de-radicalised the trend toward fundamentalism among Muslim students. My interfaith initiatives are seen by Adiprasetya, a Protestant theologian, as an 'extraordinary and exceptional case within Indonesian Pentecostalism' in contrast to what he perceived as the triumphalist evangelistic approach which is more common among Charismatics. See. Sumanto Al Qurtuby, 'Reconciliation from Below: Indonesia's Religious Conflict and Grassroots Agency for Peace' in *The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies,* Volume 44, Number 2 (2012) & Volume 45, Number 1 (2013), 135-162. Joas Adiprasetya, 'Pentakostalisme di Indonesia dan 'Sang Lain Religius'' in Minggus Pranoto and Rony C. Kristanto, eds., *Melampaui Sekat: Pentakostalisme dan Dialog Antar Agama* (Semarang: Sinode GIA and ELSA, 2012), 135-137. Tedi Kholiludin, 'Praksis Dialog dalam Lingkup GIA: Pesan Perdamaian dari Pendamai' in Minggus Pranoto and Rony C. Kristanto, eds., *Melampaui Sekat: Pentakostalism dan Dialog Antar Agama* (Semarang: Sinode GIA and ELSA, 2012), 151-157. Benni Setiawan, 'Pemuda dan Radikalisme', accessed 9 August 2016, http://www.tempo.co/read/kolom/2015/04/11/2049/Pemuda-dan-Radikalisme. Koran Tempo, 30 October 2011, 'Membumikan Dialog Agama'. Bagir, 'Pentecostal-Muslim Relations', 193-194.

grace'. Unlike Pinnock who moved to pneumatological approaches,[13] I was rather leaning toward, what is called by Kärkkäinen, 'the cheap form of theocentrism which sooner or later leads into the denial of trinitarian doctrine and makes Jesus less than divine'.[14] My perspective, which was somewhat acclaimed by Zainal Abidin Bagir[15] as a critical thought 'which pointedly tries to move Pentecostalism beyond its exclusiveness to speak in the language of universal human rights for universal humanitarian concerns',[16] was exactly at the heart of ordinary Charismatics' resistance to what they considered liberal Christianity.

What I persistently proposed and defended was probably at the opposite pole to most of my fellow Charismatics. In Denzin's term, my relationship problem with my peers can be categorised as a minor epiphany which usually represents a 'problematic moment in a relationship or a person's life'.[17] However, as a Charismatic who was theologically trained (sadly also in contextual theology), I was too insensitive and impatient to listen to my peers carefully. Then, if such exclusive faith, which was expressed in the zeal of evangelism, was supposedly at the heart of Charismatics' theological orientation, the further questions to be asked are: *Does evangelism influence Charismatics' public engagement, whether it becomes a hindrance or rather a motivation?* And if, hypothetically, evangelism was the main motive behind Charismatics' extensive public engagement, then: *Does evangelism have a potentiality to become a public faith?* And

[13] See. Clark H. Pinnock, *Flame of Love: A Theology of the Holy Spirit* (Illinois: Inter Varsity Press, 1996).
[14] Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *Trinity and Religious Pluralism: The Doctrine of the Trinity in Christian Theology of Religions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 104.
[15] A progressive Muslim scholar and the director of the CRCS, an interreligious graduate programme of the Gajah Mada State University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
[16] Bagir, 'Pentecostal-Muslim Relations', 194.
[17] Denzin, *Interpretive Biography*, 71.

how to theologically articulate such exclusive faith to speak publicly in a multicultural and an Islamic majority context?

2. Methodology: Autoethnography

My attempt to answer the posed questions can be considered as a relived epiphany through retelling and giving new meaning to my minor epiphany as well as to link it with both major epiphanies. Since it starts with an autobiographical concern, the methodology which is compatible is what can be considered as autoethnography. This approach includes the personal experience of the researcher as an integral and influential part of the research 'to create nuanced and detailed "thick description" of *cultural* experience in order to facilitate understanding of those experiences'.[18] The role of personal experience is regarded as crucial in an autoethnographical approach since it can 'offer intimate and explicit insight into important cultural experience' that could not be collected with other research methods. My role as a researcher is therefore unlike that of traditional ethnography which positions the researcher as a participant observer who 'infiltrates a cultural group and tries to become part of the group' for the sake of data collection.[19] Instead the reciprocal relationship, including emotionality and subjectivity, of the researcher and the participants is involved.[20]

[18] Stacy Holman Jones, Tony Adams and Carolyn Ellis, 'Coming to Know Autoethnography as More than a Method' in Stacy Holman Jones, Tony Adams and Carolyn Ellis, *Handbook of Autoethnography* (California: Left Coast Press, 2013), 33. (Emphasis Original).
[19] Jones, Adams and Ellis, 'Coming to Know Autoethnography, 34.
[20] Arthur P. Bochner and Carolyn Ellis, *Evocative Autoethnography: Writing Lives and Telling Stories* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 56.

However, I am not employing autoethnography in a sense of autobiographical writing which uses my own personal experience and life stories as the primary data. Instead my epiphanies are compared and contrasted with previous research and framed along with the available literature as an analytical tool not only to provide a better understanding to the participants and the outsiders in the cultural events, but also as a personal transformation of the researcher.[21] Therefore I need to choose a group to which I, to some extent, could be categorised as an insider mainly as related to my major epiphanies. I observed that the Gospel of the Kingdom Church (GKC) fitted with both my Charismatic experience and my struggle as a Chinese-Indonesian. The late senior pastor, the majority of the deputies, staff and members were Chinese-Indonesians. I also belonged to the same denomination as that megachurch, which can be classified as Mennonite-Charismatic. This affinity raised a sense of belonging with the group instead of merely seeing them as an object of research. Accessibility to the group also became one of the main reasons to choose this megachurch, since Charismatic megachurches were often reluctant to accept unknown researchers to conduct in-depth research.[22]

The senior pastor was formally approached to request the involvement of the deputies, staff and membership by means of a letter. The main decision was coming from the senior pastor who already gave his consent for this research through an email to the researcher.[23] The senior pastor announced it to the deputies who directly relate to this research.

[21] Carolyn Ellis, Tony E. Adams and Arthur P. Bochner, 'Autoethnography: An Overview', *Historical Social Research*, Vol. 36. No. 4, 2011, 276. See also. Jones, Adams and Ellis, 'Coming to Know Autoethnography, 34-36.

[22] The late senior pastor gave a verbal consent before the research was conducted (7 October 2013) which was later confirmed via an email on 11 February 2014. An ethical review was therefore applied and approved by the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee on 20 April 2015.

[23] See Appendix 4.

Interviewees were selected based on their role and involvement in GKC's public engagement. The deputies, department leaders, and the cell-groups department had provided the list of members who were engaged in social ministry. Several cell-groups were chosen with the agreement of the department leader and contacted to request their participation in this research via FGD. The groups which agreed to participate were asked to respond to the leader. The leader explicitly stated that there would be no obligation to take part irrespective of the church agreement to be involved. A number of individual interviews and FGDs were contacted and conducted based on the snowballing information of the previous interviews or FGDs.

Interviews were only conducted with adults (aged 18+). Even some ministries had beneficiaries who were under 18, but individuals obviously under the age of 18 or otherwise considered vulnerable were not approached for interview. All of the interviewees were confirmed that they were over 18 before the interview commenced. The participants who were requested to participate in an individual interview or FGD were under no obligation to take part. They were also informed that the interview or FGD would be voice-recorded for the purpose of transcription. Participants were informed of their right of withdrawal through verbal explanation by the researcher as written on the consent form. The informed consent form explicitly indicated that consent could be withdrawn at any time at the request of the participant. Complete anonymity was not possible, since the senior pastor and the megachurch were well known among Indonesian Charismatics and their networks. But this study sought confidentiality by using pseudonyms to protect other individual participants from the beginning of the fieldwork.

Transcripts of interviews was only available to the interviewees, researcher and supervisor. No personal details of the interviewee were associated with the transcript, except the pseudonyms of the interviewees. In general, the names of interviewees and less significant leaders within the church are not included in the final text; pseudonyms are used for these individuals. The confidentiality of data was observed throughout the whole research period. Research findings are kept for use in research papers and publications. They will be preserved and accessible for up to ten years following submission in accordance with the University of Birmingham's Code of Practice for Research.

A megachurch was chosen because it tended to engage publicly more than smaller churches and it was also perceived by Muslims as a typical fast-growing church with assumed affluent members whose majority were of Chinese descent. Relating to the contemporary nature of Charismatic megachurches and public engagement then case study could be considered 'the preferred method when ... the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context'.[24] According to the experiential feature and spiritual concern of Charismatic Christianity, the case study is reasonable to be employed because this method 'allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events'.[25] This approach is, according to Mark Cartledge, facilitating 'an oscillation between the "lifeworld" (concrete reality) and "system" (theory or theological metanarrative)' that 'attempts to connect two quite distinct areas'.[26]

[24] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Method* (London: Sage, 2009), loc. 311.
[25] Yin, *Case Study*, loc. 351.
[26] Mark J. Cartledge, *Testimony in the Spirit: Rescripting Ordinary Pentecostal Theology* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 14-15.

I therefore followed the model that developed by Robert Yin, who considers case study to be a comprehensive research method rather than just part of the method, particularly in an explicatory phase of the research.[27] Empirical research that employed a case study could provide 'a more rigorous methodological approach' for theology which previously 'relied on *ad hoc* approaches or insights and intuitions' rather than employing 'the tools and methods of the social sciences'. There is however a need to prioritise theological discourse from the initial step to avoid this approach becoming just 'another branch of social science'.[28] A further exploration of the theological approach is therefore provided in the next section.

Empirical fieldwork was therefore conducted in the aforementioned megachurch during four months in 2015. The megachurch then became 'the case', which was the unit of analysis that had an initial definition and related to the preliminary research questions.[29] This unit of analysis could be revisited based on the results of my discoveries during the data collection.[30] I also previously (2014) conducted a preliminary observation and interviews with some key persons and groups to provide a better understanding in order to prepare the research questions for individuals and groups. The weekly Sunday services of the megachurch were also regularly listened to (via streaming radio) or watched (on YouTube channel) since early 2014 until the first half of 2016. The writings of the late senior pastor (mostly a transcription of his sermons) and his recorded sermons from 1991 to 2015 were read and listened to. One of their multimedia staff helped me to roughly classify the sermons from 2004 to 2014 based on the year of

[27] Yin, *Case Study*, loc. 384.
[28] Cartledge, *Testimony in the Spirit*, 14-15.
[29] Yin, *Case Study,* Loc 864.
[30] Yin, *Case Study*, Locs 870, 875.

preaching, but the rest had no direct date labelling. I collected weekly newsletters from the services that I attended. I also gathered membership data from the cell group department, and a statistic of ministry receivers from the law firm, medical clinic and shelter ministry. The multimedia department supplied audio-visual materials including recorded public engagement ministries, such as charity-markets in some cities, emergency services for flood and volcano eruption refugees, transgender[31] worship services, and retreats and training for military soldiers. The official website of the megachurch was also accessed to be compared with other documents and findings.

'The context' in this case was the megachurch along with the geographical and social context of Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia and 'the phenomenon' which need to be covered was the public engagement of the megachurch. People that need to be included as the subjects were the senior pastor, deputies, staff, active members of the megachurch and the beneficiaries. The specific time boundaries for the unit were from 2007 to 2015, when the megachurch started the public engagement and the time when the research was conducted. A general and historical observation was also made of the previous period, started mainly in 1991 when the church was established.

As an insider I did not face any substantial difficulty while I was immersed with the cells, services, or ministries of the megachurch. Written permission was never asked and spontaneous involvement was often required such as praying and testifying or sharing

[31] Transgender people have a gender identity or expression that differs from their biological sex at birth. They are sometimes called transsexual if they desire transition from one sex to another. They also called transvestite or cross-dressing, practice of wearing the clothes of the opposite sex. See. Kimberly Tauches, 'Transgender' in Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed 5 February 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/transgender.
'Transvestism', Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed 5 February 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/transvestism.

faith experience. In a cell, I was also involved as a participant in planning and distributing meals and organising a clown show with another ministry department of the church. During the fieldwork I was mostly a participant who actively engaged in activities together with the staff, members and beneficiaries being observed. I was therefore 'involved in a situation already, but [took] time to step back and analyse what is happening from a research perspective'.[32] When a chance appeared I also conducted interviews, examined documents and verified the life histories of the key persons.[33] I took part more as an observer, where I mostly attended and observed but to some extent also actively participated such as in worship or prayer. I attended Sunday worship services (twelve times), a biannual conference (once), seminars (twice), cell groups (twelve times), school activities (twice), medical clinic (twice), public kitchen (once), job training (once), legal aid (once), small scale charity-market (twice), free medical service (twice), shelter ministry (thrice), orphanage (once), meal distribution and clown show (once).

The one-on-one interviews used semi-structured interviews which had a set of prepared questions with flexibility to improve the questions during interviewing time.[34] Individual interviews were conducted with the senior pastor and four deputies who were directly involved in public engagement. Some leaders and staff members of departments were also interviewed individually because they were the only staff in their department.[35] Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were arranged for staff, members and beneficiaries. Interviewees were chosen using a maximum variation of sampling. This type of sampling

[32] Mark J. Cartledge, *Practical Theology: Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003), 71.
[33] Cartledge, *Practical Theology*, 70.
[34] Cartledge, *Practical Theology*, 72.
[35] All of the interviewees are mentioned in their pseudonyms, except for the senior pastor and deputies.

included ‘determining in advance some criteria that differentiate the sites or participants, and then selecting sites or participants that are quite different on the criteria’.[36] Maximizing the varieties of participants will produce variant perspectives which reflect the participant’s various opinions.[37]

A sizable number of FGD were conducted based on a purpose ‘to capture as much diversity in perspectives as possible’.[38] Yet, the number of the groups could be adjusted due to time restraints as long as the data was still valuable.[39] The size range of a group according to several researches is three to ten members.[40] Many researchers propose a smaller size group with a maximum of eight members and others preferred a group of three to five members as a smoother group.[41] I conducted five FGDs for church staff: high school teachers, vocational teachers, clown ministry, shelter ministry, and lawyers. Eleven FGDs were arranged for members who were actively involved in public service through the available cell groups. Four FGDs were also conducted for the beneficiaries, including job training participants, parents whose children joined the shelter ministry and received scholarships, parents who attended the shelter ministry and whose children had joined the shelter, and high school graduates.

The cell groups were chosen as the natural groups of the church. This group was called a ‘pre-existing group’, which was made earlier so their members knew each other, and this type of group can produce a natural discussion among the members.[42] Each cell

[36] John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (London: Sage, 2007), 126.
[37] Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 126-127.
[38] Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 433. Cartledge, *Practical Theology*, 505.
[39] Bryman, *Social Research*, 507.
[40] Bryman, *Social Research*, 506-507.
[41] Bryman, *Social Research*, 507-508.
[42] Bryman, *Social Research*, 510.

group consists of people from various backgrounds. Usually, most of the groups are homogeneous in age, level of education, occupation, and ethnicity, yet a number of them have more varied backgrounds. Due to the selection, I initially checked membership and activities of the cell groups from the cell group department and re-checked their recent condition via cell groups' leaders and supervisors. I chose eleven different groups based on age groups, location and involvement in public engagement. Two groups were classified as youth groups (18-25 years old), two groups were classified as young adult groups (26-35 years old), and seven groups were classified as adult groups (consisting of mixed age groups where the average age was above 35).

3. Theological Approach: Theology as Wisdom

Interpreting the data gathered from the case study megachurch required a comprehension of the basic nature of Charismatic Christianity, as well as my epiphanies, otherwise it would be a reductionist approach which tends to overlook findings that do not fit with the researcher's paradigm. One of my significant roles as a trained theologian, according to Bevans, is therefore as a listening professional.[43] Schreiter emphasises that being a theologian requires 'a sensitivity to the context',[44] that is including the detailed personal experiences of a person or group. This detail is a journey through 'success, failure, births, deaths, relationships, and so forth' which enable or prevent them from a divine encounter.[45] Such experiences are also embraced by the autoethnographical approach where 'subjectivity, uncertainty, and emotions' which are

[43] Stephen B. Bevans, *Model of Contextual Theology* (New York: Orbis Books, 2006), 18.
[44] Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (New York: Orbis Books, 1986), 18.
[45] Bevans, *Model,* 5.

frequently 'gendered as feminine and, consequently, considered inadequate, insufficient, and irrational' are instead privileged 'to subvert traditional norms of scholarship that silence the 'complexity and fragility' of life'.[46]

An 'extraordinary capacity to listen'[47] is therefore required and to do such things demands 'a spirituality of "letting go"'.[48] My defensive and unsympathetic attitude as aforementioned is obviously among those characteristics that needed to be released. To some extent, it has inverted my approach and perspective on what is perceived as reality. Charismatics observably relate their daily life (i.e. business, health, or family) with the unseen realm (i.e. God, visions, dreams, prophecies, prayers, deliverances, speaking in tongues, spirits, angels or demons). This should therefore carefully and emphatically be taken into account if I wanted to come to an honest discourse with ordinary Charismatics. The specific and authentic terms that are pronounced therefore needed to be considered, rather than impatiently coming to analyse with a set of predetermined theoretical frameworks.[49]

Hollenweger consistently emphasises that as in the early Christianity, such Charismatic type is rooted in oral culture and not on a set of consistent doctrines.[50] Listening to sermons and testimonies, as conducted through this case study, became the initial step to recognise their unformulated theology.[51] Unfortunately, as observed by Anderson, what have become essential features of Charismatics are quite often neglected when

[46] Jones, Adams and Ellis, 'Coming to Know Autoethnography, 35.
[47] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 18.
[48] Bevans, *Model,* 21.
[49] See. David Martin, 'Undermining Old Paradigms: Rescripting Pentecostal Accounts' in *PentecoStudies* 5.1 (2006), 18-38.
[50] Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 18-19.
[51] See. Allan Anderson, 'A 'Time to Share Love': Global Pentecostalism and the Social Ministry of David Yonggi Cho' in *Journal of Pentecostal Theology 21* (2012), 158.

research is conducted among them.[52] I contend that this indifference, particularly for theological researchers, mostly relates to the incompatible sociological form of theology that is operated. I borrow this analytical tool from Schreiter who contends that there is undoubtedly a limitation and strength of each particular form of thought.[53] This mainly relates to its compatibility with particular cultural contexts. The focus is therefore not on competing or judging one form of thought with another one to find the authentic one, but rather to find which one is more compatible and can be applied to such particularity.

A sociological form of theology that has dominated Western academic theology since the twelfth century is what is undoubtedly called *scientia*, or theology as sure knowledge.[54] It found its compatibility with the social change in the Western culture. This particularly relates to the rise of more complex urban societies which require highly specialised skills to make possible a division of labour, and to the development of the university which provides analytical tools to reconstruct the faith as well as to shift the audience and vocabulary of theology from the needs of congregations to the requirements of other faculties and disciplines. Theology, therefore, became a more specialised discipline, and later on sub-disciplines, which emphasises intellectuality and often overlooks spirituality.[55] Simon Chan, a Pentecostal systematic theologian, contends that such *scientia* is still compatible with the Charismatic form of Christianity, if considered in its more unified approach which placed theology alongside other

[52] Allan Anderson, 'The Contextual Pentecostal Theology of David Yonggi Cho' in Wonsuk Ma, William W. Menzies and Hyeon-sung Bae, eds., *David Yonggi Cho: A Close Look at His Theology and Ministry* (Baguio: APTS, 2004), 134.
[53] See. Schreiter, *Constructing,* 80.
[54] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 87-88.
[55] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 90.

sciences, as happened before the Cartesian methodology surfaced at the end of seventeenth century.[56] Chan, however, consistently argues that the primary motive of systematic reflection is spiritual rather than merely intellectual. For Chan, integration could be seen as the nature of theological science. Systematic theology as an expression of *scientia* could be considered 'the result of integrating the various strands of historical revelation on a common theme'[57] rather than as an effort to construct an analytical system to rationalise such events.[58]

While Chan tries to provide an integrated framework for ordinary Charismatics to accommodate their fundamental beliefs and practices,[59] he is presumably unaware of the sociological limitation of the form of theology that he advises. This is probably influenced by his theological intention to return to a systematic approach as a unified science, as in the medieval age, in contrast to the later form of *scientia* in modern Western academic theology. His struggle depicts his sociological background as a trained theologian in the Western tradition, who grew up and lives in Singapore, one of the so-called first world countries of Asia. Placing *scientia* as an ideal is, in my opinion, intuitively formed by his more homogenous middle-class, educated background in the urban context of his city country. This for me confirms what Schreiter has warned, that every form of approach has its limitations as well as advantages. Chan's insistence on idealising *scientia* is seemingly culturally constructed by his particular context. What is compatible for Chan and perhaps Singaporean Charismatics, cannot be imposed on a

[56] Simon Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 24-31.
[57] Chan, *Pentecostal Theology,* 29.
[58] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 89.
[59] Chan, *Pentecostal Theology,* 31-32. See also. Simon Chan, *Spiritual Theology: A Systematic Study of the Christian Life* (Illinois: IVP, 1998), 15-39. Simon Chan, *Grassroots Asian Theology: Thinking the Faith from the Ground Up* (Illinois: IVP, 2014), 9-46.

geographically close yet socially or culturally diverse country such as Indonesia, particularly in Java where the society, nature and the spirit realm is perceived as having numinous unity.[60]

I, therefore, propose what is categorised by Schreiter as *sapientia* (wisdom theology), as an operative form of reflection for my context. *Sapientia* is compatible in a culture which tends 'to discern the unity of the world' rather than analytically explain it,[61] including a unified view on the development of human life, marked by certain rites and patterns, and concern for interiority and invisible reality as an integrated aspect which functions as a path to the visible reality.[62] While the integrated nature of *sapientia* is apparently similar to Chan's version of *scientia*, the concern of the latter is probably with the text and tradition rather than 'the interiority of human experience' like that of the former.[63] Focus on human psychology, which is one of wisdom theology's main features, is connected to its cosmic scope through an analogical logic with an anagogical purpose.[64] The function of analogy is thus as a connecting feature of its concern and scope. The knowledge of human psychology is therefore analogically used to understand the visible and the invisible realms. An improved understanding of the inner life will therefore provide a thorough picture of the relation between the self, the cosmos, and society. Those features are elaborated to be used to approach the empirical findings in the case study megachurch.

[60] See. Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi tentang Kebijaksanaan Hidup Jawa* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1993), 82-137.
[61] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 88-89.
[62] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 86-87.
[63] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 85.
[64] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 85-86.

Human interiority is considered 'the prism through which one is to contemplate God and the universe', and this requires a conscientious examination of one's own inner life which results in a framework to perceive the whole reality.[65] The expression of such a framework that often reappears is on specific patterns of path or journey, indicating an experiential sequence of a route that 'leads to wisdom, which is the knowledge of God'.[66] An ascension to a mount of John of the Cross or a journey from one chamber to another in a mansion of Theresa of Avila, or perhaps Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* depict spiritual maps which result from their journey to the inner self. What is called by Evelyn Underhill 'the geography of the individual quest', assumes 'an orderly basis for things' on a relation between the inner world and the outer world.[67] Since analogical approaches 'are seen as logics with an anagogical function' for *sapientia*,[68] the geography of the self is relational to the geography of the cosmos and society.

The problem is whether a single map depicts the whole details of the journey, or instead represents a particular path which has been passed by the drawer. The use of different symbols such as mountain or mansion could refer to a similar or diverse way. Underhill proposes a 'map-making' of mystical theology which is the result of classifying, criticising, explaining and translating 'empirical mysticism' to get what is assumed a general pattern of the inner life.[69] These are illustrated as phases, as in psychological development, from awakening, discipline, enlightenment, and self-surrender to union. For Charismatics, as argued by Suurmond, the awakening is equal to the experience of

[65] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 85.
[66] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 86.
[67] Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism: The Development of Humankind's Spiritual Consciousness* (London: Bracken Books, 1995), 102.
[68] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 86.
[69] Underhill, *Mysticism,* 95.

conversion, and enlightenment could be compared to Spirit baptism.[70] Suurmond chooses fourfold phases, which perhaps combine discipline with enlightenment or integrate discipline as part of the wilderness phase of self-surrender. The wilderness phase is quite familiar to Charismatics, yet they tend to avoid 'the bitter cold, the despair, and the abandonment of the dark night'.[71] This, according to Suurmond, probably relates to Charismatics' attention 'to the external manifestations of the Spirit' and their inclination to neglect 'the inward transformation' of the inner self.[72]

The result will, therefore, be used as an analogy to understand the correlation between the transcendental belief and the empirical practices of the case study. What is experienced inwardly will be extended as a cosmic understanding which integrates 'all parts of the world by faith into a single meaningful whole'.[73] Such cosmic scope of interest is assuming the interrelation between the invisible and the visible. Therefore, what can be empirically observed is perceived as an integrated whole with what is inwardly and transcendentally experienced. There is assumedly no separation between the private and the public or the natural and the supernatural, as often marks the struggle of *scientia* to address the public with what is more recently called public theology.[74] Addressing a social problem is therefore not merely concerning the visible roots but also examining the potential influence of the invisible realms. On the other

[70] Jean-Jacques Suurmond, *Word and Spirit at Play: Towards a Charismatic Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1994), 156-158.
[71] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit*, 158.
[72] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit*, 155. Further elaboration of these phases will be provided in chapter three, where the epiphanies of the senior pastor will be discerned to better understand its unity with the evangelistic fervour of the megachurch.
[73] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 85.
[74] See further explanation of public theology in Chapter 5.

hand, reflecting on the inner life cannot be considered as social inactivity because the result of such journey will be used to address the visible realms.

Such a cosmic view will be observed to find its link with the extensive public engagement of the megachurch. A management framework is therefore employed to assess the transmission of such cosmology into empirical performance. In this case, the megachurch is compatible with Peter Drucker's category of a non-profit organisation which requires a certain complexity of structure, instead of what is the presumed direct relationship between a charismatic leader and the followers.[75] The assessment of the management along with the psychology of the pastor results in the public theology of the megachurch. My task is more on articulating what they empirically practice and vaguely express, deepening it with the abundance of Christian tradition and challenging them to broaden their theological horizons, which results in a proposal of a contextual theology of evangelism.[76] The result is not a final product but rather a dynamic proposal to be reflected and implemented by Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics, particularly the case study megachurch. The function of a contextual theologian is rather as 'a midwife to the people as they give birth to a theology that is truly rooted in a culture and moment of history'.[77]

4. Literature Review

I am particularly assessing the relation between the evangelistic motivation of megachurches and their public engagement. Evangelistic fervour is observably one of

[75] See further in Chapter 4.
[76] See. Bevans, *Model,* 18.
[77] Bevans, *Model,* 18.

the U.S. megachurches' features as explained by Thumma and Travis.[78] The evangelistic enthusiasm of the senior pastor, whose position is central in defining the vision and mission, influences members' evangelistic participation.[79] Megachurches' members actively participating in sharing their faith with others compare to smaller churches.[80] This becomes one of the presumed reasons for a megachurch's numerical growth, but its influence toward broader public participation is not yet informed.[81] While social service is reported as one of the megachurches' key activities just slightly lower in percentage than evangelism, the influence of Evangelicals' shifting paradigm of mission is probably the obvious motivation for such participation. A holistic mission approach that perceives that evangelism 'is no longer just about saving souls, but also about meeting physical, educational, and economic needs' is quite obviously the primary driver behind such public engagement.[82] My case study has a considerably diverse context with such megachurches where Christianity is, to some extent, still quite perceptibly significant in percentage and influence. This research, therefore, contributes by showing whether megachurches in an Islamic majority context incline toward holistic mission or rather embrace more 'saving souls' evangelism. If hypothetically evangelism was behind such public engagement of my case study megachurch, then a contextual struggle on the influence of evangelism toward a megachurch's public engagement could also be depicted.

[78] Scott Thumma and David Travis, *Beyond Megachurch Myths: What We Can Learn from America's Largest Churches* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2007).
[79] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 64.
[80] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 155-158.
[81] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 160-163.
[82] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 78-79.

Evangelism is indefinably mentioned as one of the important motivations behind the public engagement of the five largest megachurches in London.[83] The latest presentation provides an insight into the influence of evangelism toward such extensive public engagement of London megachurches, which could also be categorised as Charismatic.[84] The researchers tend to depict evangelism as an articulation of God's love which could be shown through an interpersonal relationship that does not merely end with conversion or church membership. Their elusive statement in my opinion relates to the nature of the research and presentation to offer policy options for wider public audiences. However, some statements, such as: 'the activity is not all about proselytization' or that the relational motive 'is at least as important to them as the quest for conversion', indicate a significant evangelistic motivation that probably relates to the megachurches' unified paradigm toward reality. That is a similar ontological position to that of Charismatics in the Southern Hemisphere. While London megachurches address a secular context, their approach is presumably similar to my case study which has a considerably different cultural context. My research, therefore, could offer a theological approach which is probably also applicable in the secular West within a society that is searching for a unified paradigm of self and society.[85] This will contribute to confirming *sapientia* as an operative theological framework for academic theologians as well as for ordinary Charismatics.

A balanced approach to evangelism and social action, as argued by Miller and Yamamori, is the reason behind an increasing social participation of Charismatics in the last two

[83] The complete analysis is not yet available during the writing up of my research.
[84] Heather Buckingham and Andrew Davies, 'Megachurches and Social Engagement in London: Policy Options and Opportunities', Cadbury Centre Policy Briefing, 2 October 2016.
[85] See. Schreiter, *Constructing,* 87.

decades.[86] Their findings show how evangelistic fervour is a significant motive which moves what they called 'progressive Pentecostals' to answer the daily needs of their neighbourhood. However, churches which only emphasise conversion as their only mission and concentrate on the so-called 'health and wealth' gospel without direct social involvement were excluded from their research.[87] While indicating an evangelistic motive as the main reason behind such engagement, a holistic mission is apparently what is attempted to be proposed by Miller and Yamamori rather than a merely 'saving souls' evangelism.[88] This presumably shows a considerable difference from my case study megachurch, where evangelism is observably becoming their primary motivation. Premillennial eschatology is also seen as hindering Charismatics from participating in long-term public engagement.[89] This is also apparently contrary to the emphasis on the imminent return of Christ in my case study megachurch, which very probably motivates them to engage publicly. Both researchers also vaguely mention a possibility that progressive Pentecostals' public engagement relates to an invisible realm which they name the 'S' factor.[90] They do not elaborate further on the nature of their examination, which has a sociological rather than a theological basis. A theological approach is the contribution of my research on the relation between the unseen and the seen factor of Charismatics' public engagement. My theological reflection also elaborates 'saving souls' evangelism as a public faith.

[86] Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (California: University of California Press, 2007).
[87] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 2.
[88] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 1-2, 59, 211-21.
[89] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 213.
[90] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 3-4, 108-110, 219-221.

The most recent, and still the only, national scale research conducted on Indonesian Charismatics indicates that evangelistic fervour is considered essential by the vast majority of respondents.[91] While this is considered not 'necessarily systematic efforts at conversion', 91.8 percent out of 3,748 respondents affirmed that they actively evangelise their families, friends or neighbours.[92] The in-depth interviews with many church leaders confirms that evangelism with a religious conversion is believed to be an obligation. However, the research also shows that the percentage of conversion from other religions is quite low compared to the internal conversion from other churches, whether Protestant or Catholic. While conversion from Buddhism and Islam respectively were 6.45 percent and 3.9 percent of the total, conversion from other denominations made up 37.3 percent of the respondents. Unfortunately, for the interviewed Muslim respondents, the growth of Charismatic churches (indicated by the size of the building and the number of cars parking during Sunday services) were probably perceived as the result of 'Christianisation' or converting Muslims to be Christians. Even though Muslim-Charismatic relationship could be generally considered as peaceful, this is rather 'a kind of tolerance which borders on indifference'.[93] While there is a superficially harmonious relationship, an intentional initiative is very rare among those leaders or members. While Bagir quite confidently proposes my writing as answering the lack of an adequate Pentecostal theological reflection that supports my interfaith initiative, for me, after conducting this case study, this instead becomes the opposite of such acclamation. This research is my attempt to provide a Charismatic theology that accommodates both the

[91] Christine E. Gudorf, Zainal Abidin Bagir and Marthen Tahun, *Aspirations for Modernity and Prosperity: Symbols and Sources Behind Pentecostal/Charismatic Growth in Indonesia* (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2014), 229.
[92] Bagir, 'Pentecostal-Muslim Relations in Indonesia', 180-181.
[93] Bagir, 'Pentecostal-Muslim Relations in Indonesia', 192.

evangelistic fervour of Charismatics and the necessities of articulating such exclusive faith as a public faith in the midst of superficial Muslim-Charismatic relationships.

5. Definitions and Limitations

Evangelism is used to describe the spreading of an exclusive and salvific faith in Jesus Christ. It is usually implemented through various ways, including social works, prayers, verbal and direct sharing of faith to people who are considered unsaved. For Charismatics, this usually includes those whom they perceive as nominal Christians.

I use the term *Charismatic* in its broader sense to refer to churches, denominations, adherents and groups ranging from the more Classical Pentecostal, to the Charismatic and Neo-Pentecostal churches that share common features of Charismatic Christianity (i.e. emphasising a relationship with, and the power, gifts and manifestation of the Holy Spirit). The vast majority of Indonesian megachurches classify themselves as Charismatic, which refers to its roots in the Indonesian Charismatic renewal in the 1970s and 1980s.

Megachurch refers to a church with more than 2,000 members as is often used in existing research. However, since the larger churches tend more to engage publicly, I give more attention to churches with above five thousand in weekly attendance. Relating to the participation of Chinese-Indonesians in leadership and membership, I focus on ten of the largest megachurches, with more than ten thousand in weekly attendance. These ten largest megachurches also tend to be imitated by smaller megachurches as well as by other churches.

Public engagement is the social activities, ministries, involvement and influences of megachurches that go beyond the needs of the congregation and affect the wider society. This term could be used interchangeably with social ministry or social engagement, but the term public engagement is intentionally used to differentiate its broader scope, which includes each appearance or participation of a megachurch or its members in a public sphere, whether through what is traditionally categorised as social action or through particular Charismatic participation, e.g. 'spiritual warfare' or 'marching prayer'. The *public* term is intentionally used to cover a broader category and activity which is done by Charismatic megachurches and their members.

Case study 'has the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events'.[94] This focus could also be the limitation of the method. The contemporary setting also means the case itself is an on-going process. Therefore, what was observed during the exploratory stage could possibly end or change during the descriptive and explanatory stage of the research. The contemporary finding at the same time results in a temporary outcome. This was proven in this study when the senior pastor, who was also the founder of the case study megachurch, died unexpectedly in March 2016, less than six months after the fieldwork was conducted. My observation during the first six months after the death of the founder showed a drastic change in the megachurch. This was clearly observed after the new senior pastor was appointed three months after the founder's death. While the appointed successor was the wife of the late pastor, her leadership style and approach was quite distinct from that of the founder. This would probably influence its public engagement, since the majority of the deputies who were

[94] Yin, *Case Study*, loc. 436.

directly involved in the public engagement chose to leave to start a new church, less than two months after the ordination of the new leader.

As a single case study, the results of this research cannot be generalised to identify the common characteristic of megachurches and their theology. It instead provides a contemporary snapshot and a contextual point of view from a particular Indonesian context in Java. This results in a contextual theology, which is sensitive to its temporality and locality.

6. An Overview

A review of the Indonesian Charismatics' evangelistic fervour is provided in the first chapter. This chapter examines whether evangelism becomes a hindrance or is rather a motivation for them to engage publicly. Increasing awareness of holistic mission is also elaborated to see its influence toward evangelism and public engagement. A correlation between evangelism with premillennial eschatology and spiritual warfare is also explored, particularly its compatibility with public engagement. The encounter between Islamists and Charismatics in contesting public space is portrayed as the context of democratic Indonesia.

The second chapter explains the profile of the case study megachurch. A particular observation of its evangelistic fervour is provided through the background of the leader, context, network and growth of the megachurch. This profile will provide a general background to understanding a more detailed exploration of the life experiences of the senior pastor in the third chapter. The life of the senior pastor is seen as an analogy of the theology and ministry of the megachurch. A psychological examination is conducted

to understand its relationship with and influence toward the evangelistic fervour and the extensive public engagement of the megachurch. The examination is therefore used to understand a cosmic orientation which results in such extensive public engagement.

This becomes the concern of the fourth chapter where the empirical findings are elaborated, mainly to comprehend the relationship between the visible and the invisible. A theological articulation of such findings is given in the fifth chapter to offer a possibility to employ an exclusive faith to become a public faith. It is done through 'deepening' and 'challenging' the theology of the megachurch within the broader tradition of wisdom theology. The result is a proposal of evangelism as a public theology for Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics. A concluding chapter closes this writing with some remarks on the potentiality and limitation of such a proposal for both academic discourse and ordinary Charismatics.

CHAPTER ONE

'FRIEND OR FOE':

EVANGELISM, CHARISMATIC MEGACHURCHES AND PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

'If people didn't come to Christ at the end, this is not evangelism!' A few of my peers usually criticised a suggestion to include social services as transformative mission, rather than merely conducting direct and verbal evangelism. 'Are you finally telling them about Jesus or at least proclaiming his name to your audiences?' A healing evangelist reminded me to evaluate the goal of my public engagement. Shortly he added 'the result is not our concern, but it is the proclamation that becomes our part'. I do not say that there are no open minded or well-educated Charismatics who are influenced by the shifting paradigm among Evangelicals, particularly a consciousness on 'the importance of a scripturally mandated "holistic" approach to engagement with society that goes beyond just evangelism'.[95] But later I realised that behind such a holistic and transformative slogan there is still a determined longing to bring what they believed to be an uncompromised salvific faith in Jesus. Therefore, I will trace the reasons behind such evangelistic motivation which still clearly dominates the theological argument of Charismatics, and examine the link with wider public engagement, and at the same time explore whether such evangelism hinders or supports wider involvement.

[95] Sharon Gramby-Sobukwe and Tim Hoiland, 'The Rise of Mega-Church Efforts in International Development: A Brief Analysis and Areas for Further Research', *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies* Vol 26.2 (2009), 105. See also. Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 59-62.

1. Evangelism: Hindrance or Motivation to Engage Publicly?

Placing evangelism as the primary task, according to Adinata, has alienated Charismatics from wider social participation.[96] What I often heard relating to social involvement is 'Church is not an NGO' or 'we don't preach social gospel'. There is a quite strong suspicion that such social participation would reduce commitment and hinder the priority of evangelism.[97] This perspective remains stronger among classical Pentecostal churches than among Charismatic megachurches. It is most probably related to the social and educational background of the leaders and congregations of classical Pentecostal churches and Charismatic megachurches. Most of the classical Pentecostals come from more humble backgrounds, while the majority of Charismatics are more affluent middle-class people. Leaders of classical Pentecostalism mostly graduated from traditional Pentecostal Bible schools, while the majority of Charismatic megachurch leaders have various educational backgrounds from secular universities and most of them were previously businesspersons or professional workers.

Social ministry will be done as long as it serves evangelism. Therefore, the final goal is to proclaim the gospel so that people have eternal life through faith in Jesus Christ.[98] The valuation of social ministry is mostly judged merely on its effectiveness in evangelism. This usually relies on a quantitative achievement of such ministry, such as how many people have been gathered and converted as the result of such social services. Social service is seen as relatively insignificant related to church growth and

[96] Biworo G. Adinata, 'Mission Strategy of the Gereja Bethel Indonesia in the Context of Islam and Christian Encounter in Indonesia' (Th.M thesis., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1993), 35.
[97] Mark Robinson, 'Pentecostalism in Urban Java: A Study of Religious Change, 1980-2006' (PhD diss., University of Queensland, 2008), 225.
[98] Adinata, 'Mission Strategy', 35.

conversion. According to Robinson's finding, Pentecostal leaders in Java perceive physical need as less important than spiritual matters. The most common views on social service within Pentecostal leaders are that it is of 'lesser importance than evangelistic activities' and 'should be secondary to the evangelistic activity of the church'. This is in line with the result of Robinson's research that places social service, include education, medical and relief ministries of low rank in importance for conversion among Javanese Muslims.[99]

For such aforementioned reasons, social engagement usually becomes a division under the mission department of the church. The most common evangelistic slogans are 'the Great Commission', 'proclamation of the Gospel', 'Save the Lost at any Cost', and 'Make Disciples of the Nations' with a firm reference to Matthew 28: 18-20. Evangelism is seen as 'the primary responsibility', 'top priority' and 'utmost importance' for the vast majority of Indonesian Charismatics, both in belief and practice.[100] Ninety-two percent of the Charismatic respondents firmly answered that they are involved in spreading the gospel. This is based on the result of two years of research conducted in five major cities of Indonesia by a state university and the Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Initiative (PCRI).[101] There is no further exploration on why and how they are involved in evangelism. This does, however, indicate a high awareness of the centrality of evangelism, because they do not only agree but most importantly are involved.

Obaja Tanto Setiawan, the founder and senior pastor of the Family of God Church (GBI Keluarga Allah), in Solo, Central Java, clearly states that evangelism is the only

[99] Robinson, 'Pentecostalism', 224-226.
[100] Adinata, 'Mission Strategy', 35.
[101] Gudorf, Bagir and Tahun, *Aspirations*, 229.

motivation and purpose of every ministry in the megachurch that he leads. 'Save the Lost at any Cost' remains the tagline of the megachurch since I conducted my research in 2006. The megachurch currently adds an additional detail to the slogan: 'One million souls and one hundred thousand cells', as a measured target of the vision. For the moment, the megachurch claims 35,000 members, where approximately one-third of them are in Solo and Yogyakarta.[102] 'I will never approve any programme or ministry from any department, if they can't explain the clear goal of their proposal', said Pastor Obaja.[103] The goal that he means is saving the unchurched or unbelievers which is indicated through the number of people who convert or are baptised after the event. He emphasises that the method, approach or event could be changed, but the goal remains unchanged. 'If Jesus himself came to seek and save the lost',[104] the senior pastor explains, then this is also the vision of the megachurch.[105] While the megachurch is quite active in the public domain through operating a radio and a television station, schools, a book store and regular distribution of free meals, clothes and medication, the basic motivation is evangelistic commitment.

Social concern is more likely to be considered as 'secondary to the communication of the gospel message', of 'lesser importance than evangelistic activities' and 'part of the gospel'.[106] Public engagement is rather seen as a vehicle to accomplish the evangelistic task through social works. The function of social work is intermediary to delivering the message:

[102] 'Tentang Keluarga Allah', GBI-KA, accessed 1 November 2017, https://gbika.org/site/tentang-keluarga-allah/.
[103] Obaja Tanto Setiawan, Interview, 26 February 2006.
[104] See. Luke 19: 10.
[105] Kristanto, *Injil*, 58.
[106] Robinson, 'Pentecostalism', 224-225.

> Many people have converted to Christianity as-their critical needs are taken care of. And others have developed interest in Christianity, in seeing real love demonstrated by the people of God. Many have become 'bridges', in carrying the Gospel to the needy.[107]

This emphasis on evangelism is seen as an indication whether public engagement serves its main task or falls into 'social gospel', which seemingly has a less positive meaning among Charismatics. Fulfilling the physical needs of the needy is also viewed as a noble reason but it is seen as a temporary fulfilment. 'Saving souls' is considered as having eternal values, for both the messengers and the receivers.[108]

It is probable that the vast majority of Indonesian Charismatics confirm that the final goal of social participation is the salvation of peoples' souls through faith in Jesus as Lord and Saviour, rather than merely answering the problem of physical starvation.[109] An increasing public participation in the last two decades, however, indicates evangelistic fervour has become a major motivation which draws more affluent megachurches' members to move out from their comfortable ghetto to reach out to their less privileged neighbourhood. If what was worrying as a hindrance apparently has a tendency to encourage Charismatics to engage publicly, how about the 'not just evangelism' approach which causes concern as potentially distracting from the core purpose of evangelism?

[107] Adinata, 'Mission Strategy', 36.
[108] Petrus Agung Purnomo, Interview, 11 January 2014.
[109] Adinata, 'Mission Strategy', 35.

2. Evangelism and Holistic Mission: Competing or Completing?

Holistic mission is mostly evolving among younger Charismatic leaders with varied university education rather than among those with a conventional Bible school background. A growing awareness in Evangelicalism that social concern should be considered as one of the main tasks, rather than being subordinate to evangelism has apparently influenced Charismatic circles also. This holistic view influences some megachurches which later establish social foundations as church social arms. The holistic approach perceives that physical restoration is needed as well as spiritual restoration. It relates to the consequence of sin that not only interrupts spiritual life but also affects various aspects of human life. This results in disharmony in human relations that causes conflict and exploitation, whether of humanity or of natural resources. Therefore, church ministry should also work to restore human aspects completely.[110]

This concept refers chiefly to Colossians 1: 15-20 and the keywords are 'Christ', 'reconcile' and 'all things'. Christ's redemption is not only saving souls but it has a greater purpose to reconcile all creation which includes: 'things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or powers or rulers or authorities'.[111] In addition, holistic restoration addresses the total recovery of body, soul and spirit. It is intended to produce physical health, a clever mind and strong spirit.[112] While the integrated scope of redemption is emphasised, it never neglects the centrality of Christ in such integration. A fulfilment of the physical needs is considered incomplete without a saving faith in Jesus Christ. This explains the nature of holistic mission where an acceptance of

[110] Jimmy Oentoro, 'Back to the Future: Pandangan Pelayanan Abad 21' in Bambang Budijanto and Tanto Handoko, eds., *30 Years Walk with Jesus* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 2009), 161-162.
[111] Oentoro, 'Back', 162-163.
[112] Harry Widjaja, *The Climber: Perjalanan Kehidupan Daniel Alexander* (Jakarta: PAIM, 2003), 139.

the salvific faith is seen as the entrance and central point of holistic restoration, rather than as an equal value with social participation.

Observing the influence and ministry of Bambang Budijanto is, to some extent, depicting the holistic mission camp in Indonesia. Bambang was one of the founders and former executive director of PESAT (The Foundation of Holistic Rural Ministry), the founder and former director of the Institute for Community and Development Studies (ICDS), and later on he became the vice-president for the Asian Region of Compassion International, a U.S. based Christian NGO. His approach is used by the social arm of a megachurch in Jakarta and interestingly, he was recently appointed by the new senior pastor as the in-house consultant of the case study megachurch. His awareness of such a holistic paradigm is quite obviously influenced by his graduate theological education in an Evangelical Korean seminary and his doctorate from the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies (OCMS) which has an emphasis on holistic mission.

A published version of Budijanto's doctorate dissertation depicts his in-depth research to understand the relationship between socio-religious value and participation in development in three small settlements next to Lopait, the hamlets where PESAT Foundation is located.[113] A detailed observation was made to provide an analytical tool for development strategists to carefully consider the significant role of religion, particularly the role of local religious leaders, on shaping and defining the social process and personal existence also. The complexity of such findings suggests that a comprehensive understanding and a careful analysis is required to effectively participate in rural development. A thoughtful interdisciplinary, including a sociological

[113] Bambang Budijanto, *Values and Participation: Development in Rural Indonesia* (Oxford: Regnum, 2009).

and anthropological approach is, however, still very rarely employed among Indonesian Charismatic missiologists in addressing holistic mission strategy, whether in an urban or rural context.

In 1987, Budijanto together with Stephanus Damaris, Samuel Elkana and Daniel Alexander started PESAT (The Foundation of Holistic Rural Ministry) in Lopait, a small village near Salatiga, Central Java.[114] The foundation's mission statement is 'To Bless Indonesia through Rural Areas', elaborated in two main purposes: to spread spiritual blessing through faith in Jesus Christ and to distribute physical blessing as the responsibility and consequence of their faith. The strategy to reach these goals is by developing a contextual theological education that fits the needs of Indonesian rural areas. While it started in a humble rented house, it has educated and equipped a number of teachers to be sent to various rural areas of Indonesia.[115] Micro-credit to support hundreds of small scale enterprises in rural Indonesia has been distributed and organised since 1992. A microfinance system through small groups and cooperation has also been facilitated in some areas.[116]

In 1997, the foundation launched an independent network for higher Christian education to develop the quality of their former seminary. Currently it has six training centres in North Sulawesi, Central Java, East Kalimantan, Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, and North Sumatera.[117] In addition to educating teachers, PESAT also runs: 125 kindergartens in nineteen provinces; three elementary schools in remote areas of Papua

[114] Widjaya, *The Climber*, 82.
[115] 'Sejarah', STAK TERPADU, accessed 20 February 2015, http://www.stakterpadu-pesat.ac.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2&Itemid=2&limitstart=1.
[116] 'Community Development', PESAT, accessed 20 February 2015, http://www.pesat.org/pembangunan_maryarakat.html.
[117] 'Sejarah', STAK TERPADU.

and Sulawesi; and one junior high school in Papua. In 2013, it had nearly 400 teachers and educated approximately 4,000 children in the most impoverished rural areas of Indonesia.[118] The foundation also operates a medical clinic in Lopait, with nine fulltime staff serving approximately 1,000 patients from the surrounding villages. It offers cheap medication with subsidised charges for more than eighty percent of the patients. On several occasions, the clinic also organised free medication in various rural areas.[119]

While the foundation is holistically addressing the social problems in many rural areas, an exclusive salvific faith as their basic motivation is never compromised. Their awareness of contemporary social changes does not shift the spiritual purpose of the foundation to merely serving the physical needs of the people. My conversation with some staff indicates a strong evangelistic fervour is behind such dynamic holistic ministry in rural Indonesia. While the daily needs are fulfilled and social transformation occurs, a faith in Jesus Christ is considered the eternal value to be experienced by the beneficiaries. It is their exclusive faith rather than merely their social responsibility which becomes their main reason to holistically serve the rural areas. Such holistic mission is a consequence of sharing their salvific faith, which was personally experienced and also expected to be experienced by the beneficiaries of their holistic mission.

Budijanto later, with the support of several Charismatic churches and leaders, initiated the Institute for Community and Development Studies (ICDS) in 1997. ICDS is perhaps an implementation of Budijanto's previous doctoral research at OCMS. The institute could be regarded as a distinct form of Charismatics' public engagement. Its vision is to become the main reference for the church's holistic mission in Indonesia and its main

[118] 'Pendidikan', PESAT, accessed 20 February 2015, http://www.pesat.org/pendidikan.html.
[119] 'Klinik Pengobatan', PESAT, accessed 20 February 2015, http://www.pesat.org/news_7.html.

activities include research, publication and education. A concern for a holistic approach can clearly be recognised from its mission statement, 'to equip church leaders in holistic mission, to facilitate churches with adequate information to participate in holistic mission and to promote holistic mission to Indonesian churches'.[120] In 1999, ICDS began to publish the Journal for Development, Community and Environment. The board of the journal consists of Charismatic scholars and theologians, while contributors come from various Christian denominations and interdisciplinary academic backgrounds.[121]

In 2001, ICDS conducted research on the response of Evangelical Christians (including and perhaps mostly Charismatics) to poverty in Jakarta and Bandung. The majority of respondents agreed that church ministry should cover holistic issues and serve the needy regardless of their religious background. However, more than thirty percent of the respondents declared that 'worry about the issue of Christianisation' was a hindrance to engaging socially.[122] The institute also offered an interdisciplinary graduate degree in holistic mission and development studies. The vision of the programme was to equip Christian leaders to transform society through holistic mission.[123] The curriculum was developed in 1999-2000 with OCMS.[124] Unfortunately, the institute was discontinued in the early 2010s, very probably due to the lack of visionary leadership,

[120] *Jurnal Studi Pembangunan, Kemasyarakatan dan Lingkungan Vol 4. No. 1* (2002), 1.
[121] The issues of the journal range across several subjects: the general and presidential election, the current political situation of Indonesia, and the political role of the church; human rights, labour rights, and the churches' response; Christian responses to poverty, rural and urban development, and education; and ecological and environmental problems, such as waste and water management, and biodiversity. See. *Jurnal Studi Pembangunan dan Kemasyarakatan* Vol 1. No. 2 (1999); Vol 1. No. 3 (1999); Vol 2. No. 1 (2000); Vol 2. No. 2 (2000); Vol 2. No. 3 (2000); Vol 3. No. 1 (2001); Vol 4. No. 1 (2002).
[122] Tim Peneliti ICDS, 'Gereja dan Kemiskinan: Suatu Survey tentang Respon Gereja Kalangan Injili di Kota Jakarta dan Bandung Terhadap Masalah Kemiskinan' in *Jurnal Studi Pembangunan, Kemasyarakatan dan Lingkungan Vol 4. No. 1* (2002), 5-17.
[123] 'ICDS: Memperlengkapi Pemimpin Kristen', Tabloid Reformata, accessed 19 September 2014, http://reformata.com/news/view/372/icdsmemperlengkapi-pemimpin-kristen.
[124] 'ICDS', OCMS, accessed 25 April 2015, http://www.ocms.ac.uk/content/index.php?q=node/348.

after Budijanto left for Compassion International. Another possible reason is the current regulation in Indonesian higher education that prohibits conducting graduate programmes without conducting an undergraduate level course in the same area of study.

An implementation of holistic mission that employs a development approach as an analytical tool to equip and facilitate holistic mission is apparently still an exceptional practice among megachurches. Such an interdisciplinary approach applies historical, social, economic and political theories to analyse current social problems, unlike the kind of holistic ministry that is merely based on a biblical or theological viewpoint. This results in feasible and convincing recommendations for a strategic level of social participation.[125] It seems that such an approach is not yet fully applied among megachurches. A social foundation of Christ the Lord Church, a megachurch that was also the co-founder of ICDS, could be observed as an exception in adopting the development approach. While the influence of Budijanto in the development approach of the foundation can be clearly observed, it is apparently the teaching of the megachurch leaders that strongly influences the theological view of the staff. The megachurch through its internal programme and cell groups is actively involved in social ministry as well, but the scope is more for the needy members of the church. However, the social engagement of the cell groups is perceived as quite effective both in supporting the poor and in the evangelistic task.[126]

[125] See. Budijanto, *Values and Participation.*
[126] Handoko Ngadiman, 'Holistic Ministry in Urban Context: A Case Study of Church of Christ (COC) Ministries, A Pentecostal Church in Jakarta, Indonesia (MA thesis., Oxford Centre of Mission Studies, 2007), 41-44.

The foundation was founded in 1999 as the social arm of the megachurch. It was established to reach the wider community and avoid any problems due to its Christian identity. The initial purpose was pragmatic and simply meant 'to reduce threat[s] from surrounding poor communities by establishing relationship[s] through social action'.[127] This closely relates to the situation in Jakarta after mass riots in 1998 and routine demonstrations against the government by students and many other groups that tend to start conflict. The public engagement is divided into five areas of ministry: education, health, water and sanitation, community development, and mental and spiritual development. For education, it runs twelve nurseries, tutorial education for elementary and secondary school students, offers scholarships and operates mobile libraries in more than ten slum areas of Jakarta. In the health sector, it runs two medical clinics, two mobile clinics, and offers monthly free medication and occasionally free operations. It participates in projects providing clear water in fifteen scattered areas, recycling garbage, and building public toilets. The foundation has a job-training centre and encourages micro-enterprises. They also run two rehabilitation centres for drug addicts and one centre for mental disorder, and operates two shelters for street children. Since 2007 it has focused more on the development approach and gradually decreased its charity-based engagement, such as free lunches and groceries.[128]

The vision statement states that the 'focus is on ministering the poor, acting as an "agent of change" to empower the poor towards a sustainable community'.[129] The foundation emphasises development interventions to implement its vision. Their vision, mission

[127] Ngadiman, 'Holistic', 41.
[128] Ngadiman, 'Holistic', 42, 44.
[129] Ngadiman, 'Holistic', 40.

and value statements strongly indicate a development approach, such as: 'transformation facilitator for deprived communities towards self-sustained communities'; 'assist deprived communities and restore quality of human life'; 'enabling the poor to be self-sustaining ... through motivation, education, training and empowerment'; 'educate and build community not solely based on aid programme[s]'; and 'empowerment of community potentials for their self-sustenance'.[130] While the mission statement emphasises that the main requirement to achieve self-sustenance is through a 'restoration of quality of human life', it 'can only be achieved though receiving Jesus Christ as the personal saviour'.[131] This indicates that such implementation of a development approach has not reduced the centrality of the exclusive faith. The form and approach could be varied yet the motivation remains unchanged. Holistic mission, which is often suspected as compromising or diverting the 'saving souls' purpose, is quite obviously consistent with the evangelistic purpose of Charismatics. Such an integrated perspective and practise requires a faith in Jesus Christ as the entrance point as well as the holistic end. It seems that holistic mission is completing rather than competing with evangelism. However, among Charismatics who embrace a holistic perspective, a strong emphasis on premillennialism is usually considered a hindrance to broader participation.

[130] Ngadiman, 'Holistic', 39.
[131] Ngadiman, 'Holistic', 41.

3. Evangelism, Premillennial Eschatology and Public Engagement: Integrating the Current and the Forthcoming

I observed that Charismatic megachurches tend to overlook premillennial eschatology whether for practical or theological reasons. An exception was in the Gospel of the Kingdom Church, one of the most socially engaged megachurches, which had articulated premillennial eschatology. While it is argued by Miller and Yamamori that the emphasis on the imminent return of Christ hinders Pentecostals from long-term social engagement,[132] such accentuation on the coming of Christ in the very near future, a teaching which was claimed to be based on supernatural visions and natural signs, had never decreased the megachurch's extensive social participation. One indication was the establishment of a development-orientation ministry, like schools or medical clinics, that could be classified as long-term social engagement instead of relief and short-term ones.[133]

My previous research on the Family of God Church (GBI-KA) found that eschatological teaching was intentionally withdrawn from their School of Ministry's curriculum.[134] The original material was adapted from the Bethany Church of Surabaya which included the 'second coming' as one of the fourfold teachings besides teaching on salvation, the Holy Spirit, and healing and deliverance. The senior pastor was for the very first time delivering eschatological teaching during August 2015, and this was announced beforehand as the awaited exploration of such a topic in the church.[135] New converts

[132] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 213.
[133] Further exploration is given in chapter two and four.
[134] Kristanto, *Injil,* 68.
[135] 'Keluarga Allah', YouTube, accessed 2 November 2017, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCsBEkWgaatMToHveDDXI4pA.

were considered unready to digest the 'solid food' and it would raise anxiety rather than assurance for those who were considered spiritually immature. This perhaps relates to the social background of the new converts rather than a spiritualised explanation by the megachurch. Middle-class Charismatics probably see the present as a blessed life to be enjoyed, unlike classical Pentecostals who are probably humming 'this world is not my home'. 'This is our Father's world' is a more common testimonial for Charismatics.[136]

What is considered a transition period from church time to kingdom era is perhaps one of the main theological reasons for some megachurches to neglect premillennial eschatology. This is the emphasis of what is known as kingdom-oriented or kingdom-driven theology. A number of megachurches' senior pastors write books on kingdom topics, such as the series of *Kingdom of Heaven* and *Kingdom Driven Church*.[137] Several others mention kingdom-orientation as the key value in their statement of vision and mission. One of the megachurches organised an annual 'Kingdom Leadership Conference' with a purpose to develop kingdom leadership values and to transform churches from 'church systems' to 'Kingdom systems'.[138] The kingdom awareness movement arose in the early 2000s through the influence of 'kingdom teachers', whether through books or direct contacts, such as the personal visits of Myles Munroe and Sunday Adelaja.[139]

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[136] Kristanto, *Injil,* 11-15. See also. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 805.
[137] See. Eddy Leo, *Kingdom of Heaven: Injil Kerajaan Surga* (Jakarta: Metanoia, 2006). Eddy Leo, *The Kingdom Living* (Jakarta: Metanoia, n.d). Yonathan Wiryohadi, *Kingdom Driven Church: Gereja yang Digerakkan oleh Visi Kerajaan Allah* (Jakarta: Metanoia, 2009). Yonathan Wiryohadi, *City Builder: Mengembangkan Potensi untuk Membangun Kota* (Jakarta: Metanoia, 2012).
[138] 'About', KLC, accessed 18 September 2014, http://kingdomleadershipconference.com/about-KLC.html.
[139] Siswi Turana and Vonny Purnamasari, *Timotius Arifin Tedjasukmana: My Life, My Journey, My Destiny* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 2013), 164. Wiryohadi mentions his visit to Adelaja's church in Ukraine several times

The Gospel of the Kingdom is perceived as a message which is rarely preached compared to the Gospel of salvation and prosperity.[140] It is considered that this kingdom gospel 'goes beyond the gospel of salvation' and 'it covers the whole human life in relation to the kingdom of God'.[141] 'The full gospel' message should proclaim both salvation gospel and kingdom gospel together. The death of Jesus on the cross not only results in spiritual salvation but it also redeems the curse of the land and the whole creation.[142] As Jesus came to establish his kingdom, then the church should operate in this paradigm to bring the kingdom in and to reign with him.[143] The church is seen as the 'representative office' of the kingdom on earth. This current time is also viewed as the transition phase 'from church era to kingdom era'.[144]

The kingdom is perceived as God's governing system whether on the earth or in heaven. Jesus himself used the phrase 'kingdom' several times on various occasions and it is noted as a significant concept.[145] A local church with kingdom orientation would shift its focus from internal activities to a wider scope of involvement. There are 'seven spheres', 'seven mountains' or 'seven pillars', that are used interchangeably to describe seven main areas of public engagement: spiritual and social; family; business; education; government and politics; art, sport and entertainment; and media.[146] Another pastor uses the phrase 'the keys of the kingdom' as an authoritative key to 'open every door of

in his book and he impressed by the social engagement of this church. See Wiryohadi, *Kingdom Driven Church*.

[140] Turana and Purnamasari, *Timotius Arifin*, 163.

[141] Eddy Leo as cited in Ngadiman, 'Holistic Ministry', 40.

[142] Wiryohadi, *Kingdom,* 1-10.

[143] Turana and Purnamasari, *Timotius Arifin*, 163-168.

[144] Turana and Purnamasari, *Timotius Arifin*, 169.

[145] Wiryohadi, *Kingdom,* xxi.

[146] Wiryohadi, *Kingdom,* xxii-xxiii. Turana and Purnamasari, *Timotius Arifin*, 170.

worldly kingdoms', such as art and culture, science and technology, law, politics, and economy.[147]

Social awareness is apparently increasing among megachurches that embrace 'kingdom awareness'.[148] Several books on kingdom issues have been written by Indonesian Charismatic leaders and followed by conferences and workshops.[149] But it seems that the practice of 'kingdom teaching' does not always equate with church or institutional direct participation in public spheres. The teaching probably intends more to raise church members' personal awareness of the significance of involvement in the aforementioned seven main fields. While a number of megachurches have extensive social engagements driven by this kingdom teaching, the rest probably prefer to engage publicly through the participation of their members rather than via direct institutional engagement.

World Transformation Church (GBI-WTC), in Serpong, West Java could be observed as an example of a kingdom-driven megachurch. The senior pastor wrote the *Kingdom Driven Church* series based on his teaching in the megachurch. The megachurch's extensive social engagement started in 2007, coinciding with the use of its new venue consisting of twelve shop-houses.[150] It is reported that in that year the senior pastor received a new vision to reclaim the city, and the vision statement was formulated as

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[147] Jimmy B. Oentoro, *Gereja Impian: Membangun Gereja di Lanskap yang Baru* (Jakarta: Harvest, 2004), 130.

[148] See. 'About', ROCK Ministry, accessed 7 May 2015, http://rockministry.org/about. 'Our Belief', GBI WTC, accessed 7 May 2015, http://gbiwtcserpong.org/index.php/about-us/our-belief. 'Visi dan Misi', Abbalove Ministries, accessed 7 May 2015, http://www.abbalove.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4:visi-dan-misi-abbalove-ministries&catid=37:abbavalues&Itemid=12.

[149] See. Leo, *Kingdom of Heaven* and *The Kingdom Living*. Wiryohadi, *Kingdom* and *City Builder*. 'About', KLC, accessed 7 May 2015, http://www.kingdomleadershipconference.com/.

[150] 'History', GBI-WTC, accessed May 7, 2015, http://gbiwtcserpong.org/index.php/about-us/our-history

'transform communities, influence cities and impact nations'. The megachurch has been participating in the so-called 'seven pillars of life', which is believed to be the main aspects of life to be reclaimed as the main requirement of life transformation, both in a personal and social level.[151]

In the first pillar, the spiritual and social, the WTC runs an orphanage and rehabilitation centre for the mentally ill, provides scholarships for students from poor families, distributes free food for street children, and is reaching out to the transgender community.[152] For the family pillar, the megachurch organises retreats for families, parenting training, and provides counselling.[153] It seems that this pillar is more focused on the internal needs of the church membership. In the business sector, it runs a second-hand market, cafeteria and grocery, and organises network and training for more just and fair business values.[154] In the fourth pillar on government and politics, it gives training to internalise kingdom values to its members who participate in political spheres. Several church members become members of parliament and civil servants. In addition, the WTC also cooperates with the municipality to organise several festivals and charities.[155] In the field of education, the megachurch runs a school and other non-formal types of education, such as sheltered housing and a job training centre.[156] In the areas of art, sport and entertainment, it organises a basketball club, a music centre for

[151] Wiryohadi, *Kingdom Driven Church*, xxii.
[152] 'Pilar Spiritual dan Sosial', GBI WTC, accessed 7 May 2015, http://gbiwtcserpong.org/index.php/ministries/pilar-spiritual-sosial.
[153] 'Pilar Keluarga', GBI WTC, accessed 7 May 2015, http://gbiwtcserpong.org/index.php/ministries/pilar-family.
[154] 'Pilar Bisnis', GBI WTC, accessed 7 May 2015, http://gbiwtcserpong.org/index.php/ministries/pilar-bisnis.
[155] 'Pilar Pemerintahan dan Politik', GBI WTC, accessed 7 May 2015, http://gbiwtcserpong.org/index.php/ministries/pilar-politik-dan-pemerintahan.
[156] 'Pilar Pendidikan', GBI WTC, accessed 7 May 2015, http://gbiwtcserpong.org/index.php/ministries/pilar-education.

talented musicians and singers, and a theatre club.[157] The seventh pillar is media, and in this aspect the megachurch publishes books and magazines, and distributes recorded sermons.[158] It seems that the target audience is church members or other Christians. The purpose is probably to spread the teaching of its leader rather than directly influence the wider community with its values.

The kingdom-driven megachurches are consequently giving less emphasis to premillennial eschatology. The teaching on the transition from church phase to kingdom period indicates a tendency to embrace a postmillennial or amillennial position, where the millennial kingdom (whether literally or figuratively) is preceding the return of Christ. I presume that besides unawareness of a doctrinal shifting, the social background and upward social mobility of Charismatic leaders and members are among the factors behind the popularity of such teaching. More affluent and educated middle-class Charismatics are expected to decrease their eschatological emphasis so that they can participate in long-term projects.[159] Seemingly such an emphasis has also significantly decreased within most of the world's largest churches. Peter Wagner contends that teaching on premillennialism and pre-tribulation rapture is to some extent considered as less important, and could probably draw megachurches away from well-planned social ministries.[160] One of Wagner's concerns is on kingdom theology also, which he called 'Dominion theology'.[161] A number of Charismatics, including senior pastors of

[157] 'Pilar Art, Sport, Entertainment', GBI WTC, accessed 7 May 2015, http://gbiwtcserpong.org/index.php/ministries/pilar-art-sport-entertainment.
[158] 'Pilar Media', GBI WTC, accessed 7 May 2015, http://gbiwtcserpong.org/index.php/ministries/pilar-media.
[159] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 182, 213.
[160] See. C. Peter Wagner, *Churchquake!* (California: Regal Books, 1999), 70-71.
[161] C. Peter Wagner, *Dominion! How Kingdom Action Can Change the World* (Grand rapids: Chosen Books, 2008), 57-73.

megachurches, were joining his leadership school. Hundreds of Indonesians graduated from the Wagner Leadership Institute (WLI) and it is claimed that 'one of our strongest international schools has been Indonesia'.[162] It seems that Wagner, who was quite frequently invited by some megachurches and most of whose books were translated into the Indonesian language, is among those influential in shifting this premillennial concern.

Thus far premillennialism has apparently never fully restricted Charismatics from public participation. However, premillennialism is probably not a substantial motive for evangelism among megachurches. Therefore, their public engagement is quite obviously not directly influenced by a strong hope to accelerate the return of Christ. It is rather imagining the materialisation of the kingdom in the present times that becomes their concern. If the future is no longer emphasised among most megachurches, then how about their concern with the invisible realm, particularly as it relates to evangelism and public engagement?

4. Evangelism, Spiritual Warfare and Social Awareness: Relating the Seen and the Unseen

Praying continuously for the country is hoped to result in mass conversion. However, it requires Charismatics to collect recent updates on political issues, economic growth, social problems, etc. This would later increase their level of participation, from intercessory prayer to social action. In 1994, the prayer committee invited Peter

[162] C. Peter Wagner, *Wrestling with Alligators, Prophets and Theologians: Lessons from a Lifetime in the Church - A Memoir* (California: Regal Books, 2010), 252.

Wagner, who introduced spiritual mapping and warfare.[163] This later caused the emergence of a wider scale of attention to public issues, since the process of mapping demands knowledge of the historical, cultural and social background of a city or region. It is followed by spiritual warfare that needs direct visits to many important sites or locations identified in the mapping. To some extent, it familiarises Indonesian Charismatics with their local context. The prayer movement, including spiritual mapping and warfare, probably found its momentum during the economic crisis in 1997 and the fall of Soeharto's authoritarian regime in 1998.

The National Prayer Network, which is the continuation of several prayer rallies in the second-half of the 1980s,[164] introduced 'praying and transforming the city' during such critical situations, which could be seen as interrelated with the needs of the people and the concern of the churches. Spiritual mapping was one of the main concerns to be implemented through warfare prayer, which it was hoped could reduce crime, conflict and riots in various areas of Indonesia.[165] The economic crisis, the end of thirty-two years' authoritarian government and the beginning of a more democratic era, could be seen as a propitious moment for Indonesian churches in general and Charismatics in particular to participate in public life. The crisis resulted in significant numbers of jobless and poverty-stricken people. This more democratic era opened opportunities to start various types of public engagement on a wider scale, which was quite difficult to do in

[163] Ery Prasadja, WhatsApp Message, 21 February 2015.
[164] Bambang Budijanto, 'Pendahuluan: Tuhan Melangkah Turun dari Surga' in Bambang Budijanto and Tanto Handoko, eds., *30 Years Walk with Jesus* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 2009), xxiii-xxiv. Bambang H. Widjaja, Interview, 17 November 2014.
[165] Seno Widjaja, 'Sejarah Perkembangan Jaringan Doa Nasional di Indonesia (1990-2003)' (MA. thesis, ICDS, 2004), 50-52.

the previous era. The majority of social foundations and NGOs founded by Charismatics were started at the end of the 1990s.

One of the observed ministries which intersects warfare prayer, evangelism and public engagement is Indriati Tjipto and her Mahanaim Foundation. While the form of her ministry is an independent social foundation, its substantial influence on the case study megachurch's public engagement is noticeable.[166] Rachel Indriati Tjipto-Wenas, also known as Iin Tjipto, is an itinerant evangelist. She is the daughter of Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, a well-known evangelist, who clearly influenced the late senior pastor of the case study megachurch. Iin was awarded the degree of Master of Architecture from Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands, in 1992. She believed that God asked her to put down her degree to enter ministry as an evangelist. Mahanaim was started in 1999, nearly a year after she reported a vision to build a militant army of God. Interestingly what she called 'army of God' consisted of street children, beggars, homeless and needy people who are 'below the poverty line'.[167]

The name Mahanaim is taken from Jacob's statement: '"This is the camp of God!" So he named that place Mahanaim'.[168] The literal Indonesian translation of this verse is 'This is the army of God!'.[169] Iin claims that she is the commander of Mahanaim, which implies the strong emphasis of her vision to build troops in both a spiritual and a literal sense. A strong emphasis on spiritual warfare, mapping and marching prayer is believed to be the main assignment of the leader and her ministries. Most of her sermons after the

[166] Further exploration will be given on Chapter 3.
[167] Profile of Iin Tjipto in the back cover of Iin Tjipto, *Ilmu Hati Raja-raja* (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[168] Genesis 32: 2.
[169] 'Latar Belakang', Mahanaim, accessed 25 April 2015, http://www.love-mahanaim.or.id/background.php?lang=bahasa.

assignment indicate a drastic shift toward the significance of spiritual warfare and the unseen realms.[170] What are claimed as prophetic equipment (banner, flag, number, colour, symbol, picture) and prophetic acts (dancing, marching, climbing, plugging stakes, declaring biblical verses or prophetic statement, blowing shofar (ram's horn trumpet) and placing symbols or flags on the highest building or location of the area) characterise their appearance in public spheres.[171] While her teachings widely influence churches and ministries within her network, criticism of her overemphasis on prophetic equipment or acts, which are seen as superstitious beliefs, usually come from theologically educated Charismatic leaders. What is often overlooked by such critics is the unified paradigm that she embraces and the materialisation of such beliefs through various social ministries.

Battling spiritually is therefore assumed as prerequisite before social transformation could materialise in those areas. It is believed that what occurs in the physical realm is strongly controlled by unseen powers. A detail spiritual mapping is needed to equip Christians for spiritual warfare. She researches the social history of the city, the cultural heritage, and the current social situation in order to understand the character of the spirit who dominates that area.[172] According to her mapping, the city was a forest that became safe haven for robbers from surrounding areas. The criminals performed a ritual to invoke the spirits through rhythmic music and dancing. The purpose was to provide power or protection when they committed crime. Sexual intercourse with female dancers became the culmination of the rites. She analyses that such practice leaves a

[170] See. Indriati Tjipto, *Indonesia Ada di TanganMu* (Bekasi: Mahanim, 2012).
[171] Iin Tjipto, *Selengkap Senjata Allah* (Semarang: MIK, n.d).
[172] Iin Tjipto, *Peperangan Rohani yang Real* (Audio Sermon, n.d.).

greedy, corrupt and adulterous legacy for the inhabitants. A reverse prophetic act should be performed to transform the habit or custom. Iin suggests generous giving as one of the regular acts to be performed. This is executed through financially supporting ministries, providing free meals, sponsoring street children, or personally engaging through teaching or mentoring in the slums or garbage sites. What is started in prayer is therefore implemented through direct personal involvement. Winning the spiritual encounter is believed to result in the conversion of people, yet tangible action should follow the intangible exercise.

The warfare was later executed through ministering to the needy in Bantar Gebang, the largest garbage disposal site of Jakarta located in Bekasi, West Java, on the eastern border of Jakarta. Iin was initially visiting, bathing and educating poor children of Bantar Gebang, in a way that later caused her to lose her third baby. Most of the baby's internal organs were exposed to a virus that the doctor said was only found in garbage disposal. The baby was born and lived for a month before dying. According to her testimony, this did not stop her vision to reach out to the site and the city, since she reported that God had told her previously that she must pay a sacrificial price to transform the life of those people. She returned to the garbage disposal site only a day after her baby was buried.[173] This ministry became the first shelter and the model for Mahanaim ministries which is copied in many cities through their network.[174]

Mahanaim's shelters not only function as transit homes for street children and their neighbourhood but also provide job training, free food and groceries, and free medical

[173] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Aku Memotret Indonesia* (Semarang: MIK, n.d.), 19-21.
[174] One of the Mahanaim senior staff was later assigned to initiate shelters in Semarang under the Gospel of the Kingdom Church. See further in Chapter 2 section 3.5.

clinics and medicine.[175] Orphans and street children are accommodated in Mahanaim orphanages.[176] Mahanaim runs well-accredited schools from kindergarten to high school and vocational high school. Approximately half of the students come from its shelters and orphanages and receive full scholarships.[177] Mahanaim also runs several businesses to support its ministry and provide job opportunities. The businesses range from selling street food to producing hand-made cards, and from printing brochures to organising wedding and party events.[178] The foundation also organises various types of music and charity festivals in public areas and frequently performs prayer walks or prayer marches in Bekasi and other cities. This is considered a prophetic action to defeat or reduce demonic influence. This kind of public appearance could be considered as public engagement, because its purpose is to transform the current situation, which is perceived as chaotic, poor and hopeless.

In 2008, the foundation organised *Bekasi Berbagi Bahagia*/*B3* (Bekasi Shares Happiness) a two week festival with an official permit from the municipality of Bekasi. The festival of sport, games and music was held in more than hundred different areas of Bekasi and offered a car as the grand prize. The Islamists formed the Anti-Apostasy Forum of Bekasi (FAPB) that demanded that Mahanaim stop the festival and asked the municipal government to withdraw the permit. Although the foundation denied proselytising and refused to end the festival, the municipality recalled the permit and cancelled the rest

[175] 'Rumah Singgah', Mahanaim, accessed 26 April 2015, http://www.love-mahanaim.or.id/rumahsinggah.php?lang=bahasa.
[176] 'Panti Asuhan', Mahanaim, accessed 26 April 2015, http://www.love-mahanaim.or.id/panti.php?lang=bahasa.
[177] 'Sekolah', Mahanaim, accessed 26 April 2015, http://www.love-mahanaim.or.id/sekolah.php?lang=bahasa.
[178] 'Bisnis', Mahanaim, accessed 26 April 2015, http://www.love-mahanaim.or.id/bisnis.php?lang=bahasa.

of the festival. This is a common response to such objections, whether from the municipality or police.[179] Despite facing these various hindrances, Mahanaim's vibrant determination on public engagement was a striking feature of the charismatic and visionary leadership of the foundation. Its courage in facing the FAPB coalition and resisting the threats should be appreciated as non-violent resistance to Islamists. This bravery is very rare among Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics, who usually prefer to avoid any conflict.

This foundation is undoubtedly a major target of accusation in the issue of Christianisation in West Java. This province is known as the most hostile area for Christianity in Java. The number of Islamist groups is quite high compared to other areas of Java. Hardliner online media consistently report the activities of Mahanaim as 'tricky activities', 'camouflaged Christianisation', and 'leading to apostasy'.[180] The Islamic Defender Front (FPI) is among those groups which strongly oppose Mahanaim through demonstrations, intimidation, whether by hate speech or physical threats, and violence, using hundreds of people, most of whom do not come from the neighbourhood. Sidney Jones, the former senior adviser of the International Crisis Group (ICG), argues that the ministry of Mahanaim was provoking the Islamist groups which impacted other churches and raised tension between Muslims and Christians in that city.[181] I will further elaborate on such an opinion in the next section to place it in the changing context of Indonesia.

[179] International Crisis Group, *Indonesia: 'Christianisation' and Intolerance* (Jakarta and Brussels: ICG, 2010), 3-5.
[180] See. 'Buntut Kristenisasi Berkedok Mobil Pintar Yayasan Mahanaim Diprotes Ormas Islam', Nahi Munkar, accessed 26 April 2015, http://www.nahimunkar.com/buntut-kristenisasi-berkedok-mobil-pintar-ani-yudhoyono-yayasan-mahanaim-diprotes-ormas-islam/. 'Massa FPI Gerudug Yayasan Mahanaim', VOA-Islam, accessed 26 April 2015, http://www.voa-islam.com/read/indonesiana/2011/10/28/16515/massa-fpi-gerudug-yayasan-mahanaim-aktor-kristenisasi-berkedok-mobil-pintar/.
[181] ICG, *Indonesia: 'Christianisation' and Intolerance*.

However, it seems that spiritual warfare is not an influential driver of megachurches' public engagement except for the case study megachurch which clearly has a link with Mahanaim.

5. Islam, Democracy and Evangelism: Contesting Public Spheres

The 'Reformation era', or post-Soeharto Indonesia, is marked by an increasing number of political parties and groups whose main purpose is to take Islamic law to replace the current constitution, whether at the national or local level. The rise of political Islam since the end of the 1980s is often seen as the shift of Soeharto's political orientation to lean towards the Islamic side rather than merely relying on military support as in the previous decades. Therefore, Adinata warned that social ministries which had previously seemed a successful approach in mission among Charismatics would no longer be effective in the changing political landscape. Then Adinata suggested that Charismatics should not rely anymore on social service as an evangelistic method since this approach would no longer be beneficial in converting people to Christian faith.[182] However, Adinata tends to propose some strategic approaches to compete with Islam, rather than offering possibilities to encourage Charismatics to reflect theologically and engage publicly in the changing context.

Aside from groups that choose the constitutional path, there are groups that associate closely with physical violence in their activities. This type of Islamist group tends to oppose any attempt at Christian social involvement. Unlike Muhammadiyah which

[182] Adinata, 'Mission Strategy', 88-89.

reacts with constructive competition,[183] these radical groups mostly use violence and intimidation. Usually they first spread rumours and pamphlets to local people to induce them to support their action. Shortly afterwards the group typically arrives with hundreds of people who mostly come from outside the local area. These people bring stones and bamboo or wood sticks to their demonstration. It is not unusual for this to end with vandalism to the building and physical attacks on the people.[184] Meanwhile, other smaller hard-line groups usually raise this issue of Christianisation through incidental actions at a local level, most often by sending threatening letters and organising demonstrations against Christian schools or churches.

It was reported that Charismatic churches were among the most attacked, closed or destroyed during the transition period of the New Order era, from 1996 to the early 2000s. This did not always correlate with its social involvement, but several Charismatic megachurches reported threats from radical groups relating to their social ministry. The leaders of a megachurch asked a researcher to hide their identity by using a pseudonym on research data about their widespread social participation through a foundation founded by this church. The main reason for the pseudonym was 'to protect their ministries against Islamic fundamentalist threats'.[185] Another megachurch reported threats after launching a medical clinic and several social ministries for a poor

[183] Muhammadiyah is well known with a large number of schools, orphanages and hospitals across Indonesia. These have been started to resist what is considered to be Christianisation. In 2015 Muhammadiyah had 4,623 kindergartens, 2,604 elementary schools, nearly 3,000 secondary schools, 172 colleges and universities, 67 Islamic Boarding Schools, 457 medical clinics, maternity clinics and general hospitals, 318 orphanages, 54 elderly home, 82 disability rehabilitation centres, and 71 special schools for people with disability. See further in Alwi Shihab, 'The Muhammadiyah Movement and its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia' (PhD diss., Temple University, 1995). 'Data Base Persyarikatan', Muhammadiyah, accessed 26 April 2015, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/content-8-det-amal-usaha.html.

[184] For more detail on this issue look Abdurahman Wahid, ed., *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia* (Jakarta: LibforAll Foundation, 2009).

[185] Ngadiman, 'Holistic Ministry', 3.

neighbourhood. The threats came from 'a number of people' led by 'an irresponsible group'.[186] These vague terms are commonly used among Charismatics to refer to Islamists. However, the neighbours reportedly were standing with the church against the group and the threats were gradually decreasing.

The aforementioned shift in the political landscape, which was preceded by a series of attacks, burnings and restrictions on many churches in Java, starting in 1996,[187] was not only marked by the rise of political Islam but also by a political awareness among Charismatics.[188] A political party was initiated as a response to this situation. The Peace and Prosperity Party (PDS) began as a prayer group consisting of young professional workers and university students in Jakarta. Ruyandi Hutasoit, a medical doctor and Charismatic pastor, was then asked by the group to lead the party and use part of his church building as the office of the party, which was founded in 2001.[189] Political participation had been avoided by Charismatics before the founding of PDS. There had been a Catholic and a Protestant party in the early days of independence, which in 1973 became part of the broader Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), later becoming PDIP (the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle). PDS, however, has no historical link with the previous Christian parties in Indonesia and so should be considered as the first Christian political party pioneered and openly supported by Charismatics.

[186] Wiryohadi, *Kingdom*, 94.
[187] For detailed exploration see. Jemma Purdey, *Anti-Chinese Violence in Indonesia, 1996-1999* (Leiden: KITLV, 2005).
[188] Ruyandi Hutasoit, Interviewed by M. Imaduddin Nasution (Lampiran 2) in M. Imaduddin Nasution, 'Partisipasi Umat Kristen Indonesia: Studi Kasus Partai Damai Sejahtera' (Skripsi, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2010), 99.
[189] 'Latar Belakang', PDS, accessed 19 September 2014, http://www.partaidamaisejahtera.org/?page_id=293.

PDS later became one of the parties that fulfilled the electoral requirement for the 2004 election, the first truly democratic election in the Reformation era. At that time, one of PDS's main campaigns was to express the voice of marginalised and minority Indonesians, which mostly refers to the difficulties faced by Christians. Charismatic pastors from various denominations dominated the leadership of PDS whether at the local or provincial level. This resulted in quite significant votes in the 2004 general election, with gains of 13 national parliamentary seats, 52 provincial parliamentary seats and 329 local parliamentary seats. One of the main intentions of the party in the national parliament was to oppose any draft of a regulation that contains or indicates the implementation of Islamic law.[190] In provincial and local parliaments, PDS was more concerned with advocacy for churches and Christians, particularly to get legal permission for church buildings.[191]

After 2004, PDS tried to broaden its constituency. The party started to campaign for government recognition for minority rights (i.e. of the Ahmadiyya and Taoism) and also declared itself a nationalist party rather than merely a Christian party as in the 2004 election. This was proved by accepting up to twenty percent non-Christian parliamentary candidates. The symbol of the cross in the party logo was re-interpreted not only as an exclusive Christian symbol but also as symbolising a horizontal and vertical reconciliation of human relations. Nevertheless, this attempt failed to increase the votes in the 2009 election. On the contrary, PDS failed to reach the electoral threshold and did not get a single national parliamentary seat, while the provincial and local parliamentary

[190] Nasution, 'Partisipasi', 57-59.
[191] 'Sejarah Berdirinya Partai Damai Sejahtera', PDS, accessed 19 September 2014, http://www.partaidamaisejahtera.org/?p=457.

seats decreased to 255.[192] This failure most probably relates to the internal leadership conflict in 2007,[193] when an extraordinary national conference resulted in dual national leadership of PDS: Ruyandi Hutasoit and Rahmat Manulang. This conflict was brought to court and won by Hutasoit.[194]

In 2010, M. L. Danny Tewu took over the leadership of PDS, but the party failed to pass the electoral threshold for the 2014 general election, most probably because of a significant decrease in support from Charismatics related to the internal conflicts of the party.[195] Despite the many criticisms that might be made of PDS, I contend that the party, to some extent, has implemented their prayer by political involvement. The party's decision to take up advocacy of the attacked churches and to oppose the implementation of Islamic Law, however, indicates open confrontation in the public sphere, particularly between Islamists and Charismatics. The presumed harmonious inter-religious life in Indonesia under the authoritarian regime was apparently a superficial phenomenon created and sustained by pressure on more extreme political Muslims during the period 1966-1998.

Building a better relationship with Muslims that he hoped could 'break the chain of violence and persecution' was suggested by Gani Wiyono, a Pentecostal theologian. At the same time, he proposed that Indonesian Pentecostals should have 'a more holistic approach ... [which] is needed to maintain a balance between preaching the gospel and meeting human needs' and 'a keener vision for social concern and service both inside

[192] Nasution, 'Partisipasi', 51-52. 'Sejarah', PDS.
[193] 'Sejarah', PDS.
[194] Nasution, 'Partisipasi', 46-47.
[195] Nasution, 48.

and outside its own community'.[196] Wiyono's suggestions were apparently implemented during my previous involvement under a Pentecostal megachurch. However, my approach is alleged to be somewhat 'pluralist' while Mahanaim's approach apparently represents ordinary Charismatics. Besides its close affinity and similarity with the case study megachurch, Mahanaim also uses similar terms to the Islamists, such as army, war, or weapon. While the terms are most often understood literally among Islamists, they are understood rather as figurative language by Mahanaim.

Mahanaim's basic approach is spiritual warfare which is conducted through marching prayer, whether at an individual, small group or mass level. The use of prophetic symbols in the marching prayer has faced rejection, not only from Islamists, but also from other Charismatic leaders who thought that such expression is potentially raising open conflict. Meanwhile, the policy briefing of ICG also considered the evangelistic zeal of Mahanaim as one of the contributors to conflict, besides the lack of law enforcement from the government side and the rise of the Islamist groups on the other side.[197] While there is an awareness of the domination of the public spheres by Islamists in post-Soeharto Indonesia, I have not found any comprehensive assessment of the role of Charismatic evangelistic zeal with a prophetic approach like that of Mahanaim in contesting the public discourse as a democratic movement, in order to develop a democratic culture.[198] I do not propose such an affirmative notion without critical

[196] Gani Wiyono, 'Pentecostalism in Indonesia' in Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang, eds., *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia* (Oxford: Regnum and APTS, 2005), 322-323.
[197] ICG, *Indonesia: 'Christianisation' and Intolerance*, 1.
[198] See. David Smilde, 'Public Rituals and Political Positioning: Venezuelan Evangelicals and the Chávez Government' in Martin Lindhardt, ed., *Practising the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 306-329.

assessment, but a wider framework should be employed to better comprehend such distinctive public engagement.

One of the noted controversies is about marching prayer which was titled an anti-drug campaign and supported by the Anti-Narcotics Board of the government. This was held on 2 May 2010 to celebrate National Education Day. The chronology is as follows:

> As the marchers passed the al-Barkah Mosque, a group wearing shirts with the Star of David embroidered in yellow on the back broke off and formed a human cross in front of the mosque. They unfurled a flag with a lion, a flaming sword, and seven names of God – Adonai, El Shaddai, Jehova Rapha, Jehovah Nissi, Jehovah Shalom, Jehovah Shamah and The Master of Breakthrough – and distributed stickers that said 'Yoel generation'. They then placed a Christian crown and staff in front of the mosque. No one is sure what organisation, if any, the marchers were representing, but the stickers were revealing. […] One Yayasan Mahanaim activist also acknowledged taking part in the action. 'We just had another program and again this is called 'Christianisation'', he wrote in a blog. 'The purpose of the [cross] formation was to cleanse the area, to ensure that evil spirits did not attack those who were praying [inside the mosque]'.[199]

Despite their lack of understanding or perhaps their sincerity as expressed in the above statement of one of the activists, I strongly disagree with such an aggressive approach against other religious beliefs and practices. However, such a general campaign with the support of an official body indicates a broader network and cooperation linking the participants with different groups in society. If participants from other groups were also involved then the Charismatics were empowering other participants as well as the wider public who were addressed by the campaign through a democratic movement. Meanwhile, their physical appearance through attractive prophetic dances, symbols and robes could be regarded as 'aesthetic publics', as borrowed by Smilde from Eiko Ikegami.[200] Through artistic participation, which potentially cultivated democratic

[199] ICG, *Indonesia: 'Christianisation' and Intolerance*, 6.
[200] Smilde, 'Public Rituals', 308-309. See also. Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 3-18.

culture in public rituals, both the Charismatics and other groups were temporarily suspending their prevailing identities. In such a situation, the basic features of public rituals were represented, whether consciously or unconsciously, by the participants' mutual exchange of emotional experience and by common attention to similar activities which involved physical presence in the same location.[201] While their bodily engagement reciprocally influenced others who were involved in the campaign, there were social boundaries which were simultaneously crossed and formed. The boundaries were crossed with the anti-narcotics body, other participants and the wider public who were taking part, but a new boundary was formed with the Islamists who became outsiders.

Consequently, and not surprisingly, at least two large scale Islamic rallies were held in the following week. The chronology as reported by ICG is as follows:

> [The Anti-Apostasy Forum] called two religious rallies … [which] brought together conservatives in the Bekasi area across ideological lines, violent and nonviolent, salafi and non-salafi. It included representatives from the ulama council; Muslim delegates to the city government's Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB); Islamic non-governmental organisations and mosque leaders. The main topic was the mosque incident, in the context of 'Christianisation' more generally; Ba'asyir noted that according to Islamic law, those who insult Islam should be beheaded. […] A discussion about the issue was aired on 13 May on Radio Dakta 107 FM, an Islamist station close to DDII, and on 14 May, following a mass demonstration of Islamic organisations, a copy of the 'Bekasi Declaration' was formally presented to the city government.[202]

Accordingly, the alleged organiser of the campaign was arrested as a blasphemy suspect in the following days, although he reportedly was released without any charge for lack of evidence.

[201] Smilde, 'Public Rituals', 310.
[202] ICG, *Indonesia: 'Christianisation' and Intolerance*, 7.

Both Charismatics and Islamists are presumably performing public rituals through their marching prayer and rallies. In this case my concern is more with the Charismatic side which consists of mostly Chinese-Indonesians. To some extent, they are regarded as second-class citizens or politically are alleged to be non-native Indonesians. They had been ghettoised by the assimilation policy of the Soeharto regime. Therefore, their public appearance in democratic Indonesia should be considered as an initiative to cross the social boundaries which had constrained them for thirty-two years. Through exercising prophetic acts in the public sphere, Mahanaim is reclaiming their equal position in society, which consequently unsettles the domination of the Islamists since the fall of the New Order in 1998. In this situation, the response from the Islamists could be better understood as resisting an unexpected challenge to their status quo, that needs to be maintained in order to strengthen their politics of identity. Interestingly, this challenge instead comes from a group which is religiously considered as infidel and politically alleged as non-native. Such frequent marching prayer with prophetic acts also continually questions the exclusive claim of the Islamists, as the representative of the majority, which is inevitably framing the public sphere as 'a terrain subject to contestation'.[203]

6. Conclusion

What has brought Charismatics to engage publicly is probably not their social analysis or political concern but a 'saving souls' motivation. Anderson's observation on the early

[203] M. Victoria Quiroz Becerra, 'Performing Belonging in Public Space: Mexican Migrants in New York City', *Politics & Society, Vol 42 (3),* 2014, 331-333.

Pentecostal missionaries is still valid for Charismatic megachurches, for whom evangelism is perceived the highest calling and considered the 'central, most important activity'.[204] Holistic mission and Kingdom Theology is quite influential in the concern of megachurches, but saving souls evangelism is never neglected. The political shift in the last two decades has brought Charismatics to enter the public sphere, with a prominent challenge from the Islamists with the primary alleged issue of Christianisation. While the form might be varied, the evangelistic motivation permanently remains. While Adiprasetya[205] criticises a lack in a distinctive Pentecostal theological reflection, in my previous theological approach, in addressing such public discourse, he is unaware that what he categorised as triumphalist evangelism is the main driver behind the Charismatics' public engagement. The crucial need is therefore to develop a public theology that starts with Charismatic evangelism. This will be elaborated on in the following chapters to provide the raw material to articulate a public theology that could bridge the gap, not only between the Charismatic faith and public life but also between the academic discourse and ordinary believers.

[204] Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007), 65.
[205] Adiprasetya, 'Pentakostalisme di Indonesia', 135-137.

CHAPTER TWO

'WIN THE LOST AT ANY COST':

THE EVANGELISTIC INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE GOSPEL OF THE KINGDOM CHURCH

'Where is your destination?' asked the taxi driver after I sat on the backseat and closed the door. I initially wanted to explain the specific address of the megachurch, while the driver instantly nodded and said, 'Oh I certainly know, that's the Holy Stadium'. I was then blushing when I realised my ignorance of the popularity of my case study megachurch among the public of Semarang, the city where I had also spent five consecutive years in public engagement. This chapter is therefore dedicated to better understanding the indispensable supportive elements of the Gospel of the Kingdom Church (GKC) which are required to perform their passion of evangelism to the wider public.

1. Social Contexts

The Holy Stadium, the stadium sized venue of GKC, is located in the West-Semarang district.[206] The site is in an upper-middle-class housing area, surrounded by three large middle-class housing clusters in part of the West-Semarang and North-Semarang districts. Both districts are suburbs of Semarang that resulted from coastal reclamation.

[206] The previous site, which has now become one of its satellite churches, is located in a cluster area of North-Semarang district relatively near to the current site.

This suburb is allocated as a cluster of housing, business, education and recreation.[207] While the megachurch and many of its active members are settled in these affluent cluster areas, the districts are among the highest ranked for impoverished inhabitants in Semarang, double the average percentage of other districts.[208] Even though poverty in Semarang is below the average for the Province and the lowest ranked compared to other cities in Central Java, the percentage of poverty is still high as 373,978 people or 21.49 percent of the total population of approximately 1.7 million in 2013 could be classified as poor.[209]

Education, health, lack of infrastructures and job opportunities were seen as the main problems of the impoverished population of Semarang. For instance, there are more than eight thousand needy children (age 7 to 18) who did not receive formal education in 2011. This is not only caused by the lack of opportunity to attend school but also relates to the complex situation of the family which forces children to work to support the family's basic needs. The lack of adequate sewage disposal and access to clean water are among the infrastructure issues that cause health problems, while on the other hand, health awareness among the needy is slightly low.[210]

The regional budget to reduce poverty seems reasonably high in its total amount but extremely low when it is shared with the needy persons of the city. The municipality programme for poverty reduction has lowered the number of the needy. However, the

[207] Dwi P. Sasongko, 'Marina dalam Regulasi Amdal', accessed 7 January 2016, http://www.suaramerdeka.com/harian/0506/09/opi4.htm
[208] 'Simgakin', Pemkot Semarang, accessed 30 March 2015, http://simgakin.semarangkota.go.id/2014/website
[209] 'Simgakin', Pemkot Semarang.
[210] Indra Kertati, 'Analisis Kemiskinan Kota Semarang berdasarkan Data Pendataan Program Perlindungan Sosial (PPLS)', *Riptek* Vol. 7, No. 1, 2013, 27-38.

problems of the impecunious people are not merely a statistical discourse but deal with the daily life of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. Therefore the programmes and strategies need to be evaluated in order that the allocated budget can be distributed precisely to the needy rather than to fund abstract programmes that are a potential opportunity for corruption.[211] There is a suggestion to increase and strengthen the network of the municipality, society and the private sector through its Corporate Social Responsibility to accelerate poverty alleviation in Semarang. In such a situation, both the engagement and the geographical location of the megachurch could play a crucial role, whether to resegregate or desegregate the affluent Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics with the disadvantaged Javanese Muslims.

While the urban setting of the megachurch seemingly corresponds with the setting of its counterparts in North America[212] and South Korea,[213] which are mostly located in suburbs where other large public facilities are also available, the distinct situation of Semarang, as well as other main cities of Java, is the wide social gap between the affluent megachurch and its needy neighbourhood. The gap is worsened by a spatial gap where the cluster which is often alleged to be a new Chinatown becomes an inaccessible area for the disadvantaged surrounding it.[214] The presence of a megachurch is often considered as increasing this spatial gap. A growing church is usually felt as a psychological threat for the majority Muslims, particularly when its size is considered larger than the Grand Mosque. What is probably seen by most Charismatics as the sign

[211] Kertati, 'Analisis Kemiskinan Kota Semarang', 27-38.
[212] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond*, 14-17.
[213] Sebastian C. H. Kim, 'Mega Churches in South Korea: Their Impact and Prospect in the Public Sphere' in Jonathan D. James, ed., *A Moving Faith: Mega Churches Go South* (New Delhi: SAGE, 2015), 91-103.
[214] See. Jamie Mackie, 'Is There a Future for Chinese Indonesians?' in Leo Suryadinata, ed., *Ethnic Chinese in Contemporary Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2008), 186-187.

of God's providence for 'double minority' citizens, is perhaps suspected by the Muslims to be a threat to their existence, particularly relating to the possibility of religious conversion. This happened when the megachurch was actively reaching needy Muslims from the slums. While the Muslim leaders seemed frightened by the potentiality of conversion, the Christian leaders' unease probably related to their concern about their church's safety if conflict broke out in the city.[215]

The existence of Chinatown was the result of the segregation policy of the colonial government to minimise the relationship between ethnic Chinese and those mainly considered natives at that times.[216] Unfortunately, such a ghettoization strategy to restrain the integration of the Chinese with other ethnic groups is, whether consciously or unconsciously, continued, mainly by upper-middle class Chinese-Indonesians. In the case of Semarang this was probably triggered by the change in function of the original Chinatown to a more commercial area, which raised the housing tax and decreased its comfortability as a residential area.[217] Meanwhile, the Chinatown located in the Kranggan sub-district of Mid-Semarang, is considered the largest one in Central Java. It has more than thirty Chinese temples, compared to Surakarta, another large city in Central Java, with only three Chinese temples.

During the New Order, 1966-1998, the Chinatown of Semarang was probably an exception where Chinese cultural expressions could be performed publicly. The

[215] At that time, I heard, both from Christian and Muslim leaders, about their concern relating to the potentiality of conflict between Muslims and Christians if the megachurch continued to pick up people from the slums for regular healing prayer in their new venue.
[216] Mackie, 'Is There a Future', 186-187.
[217] Rina Kurniati and Febri Ratno Erlambang, 'Changes the Pattern of Residential Space into Commercial Space in Chinatown Semarang', Procedia Environmental Sciences 23 (2015), 307-314. Accessed 6 January 2016,
http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/, doi: 10.1016/j.proenv.2015.01.045.

exception apparently showed the bargaining power of the Chinese of Semarang, which probably related to their leaders' networking with the government and the army during that period. This was also evident when riots targeting Chinese-Indonesians occurred in Surakarta in 1980 and 1998, but were prevented from spreading to Semarang. The inhabitants of Chinese descent are more than 60,000 people or nearly five percent of the total population of Semarang, of whom approximately 5,000 reside in the original Chinatown area.[218] This percentage is the second largest ethnic group after the majority Javanese which consist of approximately 1.25 million, and almost double the total of the other seven ethnic groups that consist of nearly 2.4 percent.[219] In consequence of this fact those of Chinese descent in Semarang should be considered as a very sizeable minority compared to the other ethnic groups there.

Semarang is the capital of Central Java Province and was previously developed and modernised during the Dutch colonial era as one of its main ports and administration centres. The city is located on the north coast of Java and inhabited by approximately 1.6 million in 2015, which placed the city as the sixth most populous city in Indonesia. Its area of approximately 373 square-kilometres comprising sixteen sub districts and 177 villages positions Semarang as the fifth largest city in Indonesia.[220] As a city with predominantly Muslim inhabitants like other typical cities of Java, Semarang is distinctive in its religious tolerance. While tensions in Muslim-Christian relationships are

[218] Akhmad Aqil Aziz, 'Perbedaan Strata Sosial dan Kebudayaan Antara Etnis Tionghoa dan Masyarakat Pribumi di Kampung Pecinan Semarang', accessed 30 March 2015, http://imadiklus.com/perbedaan-strata-sosial-dan-kebudayaan-antara-etnis-tionghoa-dan-masyarakat-pribumi-di-kampung-pecinan-semarang/.
[219] Bappeda and BPS Kota Semarang, *Statistik Ketahanan Sosial Kota Semarang 2009* (Semarang: Bappeda and BPS Kota Semarang, 2010), 26.
[220] Bappeda and BPS Kota Semarang, *Semarang dalam Angka 2013* (Semarang: Bappeda and BPS Kota Semarang, 2014), 2.

relatively worse in the last decade, such situations did not overtly occur in Semarang. The growth of Islamist groups is almost unheard of in this city, compared to Surakarta and Yogyakarta which become the home base for some of the largest Islamist groups.[221] While Sunday services and evangelistic meetings are not openly advertised in local newspapers, compared to that of Jakarta and Surabaya, in my observation, various large evangelistic and healing meetings in football stadiums, public halls and squares were held without significant difficulties in gaining permission from the municipality and without getting any objection from Islamist groups. However, what has been regarded as a harmonious relationship, mainly between Christians and Muslims is more on the superficial level than an in depth mutual understanding.[222]

Compared to other provinces of Java, Central Java could be considered the lowest ranking in religious intolerance, particularly in post-Soeharto Indonesia after 1998. Semarang as the capital is also probably the most harmonious city compared to other large cities of the province like Surakarta which experienced several riots related to ethnic and political issues in 1980, 1998, and 1999. The number of Muslim inhabitants was approximately 1.3 million in 2013, followed by Christians, both Roman Catholics and Protestants, with more than 226,813 or nearly 14.4 percent of the population. There are nearly 300 churches to accommodate Christians, with more than ten large Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, four of which are considered as megachurches. The rest of the population consist of Buddhists, Hindus, Confucians, and other native believes with

[221] See. Tedi Kholiludin and Siti Rofiah, 'Tradisionalisme Konservatif: Penutupan Gereja Isa Almasih (GIA) Karangroto, Semarang, Jawa Tengah' in Badrus Samsul Fata, ed., *Agama dan Kontestasi Ruang Publik: Islamisme, Konflik dan Demokrasi* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2011), 239-262. Tedi Kholiludin, et.al., *Sinar Damai dari Kota Atlas: Sejarah, Agama dan Budaya Masyarakat Semarang* (Semarang: ELSA Press, 2015).

[222] See. Bagir, 'Pentecostal-Muslim Relations', 192.

nearly 1.9 percent or approximately 31,000 people.[223] Even though the reported cases of religious intolerance in Semarang are relatively low compared to other main cities in Central Java, in the last few years a sporadic escalation of religious intolerance has happened in the city and in the neighbouring city. This includes a direct protest to the GKC's school, an attempt to limit the frequency of the Christian radio station to broadcast sermons, and rejection for churches seeking to get construction permits from the neighbourhood.

2. Historical Background

The Gospel of the Kingdom Church was officially registered in February 1991. However, it was the continuation of the Sangkakala (Trumpet) prayer group as part of Sangkakala's ministry, a mission foundation which was started on 27 May 1977 by Adi Sutanto.[224] The foundation was established as the result of a longing from some young people from Bangsri, a small town in the north coast of Central Java, who experienced the Charismatic renewal among the Mennonite churches in Java in the 1960s, where Sutanto himself experienced the renewal.[225] The renewal began among the Javanese Mennonite Churches (GITJ) and later spread to the Chinese Mennonite Churches (GKMI) as well.[226]

[223] Bappeda and BPS Kota Semarang, *Semarang dalam angka 2013*, 167-168.
[224] Adi Sutanto, 'A Strategy for Planting Churches in Java through The Sangkakala Mission with Special Emphasis on Javanese and Chinese People' (D.Miss diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1986), 13. See Appendix 5.
[225] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 12-13.
[226] Lawrence M. Yoder, 'The Church of Muria: A History of the Muria Christian Church of Indonesia-GKMI' (Th.M diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1981), 508.

2.1. Charismatic Renewal

The above facts indicate that Charismatic renewal spread to Indonesia shortly after its emergence in North America in the early 1960s. This revises the opinion of some church historians who propose a later period of arrival. Aritonang and Steenbrink noticed that 'it had already arrived in Indonesia, from the late 1960s or early 1970s'. [227] Wiyono also noted that the 'Charismatic movement entered Indonesia in the second half of the 1960s, but was not so influential until the next decade'.[228] Meanwhile, van den End took the 1970s as the entrance period.[229] None of them mentioned the person who initially brought the renewal nor reported how it was spread in Indonesia. Therefore, I suggest that the date can be traced to the arrival of Edwin Brownell Stube, an Episcopal priest, and Gerald Derstine, a Mennonite pastor, in October 1961.

Stube, from the Diocese of Montana, had made contact for several months with the Episcopalians in Van Nuys, California who had experienced Spirit baptism before he invited Jean Stone, the lay leader of that group, in March 1961, to share her experience with his parishioners.[230] Stube, along with most of the active members would later experience Spirit baptism before the end of that week. However, he interestingly depicted the renewal among the parishioners as 'not noisily or emotionally like

[227] Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink, eds., *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 883.
[228] Wiyono, 'Pentecostalism in Indonesia', 314.
[229] Th. van den End, *Ragi Carita 2: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1860an-Sekarang* (Jakarta: BPK GM, 1989), 372. See Appendix 5.
[230] Edwin B. Stube, *A Fire is Burning*, compiled by Spencer Scrutton (Victoria: Prophetic International, n.d.), 9. Accessed 28 February 2014, http://propheticinternational.com/Web_-_HOLY-WAY/HolyWay-Archive/bklist_files/A%20Fire%20is%20Burning%20(UpTo-1972).pdf. More about Jean Stone see in John Dart, 'One Woman's Publicity Push' in Los Angeles Times 20 April 1992, accessed 5 February 2018, http://articles.latimes.com/1992-04-20/local/me-395_1_van-nuys. And in Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 147-148.

Pentecostals, but quietly like Episcopalians'.[231] Such quietness apparently affected his future ministry in Indonesia and this calm character of renewal seemed to cause a warm welcome to the message by the mainline denominations in the 1960s and 1970s, compared to the more exuberant nature of the Charismatics in the 1980s.

Shortly afterward, Stube received an offer from a Chinese-Indonesian family to join a short-term mission trip to Indonesia. Initially he did not give this offer any consideration since he had no idea where Indonesia was. When the family gave him a second offer, Stube felt that he was suddenly hit with 'thousand volts of electricity' which made him fall down to the floor.[232] For him, this meant it was the Holy Spirit who called him to Indonesia. Subsequently, from October until November 1961 he visited Indonesia as part of a team with Gerald Derstine, a Mennonite minister from Florida. While Stube conducted Bible studies on the theme of the Holy Spirit in the mornings, Derstine preached at the evangelistic services in the evenings. Their ministry in the main cities of Java was reported by Stube as a typical Charismatic ministry and '[e]verywhere large numbers were saved and healed and filled with the Spirit'.[233]

After his first trip, Stube felt that he 'fell in love with Indonesia and with its people, and left a large piece of [his] heart there when [he] finally headed home'.[234] That was one of his reasons for his second trip to Indonesia from July to August 1963. On this occasion he was accompanied by his parents-in-law and his oldest son. The Stubes ministered in more cities than on his first trip, and not only in Java but also on other islands of

[231] Stube, *A Fire,* 10.
[232] Stube, *A Fire*, 18.
[233] Stube, *A Fire*, 18.
[234] Stube, *A Fire*, 18.

Indonesia.[235] On some occasions local leaders spoke to Stube about an urgent need for a training centre for evangelists where the students could be trained with enthusiasm for spiritual ministry. This necessity would later become his main calling during his long-term ministry in Indonesia from 1965 to 1977.[236] It seemed that his second visit resulted in a wider renewal among the Mennonites. This situation was reported when he returned in early 1965.

> Mennonite churches here in central Java had an outpouring of Holy Spirit starting two years ago when we were here. There seems to have been some confusions creeping in with some few people opposing loudly. Usual problems. The head of these churches wants us to come pray with him, seek the way out.[237]

What was reported by Stube probably occurred among the Javanese Mennonites rather than their Chinese counterparts. This was confirmed by Yoder's observation that the resistance from the older generation, and not always the leadership, 'rarely became visible in the Muria Church' (GKMI) unlike the more frequent and overt resistance among the Javanese Mennonite Churches.[238] While Yoder's assessment is perhaps correct for that period, the next two decades show quite the contrary response of the GKMI to the Charismatic features of the Sangkakala ministry.

Sutanto was acquainted with the Charismatic renewal through Stube's ministry in the Church of Isa Almasih (GIA) Pringgading in Semarang, from 1965 to 1966.[239] He was introduced to Stube by Charles Christano, who later became the chairman of GKMI and

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[235] Edwin B. Stube, 'Letter', *The Holy Way Newsletter* February 1965, 3. Accessed 28 February 2014, http://www.thwec.info/Web_-_HOLY-WAY/HolyWay-Archive/archive%20files/1960s/1965/1965%20-%20Feb.pdf. *The Holy Way Newsletter* November 1965, 2. Accessed 28 February 2014, http://www.thwec.info/Web_-_HOLY-WAY/HolyWay-Archive/archive%20files/1960s/1965/1965%20-%20Nov.pdf. Stube, *Fire*, 51.
[236] Stube, *A Fire*, 19-20.
[237] *The Holy Way Newsletter* February 1965, 3. See also Appendix 5.
[238] Yoder, 'The Church of Muria', 508-509.
[239] I am indebted to Rev. Adi Sutanto, from whom I have heard about Father Stube for the very first time, probably in the mid of 2013.

president of the Mennonite World Conference, and who was mentioned several times by Stube as his young Mennonite friend.[240] The calm character of Stube's ministry was confirmed by Sutanto who depicted him as a somewhat toneless and gentle preacher yet anointed, mainly when it came to prayer, which was usually followed by tongues, its interpretation, and visions. Sutanto experienced Spirit baptism while he was an undergraduate student at Jakarta Theological Seminary.[241]

Sutanto was impressed by Kathryn Kuhlman's ministry during his study in the U.S. A type of power ministry would later be emphasised in his own ministry along with his evangelistic fervour. After finishing his graduate degree in 1976, Sutanto was assigned to conduct research on the mission and history of the GKMI along with Lawrence Yoder. However, he realised that his passion was on practical evangelism rather than theological research.[242] While admitting the lack of a specific definition of ministry in Sangkakala's mission statement, evangelistic zeal was the main driver of several ministries of the foundation.[243] The form of ministries might be varied and unplanned yet evangelism consistently remains the primary motivation.[244]

2.2. Prayer Group Movement

Sangkakala had various ministries, such as: organising prayer groups, distributing recorded sermons, training Christian music bands, organising evangelistic and revival meetings, publishing a monthly bulletin, and planting churches.[245] Sangkakala also

[240] *The Holy Way Newsletter* November 1965, 2.
[241] Later he continued his study at Eastern Mennonite Seminary in Virginia and Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary in California for the Master of Divinity degree and earned his Master of Theology (1973-1976) and Doctor of Missiology (1986) from Fuller Theological Seminary.
[242] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 12-13.
[243] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 17-18.
[244] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 22.
[245] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 21-50.

organised evangelistic meetings in several rural areas in Central Java from July 1977.[246] In March and August 1979, Sangkakala organised revival meetings for the high school students in Semarang.

On 1-3 March 1979, the students' revival meeting, called *Malam Oikumene* (Ecumenical Night), in Semarang was served by Stephanus Damaris, a prominent evangelist, as the main preacher. During the three days, it was reported that, 'around 800 [to] 1,000 students were present each evening and more than 400 souls went forward to repent and to commit themselves to Christ'.[247] The revival meetings would later be known as 'the student revival movement' in Semarang, since they produced the next generation of church leaders not only in Semarang but also in the wider area.[248] Among those who converted in the meetings were those who became prominent leaders of Indonesian Charismatic megachurches, including Petrus Agung Purnomo.[249]

It is noteworthy to observe the meetings in March which were followed by a retreat led by a team of Roman Catholic nuns under Sister Johana. It was reported that they 'prayed for those in bondage to various kinds of occultism and sins, and also for those who wanted to receive the infilling of the Holy Spirit'.[250] Sister Johana was the leader of a Carmelite monastery in Lembang, West Java. The monastery invited Edwin Stube to minister there at the end of the 1960s and in consequence some of the nuns, including Sister Johana, were filled with the Holy Spirit and started speaking in tongues, dancing

[246] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 27.
[247] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 27.
[248] '30 Tahun Berjalan Bersama Yesus', Majalah Bahana, accessed 1 March 2014, http://www.ebahana.com/warta-1192-30-Tahun-Berjalan-Bersama-Yesus.html. Meliani B. Rim and Ellen R. Pantouw, *Jerimia Rim: The Story of an Eagle that Changed a Generation* (Yogyakarta: Kairos Book, 2006), 104.
[249] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 32, 35, 40. '30 Tahun Berjalan Bersama Yesus', Majalah Bahana.
[250] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 27.

and shouting. They began their Charismatic type of ministry which resulted in their dismissal from their organisation. Subsequently some of the nuns, including Sister Johana (who was Dutch), Sister Sirela (Niasan), and Sister Veronica (who was Chinese-Indonesian), started their ministry in Charismatic style. A few of them rented a house in Cideng, Jakarta which was known as Himpunan Umat Allah/HUA (The Fellowship of God's People).[251]

On 1-3 August 1979, the second revival meeting of students in Semarang, named *Malam Anugrah* (Night of Grace), was organised by the ecumenical fellowship of students (PERSISKO) and consisted of a number of high school students who were converted in the first meeting. Jerimia Rim, an itinerant evangelist who was one of Stube's initial students, was invited as the main preacher at the second meeting and it was reported that 2,186 students came to Christian faith.[252] Rim kept up his communication with the students in Semarang after the meetings, and one of them was Petrus Agung Purnomo who admitted Rim's influence in his formation years.[253] The meetings in August were also followed by a retreat led by Charles Christano, Father Broto (a Catholic Priest), Hanna Sebadja, and Adi Sutanto himself.[254] Furthermore, several revival meetings were organised periodically by Sangkakala in Semarang and many other cities.[255]

[251] Daniel Alexander, Interview, 16 March 2014.
[252] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 18, 28.
[253] Rim and Pantouw, *The Story*, 106-107.
[254] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 28.
[255] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 29-31. Approximately 48 revival meetings which had a direct or indirect relation to Sangkakala, were held between 1980 and 1983 in cities such as Semarang, Ungaran, Salatiga, Kudus, Pati, Juwana, Magelang, Yogyakarta, Malang, Denpasar, Manado, Kupang, Sumba and also in countries such as the U.S., Canada, The Netherlands, Hong Kong, South Korea, The Philipines, Malaysia and Singapore.

Sutanto started a prayer group as the initial ministry of the foundation. It was attended by fifty people in the first half of 1978. The prayer group started with eight people and reached its peak of three hundred people gathered each week in the second half of 1980, and was known as Kebaktian Kharismatik (Charismatic Service). It was moved several times to different houses and at its peak rented a city hall called Gedung Pemuda. Sangkakala also pioneered a number of prayer groups in Semarang and seven groups had been established by the end of 1979. The number of prayer groups under Sangkakala grew to 35 in 1981, and in following years saw 46 prayer groups including approximately 1,600 people.[256] A few of the prayer groups grew rapidly and they were registered as a religious organisation under the Indonesian legal system. The groups already used Jemaat Kristen Indonesia (JKI) as their groups' name, but it was not registered as a church institution at that time.[257] The JKI was legally established in 1985 as the solution to this situation, that was also related to the renunciation of Sutanto's former Mennonite denomination to accommodate the results of his ministry.[258] According to Sutanto, it was never his intention to establish a new denomination since previously he preferred to remain under the GKMI.[259] However, at that time the Leaders of GKMI required these groups to give up their Charismatic features in worship (including enthusiastic worship style and speaking in tongues) as the prerequisite of integration. Currently the GKMI is more accommodating towards Charismatic experience and some of the pastors are known as healing evangelists as well.

[256] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 23.
[257] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 44-48.
[258] 'Indonesia: Struggling, Learning, Serving', Mennonite World Conferencce, accessed 10 March 2014, http://www.mwc-cmm.org/content/indonesia-struggling-learning-serving. 'Sinode Jemaat Kristen Indonesia', Global Anabaptist Wiki, accessed 10 March 2014, http://www.anabaptistwiki.org/mediawiki/index.php/ Sinode_Jemaat_Kristen_Indonesia.
[259] Adi Sutanto, Interview, 20 January 2014.

The Charismatic Service, the largest prayer groups under Sangkakala, became stagnant and even decreased in attendance in the second half of 1980s. This was apparently influenced by Sutanto's move to the U.S. to earned his doctorate in 1984 and later on to serve the JKI in the U.S. since 1986. Approximately two hundred attendees remained with the prayer group when it started its first Sunday morning service.[260] While twenty-five people were reported to have attended the first morning service on 24 February 1991, the evening service was apparently attended by the rest of the members.[261] The shift to becoming a registered church related to the policy of the regional office of the Ministry of Religion that obliged prayer groups that gathered on Sunday to be registered as churches.[262] In such a situation, Petrus Agung Purnomo felt that God was asking him to start and pastor the church, as the continuation of the prayer group. The influence of some prominent evangelists, including Jerimia Rim, who also established churches in the second half the 1980s probably impacted the shift of many large Charismatic prayer groups and praise centres in that period.[263] The registered church is named Injil Kerajaan (the Gospel of the Kingdom) based on Matthew 24: 14. This church was registered under the JKI and rented a building, formerly an empty warehouse, in Gajah Mada street Semarang.[264]

[260] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 22-23. Larry Keefauver, 'Pastor Builds 12,000 Seat 'Holy Stadium' in Muslim Stronghold', accessed 14 December 2015, http://www.charismamag.com/index.php/blogs/1541
[261] The website mentioned 22 February 1991 as the first Sunday service, but the calendar shows that day as Friday instead of Sunday.
[262] Adi Sutanto, Interview (1), 20 January 2014.
[263] Alexander mentioned the influence of Bob Weiner (Robert T. Weiner, Jr) of Maranatha Christian Center to this change among Indonesian Charismatic leaders, including Jeremia Rim who started New Testament Christian Church (GKPB) and Jimmy Oentoro who founded International Full Gospel Fellowship (IFGF). Daniel Alexander, Interview, 16 March 2014. More about Weiner and his ministry see Thomas Cooper, *Raising Jesus: The Story of the Maranatha House* (Print on Demand Version by Amazon UK, 2015).
[264] 'Senior Pastor', JKI Injil Kerajaan, accessed 10 March 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/about-us/senior-pastor.html.

3. Growing Period

In 1992 the church purchased a large building, formerly a roller-skating arena, in a cluster area called Pondok Hasanuddin. The difficulties in paying instalments for the new venue caused a split, and half the members and leaders left the church to start a new one in 1994. The Gospel of the Kingdom Church (GKC) grew steadily until end of 1990s and reached its two thousand weekly attendance, the number used by Thumma and Travis to mark a megachurch, in 2000. This benchmark is employed since after that size was reached a change in its leadership, structure, services and facilities was started.[265]

3.1. Quantitative Growth

The evangelistic vision of the senior pastor stated in the tagline 'Win the Lost at any Cost' was implemented through organised evangelistic meetings since its early period. Although various events were held to attract people to the meetings, it seemed the growth was steady at that time. However, 649 people were baptised by the end of 1998 while its weekly attendance reached approximately 700 people. If that number is reduced by the roughly 125 persons who left the church in 1994, then over 70 percent of its attendance in 1998 resulted from evangelism. In 1998, the church evangelised in public and private high schools through direct visitation rather than by inviting students to evangelistic meetings at the church. While this contributed to approximately 300 new attendees by the end of 1998, that year they baptised 133 persons. Therefore, it could be said that nearly half of the growth was the result of evangelism instead of merely migration from other churches.[266]

[265] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond*, xxi. See also Appendix 7.
[266] See. Keefauver, 'Pastor Builds 12,000 Seat 'Holy Stadium' in Muslim Stronghold'.

The attendance was approximately 700 people by the end of 1998. It was Kong Hee, the founder of City Harvest Church in Singapore, who personally challenged Agung, during his ministry at the church in 1998, to believe that the church would reach 2,000 people by the end of 2000. Agung admitted that it was only out of politeness that he accepted Kong's challenge. However, at the evening service Kong announced it publicly to the church. According to Agung, it was evident that by the end of 2000 the attendance rapidly reached over 2,000.[267] Nevertheless the changing social and political situation most probably contributed to the growth during 1998 to 2000. It was affected by the economic crisis of Indonesia and by riots in several main cities of Indonesia just after the fall of the authoritarian regime in 1998. These events brought people to flock to the church for certainty in the midst of uncertain situations. Meanwhile, internal conflict in other churches could also be considered as an external factor in increasing the growth. It was clearly obvious when a large classical Pentecostal church in Semarang experienced long-drawn internal conflict which caused a separation in 2000. The senior pastor of that church subsequently started a new church under another Charismatic denomination. Even though approximately half of their members remained in the church, it was to the GKC that probably nearly one-third of the members of the conflicted church migrated.[268]

Since 2000 the church has been running a 24/7 radio station with sermons, prayer and worship as its main programme. This seems to extend the evangelistic scope of the church and to some extent contributes to its growth, as audiences who were attracted or healed when they listened to the radio would flock to the church. In 2004 the weekly

[267] Keefauver, 'Pastor Builds 12,000 Seat 'Holy Stadium' in Muslim Stronghold'
[268] Gunawan Susanto, WhatsApp Message, 22 December 2015.

attendance reached more than 4,000, it had baptised 3,543 persons or in other words roughly 88.6 percent of its attendance was caused by evangelism. The most significant number of baptisms occurred after its public engagement, which started with a series of healing services for the needy, in 2007. 1,289 people were baptised in 2007 or almost double the previous year. 2011 was its peak with 5,141 baptised in a year and the total number of baptised people was 21,517 by 2014. However, the registered members in 2014 was 15,109, 6,408 less than the total number of baptisms. Meanwhile the weekly attendance was only roughly 11,000 in 2014.[269] The split in 2011 where some senior deputies and hundreds of active members left the megachurch to start a new one under the same denomination, most significantly influenced the decrease of membership. The dispute was probably related to the use of many prophetic symbols that were considered to be overemphasised and somewhat superstitious by the moving group.

3.2. Migration Factor

Migration from a smaller city to a larger city and from one island to another island is considered influential in the growth of Pentecostalism in the main cities of Indonesia. Only 38 percent of 3748 respondents of the CRCS's research are native to the towns and the majority migrated from other cities.[270] Survey data is not available for this case study but during my observation I met a number of leaders and active members who migrated to Semarang, mostly because of their jobs, businesses and studies. A megachurch with its well-known senior pastor becomes the easiest destination for migrants since they had probably heard or knew about the church from their hometowns. While the profile

[269] My analysis was based on the available data of the registered baptism since its early period to 2014 and was compared with the estimation of attendance in that period. Isaac (pseudonym), Email, 21 November 2014.
[270] Gudorf, Bagir and Tahun, *Aspirations,* 211.

of Pentecostalism in Indonesia's main cities predominantly consists of people from other Pentecostal denominations and Protestant and Catholic backgrounds, it should be considered that the majority are migrants.[271]

The reason for migrants to join Charismatic megachurches may be influenced by the need of reassurance while they face cultural change to adapt to a large city's lifestyle.[272] This probably also relates to the more individualistic culture of a large city compared to the strong familial network of those who came from ethnic-based Protestant churches in smaller cities. Therefore, addressing the 'classic' accusation of 'stealing sheep' in evaluating megachurch growth needs to take into account of the quite high percentage of migrants among urban Charismatics in Indonesia. Nevertheless, the fact that inter-denominational migration contributes to the growth of the megachurch is also evident. This is usually described as the megachurch's aggressiveness in attracting members of other churches. But a number of interviewees who mentioned their previous church background immediately explained that it was 'a spiritual journey' and 'personal spiritual growth' that brought them to visit and soon after to join the GKC. It was also observed that during the rapid growth of this megachurch, other large classical Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in Semarang were also growing. Networking among senior pastors was quite strong and several evangelistic events were organised by a number of megachurches.

[271] Gudorf, Bagir and Tahun, *Aspirations,* 211, 215.
[272] Hong Young-Gi, 'The Backgrounds and Characteristics of the Charismatic Mega-Churches in Korea' in *AJPS Vol 3.1* (2000), 106.

3.3. Holy Stadium

A new site was bought to build the current venue in 2004, finishing in quite a short period early in 2007. To accommodate the growth during the building of the megachurch site, they moved to a rented indoor tennis court which was located next to the megachurch venue and was called the 'Holy Stadium Junior'.[273] The Holy Stadium is regarded as the second largest Indonesian megachurch site with 12,000 seats. Agung argued that usually the church capacity in a city should not be larger than the Grand Mosque in that area. The permit to build a church venue in Indonesia frequently takes quite a lengthy process to gain many written consents from the neighbourhood with other religious backgrounds, in Java this refers to the Muslims as the majority inhabitants. An Evangelical megachurch venue in Jakarta called the Messiah Cathedral with 4,400 seats in the main hall and 3,000 more in overflow rooms had to wait for twelve years to receive the building permit.[274] The permission was granted in few years for the building of the House of Bethany in Surabaya with a capacity of approximately 25,000 seats capacity.

In the case of the GKC the process of gaining the permit was considered extraordinary, since it was obtained in only four working days. This process would later be advised by a group of inter-religious leaders, appointed by the government. Therefore, the municipality decides whether this submission would be accepted or rejected. Agung also emphasised that they did not bribe or spend any money to receive this permission.[275]

[273] 'Senior Pastor', JKI-IK, accessed 12 March 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/about-us/senior-pastor.html.
[274] Michael Sullivan, 'Megachurch Symbolizes Indonesia's Tolerance', NPR 19 October 2008, accessed 27 March 2016, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=95847081.
[275] Petrus Agung Purnomo, Interview (2), 20 November 2014.

Rumours of an attempt at Christianisation are usually raised in the building process. The presence of a very large church building is also alleged to be a covert political move of the Chinese-Indonesians' economic domination that is considered a threat to the majority Muslims.[276] However, among Charismatics the trend towards building a large venue is mainly related to the vision of imminent mass conversion among Muslims, which has been repeatedly prophesied since the 1980s. Agung admitted to the influence of Abraham Alex Tanuseputra, the founder of Bethany Church, who suggested 12,000 seats instead of his initial plan of 5,000. He also referred to Alex's belief that the primary function and purpose of a large venue was preparing an immense barn for the coming abundant harvest. Mass conversion is also believed to be one of the last observable indications of the return of Christ.[277]

3.4. Role of the Senior Pastor

Eighty-three percent of American megachurches grew significantly in the period of their current senior pastor, while the majority of Australian and Korean megachurches grew under their current leaders.[278] The ten largest megachurches in Indonesia are similarly growing under the leadership of their current senior pastors, who are also their founders. While the charismatic personality of the senior pastor is perceived as the influential factor behind a megachurch's growth, it was not the case of the megachurch in its early period. The attendance decreased when the senior pastor preached and

[276] Sri Bintang Pamungkas, 'Gereja Kharismatik dan Gerakan Politik Cina Menguasai Indonesia', VOA-Islam 23 february 2014, accessed 27 March 2016, http://www.voa-islam.com/read/opini/2014/02/23/29209/gereja-kharismatik-dan-gerakan-politik-cina-menguasai-indonesia/.
[277] Abraham Alex Tanuseputra, Interview, 26 July 2017. See also. Harianto G.P. and Bambang Yudho, *Abraham Alex Tanuseputra Sang Visioner* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 2012), 81-88.
[278] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 59. Hong, 'The Backgrounds and Characteristics', 101. Sam Hey, *Megachurches: Origins, Ministry and Prospects* (Preston: Mosaic Press, 2013), 11-12.

increased when guest speakers were invited. Internal conflict, unpaid debt and slow growth occurred during the first seven years while the senior pastor preached with a similar approach as his current preaching style. The leader's charisma was probably becoming more influential when the church reached its rapid growth in 2000. Rapid growth, and also establishing the radio station, seemingly brought publicity for the megachurch and the senior pastor since that time. In its megachurch period, starting from 2000, the influence of the charisma of the senior pastor for the growth of the megachurch is more clearly observed.

Nonetheless I contend that there is also often a vaguely stated and considered theological factor behind the growth of megachurches. Such a divine factor, in my opinion, could not be systematised or even strategized as a general pattern to be followed by other churches, like that of Wagner's New Apostolic Reformation for instance.[279] What Wagner did should be considered a summary or mapping of his observations on the features of most of the world's fastest growing churches. But it was apparently regarded by Wagner and his circle as an explanatory formula to increase quantitative growth. Agung overtly and consistently rejected such a strategic method to explain the growth of the megachurch. Awarded an honorary doctoral degree in church growth from Cohen University Theological Seminary,[280] he consistently argued that human initiative could not contribute to the growth of a megachurch.[281] He claimed that

[279] See various of Wagner's writings on both streams. The titles below are his main textbooks while other titles are merely details explanatory of these books: Peter Wagner, *Strategies for Church Growth: Tools for Effective Mission and Evangelism* (California: Regal Books, 1989) and Peter Wagner, *Churchquake!* (California: Regal Books, 1998).
[280] 'Faculty', Cohen University, accessed 24 March 2016, http://www.cohenuniversity.ac/sub31.htm.
[281] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Panggilan Menjadi Nabi dan Rasul,* Audio Sermon (Semarang, MIK, n.d.). Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Meletakkan Keinginan Diri Sendiri*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). He believed that a megachurch which started to offer an explanatory feature or method as its prominent growth factor would gradually decrease and consequently stop growing. What he often referred to

he refused many invitations to explain the growth because such a spiritual reason would never satisfy people's curiosity about such a strategy or method.

3.5. Networks

In 1999, the megachurch founded a Bible school called The School of Acts (TSOA) affiliated with Raymond Mooi's TSOA in Malaysia. Mooi was the Asian director for Morris Cerullo Ministries which gave him a broad connection with global Charismatic networks.[282] It seems that the founding of TSOA Indonesia also brought Mooi's network to the megachurch, which seemingly broadened Agung's network of the teachers, including some well-known leaders in Charismatic circles who came from various countries, but mostly from the U.S.[283] While most of them have a loose network with the megachurch, a closer network was made with Morris Cerullo and his ministries since Agung was one of Cerullo's interpreters in Indonesia.[284] Agung was also frequently invited as a speaker in Cerullo' s annual conference in the U.S., Israel, Russia and the Netherlands during the first half of the 2010s.

A long-term contact was also made with Bill Wilson of Metro World Child, formerly Metro Ministries, a New York based Sunday school ministry. Wilson taught several times at TSOA and frequently preached at the megachurch. He initially visited the megachurch in 1999 and conducted seminars and training for Sunday school ministry. Wilson is the founder of a children's ministry that serves more than 25,000 children through its Sunday school classes across the city. Metro is considered the largest Sunday school

instead was some failures that he made when he attempted to apply his own ideas and strength to grow the church between 1991 and 1998.

[282] See. Adeline Lum, 'Hungry to Serve but Don't Know How? -The School of Acts', accessed 5 January 2016, http://christianitymalaysia.com/wp/hungry-serve-dont-how-school-acts/.

[283] Thomas Daniarto, Interview, 27 August 2015.

[284] Petrus Agung Purnomo, Interview (2).

ministry in the U.S. and currently has international branches in the slums of metropolitan cities in Romania, South Africa, Kenya, India and the Philippines.[285] Wilson's training and testimony apparently generated a vision and burden for reaching the impoverished areas of Semarang. After his initial visit the youth members actively reached out to street children and served its surrounding slums. This raised insignificant support at that time and got less attention from adult members.

Apparently attention to the impoverished decreased in following years, except for a few of the youth who constantly and independently served them. One of the deputies was also actively involved in reaching the needy in the neighbourhood. Pastor Victor Poernomo could be considered the most consistent in ministering to the poor after Wilson's initial visit. What was called by the senior pastor 'King's children ministry' was previously and consistently served by Victor and his team through a satellite church that used the previous main venue. This satellite church was led by Victor and mainly reached the impoverished neighbourhood.[286] The megachurch has consistently supported Wilson's ministries since 1999 through child sponsorship. Many members also actively supported Metro through its sponsorship programme. During my period of observation, I heard several testimonies, particularly from young adult members who financially support international branches of Metro as well as several of the GKC's shelters.[287] Meanwhile, most of the full-time shelter staff mentioned the influence of Bill Wilson and his ministry as their inspirational figure, and Wilson's *Whose Child is This?* as one of the most inspiring writings for their current ministry.[288] While a significant impact was

[285] 'Around the World', Metro World Child, accessed 16 January 2016, http://www.metroworldchild.co.uk/around-the-world.
[286] Victor Poernomo, Interview, 21 November 2014.
[287] FGD, 11 August 2015.
[288] FGD, 18 November 2014. Bill Wilson, *Whose Child is This?* (New York: Metro World Child, 2012).

not evident after Wilson's initial visitation, his influence could be considered as a compassionate seed that was sown.

Another close network of the senior pastor is with John Avanzini, who initially visited the church while it was quite small in the end of 1990s. Then after quite a while when he had no contact with the church, Avanzini believed that he should come to support the church during the Holy Stadium ground-breaking. It was Avanzini who challenged the attendees to financially support the construction of Holy Stadium and he raised a certain number of 'faith-promise' offerings that covered approximately one third of its total budget. While the senior pastor admits the significant influence of Benny Hinn, it was not until 2012 that he made a direct contact with Hinn when Hinn himself proposed, rather than being invited, to conduct healing services at the megachurch. A direct and closer contact was made whereby the senior pastor was invited to be interviewed on Hinn's television programme and Hinn revisited the megachurch in the following years.

The affinity of the senior pastor with Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, a well-known itinerant evangelist who resides in Bandung, West Java, later resulted in an affiliation of the megachurch with six other ministries, which was named Bahtera (the Ark). It was co-founded in 2005 by a group known as The Six, initially The Seven, including the senior pastor. The network is believed to be a prophetic sign and warning, like that of Noah's Ark, of the imminent return of Christ. However, it never claimed that only those who joined in the network would be saved.[289] Bahtera has organised biannual meetings since 2005, every June and December, at the Holy Stadium and was attended by more than

[289] Based on my analysis of the recoded video of the first Bahtera event in 2005 and other available videos in the official channel of Bahtera Media Network, https://www.youtube.com/user/bahteramedianetwork.

15,000 people from various cities at each meeting. Free accommodation was provided in its school class and members' houses and free meals were given during the three days' biannual meeting for those who came from remote areas or from needy backgrounds. The transportation cost was also subsidised for those who came from remote islands of Indonesia. Involvement in Bahtera has significantly transformed the megachurch ministry, particularly its emphasis on prophetic words and acts.[290]

Various prophetic symbols and actions were reportedly based on visions and divine guidance to The Six, four of whom were considered prophets and prophetesses. Based on such visions, Bahtera has organised various prayer trips to many places locally and globally as a prophetic act to welcome the imminent coming of Christ. Most of The Six are also involved in public ministries through running schools and reaching out to the needy surroundings.[291] The most publicly engaged is Mahanaim foundation led by Iin Tjipto. The direct influence of Mahanaim in the megachurch public engagement is clearly observed in its shelter and school. An indirect influence could also be in the appointment of the senior pastor to the advisory board of the foundation a few years before the megachurch started its public ministries.

In February 2007, one of the Mahanaim senior staff was assigned to the megachurch to pioneer shelter ministries in Semarang. Therefore, the shelter ministry of the

[290] The prophetic act is similar with that of Mahanaim which is often considered as superstitious beliefs by theologically educated Charismatics (See. Chapter 1.4.). In the Old Testament, the prophetic act is a symbolic action includes either a dramatized gesture, a posture, or an act that 'represents something other than what is visible to onlookers or participants. The prophets perform 'a certain action, which in turn became a nonverbal prophecy'. See. Joshua 8: 18-19; 1 Kings 11: 29-31; Isaiah 8: 1-4; Jeremiah 43: 8-13; Ezekiel 2: 8 - 3: 6, 5: 2, 12. See. Donald W. Parry, 'Symbolic Action as Prophecy in the Old Testament' in Paul Y. Hoskisson, ed., *Sperry Symposium Classics: The Old Testament* (Provo and Salt Lake City: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, and Deseret Book, 2005), 337-355.

[291] Participant Observation, 18 June 2015. Based on my analysis of a number of recorded video and audio sermons of The Six in Bahtera biannual conferences and other occasions.

megachurch simply adopted the pattern of Mahanaim.[292] Another sign of Mahanaim's direct influence is evident in the preparation of the megachurch school in early 2007. The senior pastor testified that he had received a vision to open schools, from nursery to secondary, with only six months for preparing a curriculum, selecting teachers, getting official permission, and recruiting students. While miraculous assistance was reported as happening during the six months' preparation, it was the direct support and supervision of Mahanaim's teachers and staff that should be taken into account. Mahanaim had run well-accredited schools for a few years before the megachurch opened its school in mid 2007.[293] Agung admitted that he initially underestimated Iin's vision to open a school with students from mixed social backgrounds. But this would later be considered an ideal approach to grow empathy and compassion for students from affluent backgrounds and to nurture dreams and confidence for those from underprivileged backgrounds.

3.6. Eschatological Expectation

The senior pastor had previously been known for his 'end times' seminar while he was an itinerant evangelist.[294] This teaching was consistently preached in Sunday services and seminars. More frequent preaching on this theme apparently increased when certain local or global situations which could be regarded as signs of the return of Christ appeared. The name of the church, which was taken from Matthew 24: 14, also strongly relates to the question: 'what will be the sign of your coming and of the end of age?'.[295]

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[292] JKI Injil Kerajaan, *Tuhan Ulurkan Tangan-Nya: Kisah Perjalanan Rumah Singgah* (Semarang: MIK, 2015).
[293] 'Sekolah', Mahanaim, accessed 26 April 2015, http://www.love-mahanaim.or.id/sekolah.php?lang=bahasa.
[294] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Akhir Jaman*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, 1991).
[295] Matthew 24: 3.

The spreading of the gospel of the kingdom was therefore regarded as the most crucial prerequisite before the coming of Christ. This strongly motivated the megachurch for evangelism and supporting mission work in other countries. Such a sense of awaiting had driven them, from 1991 to the end of 2006, to be extensively involved in evangelism rather than withdrawing into a passive response, which is also considered as accelerating the second coming of Christ.[296]

In 2003, the senior pastor reported receiving a prophecy through a prophetess that the megachurch building would be used as a manifold blessing from God's throne to distribute his blessing to many people.[297] This was received approximately one year before the construction started. The prophetess also underlined that although the construction was the will of God, the megachurch venue would only be used for quite a short period because Christ would imminently return. With the unexpected death of the senior pastor less than a decade after the construction was finished, the prophecy could be reinterpreted that the short period refers to the short use of the facilities under the late senior pastor. However, this was responded to with a willingness to start the construction and seemingly the former prophecy had already been fulfilled through extensive public engagement even before the venue was fully furnished in early 2007. It seemed evident in this case that premillennial eschatology was perceived as a prominent motivation to make the name of the megachurch became a reality.

Involvement in Bahtera since 2005 also strongly impacted the senior pastor's eschatological teaching. Visions and voices together with observing natural signs

[296] 2 Peter 3: 12.
[297] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Mempercepat Kedatangan Yesus,* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, 2003). The complete audio recording of the prophecy is included in this audio sermon.

somewhat increased his confidence that the coming of Christ was in the very near future. At the end of 2005, the senior pastor and his network went to Papua, the eastern island of Indonesia, to conduct prayer and revival meetings. Before leaving for Papua, he testified that God asked the team to prophetically open the gate of Papua. This was because Papua was perceived as the eastern extension of the golden gate. This gate is believed to be the gate of the Messiah's triumphal entry.[298] Consequently, a few months later the team also went to Israel and prophetically prayed at the golden gate or the eastern gate of Jerusalem. It was claimed that reaching the gate was prohibited that year. But reportedly the team could touch the gate and prophetically open it to welcome the return of the Christ.[299]

4. Metanarrative

Evangelistic fervour is clearly observed in the senior pastor's sermons, mission statement, ministries, and also on the percentage of finance which he spent on supporting missionaries, evangelistic training and meetings in various cities of Indonesia and several other countries. This is similar to the dominant passion of the majority of U.S. and Korean megachurches' senior pastors. Their value on reaching out to 'the unchurched' is 'embodied in the leadership of the entire ministry' and can be observed clearly as the main driver for most church ministries and as the direction to develop new programmes.[300] The members also indicate a similar concern and active participation in

[298] See. Tom Hess, *Prepare the Way for the King of Glory* (Jerusalem: Progressive Vision International, 2001), 10-11, 215-230. Matthew 21: 1-11.
[299] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Pintu Gerbang Timur*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, 2005).
[300] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 62-64.

supporting evangelistic mission, whether through voluntary involvement or financial support.[301] The vast majority of the interviewed members mentioned either 'saving souls', 'winning the lost', the Great Commission or evangelism as the main reason for their voluntary involvement in the public engagement, with Matthew 28: 18-20 as the main biblical reference. This is in line with the case of Korean megachurches, where the passion for mission of the senior pastor results in an ability 'to demand commitments from their members' which relates with volunteerism for mission and church ministries.[302]

The frequently mentioned keyword is having a 'heart for souls'. A desire to bring the salvific message to people who are perceived as 'non-believers' in the Christian faith. The senior pastor referred to John 3: 16 explaining that the salvation of people through faith in Jesus Christ is at the very heart of the Father's desire. Therefore, the members were urged to adjust themselves to the Father's heart, to have that kind of heart too. It was expressed in a mission statement: 'Win the Lost at any Cost'. If a Christian wants to know and have the quality of God's heart then he or she should obey the commission.[303] However, doing evangelistic mission in a Muslim majority country like Indonesia could raise tensions, particularly with the rise of Islamist groups in post-Soeharto Indonesia. Spreading a religious belief to adherents of other religions (including any persuasion with or without any form of gift-giving) is officially prohibited according to the joint

[301] More detailed discussion of members' participation is available in the fourth chapter.
[302] Hong, 'The Backgrounds and Characteristics', 113-116.
[303] This emphasis on evangelism is found in most of his sermons and the senior pastor also confirmed it in two interviews.

decree of the minister of religious affairs and the minister of internal affairs of Indonesia in 1979.[304]

The senior pastor argued that evangelism cannot be considered an attempt of proselytization. He insists that the so-called Christianisation refers to any human effort to convert people to Christianity as a religion or to become a church member. This nominal conversion according to him is useless through the lens of the Kingdom of God and could be compared to the issue of 'stealing sheep' within Christian denominations. For him, moving people from one church to another or from one religion to another religion is merely a statistical achievement which has no eternal benefits, whether for the church or the converts. Therefore, he emphasised a personal encounter with Jesus as the core of evangelism. Confessing Jesus as Lord and Saviour does not always require people to leave their previous religion, but the emphasis is on experiencing Jesus through a new orientation and transformation of people's personal lives. People could be a follower and believer of Jesus Christ while remaining in their previous identity, as a Muslim for instance.[305]

His view is strongly related to a contextual struggle in Indonesia where each citizen must choose and register his or her affiliation with one of six recognised religions. Changing religious identity on the ID card is regarded as 'almost impossible' for people with Islam as their previous identity. Such disguised identity is apparently quite common among the converts in a Muslim majority context. While according to Robinson among the middle-class in urban Java such a new identity can be openly stated by the convert,[306]

[304] 'SKB 2 Menteri', KEMENAG, accessed 12 December 2015, www.kemenag.go.id/file/dokumen/SKB11979.pdf.
[305] Petrus Agung Purnomo, Interview (1).
[306] Robinson, 'Pentecostalism', 92.

the situation is most likely to the contrary among the lower class, whether in rural or urban Java. My empirical findings[307] somewhat indicate that both the megachurch and the converts thus far prefer to retain their previous Muslim identity which can be categorised either as Messianic Muslims who keep their Muslim identity yet follow Isa Almasih (C5 type) or secret believers who are silent about their faith and therefore were perceived by their peers as Muslim and identified themselves as Muslim also (type C6).[308]

While the metanarrative remains similar during the last twenty-five years, the change of emphasis affected the practical operation. The first five years (1991-1996) indicate an evangelistic fervour yet without any specific people to be reached and method to be applied. The next ten years (1997-2006) displays a more definite translation of the mission following a model called the church of Antioch. A commitment to serve the poor was identified as the main feature of that apostolic church and a wider participation in mission was also recognised. While the broader involvement in mission is observable, the particular attention to the poor is not yet emphasised except during the peak of economic crisis in 1998 and in the street children ministry.

4.1. 'The Church of Antioch': Missiological Prototype

A vision referring to the church of Antioch had been repeatedly mentioned and explained by the senior pastor since the second half of the 1990s.[309] The Antioch church was perceived as the type for the megachurch, particularly relating to its apostolic

[307] Furthermore in Chapter 4.
[308] John Travis (Pseudonym), 'The C1 to C6 Spectrum' in Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthrone, eds., *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader, Third Edition* (California: William Carrey Library, 1999), 658-659.
[309] Petrus Agung Purnomo, Email, 16 December 2015. He claimed to have received this vision initially in 1994, but it became clearer after his three days of fasting and prayer in 1998.

function.[310] This vision was confirmed by some prophecies, of which one of those frequently cited was the late Kerry Southey's prophecies, an Australian-born prophetess who lived in South Africa. Her prophecies related to the distinctive calling as a church that would be used to send people and finance to world mission, though at that time the church was relatively small, whether in number of members or financial capability.[311]

The Antioch church is perceived as an apostolic church whose main difference with a local church is in its leadership, the former being led by an apostle and the latter by a pastor. The emphasis on the apostolic function is considered as reaching a broader scope than that of a local church pastor. In this case, the senior pastor was never called an apostle, compared to the stream called the New Apostolic Reformation that was introduced by Wagner.[312] While Agung was aware of this trend and had also read Wagner's book, it was to his personal vision that he mainly referred. Agung admitted that he personally met Wagner in 2004 and was recommended by Abraham Alex Tanuseputra to join Wagner's apostolic network. He therefore was registered as a member but remained inactive.[313] While Wagner tended to provide spiritual principles that could be followed or imitated, Agung emphasised a personal relationship with the Holy Spirit that seemed to ignore particular rules or patterns.

According to Agung's interpretation, an apostolic church is the result of a coincidence where a number of persecuted disciples scattered as far as Antioch rather than the

[310] See. Acts 11: 19-30
[311] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Dua Macam Gereja*, Audio Sermon (Semarang, MIK, n.d.).
[312] C. Peter Wagner, ed., *The New Apostolic Churches* (California: Regal Books, 1998). This anthology contains several writings by leaders of the fastest growing churches within Evangelical and Charismatic circles in the U.S. and across the world.
[313] Petrus Agung Purnomo, Email, 17 December 2015.

outcome of a systematic mission strategy.[314] The keyword for an apostolic church is: 'the hand of the Lord was with them'.[315] The emphasis is therefore on divine initiative and appointment for a local church, whether a church, and its leader, has a distinctive assignment and mantle as an apostolic church or not. He also argued that such calling cannot be duplicated or modelled from other churches which were regarded as fast growing apostolic churches. He furthermore explained that the apostolic calling is not intended for every local church since other churches like those in Phoenicia and Cyprus never experienced the 'Antioch experience'.[316]

The preliminary requirement for Antioch's vision is the prophets' visitation and the availability of prophets and teachers.[317] The condition was fulfilled through the frequent visitation of prophets and teachers since the second half of the 1990s and this increased after the opening of its Bible school in 1999. The function of prophecies is not only to train congregations to listen and understand God's will but also to purify and test their motivation and intention whether to serve and glorify God or merely for their own advantage. Whereas the purpose of teaching is to bring understanding of what has been believed and to lay a firm foundation for greater tasks in the near future. A certain period of intensive teaching results in the qualification to be called Christians, as happened in Antioch.[318] Therefore, the role of the prophets and teachers is introducing, in Agung's term, 'the Holy Spirit ways'.[319] Since Barnabas himself was filled with the Holy Spirit, then Agabus, a prophet from Jerusalem spoke through the guidance of the Spirit,

[314] See. Acts 11: 19.
[315] Acts 11: 21 (NIV).
[316] Purnomo, *Dua Macam Gereja*. See also. Acts 11: 19.
[317] Acts 11: 27; 13: 1.
[318] Acts 11: 26.
[319] Purnomo, *Dua Macam Gereja*.

later when they were worshipping and fasting the Holy Spirit spoke and appointed Barnabas and Saul for the mission task, and both of them were sent as apostles of Antioch by the Holy Spirit.[320]

Another distinctive feature of an apostolic church, as it refers to the Antioch church, is its fast response to upcoming social problems, such as poverty and famine.[321] This is not merely depending on the church's financial ability, but rather on the scope of its concern with the wider area and issue of ministry. An apostolic church is characterised by its immediate response, like that of the Antiochian disciples to the forthcoming famine in Judea. Interestingly, the disciples were not merely responding to the current social problems, but to the guidance of the Spirit, who signalled or informed them of this impending situation, that they obediently served. An apostolic leadership is also characterised by an intense concern for the needy. This refers to James, Peter and John, as the pillars of the apostles, whose only request to Paul was to continue ministering to the poor.[322] Paul as an apostle who was sent by the church of Antioch showed a similar feature in his ministry, and confirmed that serving the poor was the very thing that he was eager to accomplish.[323]

Following such an apostolic vision, according to Agung, would only end as an idea without a certain level of generosity to spend a large amount of money for various ministries, which would mostly be distributed to other churches or to the needy without any direct benefit to the church. Agung repeatedly emphasised that becoming an

[320] Acts 11: 24, 27-28; 13: 2, 4.
[321] Acts 11: 29.
[322] Galatians 2: 9-10.
[323] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Panggilan Menjadi Nabi dan Rasul*, Audio Sermon (Semarang, MIK, n.d.). Purnomo, *Dua Macam Gereja.* See also Galatians 2: 10.

apostolic church was very costly. He explained that an apostolic calling had a close relationship with suffering, since the consequence of a broader level of mission and public engagement meant a higher level of self-denial and self-sacrifice.[324] He admitted that this would be looked on as a ridiculous action for leaders or churches that used profit-oriented values as their operative approach. He, however, realised there were Charismatics who tended to adopt such a franchise business system to open churches with a turnover calculation after a few years of investment. But such franchise churches would prefer to spend their finance for certain beneficial actions rather than distribute most of their finance without any profitable guarantee or prospect.[325]

Although this apostolic vision was regularly taught until 2004, it was not until 2007 that the megachurch fully acquired such aforementioned characteristics. Teaching series of the senior pastor before 2007 never referred to the implementation of this vision, particularly that relating to social problems and poverty. Meanwhile, the megachurch's generosity in supporting mission work was evident through sending and supporting a number of missionaries and organising conferences and evangelistic meetings in various Asian countries. The only notable large scale social involvement before 2007 was during the economic crisis in 1998, when the church sold subsidised groceries for 1,000 needy families each week for a whole year and provided scholarships for 1,000 students from its surrounding needy areas.

In this case, the apostolic vision became a preparation for extensive public engagement in the next period. This vision laid a firm and internalised understanding of their particular role and purpose. The emphasis on the significance of openness and flexibility

[324] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Jawatan Nabi dan Rasul (2)*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[325] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Konsep dalam Pelayanan,* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).

to the guidance of the Holy Spirit also formed an experiential orientation to support any sudden move of the Spirit in the forthcoming period, such as the new vision in early 2007. This Spirit-based experience, in my opinion, developed a distinct behaviour and perspective of the leaders and members distinguished by their ability to embrace sudden and sustained change in vision or activity. Meanwhile, generosity also shaped their basic values, because it would be very difficult to generate a wide scale of voluntary participation and generous financial support for current public engagement without any firm understanding and constant practice since the previous period.[326]

4.2. 'Ishmael is Coming Home': Restorative Evangelism

The primary narrative of evangelism since early 2007 was the vision to reap multitudes of impoverished Muslims using the invitation to the great banquet.[327] This signified a new implementation of the mission statement. While this narrative was more eschatological, it seemed to motivate the megachurch to literally bring people from the streets and alleys of the city in current times. Multitudes of people standing in front of the megachurch in the vision was perceived as the impoverished and disabled people of the Lukan narrative.[328] Therefore, it was believed that the megachurch had been directly commissioned to fetch such people from the corners of Semarang instead of sending invitations as was regularly done when organising evangelistic meetings. In addition to that, this direct pick-up was interpreted by the senior pastor as a rejection of the invited people from more affluent social backgrounds who had been reached by the megachurch. Consequently, this narrative underlined the vision that the megachurch

[326] See further exploration on Chapter 4 section 3.3. See also Appendix 7.
[327] Luke 14: 15-23.
[328] More about the vision see Chapter 4 section 2.

was not only intended for affluent members. But the building was regarded as divine providence to accommodate the sick and needy people who appeared in the vision and was confirmed by the great banquet story.

The vision was truly believed as a specific and an urgent evangelistic task to be fulfilled. This also dynamically changed the practice of evangelism, from inviting to fetching, from targeting the advantaged to reaching the underprivileged, and from conducting evangelistic meetings to organising public services. In other words, the vision was interpreted as a new evangelistic mission, mainly to evangelise the impoverished Muslims through extensive public engagement using the venue, facilities and resources of the megachurch. While the metanarrative continued, the practice had been exceptionally shifted into public engagement with an observable social impact for the wider community.

Nevertheless, a more comprehensive theological articulation was not observed until the end of 2013 when Agung testified that he was awakened after midnight and divinely taught on this matter. What was later emphasised was in contrast to the apologetic approach that tends to claim victory over other belief systems in a way that usually arouses an offensive response. This more sympathetic approach can be called restorative evangelism. While listening to most of the recorded sermons of the senior pastor from 1992 to 2015, I also found no single aggressive statement that might tend to humiliate other religions. Instead the senior pastor on some occasions warned the congregation to never humiliate other people and their religions but rather to humble themselves under divine authority.

This respectful invitation was also followed by specific instances such as an appeal to change their grumbling response when listening to loud calls to prayer from the surrounding mosques five times a day. He related the loud sound to the story of Hagar when she fled away to the desert.[329] The senior pastor explained that Hagar's misery was 'heard by the Lord' which became the meaning of Ishmael's name.[330] If such a loud expression of misery was heard by God himself, then he emphasised, 'how dare human creatures like us make an opposite response to that sound'. He made a plea to the congregation to pray that God would also listen to that loud sound of the call to prayer five times a day, as He had to Hagar and Ishmael. Instead of grumbling or showing any discontent, he suggested asking for God's personal visitation, just as happened to Hagar. This selfless prayer, according to the senior pastor, would result in a reconciliation as Isaac and Ishmael came together when they buried Abraham.[331]

In this case Ishmael is perceived as the predecessor of Islam and Muslims, while Isaac represents the Christians as 'the children of the promise'.[332] This association is quite common among Indonesian Charismatics while at the same time the Charismatics, including the megachurch, refer to Muslims as 'our cousins' which refers to the blood relation of Isaac and Ishmael. The Muslims and Christians as the children of both figures are considered cousins to each other.

Moreover, a sound restorative vision with an eschatological approach to Muslims was taught through an allegorical interpretation of the donkey that symbolised Ishmael,

[329] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Ishmael is Coming Home*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). See. Genesis 16.
[330] Genesis 16: 11.
[331] Purnomo, *Ishmael is Coming Home*. See. Genesis 25: 9.
[332] Romans 9: 7-8.

which was perceived as a type of Muslims.[333] Ishmael was characterised as a wild donkey that tends to fight others and vice versa.[334] This was considered the current reality of Islam, particularly after 9/11 which strongly and suddenly changed the perception of Islam and the Middle East. Islamophobia has drawn people to beat, overcome or tie the wild one since they do not have any ability to tame the donkey, and the senior pastor also emphasised that human effort to tame it is useless. A wild donkey was regarded as equal to a young donkey that never been ridden.[335] This kind of donkey was the most precious and expensive one, because once the donkey had been tamed it would totally submit to the first rider.

It was Jesus who commanded his disciples to untie the unridden donkey and bring it to him.[336] And his disciples merely brought it to him, but it was Jesus himself who consequently rode for the very first time on the young donkey. It was only Jesus who could tame the wild donkey and it would also be only him who would ride on the donkey when he came back and entered Jerusalem on his second imminent coming as the King.[337] In addition, the manger where the baby Jesus was laid was also seen as having a prophetic meaning, since the donkey knew the owner of the manger.[338] This was understood as Jesus' willingness to reveal himself to Muslims, and they would also recognise him as the master and owner. As aforementioned, it was not human initiative that would bring Muslims to Jesus, therefore the members had been warned merely to follow Jesus' instruction to untie and bring them to Jesus. This could be practised

[333] Purnomo, *Ishmael is Coming Home*.
[334] See. Genesis 16: 12.
[335] See. Mark 11: 2.
[336] Mark 11: 2, 4, 6.
[337] Mark 11: 1, 11.
[338] Purnomo, *Ishmael is Coming Home*. See. Luke 2: 12, 16; Isaiah 1: 3.

through intercessory prayer, offering healing prayer, and answering their daily needs through various forms of public engagement. The task of the members is merely to bring them to Jesus to be tamed so that they will recognise the owner and submit to their master. This was believed as gradually and significantly increasing before the return of Jesus.[339]

What was claimed as Spirit-inspired teaching had directly motivated the members to reach needy Muslims, as also appeared in the senior pastor's vision. Healing prayer and the charity-market were most probably perceived as the most effective approach to follow the vision to bring them to Jesus. Therefore, the leaders and members have seemingly followed the aforementioned restorative approach rather than conducting merely verbal and apologetic evangelism. This approach, in my observation, has not only resulted in a more respectful perception of Islam, but has also significantly grown into an eschatological hope for reconciliation in Muslim-Christian relationships. Furthermore, this approach sounds promising as it has offered an imaginative restoration rather than a heartless abandonment interpretation which tends to perceive Muslims as the goats that will be thrown to eternal punishment.[340] Unfortunately, the latter approach and interpretation is still quite influential within Indonesian Charismatics, whereas the restorative and respectful approach is still very rare. Therefore such restorative approach can significantly contribute to developing a Charismatic public theology both for practical purposes and in academic discourse.

[339] Purnomo, *Ishmael is Coming Home*.
[340] Refers to Matthew 25: 31-46. This is based on my personal observation as an insider of both Indonesian Charismatic and Interfaith Networks. See also. Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., *A History of Christianity*, 898. Adiprasetya, 'Pentakostalisme', 135-137.

5. Ministries

5.1. Sunday Services

A small number of attendees were present thirty minutes before the morning service started at 7 a.m. and a larger number, of more than 1,000, usually joined the pre-service worship fifteen minutes before the service. Most of them sat, while a few were kneeling or standing and raising hands in personal worship and prayer, or following the gentle singing from the main stage. Usually most of the early attendees sat on the first and second front blocks of seats, consisting of approximately 3,000 seats. These blocks were already full when the service started. The rest were scattered in the other 9,000 available seats, but mostly in the middle block of seats with a lower number in the rear block. For the Saturday service usually all the young attendees sat on the front block while occasionally half of them were invited to crowd together next to the main stage, to gain space for jumping or shouting. The Sunday morning service was regularly attended by approximately 6,000 people and the evening service by approximately 4,000 people.

Attendees in the front blocks seats actively participated in the worship time through their personal expression and kept standing for one hour. Approximately half of the mid and rear block seats seemed to give less response during the worship session. They were mostly standing, but not clapping or raising hands. A small percentage, approximately 100 people, were sitting during the worship time, and a few of them were chatting or were busy with their gadgets. Most of the attendees who sat on the mid and rear blocks usually came after the service had started, mostly during the first thirty minutes of the worship session and the rest sometimes came only a few minutes before the sermon

started. The cafeteria opened during services, except for the Saturday service, and a few of the attendees preferred to have breakfast when the worship session had already started. The cafeteria was usually occupied by approximately 100 people during the first thirty minutes of the worship session, most frequently in the morning service.

A team of dancers, flag and banner carriers were alternately dancing or standing on the main stage or in front of it. They used various types of robes and costumes, mostly in white or gold and on some occasions with colourful accessories. A new design of the robe is usually made for the biannual conference of the Bahtera network. The dancers also brought various types of symbols that were perceived as prophetic properties, such as sword, crown, myrrh and fire. The flag and banner carriers were occasionally walking and standing on a certain corner or aisle before and during the worship session. This was considered warfare prayer to prevent any interruption from undesirable possibilities or spirits. Such prophetic expressions were no longer found when I returned to their Sunday service under the new senior pastor. Meanwhile the new church,[341] as the result of the aforementioned split, consistently performed exactly similar prophetic acts and dances.

Most of the time the senior pastor preached at Sunday services, except where he was away or a guest preacher was invited. Mostly the scheduled preachers were not announced, except on some occasions where the guest speaker or an event was followed by healing prayer. When the senior pastor was away, it was one of his pastoral staff who usually preached for Sunday services and this was infrequent. The one hour sermon of the senior pastor was not based on scheduled monthly or annual themes. It

[341] Higher Than Ever (HTE) Church.

was based on what he believed as the inspiration of the Holy Spirit that can be dynamically changed at any time, and sometimes only a few minutes before the service started or just before he stood to preach. In the second half of 1990s when the 'Toronto blessings' influence was quite strong the services quite frequently lasted for three to five hours. However, this was no longer observed during my online observation since early 2014 and during the period of my fieldwork.

5.2. Departments

The megachurch had thirty-seven departments which could be categorised in six main areas: Ministries, Education, Media, Health, Food and Beverage, and Support. Each department was supervised or directly led by the deputies, consisting of eight ordained pastors and one non-ordained adviser that could be seen as the inner circle of the senior pastor.[342] The deputies were directly responsible to the senior pastor but also had discretion to independently manage their departments.[343] However, ministries or departments should be synchronised with the megachurch mission. The first area called 'Ministries' consists of eleven, mostly typical church ministries. Five ministries could be considered evangelistic or mission, including: short term warfare prayer and mission trips to various countries that had been held since 2006,[344] sending missionaries to several South East Asian countries, funding church planting in India, and sending short-term mission groups (accompanied by medical teams and charity markets) to most South East Asian countries and also to Nepal, India and China,[345] organising healing

[342] Thomas Daniarto, Message, 15 December 2015.
[343] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Gereja Sebagai Kapal Induk,* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, 2011).
[344] 'Bless the Nations', JKI-IK, accessed 19 January 2016, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/ministries/bless-the-nations.html.
[345] 'Mission', JKI-IK, accessed 19 January 2016, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/ministries/mission.html.

prayer meetings in various public halls, sports stadiums and public squares across Indonesia,[346] running shelter houses that provide tutorial and non-formal education for needy children across the city,[347] and reaching transgenders who are mostly uneducated and work as street prostitutes, through a prayer fellowship called Permata (Jewel).[348] Four other departments considered to be serving internal needs consist of dancing, music, Sunday school and cell group. The rest are House of Shalom, an orphanage, and an event organizer who can be professionally and publicly hired.

The education department includes IMPACT, previously The School of Acts (TSOA), a six months Bible school, Light of the Nation School which consists of nurseries, a primary and secondary school, a vocational high school, an athletics school, an Academy of Entrepreneurship, a music school, and an informal education centre. The media department consists of a publishing company called Gospel of the Kingdom Media (MIK) which mostly publishes and distributes the senior pastor's audio and video sermons, and transcripts of his sermons as books, a book store called Rhema located on the site, a radio station also called Rhema situated at the former main venue, and a multimedia team. The health department covers a medical clinic and a pharmacy located in the Holy Stadium area and two mobile clinics that serve in the needy and slum areas of Semarang. The megachurch also initially planned to build a hospital, but in 2014 the senior pastor claimed that he received a new vision to change the initial planning to a Miracle Healing Centre (MHC), that puts more emphasis on miraculous healing prayer rather than

[346] 'Healing Crusades', JKI-IK, accessed 19 January 2016, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/ministries/healing-crusades.html.
[347] 'Shelter House', JKI-IK, accessed 19 January 2016, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/ministries/shelter-house.html.
[348] 'Permata Ministry', JKI-IK, accessed 19 January 2016, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/ministries/permata-ministry.html

merely medical treatment. The food and beverage department consists of the only non-smoking café in the city and a food court in the Holy Stadium area, a public kitchen to serve internal and public needs, and also a bakery called 'Holy Stadium House of Bread'.

The last area is called 'supporting ministry' and consists of a legal aid foundation offering free legal advice for the needy, a job training centre (providing training on tailoring skills, motor bike repair, hair and make-up salon, and massage therapy), a mobile shop, a grocery shop, a hair salon, an agricultural ministry distributing seeds and fertiliser for farmers, and a children's day care with a division for children with special needs. There is an orphanage and a warehouse called 'King's Barn' in a separate area near the Holy Stadium. An area next to the orphanage is already designated as the planned area for a university and the MHC. The public kitchen is also located quite near the Holy Stadium in a large building of approximately 1,000 square-metres. The studio for the radio station, job training centre, informal education centre and hair salon are located at the previous main venue, which is still used as one of its satellite churches. The Holy Stadium Junior is used as a primary school building and next to this is a new building for the nursery and day care. The secondary, vocational school and academy are based in a new twin building, each consisting of seven floors on the rear side of Holy Stadium area. The medical clinic, pharmacy, and grocery store are located in front of the parking area of the primary school. The megachurch also has two basketball courts and an international standard football field in its main area. In addition there are seven satellite churches, most of them in the outskirts of the city and one in another small town. These physical, financial, network, and media resources, according to Aleksic, indicate a number of

benefits that attached to megachurches as their predominance over the smaller congregations.[349]

5.3. Cell Groups

The cell group is called Mezbah Keluarga (MK) or Family Altar and each one ideally consists of 12 to 20 members, but practically some have fewer and some more members. Each MK usually gathers in the leader's house once a week. Three to five MK are supervised by a Sheep Supervisor (SS) who is directly responsible to his or her Area Minister (AM). An MK leader would be appointed as SS when he or she could grow and split her MK to more than two groups. Approximately one third (4,683 of 15,109) of the registered members have been actively involved in an MK. Becoming a member of an MK is the main requirement for the members to apply for permission to marry and to apply for a scholarship. Receiving baptism in the megachurch is not considered as an automatic registration as a member. Joining MK after baptism and receiving a written recommendation from the leader after several months of active involvement are a prerequisite to apply for membership. All this, in my observation, has resulted in a solid and reliable network and structure which can support sudden action or a planned vision. A monthly briefing for all MK leaders, including SS and AM, is usually held every first week after Sunday morning service. In 2014 the megachurch had 361 MKs that were supervised by 124 SS and 33 AM.[350] While the AMs in the leadership structure are also directly responsible to the senior pastor, one of the deputies is assigned as the head of

[349] Darinka Aleksic, 'The Megachurch as a Social Space: A Case Study of Exurban Enclave Development', Paper presented at the First International Conference of Young Urban Researchers/FICYUrb in the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology at the Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal, 11-12 June 2007, accessed 27 September 2014, http://conferencias.iscte.pt/viewpaper.php?id=91&print=1&cf=3.
[350] Participant Observation, 21 November 2014. Yosea Christiono, Interview, 21 November 2014.

the cell group department that is responsible for supervising, equipping and developing cell groups and its leaders.

6. Conclusion

The distinctiveness of Semarang, both in its relatively high percentage of people of Chinese descent and its significant number of Christians, contributes to the growth of the megachurch. This confirms the latest research conducted in seven main cities of Indonesia that the Charismatic type of Christianity highly attracts Chinese-Indonesians. From 3,748 respondents 34 percent were Chinese and nearly 40 percent of the respondents came from Protestant and Roman Catholic backgrounds.[351] The sizeable percentage of Chinese and Christians has evidently provided a bargaining position for the community toward the municipality. Meanwhile the more harmonious situation of Semarang and the lack of large Islamist groups also quite obviously provide a conducive environment for its large scale public engagement. What was observed in the megachurch also confirmed what is vaguely concluded by Thumma and Travis on the unexplained variable when comparing two churches that share similar features, methods and locations but only one grows as a megachurch. Therefore, both researchers, although quite obscurely, regarded divine intervention as a prominent unexplained factor behind the growth, rather than attempting to offer a simplified explanation of such a complex phenomenon.[352] While U.S. megachurches are usually

[351] Gudorf, Bagir and Tahun, *Aspirations*, 212, 215. The percentage of Chinese-Indonesians is considerably higher among ten megachurches that I observed, ranging from fifty to ninety percent of the attendees.
[352] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 164-165.

seen as emphasising evangelism and reaching out to people more than other churches do, the difference is somehow quite insignificant compared to that of smaller churches.[353] However, in this case evangelism becomes the metanarrative of the megachurch which not only contributes to the quantitative growth but also to the qualitative impact. This finding contradicts Miller and Yamamori's exclusion of churches which emphasise conversion as their only mission from their observation of the so-called progressive Pentecostalism.[354] Unlike their preference for holistic mission,[355] the Gospel of the Kingdom Church's public engagement is very probably driven by 'saving souls' evangelism. A psychological assessment of the personality of the senior pastor is presented in the next chapter to better understand this consistent emphasis.

[353] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond*, 156.
[354] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 2.
[355] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 1-2, 59, 211-21.

CHAPTER THREE

'HEART FOR THE SOULS': A PSYCHOLOGY OF EVANGELISM

Besides his evangelistic zeal, the senior pastor was also concerned with his inner life or journey. I presume there is a link between what he called the 'heart for souls' evangelism and his scrutiny of 'the attitude of the heart'. I employ one branch of psychology named personality psychology to better apprehend the inner concern of the senior pastor. In contrast to personality psychology from a clinical tradition which is grounded on experiment-based research, the applied theory is based on the scientific observation of large numbers of people.[356] The term 'personality' refers to the principal characteristics which are deep-seated in the heart of a person.[357] This personality assessment is therefore compared with his theology and practice of evangelism through discussion of a theological framework from a mystical tradition which is also concerned with the inner journey.

1. A Psychological Framework

The nature of personality is given and therefore outside an individual's own preference. An illustration which is often used is the use of the preferred hand to write. A person whose innate preference is the right hand will be able to learn to write with the opposite

[356] Leslie J. Francis, *Faith and Psychology: Personality, Religion and the Individual* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2005), 14.
[357] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 7.

hand; however it takes more energy, needs concentration, and feels unnatural.[358] While both hands can be trained to be used simultaneously, instinctively a person will exercise the innate preference instead of the opposite one. Leslie Francis argues that environment, like school or family, can support or sometimes compel a person to operate against his or her innate preferences. However, a long suppression of the innate preferences could result in exhaustion since it requires extra energy resources. Growing in an unconducive environment would also wither the true self and feed the false self, whether consciously or unconsciously, under a covering mask to disguise the real preference in order to adjust to the repressed condition.[359] While developing the least preferred type is advised, there are concerns that regular exercise of the opposite type could cause burnout.[360]

I realised the need to use a psychological framework to understand the personality of the senior pastor some time after his death. There was no available personality assessment by the senior pastor himself which could be used directly to relate it to his evangelistic zeal and the extensive public engagement of the megachurch. However, I had listened to all of his available recorded sermons from 1991 to 2016, conducted two interviews, and read both his unpublished autobiography and the (rather hagiographic) biography written by his youngest daughter. These can be used to identify the senior pastor's innate tendencies. An interpretive biography, as developed by Denzin, is applied, mainly to recognise the epiphanies of the senior pastor. Denzin argues that epiphanies are the 'interactional moments and experiences which leave marks' on a

[358] Isabel Briggs Myers, *Introduction to Type,* Fifth Edition European English Edition (Oxford: Oxford Psychologist Press, 1998), 3.
[359] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 56.
[360] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 101.

person's life which 'are often moments of crisis'.[361] In epiphanies 'personal character is manifested' and therefore can be identified. Denzin furthermore classifies four types of epiphanies: the major epiphany 'which touches every fabric of a person's life', the cumulative epiphany which reveals discharges or responses to something that has been experienced in the long-term, the minor epiphany 'which symbolically represents a major, problematic moment in a relationship or a person's life', and the relived epiphany in which meanings are given through retelling the experience.[362] The epiphanies which signify the personal character of the senior pastor will be examined through a Jungian psychology of personality type approach which has been developed, modified, and theologically reflected upon by Francis, a psychologist and theologian, to be applied mainly in the scope of church life and ministry.

Francis developed the Francis Psychological Type Scale (FPTS) which consists of 'ten pairs of items to differentiate each of the four choices' of the types.[363] While he claims that his type scale differs from one of the most popular Jungian assessing tools, the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), I observed that in general his exploration is strongly influenced by Isabel Briggs Myers' practical development of Carl Jung's psychological type.[364] Myers explains that her intention is to provide a simplified and practical application of the theory which was underdeveloped by Jung and his students, while Francis' intention, as an MBTI practitioner himself, is mainly to

[361] Denzin, *Interpretive Biography*, 70. See Appendix 6 for the key life events of the senior pastor.
[362] Denzin, *Interpretive Biography,* 71.
[363] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 68.
[364] Isabel Briggs Myers and Peter B. Myers, *Gifts Differing: Understanding Personality Type* (California: Davies-Black Publishing, 1995).

integrate personality psychology and practical theology, both of which are areas of his expertise.[365]

One of the significant practical contributions of Myers is her argument, which is based on her interpretation of a sentence of Jung, that 'there is also a relatively unconscious, auxiliary function which is in every respect different from the nature of the main function'.[366] The keywords, according to Myers, are 'in every respect' which indicate the difference of the auxiliary from the dominant process in every respect. She criticises Jung's approach which 'portrays each process in sharpest focus and with maximum contrast'. Therefore, according to Myers, Jung tends to bypass the role of the combination of the superior and secondary preference which results in 'broad categories of interest in business, people, language, and science'.[367] Moreover, the serious consequence of neglecting the auxiliary process is 'the distorted descriptions' of the introverted person who depends on the auxiliary preference to connect with the outer world, as their outer personality.[368] Consequently a 'pure' introvert, as the typical introversion, does not exist since an introvert needs the extravert auxiliary type to communicate to the outer side and vice versa for the extraverted type who needs access to the inner side through the introvert auxiliary type.

Meanwhile, the distinctiveness of Francis' approach is his integrated notion to theologically reflect on psychological personality based on the theology of creation. He argues that if basic innate differences like sex or race were created in the divine image then 'serious psychological research into the creature may help to provide proper

[365] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 1-12.
[366] Myers and Myers, *Gifts Differing,* 19. Cited from Carl G. Jung, *Psychological Types* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1923), 515.
[367] Myers and Myers, *Gifts Differing,* 17.
[368] Myers and Myers, *Gifts Differing,* 17-21.

theological data about the nature of the creator'.[369] Then a theology of individual difference would be constructed when varieties of personality type could be regarded as a basic individual distinction equal with sex or race.[370]

I contend that there is a need to balance this creation-based argument with a theological perspective on redemption. While Francis considers the corrupted impact of the fall, he tends to relate it mainly with human character and not with the personality. Unlike the neutrality of personality, human character is 'heavily value laden' according to him.[371] Conversion is, therefore, merely regarded as 'the invitation to repentance, the possibility for change and the hope for transformation' of the bad character as described in the work of the flesh for instance.[372] On the other hand, the personality difference of the self is simply accepted on conversion instead of needing to be transformed. What he has not comprehensively considered is the underdeveloped type of human personality which is impacted by the fall therefore crucially needs to be redeemed. I contend that a tendency to overlook the least preferred type of personality and to disparage opposite types, whether personal or that of others, is an obvious mark of corrupted creation which needs to be reintegrated through conversion as well. I also argue that the self which is assumed to be accepted in conversion is still the false self which needs to pass a continuing process in order to unwrap the mask which has been used to suppress the true self. Therefore, the concern of the integrated psychology of personality is not only on identifying and developing the preferred type of personality

[369] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 6.
[370] William K. Kay, Leslie J. Francis and Mandy Robbins, 'A Distinctive Leadership for a Distinctive Network of Churches? Psychological Type Theory and the Apostolic Networks', *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 20 (2011), 307.
[371] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 7.
[372] Galatians 5: 19-23.

but also on maturing the least developed and opposite types toward the wholeness of the Creator's image.

The FPTS is mainly employed here to identify both the innate preference and the least developed type of the senior pastor. Basically, Jungian personality types consist of four opposites pairs of personality: sensing or intuitive ways of perceiving, thinking or feeling ways of judging, extraversion or introversion preference of attention, and the judgement or perception preference towards the outer world. The first pair focuses on how a person collects information or *perceiving*, whether by the exercise of the five senses or sensing type (S) or more by indirect perception through 'seeing the big picture, focusing on relationship and connections between facts' to grasp the pattern or meaning, which is classified as the intuition type (N).[373] The features of the S type are: interested in facts, practical, concrete, prefers to make, conventional, concerned with detail, sensible, present realities, keep things as they are, and down to earth. Meanwhile, the N type is characterised as: interested in theories, inspirational, abstract, prefers to design, inventive, concerned for meaning, imaginative, future possibilities, improve things, and up in the air.[374] The next pair is concerned with the different preferences in taking decisions or the *judging* process. These two contrasting ways of coming to conclusions consist of a logical process or thinking type (T) and a personal or subjective values or feeling type (F).[375] The nature of the T type is: concern with justice, analytical, thinking, tending to be firm, critical, logical, truthful, sceptical, seeking truth, fair-minded. On the contrary, the F type tends to be: concerned for harmony,

[373] Myers, *Introduction to Type,* 4.
[374] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 71.
[375] Myers and Myers, *Gifts Differing,* 3.

sympathetic, feeling, tends to be gentle, affirming, humane, tactful, trusting, seek for peace, and warm-hearted.[376]

The third pair relates to the attention, whether to the inner world of the introverts (I) or to the outer world as the extraverts (E).[377] The two types draw their energy and main attention from the opposite direction. An introverted person will be tired after a long time in a gathering with many people, while an extraverted person becomes more excited after attending the same event. Meanwhile, an extraverted person will be frustrated to be alone and quiet for a while yet an introverted one is refreshed after having silent and personal times. The preferences of the I type are: reflective, private, limited yet deep inner circle of friendship, dislikes parties, drained in the midst of too many people, happier working alone, socially detached, reserved, drawn to the inner world, and thinks before speaking. Meanwhile, the features of the E type are: active, sociable, having many friends, likes parties, energised by others, happier working in a group, socially involved, talkative, attuned to the external environment, and speaks first and reflects later.[378] The fourth pair of orientation toward the outer world consists of the judging (J) type and the perceiving (P) type. A person with judging preference tends 'to live in a planned, orderly way, wanting to regulate and control life'. On the contrary, a perceiving type prefers to 'live in a flexible, spontaneous way, seeking to experience and understand life, rather than control it'.[379] Therefore, the J types are characterised as: happy with routine, scheduled, act on decisions, prefer to control, orderly, organised, punctual, like detailed planning, happier with certainty, and systematic. Whereas the P

[376] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 73.
[377] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 59-60.
[378] Myers, *Introduction to Type,* 4. Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 69.
[379] Myers, *Introduction to Type,* 5.

types are signified as: unhappy with routine, open-ended, act on impulse, like to be adaptable, easygoing, spontaneous, leisurely, dislike detailed planning, seek for peace, and casual.[380]

The perceiving and judging processes are at the centre of Jungian personality types which ideally need to be exercised in balance while one function rises as the dominant type compared to others.[381] It is the *dominant* function which naturally represents the personality of a person. According to Francis, a dominant sensing person is perceived as a practical person whose focus is with making things work while a dominant intuitive is regarded as person of ideas who is obsessed with future possibilities.[382] Meanwhile, the dominant thinking person seems to be 'the systems-oriented person' who is absorbed with 'the integrity and well-being of the organisation' and the dominant feeling person is the people-centred person who cares about the needs of people. However, in the case of introverts the second dominant or auxiliary function is what they initially exercise towards a new or unfamiliar people.[383] Introverts prefer their inner world which is exercised through their dominant function while their outer world which is less preferred is consequently accessed by their auxiliary function. Meanwhile, the *auxiliary* function is the supporter of the dominant function which comes from another pair of processes.[384] If the dominant function is either sensing or intuition in the ways of perceiving, then the auxiliary function is either thinking or feeling in the ways of judging and vice versa. The auxiliary is paired with the *tertiary* function which is another type of the same process. If the auxiliary function is thinking then the tertiary type is feeling as

[380] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 76.
[381] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 82-83.
[382] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 83. See also. Myers, *Introduction to Type,* 4-5.
[383] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 86. Myers and Myers, *Gifts Differing,* 12-14.
[384] Myers and Myers, *Gifts Differing,* 11-12. Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 84.

the pair of the judging process. The least preferred function is called the *inferior* function that is the pair of the dominant function. When sensing is the dominant role then intuition becomes the least developed type of the person as well.

2. Psychological Assessment of the Life Experience of the Senior Pastor

Before assessing the life experience of the senior pastor in order to identify his personality type, I need to admit my different dominant function and inferior type which are very probably the opposite of the senior pastor. It is important to state this awareness so that I become conscious that my dominant function is his inferior one and vice versa. In other words, my weakness is his innate strength and his limitation is my instinctive potency. Therefore, my intuitive approach is exercised in order to incorporate what tends to be unobserved by an opposite dominant type while at the same time my inferior function is improved by the dominant one of the senior pastor.

2.1. Epiphanies of the Senior Pastor: An Interpretive Biography

Petrus Agung Purnomo (1962-2016) was born in Semarang, Central Java on 20 March 1962. He was born as Lie Tjong Hian, a Chinese name that usually only known by his peers.[385] Agung grew up, with his two younger sisters, in a humble family of Chinese descent. His modest background was often reinterpreted, as a relived epiphany, when he compared the logo of the Mercedes-Benz that he owned with the only dish which he frequently shared with his sisters. An omelette from an egg which was cut into three,

[385] See. Hadassah Gloria Purnama, *Man of God: Biografi Pdt Petrus Agung Purnomo* (Semarang: MFG, 2016), 5. See the timeline of Agung's key life events in Appendix 6.

similar to the logo, to be shared with the siblings.[386] He retrospectively gave a new meaning to his lowliness when he looked at the logo when he drove the car and it took him back to his childhood's dish. A misery which he later relived both as a prophetic sign of God's providence and a reminder 'from where I was taken by the Lord', a phrase referring to Psalm 78: 70-71 as David was handpicked by God from the sheepfold.

His childhood was quite often retold as a phase where he grew as a shy boy who was always accompanied by his father during his elementary schooldays. He struggled with his inferiority complex until his late thirties when he was confronted by Indri Gautama, an itinerant female evangelist who regularly served the church during the late 1990s. The evangelist publicly opened up Agung's hidden psychological condition during the services. Agung claimed a freedom from his inner prison after approximately two consecutive years of such public confrontations which he initially felt reluctant with.[387]

Agung regarded one particular dream as a confirmation, in which he was initially pursued by a police officer and was finally caught and handcuffed.[388] However, soon after the police opened the helmet and to Agung's surprise, he saw that the evangelist was acting as the police and she said that now he was already free to go. While he was still confused, he was invited to go down to the third level of a dungeon by a man covered with luminous light. He did not see the face of the man but he remembered that he called him Lord. The place was depicted as muddy and humid with a dim light. He saw many animals in cages as well as many naked children who joyously played in that narrow cell. Then he told the man that he was familiar with that place since he

[386] Purnama, *Man of God,* 13.
[387] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Berdoa dengan Jujur*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[388] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Serupa dengan Tuhan*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).

previously lived there as well. The man nodded and confirmed Agung's statement. Agung suddenly felt that he could no longer stay in that place, yet at the same time he realised that, as he himself had found, that those who stayed in such conditions did not realise their imprisonment. He testified that he was set free from his inferiority complex soon afterward. His nervousness and cold sweat when he met new people disappeared also. This experience is considered a cumulative epiphany when he was finally released from more than thirty years of such captivity.

His parents were active members of Gereja Isa Almasih (GIA), a Chinese-Indonesian Pentecostal church, and his father served as a presbyter of that church.[389] Agung was dedicated by Rev Tan Hok Tjoan, the founder of GIA, who reportedly laid his hand on him and prayed that later on people would called him Petra, a rock, where upon his life the life of many people would be built.[390] Therefore the name Petrus was given by the pastor and was believed to have a prophetic purpose. One of his church experiences that apparently becomes his relived epiphany is his admiration for what he considered the self-confidence of the second senior pastor of that church.[391] Agung praised his persistence in preaching despite the indifference of many congregants who sometimes fell asleep when he preached. He contrasted the pastor with himself who struggled with inferiority complex if he stood in front of that audience.

While growing up in a Pentecostal church, it seems that he found Sunday school and church services tedious. It was not until March 1979 that Agung had a 'born-again'

[389] GIA is the only Indonesian Classical Pentecostal Church that applies a modified Presbyterian governance, with the senior pastor as the given leader of the elected presbyters. See. Gunawan Susanto, et.al., *Tan Hok Tjoan: Hidup untuk Memuliakan Allah* (Semarang: MPH Sinode GIA, 2012), 56-58.
[390] Susanto, et.al., *Tan Hok Tjoan,* 82-83.
[391] A presbyter who was ordained to replace Rev Tan, who unexpectedly died in 1963 at the age of 54.

experience at a student evangelistic service, called *Malam Oikumene* (Ecumenical Night), organised by the Sangkakala Foundation.[392] This is explicitly one of his major epiphanies which significantly influenced his later life journey. This experience was often retold by Agung saying that 'the tree was greener, the sky was bluer, and the surroundings became very beautiful'. It was through Sangkakala that he experienced Spirit baptism, probably in the follow-up retreat of the revival meetings. However, his conversion was more frequently retold than the Spirit baptism experience. Subsequently he was involved in Sangkakala ministries and felt that God was calling him to be a full-time minister. After he graduated from senior high school in 1980, he received an offer to study at Perth Bible College in Australia. However, according to his testimony, it was his father who resisted his plan to be a minister and Agung himself felt that God asked him to stay in the city and take his favourite field of study. He accordingly studied at Diponegoro University, a state university in Semarang, and took history as his major.

During his university life Agung actively served as a lay preacher of Sangkakala serving in various prayer groups in the countryside of Semarang.[393] In this period his struggle with his humble family background brought him to search for a faith-based answer to resolve his financial problems. 'If I knew the essence of faith then I would not be destitute' was how he retrospectively testified of his search to materialise his faith into a motorcycle that he really wanted at that time. He acknowledged that Kenneth Hagin's teaching had laid a firm foundation on his understanding of the role and mechanism of

[392] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 27.
[393] Sutanto, 'A Strategy', 32.

faith, frequently taught as 'believing and speaking'.[394] But it was his reading of Yonggi Cho's *The Fourth Dimension* that answered his struggle in understanding and experiencing the power of faith.[395] The most observable impact on Agung's teaching was from Cho's teaching on *Rhema* based on Romans 10: 17, that differentiated the written word *(logos)* and the spoken word *(rhema)*.[396] This experience was frequently explained when he testified in a time of affluence, but was rarely told during the 1990s when the church was still relatively small in attendance and finance. Meanwhile, the fact that somewhere else he said that he rode an old motorcycle and never directly mentioned a *rhema* that he had received as the cause of his ownership indicates that this could be better considered a reliving epiphany to reinterpret his previous disadvantage through the lens of his later affluence.

The influence of Adi Sutanto was probably significant during Agung's university years (1979-1984). Agung most frequently mentioned his previous personal conversation or experience with Sutanto as a relevant insight for his ministry.[397] This is a relived epiphany to relate a past ordinary experience with his contemporary condition to give a new meaning. Sutanto's most observable influence on Agung was on his evangelistic zeal. Sutanto had emphasised evangelism since his early ministry after graduating from Fuller Theological Seminary, and apparently was not only influenced by the individualistic approach of Peter Wagner, his doctoral supervisor, to interpreting the Great Commission, but also fundamentally related to his personal calling to enter

[394] Kenneth E. Hagin, *What Faith Is?* (Tulsa: Kenneth Hagin Ministries, 1983).
[395] See. David Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension: Discovering A New World of Answered Prayer* (Florida: Bridge-Logos, n.d.-Kindle Version), Loc. 1230-1671.
[396] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Iman dari Rhema,* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[397] There were many themes such as tithing, humility, evangelism, authority, and eschatology that Agung often cited as Sutanto's approach on such issues.

ministry. Sutanto often testified that he heard a clear voice of a human crying who longing for salvation while he prayed for a confirmation of his calling to study theology and leave his medical education.[398] He believed that God challenged him to answer the crying of many more lost souls through a personal involvement which until recently marked his ministry. While Wagner in the last decade of his life revised his 'saving souls' emphasis which formed his church growth theory and leaned toward social transformation that resulted in what he called dominion theology,[399] Sutanto consistently accentuated quantitative growth as the result of zealous evangelism.

Graduating in 1984 as the best student, Agung received an offer to study in the Netherlands to be prepared as a lecturer in that university. But his interest was more with ministry instead of the academic track. He married Tina Astari just after his graduation which he believed was a divine requirement to prepare his future life and ministry.[400] Agung became an itinerant evangelist after his graduation and started to preach in a number of small prayer groups in Jakarta and Surabaya. At the same time, he served with Sangkakala and became one of its preachers. Agung became renowned after 1986 when he met Timotius Arifin Tedjasukmana, a leader of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) in Surabaya and the founder of Surabaya Praise Centre (SPC), who later introduced Agung to the leaders and chapters of the Indonesian FGBMFI.

In 1990, Agung's recorded sermons were copied on more than ten thousand audiocassettes per year which seems a fantastic achievement at that time for a young

[398] Adi Sutanto, *7 Kesalahan Anak Sulung*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, 2016).
[399] See. Wagner, *Dominion!*, 72-73. And Wagner, *Wrestling,* 256-258.
[400] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *God Hath Provided,* unpublished (North Carolina: YMCS, 2005), 18. Tina becomes the current senior pastor of the megachurch.

itinerant evangelist.[401] It was in the heyday of his ministry that Agung felt, and at the same time rejected, that God had called him to start a church and became a pastor. It was not until the third time when he listened to that voice, according to his testimony, that he realised that it was God who spoke. During the early years of his pastorate he was frustrated with the slow growth of the church. This situation brought him to question the calling that he had supposed to be the voice of God.[402] Various creative ideas and concepts were attempted to grow the church while the growth never happened. It was a period, according to his confession, when he frequently spoke about God but almost never spoke with God.

From 1992 to 1994 Agung frequently attended Benny Hinn's services in the US and Canada. Apparently this was at the suggestion of Indri Gautama.[403] It seems that Agung's pneumatology and his worship style would later be influenced by that of Hinn. While at that time Agung quite frequently attended services as an ordinary visitor, he never had a direct and personal contact with Hinn. It seems to be Agung's personal experience of the Holy Spirit, while he was waiting for five hours for one of Hinn's services in 1992, that shaped his later pneumatology.[404] He experienced what he called the manifest presence of the Holy Spirit in 1992, which apparently transformed his personal understanding and relationship with the Holy Spirit and changed his approach in ministry.[405] Although Agung grew in a Charismatic ministry, it was not until this

[401] Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, *Pikiran Kristus*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). See also. Turana and Purnamasari, *Timotius Arifin*, 89-94, 97.
[402] See. Keefauver, 'Pastor Builds 12,000 Seat 'Holy Stadium' in Muslim Stronghold'.
[403] The aforementioned evangelist who was affiliated with the church in the 1990s.
[404] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Intim dengan Tuhan (1)*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Hubungan Pribadi dengan Roh Tuhan*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, 2010).
[405] Purnomo, *Intim dengan Tuhan (1)*. Purnomo, *Hubungan Pribadi dengan Roh Tuhan.*

encounter that his distinctive pneumatology was obviously shaped and transformed.[406] This experience was evidently a cumulative epiphany from his long period of quest and frustration. Meanwhile, such an experience could be regarded as a relived epiphany also since Agung repeatedly mentioned it while explaining about the growth of the church and various ministries including its current large scale public engagement.

Two keywords that he regularly mentioned are the *preference* of the Holy Spirit and *surrender* to Holy Spirit's guidance. According to Agung, the preference relates to the personality of the Holy Spirit, who as a person was neglected and whose personal tastes were never heard. And surrender became the only requirement to being used by the Holy Spirit through the various sudden changes that resulted in the growth of the megachurch and its current extensive public engagement.[407] His emphasis on self-surrender was later confirmed by his reading of the work of Jeanne Guyon, a late seventeenth century French mystic, *A Short and Easy Method of Prayer.*[408] However Agung perhaps read the modern translation entitled *Experiencing the Depths of Jesus Christ.*[409] This book noticeably influenced Agung's teaching from the mid 1990s.[410] Mystical theology has only an insignificant influence on Indonesian Charismatics, except among some early classical Pentecostals like Margaretha Adriana Alt who translated and

[406] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Mempelajari Roh Kudus,* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Hidup Bersama Roh Allah,* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Perlunya Hubungan,* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[407] Purnomo, *Mempelajari Roh Kudus.* Purnomo, *Hidup Bersama Roh Allah*. Purnomo, *Perlunya Hubungan*.
[408] The initial English translation was done by Thomas D. Brook in 1867.
[409] Jeanne Guyon, *Experiencing the Depths of Jesus Christ* (Texas: The Seed Sowers, 1975).
[410] *The Works of Madame Jeanne Guyon Vol. 1* (www.classicchristianebooks.com – Kindle Version).

spread the mystical writings in the early Pentecostal periodicals, including Theresa Avilla, John of the Cross and Jeanne Guyon.[411]

While experiencing a release from his long-term frustration, a minor epiphany clearly came at the same period. This can be observed in a failure to settle up the church building loan for several years (1992 to 1996) which later caused the split, when half the members left. Agung admitted that he neglected a simple warning from Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, an itinerant evangelist, that he should not rely on human effort or promises in renovating the new building.[412] Later Agung met the CEO of several companies who asked him to send a proposal on his current project.[413] What he perceived as God's providence in fact caused several years of debt problems with the bank. However, he believed that this led to what he later called a sacrificial way.

In 1994, Agung felt that God asked him to sell his car, and he announced his failure to the congregation. In the following days most of the congregations, who were predominantly students, sold every valuable thing in their possession to repay the debt.[414] This was believed to be another significant spiritual turning for Agung and the congregation. The most heart-touching sacrificial offering was reported when a medical student with a physical disability handed over her three months' transportation allowance, which meant that she must walk some distance to campus. This crucial experience later became one of the megachurch's prominent principles. This experience

[411] See. Cornelis van der Laan, *Moesje Alt: Pelopor Gerakan Pentakosta di Indonesia* (Malang: Gandum Mas, 2016), 108-109.
[412] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Bebas dari Jerat Hutang* (Semarang: MIK, n.d.), 13.
[413] Purnomo, *Bebas dari Jerat Hutang*, 13-16.
[414] Purnomo, *Bebas dari Jerat Hutang*, 21-24.

was raising Agung's dependency on God which he believed would prevent him from severe failures in the future.[415]

What could be categorised as another major epiphany is Agung's dream at the end of 1998. It was at the end of the 1990s when the church reached more than 800 new attendees in less than a year and the weekly attendance was growing to more than 1,000 when Agung felt that this should be pleasing God. Agung was repeatedly advised by Yusak, the aforementioned evangelist, during their flight to the U.S. to ask God to coerce the divine plan in Agung's lifetime.[416] But Agung laughed at that advice, feeling that his personality was significantly different from that of Yusak, who he considered stubborn. It was the following day when Agung had a dream of a parallel timelines. The first one was God's timeline and the other one was Agung's. The lines had a significant contrast, the former line showed God's glorious and significant plan for Agung's life, while at the same time the parallel line showed how Agung was absorbed with his own enjoyment.

Agung reported that he saw Jesus looking aside at him rather than praising what he had considered an achievement. He suddenly woke up with a cold sweat and physical trembling, and responded to the dream by kneeling and asking forgiveness for his boastful perception of his achievement. He believed that the dream was a confirmation of Yusak's message, showing his own crucial failure and distortion of God's criterion. Agung confessed that he was boasting that he already satisfied God's will and fulfilled his assignment, until the dream brought him to a certain level of humility and he realised

[415] Purnomo, *Bebas dari Jerat Hutang*, 29-35.
[416] 'Coerced by God's will' is Yusak's term for absolute surrender or the love phase. See further in Chapter 5.2.

his inability to reach his destiny without God's grace.[417] This major epiphany was also a cumulative epiphany since it was a discharge after several years of struggle to surrender his own plan. As a major epiphany the dream signifies a drastic change in emphasising total or absolute self-surrender whether in his personal life or ministry approach.

Agung's familiarity with Guyon's writing which was later confirmed by another major epiphany could probably explain his emphasis on analysing his inner life, which he frequently called 'the attitude of the heart'.[418] At the heart of Agung's teaching is his observation of his innermost being, including testing his own personal motivation, testifying to his own failures, and guarding his sincerity. This is analysed along with his biblical interpretation. Agung's close reading of Watchman Nee's *The Breaking of the Outer Man* and *Spiritual Man,* which spiritually analyse the human's innermost being also evidently shaped and equipped his exploration of the 'heart's attitude'. He also sometimes cited Fenelon, a contemporary of Guyon, and A. W. Tozer, whose writings he claimed as articulating his experience, yet he never mentioned the title of their writings. Even on themes not particularly related to the heart, most of his sermons analysed the hidden factor behind human behaviour that for him was undoubtedly rooted in people's innermost being. It was most probably his personality type that also brought him to such an in-depth scrutiny of his own and others' hidden motivation.[419]

Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, a former dentist, should be regarded as the influential person that directly and significantly changed Agung's life and theology, most probably since the end of the 1990s. While Agung knew Yusak for quite long time, he felt that Yusak's

[417] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Permainan Berbahaya* (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[418] See. Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Belajar dengan Hati* (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[419] See. Mark Tanner, *The Introvert Charismatic: The Gift of Introversion in a Noisy Church* (Oxford: Monarch Books, 2015). Particularly in the ninth chapter of this book.

teaching was unsuitable for him, and his preaching style was considered as unintellectual. A sudden turning point happened when he realised that the core theme of Yusak's unsystematic sermons was on 'self-surrender'. But it was not until the aforementioned dream that Agung became closer to Yusak. Later in 1999 Agung attended Yusak's monthly seminar in Jakarta for six consecutive months to listen to a person whom he had previously considered unintellectual. In 2001, Agung wrote three volumes of Yusak's spiritual biography.[420] Yusak also became Agung's pattern for his perspective on financial stewardship through asking the Holy Spirit for every amount that he received. This was followed by Agung, beginning in 1995 when Agung reported receiving a message through Yusak to follow his pattern.[421]

In 2005, Agung with five evangelists, including Yusak, from West Java and a pastor from Central Java, founded a network of ministry called Bahtera (the Ark). This network, in my observation, had an exceptional influence on his later approach and style of ministry. Although visions, prophecies and hearing the voice of God were quite common for Agung, it was not until his involvement in Bahtera that he began to experience and refer to them more frequently. He acknowledged that he had considered himself as Charismatic but his previous phase of ministry was regarded 'too rational' compared to the period after 2005.[422] Among the most observable emphases of the network were prophetic acts through wearing robes that mark the spiritual rank of the users, using symbolic objects, colours and flags for spiritual warfare, especially during its biannual

[420] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Hidup Bergaul Karib Dengan Tuhan: Kisah Hidup Ev. drg. Yusak Tjipto Purnomo (Bagian 1-3)* (Semarang: MIK, 2001).
[421] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Panggilan Menjadi Nabi dan Rasul*, Audio Sermon (Semarang, MIK, n.d.). This stewardship approach later significantly impacted Agung's teaching on financial prosperity and will be explained further in the fourth chapter.
[422] See. Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan: Kuasa Membalikkan Keadaan* (Semarang: MIK, n.d.), 187-188.

gatherings and also for occasional prayer marches in the streets and various public areas across Indonesia and other countries.[423]

Unfortunately, this involvement also signified another minor epiphany which most probably worsened his marriage relationship. It was presumably triggered by integrating the Mahanaim foundation, which was led by Yusak's daughter, with the megachurch. The merger was probably a consequence of the failure of one of Yusak's sons in his joint venture to construct housing for army soldiers.[424] While the partners ran abroad with the major part of the army's money, the son was sent to prison for ten years.[425] However, the military attempted to take over any assets that belonged to the son. The assets of the foundation were considered as among his personal assets since he was named the representative of the foundation on the legal agreement with one of the army subdivisions. An attempt was made to solve this situation by integrating the foundation with the megachurch to protect the assets. According to one of the deputies, this integration was considered as a prophetic act, since there was no legal agreement that could be proved under the law.

Regrettably, this so-called prophetic act was often alleged to be a spiritual marriage between the leader of the foundation and the senior pastor of the megachurch. It was most probably this 'spiritual marriage' which later caused Tina Astari, Agung's wife, to withdraw from the ministry until his death in 2016. Tina who was later appointed as the

[423] Observation, 18 June 2015. See also videos of previous activities in the official page of Bahtera at https://www.youtube.com/user/bahteramedianetwork/videos

[424] See. 'Tersangka Kasus Korupsi dana Prajurit', TNI, accessed 22 November 2017, http://www.tni.mil.id/view-2313-tersangka+korupsi+dana+prajurit+jadi+4+orang.html. 'Kasus Korupsi Tabungan Wajib Perumahan Prajurit', Antaranews, accessed 22 November 2017, https://www.antaranews.com/berita/48121/kasus-korupsi-tabungan-wajib-perumahan-prajurit-ditangani-koneksitas.

[425] 'Hakim Gunakan Ajaran Melawan Hukum Material', Hukum Online, accessed 22 November 2017, http://www.hukumonline.com/berita/baca/hol16625/hakim-gunakan-ajaran-melawan-hukum-materiil.

new senior pastor after Agung's death apparently expressed her previous disappointment through a strict prohibition of the use of various prophetic symbols in the megachurch after she was ordained in May 2016.[426] This shortly afterward caused the third and largest separation, when approximately 4,000 active members left the megachurch to start a new one under the same denomination.

This minor epiphany also became a relived epiphany which was reinterpreted as 'a thorn in my flesh', referring to 2 Corinthians 12: 7 that signified the sufficiency and perfection of God's grace in such human weakness. In 2013, Agung retold the crisis in his relationship as a divine way to remind him to be humble when the ministry was considered to be quantitatively increasing and prosperous.[427] He also at the end of 2015 reflected on the crisis as a spiritual struggle, which had increased the megachurch's extensive public engagement through the establishment of more than thirty new departments in 2007 instead of leading to a withdrawal from ministry.[428]

Another observed cumulative epiphany perhaps happened in mid 2013 when Agung developed heart-disease.[429] He testified that a few days after he was recovering from medical treatment he received a vision in his hotel room. He saw a man sitting on a wheelchair who was waving his hand to those surrounding him. That man got priority to bypass the queue because of his physical disability while he mocked other people who had to wait in the long line. Unconscious of his own condition the man felt that he was a VIP. Then reportedly Agung heard a question: 'Isn't that man similar to you? He thought himself privileged by the ease that he received thus far, yet didn't realise his

[426] Including: crown, ark, robes, banner, and flag.
[427] Petrus Agung Purnomo and Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, *Questions and Answers*, Audio Sermon, 2013.
[428] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Fungsi 6 Panggilan*, Audio Sermon, 2015.
[429] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Come Holy Spirit*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, 2013).

actual condition'. Shortly afterward Agung said that he confessed his stubbornness and his failure to understand the nature of grace. The privilege which he had received was not because of his exceptional status but his incompetence. The voice then also asked him who was his first reference when he could not bear the pain of his heart disease, God or the doctor. He confessed that he had not prioritised asking God at that time.

Then reportedly the next day, in another vision, he saw many angels and saints and Elijah came to him. While he asked the Holy Spirit for the reason, Elijah explained he was the one who was running to save his life, like Agung. Agung testified that the Holy Spirit confirmed that such humility was the splendour of heaven instead of gleaming gold or jewels. After that his shabby robe was replaced with three layers of new robes and the Holy Spirit explained that the exchange was necessary since soon afterward Agung would meet the King. Agung said he arrived at an exquisite garden with a large crystal lake. He saw that Jesus sat at a bench and took Agung's hand, inviting him to sit with him. Agung's shoulder was shaken by Jesus who was also laughing freely. He was pulled closer until his head was on Jesus' chest while Jesus said that he was overjoyed since Agung finally understood and had arrived at that place. Agung also described the love which radiated from Jesus' eyes. This vision was apparently his last epiphany before approximately three years later, on 13 March 2016, came the fulfilment that he would shortly meet his King.

2.2. Personality Types of the Senior Pastor: A Psychological Examination

I was listening and observing during my first opportunity to meet the senior pastor, in a meeting with some representatives of the denomination and a team of the Indonesian Council of Churches (PGI) in October 2013. A few months later, in January 2014, I

interviewed him for approximately one hour but at that time I was unfamiliar with both his personality and his experiences. However, my first impression in both meetings was that he was a fairly objective person who tried to provide a rational argument to answer some questions and objections from another denomination related to the prophetic practices in the megachurch. He did not refer to any spiritual meaning to clarify the disputes. Instead he employed illustrations from ordinary life as an analogy and comparison to the suspected practices. My third opportunity to meet him occurred in November 2014, approximately nine months after I had started this research and listened to most of his recorded sermons, mainly from 2010 to 2013. During the intervening nine months I had also regularly followed the live streaming Sunday services of the megachurch. I was curious about the contrast to the approach that he used during the former meetings and thought that he would answer differently this time as I was more familiar with him and his experiences. Unlike my expectation, he calmly yet rationally elucidated the reason for the megachurch's extensive public engagement and its correlation with the needs of the wider public. While he mentioned the vision that he had received as the trigger of this engagement, his detailed exploration leaned on its impact on the social harmony and the important of social mapping to analyse the power relationships in society. I felt that he wanted to build an argumentation instead of persuading me as he did in his usual style of preaching.

In the next seven months, before conducting my four months' fieldwork, I listened to most of his recorded sermons from 2004 to 2009. I was more convinced this time that the way he answered my questions was to some extent contrary to what I had heard during the previous eighteen months. While he did not repudiate the role of such prophetic acts, he emphasised the visible aspects and impacts rather than the mystical

and cosmic sides as in his sermons. I also heard from the head of a department that the senior pastor referred to me as the person to whom he taught the detailed steps and function of social mapping. After conducting the fieldwork, I listened to most of his sermons from 1991 to 2003 while I still followed the streaming services for the next one and half years until his unexpected death on 13 March 2016. What initially came to my mind relating to his contrasting approaches was that he attempted to rationalise his answer because he spoke to a researcher instead of an enquiring member. I also reflected that perhaps I was spiritually immature so that he merely served me milk instead of solid food.[430] However, what concerned me later was a question of accountability, whether he sincerely believed or relied on what he preached, or merely employed such an approach as a communication tool that was compatible with the cosmology and psychology of the people.

Almost at the end of this research I found that what seemed to be a contradiction was very probably related to his introverted (I) personality. As an introvert he preferred not to deal with his outer world, particularly before people with whom he was not very familiar, by his dominant function. Before the congregants with whom he was already accustomed with he could express his dominant function. It was his auxiliary function which he exercised when he met a new person like me. Therefore, my first impression that the senior pastor was a thinking (T) type was accurate, since that was indeed how an introvert personality dealt with his exterior domain. A certain length of period is needed for such types to express their real function. While Agung testified his discharge from the severe inferiority complex in his mid-thirties, the natural tendency was still

[430] See. 1 Corinthians 3: 2-4.

there. However, his calmness and confidence on facing new people regularly indicates a development of his congenital type. In this case I observed that his auxiliary thinking was not as strong as his introversion. He showed a tendency to avoid open conflict and tended to be gentle as well as thoughtful, which were characteristics of the feeling type which was his tertiary function. Meanwhile, according to the theory, if his auxiliary function was thinking then his dominant function should be either sensing or intuition, as one of his perceiving preferences. Agung's epiphanies were therefore observed in order to discern his tendency.

I propose that Agung's dominant function is sensing (S) which is based on at least two epiphanies, one relived and the other a minor epiphany. On the relived epiphany that he most frequently retold, Agung explained his practical orientation on how to materialise his faith into a concrete object in the present time. He was not interested in an abstract formulation of faith which provided a theological framework for a better insight into such a topic. His concern was simply to understand faith in order to transform it into a motorcycle instead of developing a systematic framework of faith. When he retrospectively told of this epiphany, he also emphasised his concern for what was operative rather than what was merely inspiring or fascinating. My next verification was based on his minor epiphany when the main dispute with the leaders who left the church in 1994 related to his inability to present future possibilities and direction as the vision of the church. What was demanded by his peers was a feature of the intuition type which was exactly Agung's inferior function of personality. While he admitted his incompetence to fulfil their request without any consciousness of his dominant sensing type, the leaders and members who left were unaware that their dispute related to the less developed area of their friend-cum-leader.

Meanwhile, his response toward the external world was quite obviously the judging (J) type. He preferred predictable, organised and scheduled plans as observed when he wanted to buy the previous main site through a calculation of the monthly offerings that he thought would be sufficient to pay the loan in several years. While an unplanned situation occurred with the unpaid debt and half the senior leaders and members left the church, he still attempted to get another loan from a rich person to pay the debt that would be paid in instalments. During the Toronto-style renewal in the church, he acknowledged his preference for a more organised service that could be controlled instead of the unexpected manifestations and excesses that could risk his position. 'I naturally prefer to play safe' was what he often emphasised to avoid controversy and any embarrassment. On starting the school, he also initially preferred to start with a nursery and elementary school instead of opening it from nursery to secondary level at the same time with only six months preparation. He admitted that renting a shophouse was his initial preference instead of using the Holy Stadium Junior for such a purpose.

Agung's personality type can therefore be categorised as ISTJ, a dominant introvert sensing with auxiliary extravert thinking that tends to employ a judging orientation toward the outer world. This personality type is described by Isabel Briggs Myers as:

> Serious, quiet, earn success by concentration and thoroughness. Practical, orderly, matter-of-fact, logical, realistic and dependable. See to it that everything is well organised. Take responsibility. Make up their own minds about what should be accomplished and work towards it steadily, regardless of protest or distractions.[431]

I generally agree with Myers' description applying to Agung, except her last statements on the 'steadily, regardless of protest or distractions'. I argue that since the senior

[431] Myers, *Introduction*, 7.

pastor's tertiary feeling function balances his auxiliary thinking function, that sentence does not depict his personality. I proposed a modification of Myers' last statement on the ISFJ type, the proposed description is: 'Make up their own minds about what should be accomplished' and *'concerned with how other people feel'* toward it.[432]

2.3. Preferred Personality and Evangelism: Managerial Evangelism

With the dominant sensing function of the senior pastor, the most usual form of evangelism is organising an event which is strategically (as the exercise of auxiliary thinking) used to attract people to come. A quantitative result therefore becomes the expected outcome of such an event as the characteristic of the sensing type. While a comprehensive theological understanding of evangelism is not prioritised as it is exactly the role of his inferior type, the practical orientation also results in a lack of wider vision. The scale of the event and the amount of the budget are also based on the available resources of the church since his judging orientation preferred a predictable situation. The introversion tendency is also naturally seen as incompatible with a regular involvement with new and large numbers of people. Therefore, naturally the senior pastor might be thought unfit to be an evangelist who should regularly preach to such audiences. If the senior pastor's passion for evangelism is considered influential as the driver of the megachurch's mission then such an ISTJ type would naturally result in what could be categorised as managerial evangelism.[433]

What is criticised by Engel and Dyrness as the reduction of mission into merely managerial enterprise, in my opinion indicates the dominant sensing tendency of

[432] Emphasis added.
[433] See. James F. Engel and William A. Dyrness, *Changing the Mind of Missions: Where have We Gone Wrong?* (Illinois: Inter Varsity, 2000), 67-74.

managerial evangelism. In the case of the senior pastor, his 'preoccupation with strategies and methods'[434] shows his auxiliary thinking function along with his judging orientation. The first consequence of such a method orientation is 'an uncritical adoption of strategic planning'[435] which indicates a less developed intuition as the inferior function. As aforementioned the practical orientation of the dominant sensing tends to overlook a coherent theological scheme which requires an intuitive function. Defining evangelism as an act of presenting the salvific plan implies a set of propositions to summarise the message and an observable response to be counted as the result.[436] Such a definition was quite clearly still directing the understanding of the senior pastor as well as the interviewed members. The quantification of the evangelised is therefore referred to as the only measurement of such evangelism.[437] Such numerical orientation is regarded as the second implication of managerial evangelism which characterises the orientation to the concrete and real result of a sensing preference type. Meanwhile, the quantitative measurement of successful evangelism requires a financial backup instead of a dependency on divine providence.[438] This shifted the focus from mission to fundraising which also indicates the need for certainty and stability as the natural tendency of the judging preference of the senior pastor. Furthermore, in such a managerial enterprise the introversion tendency of the senior pastor along with his auxiliary thinking could be accommodated as an ideal combination in a hierarchical position.

[434] Engel and Dyrness, *Changing,* 67.
[435] Engel and Dyrness, *Changing,* 68.
[436] Engel and Dyrness, *Changing,* 69.
[437] Engel and Dyrness, *Changing,* 71-72.
[438] Engel and Dyrness, *Changing,* 72-74.

All features of managerial evangelism are observable in the early period of the megachurch. While the strategic approach gradually shifted after the cumulative epiphany on the person of the Holy Spirit in 1992, the inclination toward relying on divine providence for financial support followed later after the minor epiphany of separation and the unpaid instalments in the second half of the 1990s. The narrow understanding of evangelism clearly still dominated the practice of the members though other perspectives were available yet were not synchronised due to the natural tendency of the leader. Numerical growth apparently survived as the primary measurement of evangelism while social transformation was taken into account as the secondary impact. This condition indicates both the dominant sensing type and the underdeveloped intuition as the inferior function. However, the sudden and unplanned extensive public engagement since 2007 requires the opposite personality as the dominant type and the perceiving orientation instead of the predictable preference of the senior pastor. The involvement of the senior pastor as the regular preacher in front of thousands of people whether in the weekly services or healing prayers also naturally supressed his introvert personality, which could cause burnout according to Francis.[439] The questions to be posed are: How could an ISTJ type operate the inferior function not only as a complementary but in most cases as the leading type? And how could his other opposite types be exercised regularly in his long-term of active involvement as a senior pastor?

[439] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 101.

3. A Mystical Proposition

Naturally the dominant and auxiliary functions are the preferred and most developed in the personality of a person. Suppressing such inborn preferences would result in a serious hindrance to the improvement of an individual's correct gifts.[440] Kay, Francis and Robbins suggest the compatibility of such natural preference with the role in ministry, particularly with the exercise of charismatic gifts among the apostolic networks in the UK.[441] While empirical research is needed to prove my opinion, I argue that extraversion is also the tendency of the majority of Indonesian Charismatic leaders, mainly megachurches' senior pastors. However, a fact which resulted from my psychological examination of the interpretive biography of the senior pastor indicated an opposite tendency, that would naturally be less propitious to be exercised within such an extraverted environment. I agree with Suurmond who observed that Charismatic Christianity tends to emphasise 'the external manifestations of the Spirit, which also explains its pragmatic and activistic approach'.[442] Such an approach is a congenital preference of the extraverts while for the introverts could cause burnout if it is regularly practised. According to Francis, comparable to writing with the less preferred hand, exercising the opposite personality would take extra concentration, slower response, and would be 'much more tiring and draining' on the energy of such person.[443]

While the development of the tertiary and inferior function is suggested, their role is rather to balance the more dominant function instead of replacing its main function as the lead function. Myers illustrates their role to be like younger members of a family

[440] Myers and Myers, *Gifts Differing,* 193.
[441] Kay, Francis and Robbins, 'A Distinctive Leadership', 320.
[442] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit*, 155.
[443] Francis, *Faith and Psychology*, 55.

whose suggestion is heard and considered yet the decision is taken by the head of the family, which is the dominant function with the balance supply from the auxiliary type.[444] The healthy development of personality therefore involves the four types yet preserves the dominant as the leading type of the other functions. Meanwhile, Francis seems less concerned with developing the two less developed areas and gives more attention to the identification of more dominant functions and the improvement of such functions for their effective implementation in ministry.[445] Among the causes of the exercise of the less preferred types are the uniformity of formal education and the family environment which is strongly influenced by the dominant preferences of the system or the parents that suppress the instinctive tendency of the children.[446]

The socialization reason, to some extent, can explain how an introvert personality like the senior pastor can be regularly involved in a very active environment among thousands of people in quite a long period of time. It could be argued that his familiarity with a Charismatic environment since his conversion had developed his opposite type. But if his cumulative epiphany is carefully considered then such familiarity merely resulted in a superficial adjustment instead of an existential shift. It seems that his introversion was somewhat attempted to be denied to a certain extent which, similarly with the dream of the senior pastor, is depicted by Myers 'like slaves in a dungeon'.[447] While his tertiary function probably almost balanced his thinking as the auxiliary role, the inferior function was probably neglected and underdeveloped. Furthermore, his judging preference was also on the opposite pole to his perceiving process toward the

[444] Myers and Myers, *Gifts Differing,* 193-194.
[445] See. Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 82-87, 92-109.
[446] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 56.
[447] Myers and Myers, *Gifts Differing,* 194.

external world. It seems that Agung tended to most frequently exercise his opposite innate personality in leading the megachurch towards a specified direction. While the psychological approach, which tends to place the lesser preference types as subsidiary to the more dominant, and provides an inadequate explanation for the frequent exercise of the less developed types, I propose that a mystical framework can be used to better understand the application of the inferior function as the leading role of the other more dominant functions, as well as the drastic shift from judging to perceiving in his response to the outer sphere.

The mystical framework that I want to employ consists of a certain pattern of phases of an inward journey instead of what is quite often equated with the joyous and ecstatic experiences of the ultimate reality like the category used by Poloma.[448] Poloma seems to lean on what she called a contextual or constructive approach of mysticism which tends to consider the variety of 'form, intensity, frequency, or duration' of such experiences instead of focusing on a core pattern of experiences, what is classified as the classical approach, regardless of 'particular historical situation, social status, cultural environment, and religious commitments'.[449] What is not involved in such a proposed approach is seemingly what is also questioned by Underhill on the inadequacy of a particular experience to depict the whole details of the journey. Instead of being unaware of the diversity of experiences as considered by Poloma, the mystical pattern is the result of classifying, criticising, explaining and translating contextual mysticism to get what is assumed to be a general pattern of the inner life.[450] Therefore such a mystical

[448] Margaret M. Poloma, *Main Street Mystics: The Toronto Blessing and Reviving Pentecostalism* (California: AltaMira Press, 2003), 26-27.
[449] Poloma, *Main Street Mystics,* 25, 32.
[450] Underhill, *Mysticism,* 95.

map is drawn by reconstructing the diverse particularity of contexts instead of overlooking it.

While Poloma argues that an intimate relationship with the ultimate divine reality[451] is at the heart of such renewal despite the 'bodily manifestations accompanied by accounts of the miraculous' that is often given more publicity, I contend in line with Suurmond, that being in love is part of an illumination phase instead of representing the whole mystical journey itself.[452] I also agree with Karl Rahner who sensibly considers the enthusiasm and intimacy of the Charismatics as one of the stages or modes of mystical experience yet 'without confusing them with the apex of mysticism' that is 'ultimate union with God in grace in the *unio mystica* itself'.[453] According to Underhill's observation, most mystics experience the first three phases of awakening, discipline, and enlightenment yet never go further to the union phase through absolute self-surrender.[454] Similar situations also happened among Charismatics, who, according to Suurmond, tend to escape 'the bitter cold, the despair, and the abandonment of the dark night'.[455] Such a condition is hastily labelled as 'a lack of faith or an attack from the devil'[456] instead of a journey toward maturity which is signified by leaving 'images of a God who satisfies our needs'[457] and moving towards 'God, who is of His very nature

[451] Often expressed as falling in love with Jesus or experiencing Father's love.
[452] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit*, 157-158.
[453] Karl Rahner*, The Spirit in the Church*, translated by John Griffiths (London: Burns & Oates, 1979), 9-10.
[454] Underhill, *Mysticism*, 169.
[455] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit*, 158.
[456] Chan, *Pentecostal Theology,* 76.
[457] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit*, 159.

unknowable'.[458] In other words, a transition from the false self toward the true self or a move from positive theology to negative theology.

Meanwhile, Simon Chan proposes 'Three Ways' traditional spiritual formation as an operative framework to cover the repeatable pattern of illumination, purgation and union.[459] In this scheme, falling in love is alternately found with a dark-night experience in both illuminative and purgative phases. According to Chan, basically all of the elements can be observed among the beliefs and practices of Charismatics except the absence of the dark-night aspect which could be experienced within the two former phases and before entering the latter phase.[460] While Chan, as a systematic theologian, suggests that a comprehensive theological framework, to synchronise not only the available elements but also to insert the dark-night, is lacking from Pentecostalism, it seems that he is not aware that psychologically such effort requires a dominant intuition personality which most probably is not the natural preference of most of their leaders.[461] Therefore it requires the exercise of the inferior and other less developed types for most Charismatics to respond to Chan's proposal.

Chan's proposal to include the dark-night experience in a Charismatic theological scheme is affirmed by Daniel Castelo, a systematic theologian as well, to balance the overemphasis of power and eschatological expectation.[462] Castelo theologically argues that adding a dark-night experience could reconfigure the understanding of power

[458] Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2002), 25.
[459] Chan, *Pentecostal Theology,* 73.
[460] Chan, *Pentecostal Theology,* 74, 77.
[461] See. Kay, Francis and Robbins, 'A Distinctive Leadership', 319.
[462] Daniel Castelo, *Pentecostalism as a Christian Mystical Tradition* (Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2017), 167.

through a tension between power and weakness, and reconstitute the eschatological expectation with the lack of empirical evidence.[463] The former could embrace martyrdom as an alternative form of power while the latter could bring them to a broader theological scheme of spiritual maturity. I agree with the suggestion to balance the one-sided emphasis of Charismatic theology which is psychologically depicting the underdeveloped personality types of the movement. While such theological understanding of power and expectation are alleged as the reason for Charismatics' evangelistic fervour accompanied with physical manifestation, I argue that the extraverted nature of the movement should be considered in order to better understand its compatibility with such theology.[464] The urgent need is therefore not only to provide such a coherent theological scheme but also to recognise the psychological preference types in order to develop the opposite nature and the less developed functions which are clearly not the natural tendency of most Charismatics.

From the above exploration of this framework, self-surrender which signifies the dark-night phase or experience is regarded as a basic requirement on the way toward the union phase. While the transition from illumination to union is understood as sign of spiritual maturity, I consider self-surrender as a psychological turn toward a well-developed personality. However, psychologists merely suggest the full development of the natural tendency and the involvement of the less developed functions. Like the ineffective use of the less preferred hand, naturally a person would be reluctant to regularly exercise such opposite personality types. Therefore, self-surrender as a continual experience of surrendering the personal will to be replaced by the divine

[463] Castelo, *Pentecostalism,* 168-171.
[464] See. Kay, Francis and Robbins, 'A Distinctive Leadership', 319.

initiative indicates that such a condition could not merely be accomplished by human initiative. The self, according to Guyon, is exactly at the very opposite of God's will.[465] I reinterpret such a condition psychologically as the distance between the dominant function and the inferior function. A gradual stage needs to be passed from the more active to the utterly passive phase. According to Guyon, the initial surrender is actually started when a person gives consent to the lordship of Jesus in his or her heart, which means that it starts at conversion. However, the continuing process toward absolute surrender is a lifetime progression and I follow Guyon in saying it is merely the preparation phase since the union itself is God's initiative.[466] Underhill's five phases of conversion, purgation, illumination, dark-night, and union are therefore understood as a gradual progress of surrender in each phase, as in the Three Ways scheme, instead of merely being experienced in the dark-night phase.

3.1. Mystical Experience of the Senior Pastor

Agung's conversion signified his initial phase of surrender which at the same time gradually shifted his introversion toward a regular exercise of extraversion. His conversion was followed by his active involvement in the extraverted environment of a Charismatic prayer group and organisation.[467] His involvement with Sangkakala as a worship leader or preacher had developed his extraverted side which naturally would almost never be exercised, mainly because of his inferiority complex. Meanwhile, his regular and more intensive participation in such an extraverted environment resulted in a cumulative epiphany as at the end of the 1990s when he claimed that he was freed

[465] Guyon, *Experiencing,* 126.
[466] Guyon, *Experiencing*, 125-138.
[467] More on the extraversion environment of Charismatic Christianity: Mark Tanner, *The Introvert Charismatic*, 128-137.

from his inferiority complex. What is psychologically considered to be ineffective and a cause of burnout on the contrary expanded his natural personality preference toward a good development of his opposite attention and interest. While the natural tendency could still be observed, he claimed that meeting and speaking in front of new people had become an enjoyment for him since that cumulative epiphany.[468]

His inferior intuitive function progressively improved through an alternation of purgative and illuminative experiences. A sense of dryness, which marked a purgation phase, was experienced during the early 1990s and resulted in a cumulative epiphany in the form of a vision of the person and preference of the Holy Spirit. This vision signified an initial shift from his dominant sensing toward his less developed intuition type. Through receiving a vision he started to 'value imaginative insight' and to 'trust inspiration' which characterised intuitive natural preferences.[469] While his intuition was still perceived as inadequate by his peers who left the church in 1994, his tertiary function was probably improved by the vision. Agung's auxiliary thinking function could be observed in his analytical preference for interpreting scripture and preparing sermons. His theological understanding of the divine nature leaned on the more impersonal and objective depiction which was considered an objective approach, based on his scrutiny of the etymology of phrases, the comparison of various translations, and the socio-historical context of verses or passages of the scripture. The vision expanded his consideration of the feeling side of the divine person which was signified by his attention to the personal preference of the Holy Spirit. Such preference was regarded as the overlooked aspect of the Spirit since he admitted that previously he was merely

[468] Purnomo, *Serupa dengan Tuhan.*
[469] Myers, *Introduction*, 4.

concerned with the role and power rather than the personal side of the Holy Spirit. In this case receiving such an illuminative vision had moved his auxiliary thinking preference toward an exercise of his tertiary feeling function.

The minor epiphany of separation and unpaid debt could be considered as a failure and a discipline which signified a purgative experience. This purgation phase had compelled him to leave the planned and organised preference of his judging type and develop the more spontaneous and flexible orientation of the perceiving type. He did not have another option to pay the instalments with his own resources since half of the senior leaders and members had left the church. The rich person who it was hoped could provide financial support also did not respond to his proposal. This failure marked his initial emphasis on divine dependency instead of human initiative and plan. It seemed that the perceiving side of personality was developed while purgation was occurring. Furthermore, the perceiving side was progressively improved through the Toronto-blessing style services in the second half of the 1990s. The senior pastor admitted his personal reluctance to experience such uncontrolled manifestations while reportedly the congregants unexpectedly experienced the exuberant illumination. He initially consulted various writings on revival issues before he personally experienced what he considered as one of the most awkward forms of divine visitation. The services during this period sometimes ended after five hours which was exactly at the opposite pole of his anticipated preference type.

Such a joyous experience, which could be regarded as the illuminative phase, was followed by a quite significant quantitative growth in the membership of the church, and also marked a transition to the dark-night phase. His second major epiphany, which

was experienced in a dream in 1998, indicated a drastic shift in his dominant sensing function toward a further development of his inferior intuition side. His intention to report the quantitative growth in the dream implied his dominant sensing while Jesus was reportedly rejecting his tangible and numerical orientation, which signalled a demand to develop his inferior intuition. An exercise of the inferior function was observed more in the following years. A consideration of the qualitative side was developed while the quantitative measurement was still quite dominant. The unsynchronised timelines in his dream also drastically changed his tendency to follow his own planning (his judging orientation) toward a willingness to be more flexible and adaptable to spontaneous divine guidance. The perceiving nature of the Holy Spirit was therefore adjusting the personality preference of the senior pastor toward a mature development of his outer world orientation.

Such maturity would later become more observable on the sudden change in the megachurch since early 2007. However, I contend that what is considered as sudden change is also a gradual transition of the perceiving side of personality as well as the maturation of the inferior type. More interestingly, the inferior function was apparently leading the other more dominant functions with the help of his tertiary feeling instead of his auxiliary thinking. The self-surrender phase was observed more in the early 2000s, when themes like unexplained life experience or suffering under God's will were frequently emphasised, which indicated a further development of the perceiving orientation. His involvement in the Bahtera network also provided a constructive environment for developing his less developed intuition and feeling types. A sense of dependency on visions, dreams or audible voices were frequently reported after his involvement in the network compared to the earlier period. The tendency of the other

key persons in the network was quite clearly the exact opposite of the preference personality type of Agung. He also admitted that he regarded the previous period, before the establishment of the network, as 'too rational' compared to this new phase. This indicated a further development of his tertiary feeling side which apparently occasionally functioned as an auxiliary function when his inferior intuition took over his dominant sensing as the leading function.

A more balanced depiction of Jesus as a distinctive King since 2005 indicated a significant progress of the inferior intuition and tertiary feeling personality of the senior pastor. In a song he composed entitled *Jesus the Distinctive King* he depicted Jesus as a very powerful figure but full of love, and as a King who owned everything yet was also very generous.[470] Such an understanding did not result from interpreting scripture, following his auxiliary thinking preference, but instead was born from staring in the King's eyes which were gently and intimately gazing. The senior pastor was also mesmerised by the King's meaningful smile even though this was frequently misunderstood by many people, a further development of his tertiary feeling function. A mature love relationship as represented by the song, which was sung by the senior pastor himself, also signified a journey toward unitive phase where psychologically both his dominant preference and his opposite types would be well developed.

Meanwhile in *My King and I*, another song which was written and sung by Agung, he depicted himself as the lover who reigns together with the King.[471] The lover represented the introverted side which was his natural tendency while the ruler

[470] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Raja yang Berbeda*, MP3 Audio Song in *Final Wave Live Recording* (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[471] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Aku dan Rajaku*, MP3 Audio Song (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).

indicated the extraverted side which balanced his innate preference. The lover also depicted his perceiving orientation which was apparently well-developed along with his judging orientation as the ruler. The love relationship which exercised his tertiary feeling function was combined with the auxiliary thinking function to be implemented on governing with the King. Meanwhile, his dominant sensing was indicated by the fragrant aroma of prayer which was sensed by the King, an invitation to enter and see the garden of the palace, and to sit along with the King on his palanquin. However, all of these sensible experiences were intuitively experienced in the present and would become a reality in the imaginative near future. This was a comprehensive combination of both the most developed preference and the least preferred one.

A progression toward union, which was also a further degree of self-surrender, was quite obviously observed in a dryness at the end of 2006 which was followed by a vision early in 2007. The reception of the vision signified a mature development of his inferior intuition function. What had become his blind side was apparently turned to become his leading function in this case. His obedience to follow the instruction given indicated a mature improvement of his perceiving orientation, since the vision showed a segment of people which previously had never been contacted and an approach to ministry which had been neglected before. In other words, the implementation of the vision required an openness to the unpredictable consequences while at the same time it demanded an unanticipated financial cost. Meanwhile, the totally new audiences required a further adjustment of the introvert preference which had gradually changed since the vision in 1992 and the dream at the end of the 1990s. The public engagement as the implementation of the vision was therefore a balanced exercise of the dominant sensing function which was concerned with the concrete needs of the beneficiaries and the

inferior intuition side which in this case led his dominant function as the source of inspiration, plan and possibilities. The senior pastor also quite obviously developed his intuition function when he mapped the power relations in society along with the spiritual mapping to better understand the sociological condition of the city. It was exactly the features of his inferior function that had developed well to support his dominant sensible awareness of the practical needs of the impoverished.

3.2. Mystical Experience and Evangelism: Relational Evangelism

The examination of the mystical experience of the senior pastor show that all phases toward union were traversed, while the link between the different phases was the gradual degree of self-surrender as the sign of the dark-night. A life-time journey was required to pass all the stages toward a unitive purpose. Therefore, evangelism which is usually simply projected as a one-off chance and a one-way approach to deliver the salvific message should be placed in a pilgrimage framework. Engel and Dyrness propose the spiritual pilgrimage model as an alternative to managerial evangelism.[472] A pilgrimage evangelism is not exercised with a massive entrepreneurial effort but along the way of the inward journey which requires spiritual maturity. Such maturity could be regarded as a development of the less developed side of personality as well. While Engel and Dyrness employ Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* to illustrate the journey,[473] in this case the mystical map of Underhill is implemented to understand the continuing nature of the inward journey. Psychologically the concern of the inward pilgrimage also requires

[472] Engel and Dyrness, *Changing,* 98-107.
[473] Engel and Dyrness, *Changing,* 98-99.

a development of the introversion personality which is the preference of the senior pastor but clearly on the opposite pole to the focus of most Charismatics.

A progression toward unity is indicated by an advancing progression of self-surrender. What is mystically called a brokenness of the false self to reveal the true self could be psychologically compared with the development of the natural preference as well as the exercise of the less developed and opposite preferences. Since a regular exercise of the less preferred types is not suggested by psychologists, the regular and extensive exercise of not only the opposite orientation but also the inferior function personality of the senior pastor indicates an advanced degree of surrendering human initiative under the divine will. I agree with Angela Butler who observed that the less developed type is the least controlled by humans.[474] Therefore what is naturally seen as an ineffective way to be regularly used needs to be shocked into action by a divine intervention. Butler exemplifies Saul's conversion as a shock to his inferior feeling function with a personal revelation of a persecuted person.[475] It was Jesus himself who was persecuted by Saul, not a heretical group. While Saul was apparently exercising his dominant thinking, he was shocked in his inferior feeling function. What was considered an abstract and impersonal depiction by his thinking preference was reverted by a very personal encounter with the persecuted Jesus. A continuing conversion was therefore experienced by Saul in his lifetime to develop his least preferred personality toward maturity. From this perspective conversion is not only a one-off declaration of Jesus as the Lord and Saviour as the instant expected outcome of the presentation of a set of propositions, but most importantly a constant lifetime progression with a growing

[474] Angela Butler, *Personality and Communicating the Gospel* (Cambridge: Grove, 1999), 19-20.
[475] Butler, *Personality,* 21-22.

degree of submission to the Lordship and a continuing dependency on the Saviour which would be experienced in the four phases toward union.

As a consequence of placing evangelism in the mystical path, I propose an approach which relates evangelism with the progression of the inner journey, the gradual dependency on the divine guidance and the relationship with the other which I call relational evangelism. If conversion is a lifetime progression then how dare an evangelist claim that he or she had become involved in 'saving souls' through a one-off and short-term encounter. The evangelist's role is merely as a messenger or seed sower, and perhaps watering what has been sown by other people, while conversion is a divine part where an evangelist plays no role.[476] A claim that is merely based on the quantitative outcome of evangelism is therefore an indication of an immature person who needs to continue his or her inward journey, which will also develop the less preferred personality type. Therefore, a relational evangelism requires an awareness of the limited participation of the evangelist in delivering the message.[477] If the message is accepted then this is also only indicating an initial phase toward a lifetime conversion in the other mystical phases toward the union state. An evangelist who boasts of his or her numerical achievement is most likely exercising a dominant sensing function or influenced by a dominant sensing environment and leadership. A development of the inferior intuition is needed to better understand the broader map of the journey where conversion is only a part of a continuing process rather than the ultimate goal of a presentation of the gospel. In addition, the exercise of the feeling personality will also provide a sympathetic, tender-hearted, harmonious and compassionate character of relational

[476] See. 1 Corinthians 3: 1-9.
[477] See. Engel and Dyrness, *Changing,* 100-101.

evangelism in contrast to the strategic, tough-minded, and impersonal evangelism of the thinking preference person.[478]

The gradual degree of dependency with the divine will as the consequence of a further self-surrender indicates a sensitivity and obedience toward the spontaneous guidance of the Holy Spirit. While in managerial evangelism the human initiative and ambition are more dominant, in relational evangelism the primary role of the Holy Spirit is emphasised. Since the framework is a continuing pilgrimage, evangelism is an integral part of the trip instead of a short-term independent excursion. Along the journey the sensitiveness of the pilgrim toward divine guidance will increase and the degree of obedience will be greater, therefore he or she will flexibly follow spontaneous or unexpected guidance. As in the case of Philip who previously conducted what is, from a managerial perspective, a successful mass scale evangelism with a quantified result in the city of Samaria.[479] He is subsequently assigned to go to the desert road only to evangelise an unknown stranger, in whom the seed has already been sown by his scriptural reading and is ready to be confirmed by a short explanation. Then shortly afterward the evangelist is taken away by the Spirit to continue his journey in other places. Such availability to follow divine guidance indicates a progression on the perceiving orientation, a well-developed intuition type, and a balance of both the inward introversion concern and the outward extraversion implementation. In other words, a shift toward a relational orientation to the person of the Holy Spirit requires a further degree of self-surrender which results in a mature development of the whole personality aspects, including the inferior function and opposite preferences.

[478] See. Myers, *Introduction*, 5.
[479] See. Acts 8: 4-40.

4. Conclusion

The inward journey of the senior pastor provides an analogy to understand both the cosmology and visible implementation of the practice of evangelism of the megachurch. His interpretive biography shows two major epiphanies which drastically change his life direction. Conversion and self-surrender are therefore considered crucial features to understand the nature of his evangelistic fervour. Meanwhile, his innate personality preferences apparently fit with the so-called managerial evangelism model yet are incompatible with the sudden, vision-based and unpredictable characteristic of the extensive public engagement since early 2007. While an observation of his life experiences indicates an observable mystical journey which is signalled by a progression of self-surrender, an examination of his innate personality types shows a gradual and significant change toward a mature personality which is signified by his regular exercise of the inferior and opposite preferences. This has not changed his dominant personality type while at the same time his inferior function has been developed toward, in Jungian term, the individuation (or the development) of personality where the consciousness (represented by the dominant type) has been connected with the unconscious (represented by the inferior type).[480] While such regular exercise of the less preferred types is not suggested by psychologists, in this case the use of the least developed type as well as other opposite preferences probably resulted in the change in the understanding and practice of evangelism of the senior pastor. The outcome of the assumed change will be elaborated in the next chapter while the theological articulation

[480] See. Marie-Louise von Franz, 'The Inferior Function' in Marie-Louise von Franz and James Hillman, *Lectures on Jung's Typology* (Putnam: Spring Publications, 2013), 9-32.

of the synchronisation of the inner journey with the outcome will be provided in the fifth chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

'INTO THE STREET AND ALLEYS OF THE TOWN': MANAGEMENT OF EVANGELISM

This chapter examines the correlation between the mystical experiences of the senior pastor, which resulted in a specified mission, and the extensive public engagement of the megachurch from 2007 to 2016, to explore the direct influence on that experience. Peter Drucker's philosophy of management of non-profit organisations is therefore mainly employed to assess the transmission of the senior pastor's experiences to a tangible and measured performance of the megachurch. It was Harvey Cox who initially proposed Drucker's managerial framework to better comprehend the relationship between Charismatic Christianity and economics, particularly in Korea.[481] Cox argues that such involvement in large-scale evangelism will quite certainly affect the way Korean Pentecostals perform their daily works. Their awareness of their mission is considered the main driver behind such an extensive scale of evangelistic campaigning. However, Cox has not utilised Drucker's framework to explain the detailed process of transmission of a mission into a measurable result. What is briefly introduced by Cox will be more comprehensively applied in the case study megachurch.

[481] Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1994), 234-237.

1. Managing Evangelism: Megachurch as a Non-profit Organisation

The transmission of the vision of the senior pastor is often simply seen as a direct and personal relationship between the leader and the follower in the Weberian charismatic leadership framework.[482] While the simple structure is acknowledged, it is the extraordinary personality or the giftedness of the leader that is considered central in such a framework. What is often overlooked in the Weberian framework is not only the ordinary characteristic of charisma,[483] but also the process of translating vision into action. Translating a sentence into a performance requires not only the ability of the leader but also the willingness of the follower. The main difference, as well as the main problem, of the non-profit organisation and the business company is in the voluntary nature of its customer.[484] Executing a mission into an action in a non-profit organisation is, therefore, assuming a complexity of participation of the people (including leaders, customers, and beneficiaries) and transmission of the mission through performances into measured results.

This aforementioned complexity is neglected in the Weberian framework because its main attention is on the extraordinary charisma of the leader. Focusing on the gift is presuming that a leader is born rather than made. This presumption is apparently incompatible with the natural personality of the senior pastor as explained in the previous chapter. Instead he fits the third category proposed by Drucker, that a leader

[482] Roger Heuser and Byron D. Klaus, 'Charismatic Leadership Theory: A Shadow Side Confessed', *PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, Vol 20. No 2, 1998, 162-165.
[483] Volf contends that the emphasise on the extraordinary nature of charisma in the Weberian framework indicates a reductionist approach of such term in contrast to the Pauline theology of charisma which one of its main concerns is 'the overcoming of such a restrictive concentration on the miraculous and extraordinary'. See. Miroslav Volf, *Work in The Spirit: Toward A Theology of Work* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 111-113.
[484] Peter F. Drucker, *Managing the Non-Profit Organization: Practices and Principles* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1992), 39-40, 75-76.

is neither born nor made but self-made.[485] The emphasis on such a self-made leader is on the responsibility of the person to develop their potencies and to be conscious of their limitations. The focus is on a continuing process instead of on a given nature of the leader. While this is compatible with the case of the senior pastor, the term self-made is not merely seen as a personal effort to develop the self. The leader is perceptibly made through divine intervention in the inner-self that results in a well-developed personality. However, the responsibility of the leader is not disregarded, it is instead seen as a synergy between grace and free will, a category that is, according to Lossky, known in Eastern Orthodoxy and less developed in the Western counterpart.[486]

If the leader was 'self-made' as in the reinterpreted category, then the concern, according to Drucker, should be on the mission statement of the leader instead of her or his distinctiveness.[487] '[M]ission comes first', Drucker argues, because the existence of a non-profit institution depends on its mission to transform both individuals and society. Therefore, one of the strategic assignments of the leader is to ensure that 'everybody sees the mission, hears it, [and] lives it'.[488] An operative statement should be a simple, clear and direct guidance for the members of organisation to see their personal involvement to accomplish the mission. While the mission statement might be permanent, the short-term purposes and realisation could be varied and temporary.[489] Concerning its constant nature, the mission statement therefore should be based on the competence of the organisation, on the need of the neighbourhood and on the

[485] Drucker, *Managing*, 174.
[486] Lossky, *The Mystical Theology*, 196-199.
[487] Drucker, *Managing*, 3.
[488] Drucker, *Managing*, 32.
[489] Drucker, *Managing*, 4-5.

commitment of the members.[490] These three indispensable and interrelated aspects are applied to evaluate the mission statement of the megachurch. When the statement is already formulated then the next phase is to translate it into action.

Unlike the profit oriented company, the purpose of non-profit organisation is to transform its members to become performers instead of merely consumers. However, the main challenge remains on the voluntary nature of non-profit institution's customers. The customer in this case is the membership of the megachurch. The members in this case are also the donors of the institution. These people are those who 'participate in the cause but who are not the beneficiaries'.[491] Drucker suggests a familiarity with the profiles of the customer as a prerequisite to integrate them with the mission of the institution. What he called 'fund development' is not a fund-raising activity that often subordinates the mission, but an approach to answer the self-fulfilment and to actualise the values of the donors.[492] It starts with the outside needs rather than with the need of the institution. This is called the strategy of a non-profit organisation, whose main function is translating mission into performance.[493] The strategy of the megachurch to approach its members not only to voluntarily participate but also generously donate will be examined and the response of the members (as customers and donors) will also be assessed to find the correlation with the public engagement, that is the performance of the institution.

The observable assessment of the strategy is therefore on the performance of the institution. The visible activities of the megachurch are observed to test their

[490] Drucker, *Managing*, 6.
[491] Drucker, *Managing*, 41.
[492] Drucker, *Managing*, 41-42, 76-78.
[493] Drucker, *Managing*, 39.

consistency with the mission statement. While profit could be used to analyse the performance of a business company, the problem remains in the lack of quantitative measurement for such a non-profit organisation. According to Drucker, this relates to an inability to differentiate between moral reason and economic reason.[494] He agrees not to compromise the value despite the lack of outcomes. However, for the economic reason the absence of results demands an evaluation and another possibility of implementation. The dilemma is on the primary position of moral reason for a non-profit organisation despite the deficiency of results. Therefore, quality still becomes the main assessment instead of quantity. Understanding this problem, Drucker reminds us that the main business of non-profit institution is as an agent of human transformation. The result is therefore outside the institution and it could be measured, for a church it could be attendance or impact. If attendance was chosen then the concern of that institution would be different from another one that chose impact as their measure of performance. Both measurements for Drucker are 'perfectly respectable ways to measure performance, yet each leads to a very different way' of managing the organisation.[495]

While mentioning the complexity of managing relationships in a non-profit organisation as a vital element, it seems that Drucker offers practical suggestions and basic values instead of an adequate framework to understand such complexity. I therefore borrow what is considered by Carter as 'one of the most widely accepted frameworks' that he excerpts from French and Russell[496] to understand the power relation between the

[494] Drucker, *Managing*, 84-85.
[495] Drucker, *Managing,* 81.
[496] See. John R. P. French and Bertram Russell, 'The Bases of Social Power' in Dorwin Cartwright (ed)., *Studies of Social Power* (Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1959), 150-167.

leader, deputies and members of the megachurch, and to examine what is called by Drucker the management of people and relationships.[497] Such a framework categorises five sources of power that are: coercive (include threat or punishment), reward (using incentives to cause agreement), legitimate (derive from structural or formal positions), expert (comes from individual knowledge and ability) and referent (comes from the appeal of and the admiration of the person).[498] While the source of the former three comes from the leadership position of the person, the legitimation of the latter two derives from the personal characteristics of the person. While the former requires a structural position, the latter is independent of such a requirement and therefore 'tends to be more enduring and robust' compared to the former power.[499] The exercise of such power will result in at least three categories of response, including resistance, compliance and commitment.[500] The form of *resistance* 'might be overt or subversive' in opposing the policy of the leader who frequently exercises coercive power. While *compliance* relates to the exercise of the reward and legitimate power, it is *commitment* that results from a personal acceptance and agreement to the order as well as the leader.[501] These categories of outcomes are used to assess the response of the people, both the benefactors (pastors, staff and members) and the beneficiaries.

[497] John F. Carter, 'Power and Authority in Pentecostal Leadership', *AJPS* 12: 2, 2009, 189. Drucker, *Managing,* 143.
[498] Carter, 'Power and Authority', 188-191.
[499] Carter, 'Power and Authority', 191.
[500] See. Gary Yukl, *Leadership in Organizations* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1998), 176.
[501] Carter, 'Power and Authority', 192.

2. The Mission

The name of the megachurch indicates a global vision of evangelism which evidently relates to an eschatological reason. This refers to the context of Matthew 24: 14, from where the name is taken. The mission statement which has been used since the early period was later formulated as 'Win the Lost at any Cost'. The mission statement is quite narrow, as suggested by Drucker, so it can be easily accepted and implemented by the members. It also qualified for Drucker's three necessary categories of competence, need and commitment. The evangelistic competence of the megachurch is represented by *win*, which also indicates a spiritual warfare with the evil power to seize those who are categorised as unsaved. *The lost* represents the necessity for people to hear and receive the Christian message, this is considered as the need of their neighbours. Then, the commitment to execute is signified by the phrase *at any cost*, which depicts a willingness to be involved and an awareness of the expense to be paid.

While the mission has remained similar during the last twenty-five years, the short-term emphasis and implementation has apparently varied. The shift in the emphasis probably impacted the practical implementation of the megachurch. The first five years (1991-1996) show a zeal to evangelise people without any specific profile to be reached or approach to be used. The strategy to *win* the spiritual battle was not yet formulated, the particular profile of *the lost* was not yet identified, and *the cost* of such commitment was not yet calculated. The next ten years (1997-2006) demonstrate a more specific translation of the mission following a model called the church of Antioch. The equipment of the members through the visitation of the apostles and prophets was required to enter and *win* the battle. A commitment to serve the poor was identified as

the main feature of such an apostolic church and a wider participation in mission was also recognised. While the broader involvement in mission was observable through sending people and money to some countries, the particular attention to the poor was not yet emphasised except during the peak of the economic crisis in 1998 and in the street children ministry. However, an awareness of the financial *cost* of the change was already accentuated during this period. This became a preparation for the next period when the competence improved, the need was mapped and the commitment was internalised.

The last decade (2007-2016) became another subdivision of the mission statement. Consequently, the performance was following the particular emphasis of the mission. The change reportedly began with the frustration of the senior pastor at the end of 2006, when he felt that God's presence could not be sensed during the megachurch's New Year celebration. This led him to ask the pastoral team to join in prayer on the first day of 2007. He believed that God was honouring his sensitivity in prioritising the presence of God more than events or methods. Consequently, while walking in front of the megachurch building he confessed that he saw a vision:

> There were so many people outside the megachurch site. They looked hopeless and tired. I could recognise them, from their clothes, as a particular segment of Indonesian people. They were Muslims and, sorry to say, poor. And soon after I heard a clear voice: reap them, or they will rot and end as waste if you are late.[502]

The senior pastor furthermore felt that such a vision needed to be confirmed by a biblical foundation. In the following days, he believed that the Holy Spirit reminded him

[502] Purnomo, Interview (2). See Appendix 6.

of a story of the invitation to the great banquet.[503] This narrative was considered as confirming his previous vision.

> I was reminded of the story of a King who became angry because all of the people who had been invited had rejected his invitation. Then the King asked his servant to go to the streets and alleys of the town to bring in the poor, the crippled, the blind and the lame. There are two categories of people in that story: the poor and the sick.[504]

Through this great banquet narrative, which also has an eschatological milieu, he was inspired to see that the church tended to invite people through advertisements or flyers rather than directly going to the public sphere for directly approaching people to join the meeting, which he perceived as a spiritual banquet.

In this period, the competence was translated into a specific performance of reaping (in the vision) and 'to go to the street and alleys of the town' in order 'to bring' the people (in the biblical narrative). Therefore, to *win* was implemented through a concrete performance by going to the public sphere to invite the people. A segmented target is specified both in the vision and gospel's narrative. The impoverished and sick Muslims could be described as *the lost*. While the *cost* was not yet accentuated in the vision and narrative, the previous period played a crucial role as a preparation period to anticipate the new emphasis of the mission. A financial commitment was important to serve the sick and the needy, but another commitment to personally socialise with them was also required. While the dedicated members were mostly the more affluent Chinese-Indonesians, the recipients were obviously the underprivileged Javanese Muslims.

[503] Luke 14: 15-23.
[504] Purnomo, Interview (2).

Therefore, the cost to be paid by the committed members included a readiness to cross social, ethnic, and religious barriers.

While Drucker is concerned with the mission rather than the person, he argues that it is the leader who is responsible to translate the mission into details.[505] Therefore, the 'self-made' leaders should develop their strengths as well as being aware of the weaknesses. This, however, did not specifically happen in this case. The change of emphasis in the second and, more observably, in the third period involved an invisible cause beyond the personal wish and plan of the leader. The senior pastor admitted that he had imagined that middle-class attendees would be packed in the new venue instead of the underprivileged who appeared in his vision. But it was the poor and the sick who crowded into the Holy Stadium a few months before the venue was officially used for Sunday services. What is undetected by Drucker is possibly what is proposed by Miller and Yamamori as the 'S' factor, that refers to their interviewees' confessions and testimonies of personal encounters with the Holy Spirit that motivate their public engagement.[506] Such a possibility should not be reduced by employing a theoretical framework 'excluding certain possibilities connected with a nonphysical realm of reality'. Since probably the Charismatics connect with an unobservable reality, there is a possibility that 'social transformation is not solely explainable by human factors'.[507]

What is vaguely proposed by Miller and Yamamori has been more explicitly accentuated by Allan Anderson, who criticises social scientists who usually overlook theological motives as the significant driver behind the social ministries of Charismatic Christians. A

[505] Drucker, *Managing*, 4.
[506] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 3.
[507] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 3-4, 108-110, 219-221.

distinctive feature called 'freedom in the spirit' is regarded as enabling Charismatics to act spontaneously and to also form their social theology and ministry.[508] Therefore, the instantaneous shift of emphasis in this case study can also be regarded as an indication of a divine intervention, particularly as it relates to the innate personality of the senior pastor as examined in the previous chapter. If the mission was clearly stated and specified, the next phase was integrating the mission with the customers and donors, or with the members of the megachurch, as the strategy of performance.

3. The Strategies: Integrating People with Mission

I observed that three strategies were used to integrate the members with the specific emphasis of the mission. These involved engagement as prayer troops where members were equipped through a series of prayer trainings, a new depiction of the megachurch as a mothership which functioned differently from the previous period, and a continued promise of prosperity as in the previous period. While the two former strategies observably transformed the customers to become performers and volunteers, the third strategy probably had been internalised and moved the members to become generous donors.

3.1. 'Building a Troop': Transformational Spiritual Warfare

Spiritual warfare became the prerequisite for the megachurch's public engagement. A prayer team initially mapped what they called 'the spiritual atmosphere' of the area which could be done by tracing the historical background, looking at any places that are

[508] Anderson, 'A 'Time to Share Love', 158.

perceived as sacred or haunted, searching any oral story that relates to a local myth, or observing certain areas that are perceived as having the highest criminality. The result was used to analyse the roots of current social problems in that area. It would usually result in an identifiable evil spirit or demonic figure who could be perceived as the spiritual authority of that area. The team would then conduct warfare prayer to cast out the figure from that area or to prevent interference during an event in that area.[509]

The spiritual realm was perceived as the controller of the physical realm, therefore knowing and controlling the spiritual realm was seen as a more significant priority than merely dealing with the material aspect. The senior pastor's argument was based on the origin of the Greek word 'difficult' (*χαλεποὶ*) which only occurs twice in the New Testament. These referred to 2 Timothy 3: 1, where difficult times in the last days are strongly related to demonic power and in Matthew 8: 28 to describe the condition of two demon-possessed men who are considered very violent, or 'extremely violent'.[510] Difficult times were not merely a social problem related to poverty or any social situation, but were caused by demonic power, which had been perceived as the driver behind the very violent character of the last days.[511] Therefore, criminality, particularly that with a very violent character such as terrorism, could not be faced and solved by merely conducting social or cultural analysis. Spiritual warfare was arguably needed if the root of the problem was in the invisible realm.[512]

[509] Based on my observation on several discussions in the cell groups and also my interview with the senior pastor. Purnomo, Interview (2).
[510] Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 52-53.
[511] Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 51-52.
[512] Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 53-55.

The distinctiveness of Agung's teaching was his emphasis on 'legal warfare'. This juridical aspect of the battle was perceived as the foundational stage of warfare that has been neglected. Rebuking and casting out evil spirit(s) which had become the main focus in spiritual warfare could be perceived as an action without understanding.[513] And this resulted in quite insignificant transformational impact. The legal stage of warfare was seen as strongly related to the character of the devil as an accuser, or could be compared to a prosecutor in a law court.[514] A prosecutor is someone who knows the rule of the game and uses it cunningly, but also legally, to defeat the accused. The devil would not make an injudicious accusation but would be following God's official regulation, or law, and using it to prosecute based on the contrast of the written law and its reality.[515]

This was evident in the case of the first and the second representatives of humanity. In the former case the devil did not frighten the human but rather started a discussion on the human's understanding of the law. The prosecutor was consequently twisting God's command and this ended with the human's violation of the only rule. Therefore, their expulsion from the garden was the inevitable consequence of violating the rule and could not be avoided by the rule maker. In the latter case the prosecutor also exploited the legal aspect of the law in a conversation with Jesus. Thoughtful consideration should be given to the way Jesus responded to the accuser. Unlike the former case, Jesus used the written law to argue with and to confront the prosecution. His thorough understanding of the written word of God was perceived as the key to encountering accusation in a legal warfare.[516]

[513] Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 16-17.
[514] Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 23-24. See. Zechariah 3: 1, Revelation 12: 9-10.
[515] Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 24-28.
[516] Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 38-40.

Nonetheless human understanding of God's law is limited therefore the attendance of an advocate or counsellor is perceived as an urgent need. This is the role of the Holy Spirit as the advocate to directly explain the regulation and to precisely advocate the exact part of the regulation that not only completely answers but also correctly confronts the prosecution.[517] Therefore spiritual warfare is the result of a comprehensive understanding of God's written laws and at the same time requires an intimate relationship with the Holy Spirit. A prayer march or prophetic act, therefore, should be conducted as a person's obedience to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. In this situation, human initiative to confront anything that has been perceived as evil spirit(s) is regarded as useless and results in an insignificant impact on social transformation.[518]

This teaching was taught by Agung from early 2006. He believed that he had received an order to build a prayer warrior troop through three months' intensive warfare prayer training. The intensive prayer training attracted more than 5,000 members to join every Saturday morning from 5 AM to 6.30 AM. Allocating personal times for fasting, praying, reading the bible and communicating with the Holy Spirit were among the requirements for joining the training. This three months training could be perceived as the formation period for several large-scale warfare prayer activities in public spheres in the following years.[519] While Agung acknowledged the influence of popular writings on warfare prayer in Charismatic circles, he accentuated the direct advocacy of the Holy Spirit. This requires a certain level of flexibility and sensitivity, instead of relying on technical and

[517] Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 63, 67, 71. See. John 14: 16, 15: 26, 16: 7.
[518] Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 17, 22-23, 28.
[519] See. Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 7-9.

strategic methods like the technical emphasis of Jacobs and the strategic approach of Wagner.[520]

The emphasis on warfare prayer with the members as the troops one year before the public engagement in early 2007 placed warfare prayer not only as a divine approach but also as a strategic approach to involve the members as performers in its extensive public engagement. I contend that there is a direct correlation between the megachurch's emphasis on spiritual warfare and its public engagement, not merely following the global trend of warfare prayer which, however, had passed its peak at the end of the 1990s.[521]

3.2. 'Becoming a Mother Ship': Transitional Ecclesiology

The previous period (1991-2006) was considered by the senior pastor as the period of a cruise ship that had a leisure and pleasure purposes. Various spiritual experiences[522] in the previous period were, therefore, regarded as a spiritual formation phase that had a more internal purpose. Although this phase emphasised individual experience with the Holy Spirit, the preparation for the next phase of public involvement was formed.[523] In Drucker's phrase the customers in the previous phase were merely consumers who enjoyed the service. A strategic preparation to voluntarily involve the members began

[520] See. Peter Wagner, *Spiritual Warfare Strategy: Confronting Spiritual Powers* (Shippensburg: Destiny Image, 2015). Cindy Jacobs, *Possessing the Gates of the Enemy: A Training Manual for Militant Intercession* (Grand Rapids: Chosen Books, 2015).
[521] Wagner himself acknowledges the decrease of such warfare prayer stream after 2000. Peter Wagner, *Warfare Prayer: What the Bible Says about Spiritual Warfare* (Shippensburg: Destiny Image, 2009), 11-12.
[522] i.e. laughing, jerking, and being 'slain in the spirit'.
[523] Purnomo, Interview (2). Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Gereja Sebagai Kapal Induk*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, 2011).

in 2005 when the senior pastor emphasised preparing the church as a Queen in waiting, mostly based on his interpretation of the book of Esther.

Esther was perceived as a type for the GKC and her attitude should be followed if the megachurch wanted to get the King's favour. Esther represented a submissive and respectful attitude to authority, as the members to their leaders, just as Esther honoured and obeyed Mordecai's advice.[524] A Queen in waiting should carefully listen and follow the direction of the Holy Spirit, as Esther precisely follow Hegai's suggestion.[525] It is the Holy Spirit who thoroughly understands the deepest things and thoughts of God,[526] like the eunuch who personally knew the King's preference.[527] Having such a manner and following such a direction would bring the church not only to get public praise, but more importantly to attract the King and to receive his favour.[528]

Even when she was Queen, her influence in the Kingdom was considered insignificant. A higher influence in society and for the Kingdom could be gained when the church started to broaden her concern and become selfless, as Esther risked her life in an urgent situation for her nation when she interceded to the King.[529] However, the church should act and operate the Kingdom rule and protocol rather than adopt a worldly way. This was, according to the senior pastor, showed by Esther through her way of approaching the King. She preferred to approach the King rather than using her own way to defeat the enemy of her nation. This was not only perceived as a closer and intimate relationship with the King, but more importantly as comprehensively understanding the

[524] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Ester* (Semarang: MIK, 2007), 5-24. Esther 2: 10, 4: 15-16.
[525] Esther 2: 15.
[526] 1 Corinthians 2: 10-11.
[527] Purnomo, *Ester*, 95-111.
[528] Purnomo, *Ester*, 48-63. See. Esther 2: 15, 17.
[529] Esther 4: 15-16.

Kingdom's operative procedure.[530] This emphasis on recognising the preferences of Jesus as the King had prepared the members for the sudden shift that happened in 2007 when the megachurch was no longer perceived as a Cruiser but transformed into a Mother Ship.

A phase of enjoyment had been passed and the members, like Queen Esther, should start to seek the King's deep concern and plan. This plan was recognised through a new vision in early 2007, to reach needy and sick Muslims. What was seen as the beginning of a mother ship phase suddenly changed the members' concern for and participation in evangelism. The megachurch was described as a mother ship due to its size and capacity that brought many smaller aircraft and was surrounded by a number of smaller warships. The mother ship should have enough supply to support its operation and this could be associated with its public kitchen and food bank to answer emergency situations. The departments were depicted as the squadron of aircraft and smaller warships. Therefore, the role of the mother ship was more as the basecamp for releasing and maintaining its smaller ships or aircraft. It was the departments which were commissioned for the battlefield while the megachurch provided supplies and vision. Such a military depiction of a mother ship was evidently shaped by an understanding of *ecclesia* as a summons to assemble a troop for war purposes.[531] However, the definition of the church was not merely confined to such a contextual meaning but was also influenced by Jesus' emphasis on the aspect of a force (Matthew 16: 18) or a power (Acts 1: 8) to transform the world.[532]

[530] Purnomo, *Ester*, 87-94, 112-120.
[531] Purnomo, *Gereja Sebagai Kapal Induk*.
[532] This view was possibly confirmed by his reading on Bambang Budijanto's *No Plan B* that similarly explains the common use of *ecclesia* in Jesus' time in such a way. See. Bambang Budijanto, *No Plan B*

An eschatological urgency was also strategically involved to motivate the members to be found as faithful and wise servants through their participation in public engagement, including building various costly facilities.[533] The motivation was to be found doing so when Christ returns.[534] An allegorical interpretation of the parable of the good Samaritan could also be seen as an eschatological motivation that integrated the members with the mission. The good Samaritan was interpreted as Jesus himself, while the megachurch was rather seen as the host of the inn.[535] Therefore, the members should not worry about financial supply when involved in very costly public engagement, because it is Jesus who has already provided payment for the engagement, as the Samaritan gave his two silver coins. The task of the church is merely to take care of the victimised or marginalised people rather than confusing or debating the question of financial provision. Should the church spend extra expenses, it would be reimbursed when Jesus returns, as the Samaritan promised the innkeeper. The promised return of the Samaritan is regarded as the eschatological return of Christ. Therefore, the church should simply follow the instruction to look after the oppressed and consistently do it till the return of Christ.

The members, as customers, received many spiritual enjoyments in a cruise ship while in the next period they were required to actively perform since a mother ship demanded many volunteers. While Drucker emphasises the voluntary nature of participation in a non-profit institution, the depiction of the megachurch as a mother ship indicates a

(Yogyakarta: Andi, 2009). Or the English version, particularly in 'Chapter 2: The Ecclesia - God's Plan A' in Bambang Budijanto, Scott Todd, and Mark Yeadon, *Relentless Hope: The Unstoppable Movement of Disciple-Making Communities* (Colorado Springs: Compassion International, 2010), 15-36.

[533] Matthew 24: 45.

[534] Matthew 24: 46.

[535] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *God's Favour*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, 13 June 2015). See. Luke 10: 33-35.

military approach whose soldiers were conscripts rather than volunteers. The eschatological urgency also integrated the members not only with the temporary goal of the mission but more importantly with the assignment, reward and the master himself. Such strategy probably did not only integrate the members with the mission, but also clearly brought the self-fulfilment and actualised the values of the members. This is the requirement of what is called by Drucker as 'fund development' strategy.

3.3. 'Blessed to be a Blessing': Sacrificial Prosperity

Becoming a channel of God's blessings for many nations can be considered the strategic 'fund development' of the megachurch.[536] While prosperity seemed to be misunderstood as egocentric teaching, the senior pastor insisted that involvement in mission, including large scale public engagement, would only end as idealism and planning without spending a large amount of money. The senior pastor repeatedly explained that 'engaging in God's mission is costly', which meant that a church consisting of predominantly poor members would be unable to participate in a wider scale mission. The only way to transform such a situation was through what he called biblical economics. This included teaching on tithing, reaping and sowing, sacrificial offering and stewardship.[537]

As I observed within this megachurch, tithing and sacrificial offering were frequently taught and seemed to be fully observed by the vast majority of adherents. Members generously gave tithes and offerings with an understanding that these are seeds that

[536] See. Genesis 12: 3.
[537] Purnomo, Interview (1). Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Uang dan Hati yang Murni (1-3)*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).

would bring beneficial results not only for the church, but also for the giver.[538] In Drucker's term the customers were now not only giving themselves as volunteers but also as fund developers.[539] Although this understanding of 'sowing and reaping' as it relates to personal benefit is frequently accused of being self-centred, or a 'bless-me syndrome', this megachurch's members understood this blessing as an equipment and provision to reach others through mission and compassion ministries. Various researches also prove that megachurches tend to give larger financial support to foreign missions and various kind of social services for the impoverished compared to smaller churches.[540]

Upward social mobility within the membership was perceived as the result of their understanding of biblical economics. This most probably motivated the members to finance its mission, since they realised that the source of inspiration behind their current upward mobility strongly related to the senior pastor's teaching.[541] During my period of observation in several cell groups, I frequently listened to testimonies of the members on the influence of such teachings on their current financial condition.[542] For most of them, this became a significant indicator that financial 'sowing' in the church's mission was the reason for their upward mobility. The senior pastor usually illustrated this as a water pipe which would also be wet if water consistently flows through the pipe. The life of the members could be similar if they functioned as the channel of God's blessing.

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[538] See. Luke 6: 38.
[539] Drucker, *Managing*, 42.
[540] Warren Bird and Scott Thumma, 'A New Decade of Megachurches: 2011 Profile of Large Attendance Churches in The United States', 10. Accessed 25 September 2014, http://leadnet.org/a_new_decade_of_megachurches_2011_profile_of_large_attendance_churches_in_t/. Hey, *Megachurches*, 207. C. Peter Wagner, 'The New Apostolic Reformation' in C. Peter Wagner, ed., *The New Apostolic Churches* (California: Regal Books, 1998), 24.
[541] See. Keefauver, 'Pastor Builds 12,000 Seat 'Holy Stadium' in Muslim Stronghold'.
[542] FGD, Family Altar-Puri, 7 September 2015. FGD, Family Altar-Majapahit, 8 September 2015.

The emphasis was rather with the functionality of the members to distribute their financial gains.[543] Such an understanding and loyalty, according to Drucker, involves the members as a 'fund constituency', which is the result of educating the donors to become a long-term constituency instead of one-off donors.[544] Therefore, financially supporting the megachurch is now seen by the members as self-fulfilment.[545]

Such loyalty is seemingly also influenced by the emphasis on financial stewardship. This concept refers to the human's role as God's steward to maintain the garden rather than as an owner of the garden.[546] Other references are the parable of a steward, a treasurer, and servants.[547] Both stories show the person's functions as a steward for the finance in his or her possession. The requirements for such a steward is his or her accountability in managing the master's property and not only on his or her faithfulness but also on gaining profit for the master.[548] The senior pastor consistently emphasised this teaching and also referred to his personal experience as an example. According to Drucker, the exemplary life of the leader is among the main prerequisites to build a fund constituency as well as to function as a fund developer.

The senior pastor frequently testified that following this stewardship pattern brought him to a more selfless and wholehearted attitude toward money. For him, without this attitude as a steward and a channel of God's financial blessing the teaching on prosperity would only end with an egocentric Christianity which tends 'to create a

[543] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Bendahara Kerajaan Surga*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[544] Drucker, *Managing*, 75-76.
[545] Drucker, *Managing*, 42-43.
[546] See. Genesis 2: 15.
[547] Luke 16; Matthew 25: 14-30.
[548] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Pengelola Surgawi (1-3)*-Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). See. Luke 16: 10-12; Matthew 25: 21, 23.

private pool to accumulate the money'.[549] Therefore, the problem is apparently not on the validity of the prosperity teaching but instead on the purpose of gaining finance and on the understanding of the stewardship role. This stewardship value was evidently practiced by the megachurch's leaders and members, who became both fund constituencies and developers. This stewardship orientation became clearly observed in its extensive public engagement since 2007.[550]

Their understanding, particularly on functioning as a channel and steward, was implemented through consistent mission action. Spending large amounts of its budget for public engagement would never happen without generous financial support from the members as donors. Therefore, what I call 'sacrificial prosperity' was an inevitable result of the self-fulfilment of the members, who were observably influenced by the exemplary life and teaching of the senior pastor. While enjoying personal benefit as a channel and steward, the members of the megachurch were also aware of their main task and purpose as distributors of the master's prosperity. This indicates an effective strategy not only to integrate the members with the specific implementation of the mission, but also to build fund constituencies as well as fund developers, who perceive financial participation as self-actualisation instead of obliged donation.

4. Managing People: Powers and Responses

The three levels of simple structure, as also acknowledged in the Weberian charismatic leadership framework, of the senior pastor, the deputies and the members can also be

[549] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Terobosan dalam Keuangan (1-3)*-Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[550] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Jawatan Nabi dan Rasul (2)*-Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).

observed in the organisational relationship of the public engagement of the megachurch.[551] However, I contend that such a structure is not as simple as is presumed in the Weberian framework. The complexity can be observed both in the transmission of mission from the leader to the members and on the willingness of the members to become volunteers and donors. The role of active members (who can be categorised as fund developers and constituencies) is, to some extent, more crucial compared to the deputies or paid-staff in integrating the ordinary members (who are still customers) with the mission of the megachurch. I will therefore examine the power relationship within the available structure to understand the nature of the transmission of mission into performance.

4.1. Power Sources of the Senior Pastor

The initial execution of the vision during 2007 indicates that a certain level of legitimate power was used to order one of the deputies to implement the mission into performance. A compliance response was observed but it was very probably followed by a commitment, not only from the deputy but also from the members.[552] The deputy who was assigned to perform the mission has consistently served the poor and organised occasional events for them.[553] In 2006, his ministry grew to reach approximately 1,000 people from slum areas of the city, but it did not attract attention and support from most members until the senior pastor announced his vision in early 2007.

[551] Heuser and Klaus, 'Charismatic Leadership Theory', 163-164.
[552] Regular healing prayer was conducted in the following months. Approximately 1,300 people were gathered in the first service that was called the 'King's Children Service'.
[553] Victor Poernomo, Interview, 21 November 2014. His involvement probably started after the initial visit of Bill Wilson at the end of the 1990s.

The participation of the members in the performance considerably increased after legitimate power was exercised. The use of such structural power shows the function of organisation in translating mission into performance. Then the result is also quantitatively increased.[554] The King's Children Service was a day when most of public forms of transport disappeared from the streets since the members rented them to pick up the poor and the sick. This indicates not only a compliance but also the commitment of the members to perform the mission.

The interviewed deputies acknowledged that the positions which they held were appointed by the senior pastor instead of their personal interest.[555] While a compliance is showed in this situation, the execution and the further initiatives indicate the commitment of the deputies. They admitted that their current responsibility was considerably different from their previous concept of ministry. In this case, they confirmed that it was the vision and appointment (from the legitimate and expert power) of the senior pastor that resulted in their compliance and commitment to execute the public engagement. What had started with a compliance was observably followed by a commitment.

Most of them previously had no personal interest in social work, like the senior pastor before he received the vision. An exception was probably the case of Pastor Victor who had consistently served the poor for several years before Agung received his vision.[556] While the initiative to start a new ministry or department is under the authority of the

[554] The beneficiaries grew to more than 2,000 people in February 2007 and reached more than 4,000 people in April 2007. In June, it was attended by 7,000 people and grew to more than 9,000 people by the end of 2007. At its peak, in the first half of 2008, it was reported that more than 15,000 people packed into the Holy Stadium.
[555] Hengky Kusworo, Interview, 23 November 2014. Poernomo, Interview. Sugi, Interview, 31 July 2015.
[556] Poernomo, Interview.

senior pastor, exercising merely legitimate power would only result in compliance instead of commitment.

Some of the visions required a brief time of preparation yet were very costly, such as preparing schools from nursery to high school in only six months in 2007 and sending prayer teams to other countries in less than one year in 2013. Organisational leadership, according to Thumma and Travis,[557] is 'given a significant degree of authority' whether in small or large-scale organisations. However, in my observation of the GKC, it seems that merely organisational authority would be unable to drive the leadership to consistently support the sudden and unpredictable changes of direction which frequently happened after 2007. Therefore, such positional power was probably accompanied by the personal power of the leader.

The sudden change that demanded high costs was not supported with sufficient financial support in the beginning, which brought 'obedience' and 'faith' as the keywords in such a situation. The commitment of the deputies and staff to perform the mission indicates their acknowledgement of such referent power. While the expert and referent authority of the senior pastor is recognised as part of the characteristic of the megachurch's leadership, the role is usually not analysed as the crucial factor compared to other leadership features, such as the type of personality (as in the previous chapter) and managerial and entrepreneurial skills.[558] However, in this case the legitimate authority of the senior pastor did not merely come from his position but instead was believed and received by the lower levels of the structure as a spiritual authority that refers to divine appointment and anointing (expert and referent power), which

[557] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond*, 59.
[558] Hey, *Megachurches,* 15, 18-19, 94-95.

motivated them to be voluntarily and consistently involved, and to support the frequent and sudden changes.

The majority of the interviewed teachers who joined the school since 2007 said that it was the vision and inspiration of the senior pastor which drove them to teach.[559] The teachers, who were previously professionals or entrepreneurs, said that their personal calling came through various signs, and was confirmed after they heard the vision of the senior pastor. They believed it was God's appointment to serve poor students. The vision of the senior pastor should be considered as a synchronised vision with God's vision which resulted in the commitment of the members to become performers and constituencies. In this case their response was not to the legitimate power, but rather on the referent power of the leader that they also wanted to follow. It is in line with the Korean Charismatic megachurches where the positional authority of the senior pastor is perceived to coexist with personal power. However, the emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit is never diminished since it is believed that the divine power is manifested through the positional and personal power of the senior pastor.[560]

The exercise of the coercive power of the senior pastor was not observed during the research, but the depiction of the megachurch as a mother ship and the dedicated members as troops indicate the possibility of exercising coercive power, particularly towards the deputies, staff and active members. The use of a reward and punishment approach was not overtly observed amongst the deputies, staff or members but the power to reward was apparently exercised toward the smaller churches who supported the large-scale charity-markets through inviting their needy neighbours to attend the

[559] FGD, High School Teachers, 9 July 2015.
[560] Hong, 'The Backgrounds and Characteristics', 113-116.

events and also by consistently caring for those people after the events. Motorcycles, televisions, or musical instruments were among the physical rewards. These items, as explained by one of the senior staff, were promised as a stimulant for the local leaders or churches to evangelise their neighbours.

A direct resistance to Agung's authority was not observed during the research but one of the deputies expressed his criticism of the lack of sensitivity to divine guidance which caused some failures of large-scale events. The deputy stated that in some cases a human agenda undoubtedly replaced the divine plan because the available resources (including donors and volunteers) could be seen as a trap to fulfil the ambition of the leader regardless of God's will, since the exercise of positional power could result in commitment. The largest scale of overt and direct resistance occurred in 2011 when some senior deputies chose to leave the megachurch and were followed by hundreds of active members. Among the main reasons given related to their disagreement with the use of various prophetic symbols which were perceived as superstitious items. The lack of quantitative measurement of the agricultural initiative was also quite frequently expressed by those who chose to overtly resist Agung's authority. It seems that the problem was similar to what Drucker tries to differentiate, between the moral value and economic value. While the members who withdrew apparently measured the result from the economic value, the leader emphasised the perennial purpose of the moral reason for involvement.

4.2. Power Sources of the Deputies

The aforementioned examination of the senior pastor's legitimate power showed the limitation of a similar source of power for the deputies. For example, in the case of

Pastor Victor, his personal commitment could not be as extensively exercised to involve the members as that of Agung. While the role of the deputies and staff as the second and third layer of the structure was crucial in executing the mission,[561] their legitimate power was apparently limited to the paid staff in their department.

The deputies supervised or directly led the departments of the megachurch. Some of them led more than one department. The youth pastor was also responsible for the educational foundation. Another pastor was appointed as the director of the radio station, supervising the job training centre and law firm and leading a satellite church. The team was directly responsible to the senior pastor but was given the discretion to develop their departments independently.[562]

The aforementioned strategy of depicting the megachurch as a mother ship shows the hierarchical function of the departments.[563] This strategy explained the nature of the legitimate power for the lower level of leadership. While they were given a certain level of freedom and flexibility to develop the departments, their primary function was supporting the mission of the megachurch. The exercise of legitimate power in operating the department could not supplant the specific mission of the megachurch. However, the exercise of legitimate power at the department level was under the direction of the department's leader. For instance, the small-scale markets were held by the initiative of the departments' leaders. The regular free medication was independently organised by the department staff. Since the nature of participation of the paid staff of the departments was compulsory then probably the initial response

[561] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 59.
[562] Purnomo, *Gereja Sebagai Kapal Induk*.
[563] Purnomo, *Gereja Sebagai Kapal Induk*.

was compliance rather than commitment. However, many staff were also actively involved on an individual or group level of engagement. This indicates that their compliance response was probably also followed by commitment.

The deputies played a significant role in influencing the staff and members who were directly under their leadership. The role was observed in the school principals and teachers. While most of them mentioned both the senior pastor and the chairman of the foundation as the inspiring persons, their direct and most frequently cited experience was with the chairman. This basically explains the nature of the legitimate power of the chairman but to some extent also shows the personal power of the leader. Most of them testified to the exemplary leadership style and approach of the chairman to educate the impoverished students. While it was to the senior pastor that most of them referred for the source of this specific mission, it was to the chairman's legitimate and referent power that they committed their response at the educational ministry.

The majority of the interviewed youth never mentioned the direct influence of the senior pastor for their involvement in public engagement, but most of them referred to the youth pastor.[564] This is probably because the majority of the youth had not attended Sunday services where the senior pastor preached. This finding also indicates the significant role of the department-level leadership to influence not only staff but also members to actively involve and support the specific mission. If the youth pastor was not transmitting such a vision, then it would have ended in him without hundreds of the youth voluntarily involved. The youth pastor probably exercised both his positional and

[564] FGD, MK-Youth 1, 7 July 2015. FGD, MK-Youth 2, 29 July 2015.

personal power simultaneously. The admiration of a role model in such age groups also indicates that their commitment resulted from the referent power of the leader.

In the radio station, the director was considered as the driver of the frequent charity-markets for the needy people surrounding the radio station. The radio and its crew were seen as the frontline team in broadcasting public events and entertaining the attendees of its charity-markets.[565] However, the radio had its own schedule of public engagement, including organising charity-markets for the needy during Ramadhan or other occasions. The small-scale events attracted more than 200 people and the large one was attended by approximately 1,000 people. This event was initiated and directly led by the director of the radio, who was also one of the deputies. The trainer of the job training scheme, who was under the same leadership, showed her personal motivation and vision, but at the same time referred to the deputy as her direct authority with whom she consulted to coordinate the ministry.[566] Such commitment proves that legitimate power at department level was important to initially raise the compliance which was later followed by internalised values.

In the case of the law firm, which was also under the supervision of Pastor Victor, direct influence was somehow unclear.[567] One of the reasons is because the firm was founded by both the church and the central firm in Jakarta. The megachurch fully funded the operational cost yet the recruitment was under the supervision of the firm. Although co-founded by the senior pastor and supervised by one of the pastoral members, the firm had its own director who was appointed from their centre. The firm had apparently

[565] Ira (pseudnonym), Interview, 24 June 2015.
[566] Lena (pseudonym), Interview, 18 November 2014.
[567] FGD, Mawar Sharon Law Firm, 3 July 2015.

supported the vision to serve the needy, but both the positional and personal influence of the supervisor was not clearly observed. The lawyers regularly attended the weekly briefing of the senior pastor, but the majority came from other denominations. This could be the reason for the quite insignificant direct influence of the department leader over them. While quite certainly the lawyers had a personal commitment to advocacy of the needy, the response to the specific mission is somewhat compliance instead of commitment.

The use of coercive power was not found during the observation but what can be categorised as reward power was occasionally observed. The exercise of reward power in the youth service was observed in the officially announced competition among the cell groups to bring more young people to the youth service. The grand prize was a free tour to Israel with the youth pastor. I also heard one of the senior staff explaining that a reward was promised to smaller churches who actively invited people to come to the charity-markets and consequently served them after the event. However, such rewards for the deputies, staff or adult members was not observed during the field work. Open or direct resistance to the legitimate power of the deputies was not found within the staff of the departments. This was probably also influenced by the compulsory nature of their position as the paid staff.

4.3. Power Sources of the Cell Group Leaders

It was through the cell hierarchy that the majority of the volunteers for the large-scale public engagement were recruited. Cell leaders were not only personally motivated to support the event or programme, but also to persuade their members to be involved. The fact that more than half of the megachurch's weekly attendees were not registered

as cell members indicates that the percentage of committed members was roughly 40 percent of the attendees. However, this strict membership application has provided a number of committed members (volunteers and donors) with an organised structure that could be ordered, through exercising legitimate power, to perform both sudden actions or a planned vision.

Among the cell members, there were hundreds who joined a team or ministry called Obed-Edom (OE).[568] The characteristic of OE ministry refers to the ministry of Obed-Edom who voluntarily took every available chance to serve God.[569] This team was intended to develop a ministerial structure inside the cell hierarchy whose members came from the same district of the city. The primary purpose was apparently like an emergency team to execute a sudden and direct vision or instruction of the senior pastor, deputies or cell leaders, mainly related to public engagement. However, the formation of OE seemingly indicates a gap between the frequent sudden event and the availability of dedicated volunteers who were ready to serve like Obed-Edom. It is apparently possible to exercise both coercive and legitimate power to a group that has a certain degree of loyalty and obedience.

There were two Area Ministers (AM), whose areas were closer to the church, who were most actively involved in the large-scale engagement. Both areas were also located in the upper and middle-class housing clusters, which indicated the social background of the members of the cells. Most of the leaders and active members in both areas participated in the OE team. These two areas were among the most active in organising small-scale markets or in supporting other departments. The majority of the leaders and

[568] Yosea Christiono, *Training Mezbah Keluarga Session 6,* unpublished material.
[569] See. 1 Chronicles 16: 5, 38; 26: 6-8.

members referred to the initiative of their AM as one of their primary motivators to get involved in public engagement. While they recognised the vision of the senior pastor, it was through the cell leaders that they were initially moved to be involved in such ministry. This condition explained the indirectness of the mission's transmission from the senior pastor to the members. The role of cell leaders was crucial in translating the mission to the members, compared to the deputies or staff. They functioned as fund developers who actively develop constituencies as well.

The involvement of the lower level of the cell group hierarchy (Sheep Supervisor or Sheep Keeper) in the public engagement would be significantly influenced by their AM. If the AM was not sufficiently involved, then the lower structure would also be less involved compared to an area whose AM was actively involved. I did not make a detailed comparison of two areas, but I observed one of the most active areas. The AM gathered most of the key leaders (the majority were SS or SK who actively involved in performance) under his supervision in the first meeting and subsequently I observed three cell groups in that area as well. The majority referred to the motivation from their AM as one of their primary reasons for engagement, besides the vision of the senior pastor. Most of them acknowledged that it was initially the invitation and challenge from the AM that motivated them to start to engage publicly. This indicates the exercise of personal power of the cell leaders who probably had minimal positional power over their members.

In three other cell groups from three different areas, which were actively engaged publicly in the group and individual level, the majority never mentioned their AM as

their motivator of engagement.[570] It was the senior pastor who was seen as the inspiration (both expert and referent power), but mostly their cell leaders (SK) who were considered as the prominent figure who personally approached them to perform. To some extent this also indicates the possibility to exercise positional power in this level of leadership. For the new members, the role of the cell group leader was perceived as very influential. All new members from the observed cell groups only mentioned their cell leaders as their inspirational figure for such engagement. Therefore, the personal power of the leader was probably exercised and resulted in the commitment of the new members.

These three groups participated in various forms of public engagement, but less frequently than the groups under the active AM.[571] The group initiative in engagement was limited to one group, and less than five groups when organising a small-scale market. Meanwhile, the groups under the active AM frequently held events with other groups in their area. The scale was usually considerable compared to other groups whose AMs were less involved. In one group, whose leader (SK) had recently moved to another city for his job, the group had for some time been inactive in group level of engagement.[572] This group was also less frequently involved in church level events compared to the previous period when their leader was considered a determined person. This situation indicates that group involvement, whether at group or church level, was significantly influenced by the leadership of the group.

[570] FGD, MK-Cipto, 29 June 2015. FGD, MK-Tanah Mas, 31 August 2015. FGD, MK-Puri, 7 September 2015.
[571] FGD, MK-Cipto, 29 June 2015. FGD, MK-Tanah Mas, 31 August 2015. FGD, MK-Puri, 7 September 2015.
[572] FGD, MK-Cipto, 29 June 2015.

For groups under an active AM, the SS or SK would be motivated to be involved. But for groups with a less active AM, it was probably the group leader that determined the level of involvement. It was evident in one group under the abovementioned AM, the SK admitted that his group had been less active in the group level of involvement for some time, yet they had actively participated in the area or the church level of public engagement because they supported the involvement of their area and AM. Individual or group levels of engagement were perceived as necessary yet limited due to their scope and impact. A broader network of cell groups, like in their area, was considered an ideal size in relation to financial support, human resources, and the scale and impact of events.[573]

The majority of the observed young adults (26-30 years old) and youth (18-25 years old) groups referred to their cell leader as the influential person who directly motivated them to engage publicly. Among the young adults, it was the senior pastor who was perceived as the inspirational figure, particularly through his sermons and vision. However, for their personal involvement, it was the cell group leader whom they considered as the first person who invited them to engage publicly.[574] The vast majority of the observed youth cell groups showed a similar situation.[575] Among the youth, it was the youth pastor who was considered as influential besides their cell group leaders. The senior pastor was never directly mentioned as the key figure behind their involvement in various activities. While the young adult groups went to the Sunday services where the senior pastor regularly preached, the majority of the youth only came to Saturday

[573] FGD, FTN, 18 November 2014. FGD, MK-Semarang Indah, 19 August 2015.
[574] FGD, MK-Pemuda, 11 August 2015. FGD, MK-Majapahit, 8 September 2015.
[575] FGD, MK-Youth 1, 7 July 2015. FGD, MK-Youth 2, 29 July 2015.

service where the youth pastor consistently preached. This situation explained the deficiency of both the personal and positional power of the senior pastor in the latter age groups. However, it was the cell leaders who were considered as influential in involving the youth to be active instead of the personal power of the youth pastor.

5. The Performance

I agree with Sandra Barnes who proposes the wider impacts in public life as a principal category to define a church as 'mega', rather than only depends on its size of attendees and other congregational features.[576] However, what is categorised as performance in this section involves not only the observable public engagement of the megachurch but also the social networks among the members. Discerning such networks is valuable because personal relationships are presumed as having potential to build the social capital which leads to civic engagement as one of the characteristics of democratic society.[577] The nature of social relationships in the church is also considered different from other social institutions. The church is perceived as accommodating both elite and ordinary people, which provides a wider opportunity for those who are usually uninvolved.[578] Such accommodation to the diverse social backgrounds also increases the transmission of soft skills, whether within the membership or to other individual or

[576] Sandra L. Barnes, *Black Megachurch Culture: Models for Education and Empowerment* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 187-188.
[577] See. Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).
[578] See. Kay L. Scholzman, Sidney Verba and Henry Brady, 'Civic Participation and the Equality Problem' in Theda Skocpol and Moris Fiorina, eds., *Civic Engagement in American Democracy* (Washington D.C: Brookings Institution, 1999), 454.

social groups.[579] Therefore, the availability of such an opportunity to be connected, trained and affiliated in an institution can be considered as performance itself.

5.1. Social Capital

There were a few groups for ministry that were independently formed by members as a network, either to support the public engagement or to serve in an area not covered by the departments. I found three noticeable network groups during my period of observation, which were independently started and funded by both staff and members. These groups were mostly initiated by a person who had a personal calling to serve and later was followed by more people. In addition, I also met and identified some people who, regardless of their hierarchical position, knew more information or more people in this megachurch. I call these people as individual networkers.

5.1.1. FTN

The most significant network group was called Feed the Nation (FTN).[580] This group was initiated at the end of 2011, with the primary purpose to implement the vision of the senior pastor based on Mark 6: 37, 'You *must* feed them!'[581] This vision was considered an obligation and not an option for them. The initiator, who himself was a chef and owner of a restaurant, communicated his calling to his AM and other cell leaders. The vision was positively responded to by starting the FTN. The members were cell group leaders and members from the same area, and this was probably related to the support and influence of the AM. The core members consisted of approximately 20 people, who

[579] See. Robert Wuthnow, 'Mobilizing Civic Engagement: The Changing Impact of Religious Involvement' in Theda Skocpol and Moris Fiorina, eds., *Civic Engagement in American Democracy* (Washington D.C: Brookings Institution, 1999), 331-366.
[580] FGD, FTN, 18 November 2014.
[581] Translation from Indonesian, emphasis added.

were mostly entrepreneurs. The broader network could connect to approximately 150 people or the majority of the cell group members under that AM. The social backgrounds of the members varied and many were homemakers.

This group was probably not only the most extensive network in number but also in its influence, both to the hierarchical structure and to the engagement of the megachurch. It was FTN that organised and supported the logistic supply for large-scale markets. FTN claimed that they were responsible for providing subsidised groceries for large-scale events. FTN also organised smaller scale markets in various locations. These engagements, later on, grew into a broader network of police and military officers, local leaders and municipality, and even gangsters.[582] This network was well-known by the senior pastor and deputies. The leadership would directly refer to FTN when they wanted to execute a sudden programme or large-scale event. This network could be considered the most committed to responding to the specific mission of the senior pastor and apparently had also been become fund developers and constituencies. This can be observed in their volunteering in events and allocating money to self-fund trips, meals and accommodations. The willingness and generosity of the network also showed the potential of such a network in supporting the function of the hierarchical structure.

Their active performance also provided wider opportunities for the ordinary members to improve their soft skills, including leadership, management, and communication. I observed the process of mentoring of one group in this network to perform a wider scale of charity-market through intensive mentoring by a core leader. A group in which the

[582] One of the most observable networks with gangsters is with a martial arts club that is often considered a disguise for the security business of its members, the majority of whom are ex-criminals or gangsters. The familiarity with the club probably started when the social foundation of the megachurch along with the club held a charity-market in a public square of Semarang in July 2014.

majority members were female homemakers was encouraged to organise an event which had previously been led by the core leaders. A transfer of skills probably occurred in such a delegation of power. In another cell in this network, the members were divided into several groups to choose, survey and organise an event with the financial support of one of the members. At least five groups, each consisting of five members, were assigned to distribute meals and gifts to slums, schools or other underprivileged groups on the same day. A power distribution happened with the subdivision into smaller groups. The ordinary members were therefore trained in various soft skills in one occasion.

5.1.2. PKM

The second influential group network was called the 'Red Carpet Roller' (PKM).[583] This group was initially an individual ministry of a female young member started in 1999, probably after the first visitation of Bill Wilson. She had consistently served street children since that year and started clowning in 2006. More friends joined her in the ministry and the group was initially called 'The Breaker'. The main activities were educating and organising events for street children, usually during Christmas or another public holiday. In 2010 the group received a truck that could function as a mobile stage for the puppet and clowning show. The name of the group was later changed to 'Red Carpet Roller', probably relating to the eschatological vision of the senior pastor to 'roll out a red carpet' in welcoming the imminent return of Christ.

The core network members of PKM were nursery school teachers and Sunday school teachers, consisting of approximately ten people. Many others would usually join when

[583] FGD, PKM, 10 September 2015.

more volunteers were needed or if several events were held at the same time. The network was known to the leadership and other groups or departments which were actively involved in public engagement. The puppet and clown show were among the regular performers in the large-scale charity-markets. While PKM would voluntary perform at the request of other groups or departments, the costs were independently paid by the network. Although the members participated in financial support, this was quite limited since the majority were teachers and not entrepreneurs. However, they said thus far the network had never experienced a lack of financial support for the ministry which they believed had been miraculously provided through many anonymous donators.

This network was among the active supporters of the public engagement. The restricted self-funded support did not hinder the performance of PKM. Therefore, it is the vision as the driver that brought PKM to its significant role within the megachurch. A transfer of skills among the members observably occurred when some of the members who were teachers shared their teaching knowledge and performance skills with other members. The performance of the group was not only building communication with other groups but also transferring knowledge and values to the audiences.

5.1.3. Visiting Group

The third and probably smallest observed network group was a weekly visitation to a social shelter of the municipality.[584] The shelter had accommodated more than a hundred of homeless, elderly and developmentally disabled people. The capacity and facility of the shelter were reported as inadequate to serve that number of people. The

[584] Observation and Interview, 26 August 2015.

food quality and keepers' attitude were to some extent perceived as poor and improper. The initiative came from Agung's father who heard about the condition of this shelter. He then informed the head of the orphanage about the situation, who afterward responded by a visitation. The minister told some friends of her intention to regularly visit the shelter, either to provide healthier meals or bathe some of them with physical disabilities. Nevertheless, the visitation was also considered an opportunity to pray for them.

The core members of the network were fewer than ten people. The majority were homemakers who were not involved in other groups, departments or ministries. This network usually prepared meals that they cooked in the orphanage to minimise the cost. Compared with the aforementioned network groups this network was the weakest in its members' skills and financial support. However, it did not prevent them from making weekly visitations to the shelter. Therefore, the desire to serve must be considered as the motivation rather than skills and financial support. While the routine expense was met from the restricted resources of the network members, there were anonymous donations, which were believed to be God's providence, on many occasions when the network planned to organise larger events in the shelter or other places.[585]

The humble background of the members confirms the aforementioned distinctive nature of the church as a social institution. It seems the ordinary or even the underprivileged members could be equally involved regardless of the lack of education, skills, or finance. This affiliation with the network also improved the soft skills of the members to manage their restricted resources and to care for people with disabilities.

[585] Ziska (pseudonym), Interview, 6 July 2015.

The weekly prayer group and briefing also provided a transfer of leadership and management skills from the leader and the treasurer who came from a more educated and affluent background. The regular visitation connected the small group with two different groups at the same time: the staff of the shelter who are civil servants and the residents who are mostly those with physical or development disabilities. The influence of this groups can be observed when the head of the shelter was assigned to lead a shelter in another town next to Semarang. The head asked this network to schedule regular visitations to the new shelter. The regular visitation was considered as inspiring the staff and improving their service to the residents. Therefore, it was hoped that their involvement in the new shelter would transform the staff as well as the patients.

5.1.4. Individual Network

I met some people who were more active in an individual and group or department level of engagement compared to their head of department or leader at the same hierarchical position. Although most of them were less prominent in the church level leadership, their function was apparently influential in initiating a number of small-scale public engagements and in generating individual support for the department or church level of public engagement. Those who were involved in more than one type of ministry, for example a cell group member who taught Sunday school, usually knew more people compared to those who only joined in one group or ministry. The staff who were only involved in their department also knew fewer people compared to those who were actively involved in the church level of public engagement. A number of staff or members knew very few people outside their department or cell group and they were also known by few people outside their group or department.

One of them was the school principal of one of the schools.[586] The principal knew more information, people and groups compare to another principal whom I also individually interviewed. While the network of the former principal ran through various ages, groups and backgrounds, the other principal seemingly knew quite a limited number of people outside the department. This broader network of one principal was probably influenced by her previous position in the foundation, which brought her to know more members from various backgrounds. The principal mentioned some cell leaders who had financially supported the needy students. These leaders had significant influence on raising financial support from their groups as well. She said that on some occasions this personal network could be positively used to gather support for a talented yet poor student who needed additional support for their school project or tuition. She also developed a network with other small schools surrounding the city and provided training for the small schools in the network. The way she had maintained her contact with the school alumni also indicated her effort to build a network.[587]

Another individual networker was one of the female staff of the medical clinic.[588] She probably developed a broader network than her leader. The small-scale events that she organised were widespread and involved voluntary medical doctors and nurses from other churches. The events were occasionally held at the request of other small churches or ministries surrounding the city or through the network that she had. I visited and observed two free medication events in slums through her information.[589] The first observed event was a teamwork with a prayer group, with an inter-denominational

[586] Eni (pseudonym), Interview, 9 July 2015.
[587] FGD, High School Alumni, 11 August 2015.
[588] Tata (pseudonym), Interview, 31 July 2015.
[589] Observations, 23 August 2015 and 9 September 2015.

background, which chose the location and subsidised the medicine.[590] In the second observed event,[591] one of the medical doctors and two nurses were personally approached by her.[592] The doctor worked in a Salvation Army hospital and was a Roman Catholic. Both of the nurses also worked in a hospital and volunteered in the medication event which was held in the afternoon during weekdays. The staff member said that although the megachurch had many medical doctors among its members, it was quite challenging to search for doctors and nurses at such a time. She had contact with other groups who occasionally asked the team for cooperation, at the same time she maintained a network with medical doctors and nurses from other churches and also had direct contact with the key person to decide the location of the events. The routine free medication ministry would probably have become less frequent without her initiative and network. Her role and the extent of the network were beyond her job description and position in the department.

During the first free medication event, I was introduced to one of the medical doctors who was a member but not on the full-time clinic staff.[593] Besides her participation in the free medication of the megachurch's clinic, she also ran a maternity clinic for the needy in her house on the outskirts of the city. I visited her clinic and interviewed her individually.[594] Interestingly she led a cell group and supervised three other groups as a

[590] The group sold used clothes and subsidised groceries during the medication time. The leader of the group said his contact with the medical clinic was through this staff member. It was also her who individually contacted the medical doctors or nurses to join the event.
[591] The location for the second observed event was appointed by a lady who actively supported the free medication and, according to that staff, had a vast network with the homeless and beggars from slums of the city. If there was no request from other groups outside the megachurch, then the regular free medication would follow the information and network of that lady. Unfortunately, the chance to interview that lady was not available until the end of the fieldwork period.
[592] Observation and Interview, 9 September 2015.
[593] Observation, 23 August 2015.
[594] Raina (pseudonym), Interview, 4 August 2015.

Sheep Supervisor. The groups under her supervision had actively participated in the public engagement and initiated various social ministries for the surrounding needy. Besides the involvement in such engagement, she and her groups also actively conducted warfare prayer and prayer walk. The humble maternity clinic primarily served the impoverished people surrounding that place, yet occasionally it was referenced by other members who knew her ministry to help the needy mothers whom they served. Her influence extended to the slums near her clinic and other areas through a connection with some members of the megachurch as well as from other churches who served the poor.[595] The network that she had was broader compared to other medical doctors who I interviewed. She had connected with the cell group structures, medical department, church level events and also with the needy neighbourhoods. The fact that she ran a maternity clinic with social orientation also broadened her network to the people whom she helped, who mostly came from the slums.

The potential of the individual network could functionally exceed hierarchical leadership in the department yet it was apparently unrecognised by the leadership. Most of these people, in my observation, preferred to serve or work behind the scene humbly. This individual network increased the frequency of group or department level engagement and also raised individual participation, whether through financial support or voluntary involvement.[596]

[595] She wanted to introduce me to another member who equipped children from slums with non-formal education, access to free medication and, for some of them, a chance to study at the megachurch's school. It was with this person that she occasionally cooperated and this person sometimes brought the needy under his ministry to give birth in her clinic. However, the opportunity to conduct interview was not available until I finished my fieldwork.

[596] I attempted to exercise the network that I gathered when one cell group wanted to distribute free meals and sarongs for the needy. The group consisting of more than twenty people was divided into five groups. Each group was asked to choose a location, survey the conditions and decide how many meal

5.2. Public Engagement

I modify Miller and Yamamori's category of Pentecostals' public engagement to categorise the performance of the case study megachurch. According to Miller and Yamamori, there are eight main areas which can be regarded as a spectrum ranging from charity to transformation: mercy ministries, emergency services, education, counselling services, medical assistance, economic development, arts, and policy change.[597] However, such a spectrum ranging from charity to transformation, or from less to more transformative, was not evident in my case study. Besides some ministries that have not been considered by Miller and Yamamori as public engagement, there are also various areas that are merely categorised as charitable which in fact have a more transformative impact. In this case, the public services had been preceded by warfare prayer and simultaneously accompanied by what was perceived as a sensitivity to and flexibility in the Holy Spirit's guidance. This was not the type of ministry that was mainly considered as transformative but what had happened on the spiritual side was considered as preceding the social transformation.

'Mercy ministries' in this case can be better considered as 'spontaneous charity'. Because in this case some ministries that could be classified as mercy ministries in Miller

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boxes could be distributed. I was asked to join in one group consisting of six people. I proposed to my group, which included the cell group leader, an illegal prostitution centre on a riverbank of the city where there was a friend who had served for several years in that area. The group assigned me to survey and communicate with the contact person to decide the number of prepared meal boxes. At the same time, I contacted one of the nursery teachers who was also a member of PKM, a puppet-show and clowns to entertain children. This ministry consequently agreed to support our event and both my contact person and group also approved this idea. With my available network in the megachurch (which was resulted from a few months of participant observation), I could exercise my individual network to connect a cell group, a group of ministry, a minister from another denomination, and an impoverished community. This experience showed the significance of networks within a megachurch with a large potential that had not been widely explored. I contend that involvement in more than one group or department could generate a broader network, which would be very useful to engage publicly.

[597] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 42-43.

and Yamamori's type were conducted in a longer term, some as sustainable engagement. The megachurch's mercy ministries covered more than one area, such as shelter houses that provided non-formal education, counselling, and on some occasions offering medical care, meals, scholarships, groceries and charity-market. A large-scale charity-market, preceded and followed by warfare prayer, located in a public square that sold various reduced-price groceries, clothes and other daily needs and also free medical check-ups, free law consultations, free hair-cuts and massage therapy, and a main stage for games, entertainment and healing prayer. These activities therefore could be considered a cross-category ministry or called 'holistic ministry'. Meanwhile the counselling and arts ministries of the megachurch were addressing the congregational needs rather than reaching wider public needs, so I decided to eliminate these two categories from the performance of this case study.

I also found that the term 'medical assistance' did not cover healing or deliverance prayer, which frequently in this case study was practised simultaneously with medical treatment. I propose 'curative care' as a more inclusive category to replace 'medical assistance', which sounds a merely scientific approach to sickness. There were also ministries that had not been included and recognised by Miller and Yamamori as public engagement, which I categorise as 'power ministries'. These included spiritual mapping and prayer that drove the megachurch and its members to conduct a large number of prayer trips, marching prayer, and various prophetic actions in many public areas. Therefore, I eliminate two categories (counselling and arts), enlarge a category (mercy ministries to spontaneous charity and holistic ministry), modify a category (from medical assistance to curative care) and add one category (power ministry) to categorise the performance of the megachurch.

5.2.1. Spontaneous Charity

At an individual level, the most common form of spontaneous charity was through distributing meals or groceries to beggars, street children, pedicab[598] drivers or to anyone considered needy. Mostly direct guidance from the Holy Spirit was testified as the motive to share a few packs of meals or a few kilograms of rice and sugar to needy people. Thanksgiving and grateful expressions were also among the reasons for individual spontaneous charity. The incidental and spontaneous nature of this could be considered since most of them did not make any regular plan to continuously distribute such things. Further involvement in the near future had been considered as possible but was somehow unplanned.[599]

The cell leader's role was quite significant at a group level. A group with a visionary and compassionate leader was involved more frequently compared to other groups. The motives at group level varied, ranging from compassion, following the senior pastor's vision or inspiration from his sermons, spiritually or biblically inspired, and also simply as a grateful expression during a birthday or wedding celebration. The types of engagement ranged from distributing meals and groceries, organising a small or medium scale charity-market (mostly together with other groups), conducting prayer walks, visiting orphanages or elderly homes, and organising an event or fellowship for street children, transgenders, or veterans.

At the department and church level it depended more on the initiative of the department's leader or the senior pastor. The activities varied and most of the public

[598] A tricycle pedal-operated vehicle serving as taxi.
[599] FGD, Family Altar-Youth, 29 July 2015. FGD, Family Altar-Marina, 21 August 2015. FGD, Family Altar-Puri, 7 September 2015

engagement could be considered as spontaneous in nature. Departments with a large number of staff and members, such as youth ministry, cell groups, and schools tended to be involved in a church level spontaneous charity. The most frequent form of church level spontaneous charity was based on the vision and instruction of the senior pastor. It could be based on what had been considered as the Holy Spirit's direction or an immediate response to a certain crucial situation. It ranged from distributing fruits and sweets on the street as a prophetic act to neutralise the negative impact of such situations as terrorism, riots or political tension, conducting marching prayer, organising prayer for a concert or inter-religious prayer in a public area, to distributing meals or groceries. Several tons of rice were distributed to a number of cell groups as a sudden direct instruction of the senior pastor. The cell groups were asked to pack it, in only one night, into thousands of smaller packs to be distributed to the needy before the Eid Mubarak day. The appointed groups decided to switch their fellowship agenda to pack the rice and it was done in only few hours. Most of the members considered it an honour to be involved in this sudden task and to support a spontaneous order of the senior pastor that would help many needy Muslims.[600]

5.2.2. Holistic Ministry

There are three areas of performance that could be classified as 'holistic ministry': charity-market, shelter ministry and the 'House of Shalom' orphanage. Charity-market could be considered as the megachurch's most comprehensive performance, reaching various cities of Indonesia. Charity-market is a one-day outdoor market that was usually been conducted in a football ground or public square. This event was preceded and

[600] Participant Observation, 13 July 2015.

followed by warfare prayer in the surrounding area a few days before and during the actual day. A small promotion team, usually of a few people from its radio station, would be sent a few days before to promote the event and distribute coupons as the requirement to buy subsidised groceries.[601] Another team would be working behind the scene to get official permission whether from the police, municipality or local leaders, mostly religious leaders. A market would not be held without a written official permit and guarantee from such people. One of the important main points of the license was to officially permit healing prayer during an event.[602]

A large-scale market could be attended by more than 50,000 people, while a small-scale market that was usually organised by a department, a cell group, or several cell groups could usually attract 1,000 people. The megachurch had regularly organised large scale markets since 2007 and smaller scale ones through its departments and cell groups' initiative. In a charity-market the main stage, as the centre of a market, was usually allocated for attracting and entertaining visitors with games and songs, but the main purpose was for conducting healing prayer and a stage for those healed to give testimonies. Most of the departments were actively involved in a large-scale market, with a large number of staff, teachers, students, youth and cell groups' leaders and members invited to serve voluntarily as counsellors, opening and selling certain items as group's participation, or praying for the sick.[603]

A charity-market, with healing prayer as one of its main agendas, could be considered a public engagement with a respectful evangelistic approach. The variety of selling items

[601] Ira (pseudonym), Interview, 24 June 2015.
[602] FGD, FTN, 18 November 2014.
[603] FGD, FTN. Video Recording of charity-market in Semarang (no date) and Surakarta 19 May 2014.

and ministries answered the needs for free educational entertainment for adults and children and fulfilled the needs of the poor for cheap items and free services. Healing prayer should not only be perceived as an evangelistic mission but also as a curative contribution. However, during a charity market healing prayer has been conducted without religious conversion as a prerequisite. A simple prayer was usually spoken by the senior pastor or other deputies and ended with mentioning the name of Jesus as the healer and accentuating that it was not the pastor or the prayer that healed. Consequently, attendees who felt that a sudden healing had happened then were asked to testify on stage, followed by an acknowledgment of Jesus as the healer.[604]

Shelter ministry[605] was held in a place or house that had been borrowed, bought or rented to provide non-formal education in needy area and slums in Semarang and various cities across Indonesia. It started with a shelter in February 2007 and by 2015 the megachurch had run 39 shelters in Semarang and supervised 105 shelters in other cities. The shelters in Semarang served more than 1,300 children with ten full time staff, helped by the Bible school students and volunteers. The majority of the children served by the shelters were of nursery and primary school age (5 to 12-year-olds) and a few were 13 to 15-year-olds. The shelters were scattered in needy communities, high-risk criminal areas, fishing villages, and city slums. A staff member and two or three volunteers usually led and ran one or more shelter.[606]

Mostly the shelters' activities were held three times a week or only once a week in a few shelters due to staff or volunteer's availability. A staff member or volunteer came to the

[604] Video Recording of charity-market. Ira (pseudonym), Interview, 24 June 2015.
[605] Shelter House, JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/ministries/shelter-house.html.
[606] FGD, Shelters' Staff, 18 November 2014.

appointed place thirty minutes before the activity started, usually at 3 or 4 p.m. Children and parents mostly came on time and signed a registration list. Activities of a shelter consisted of games, singing, and tutorials while in some shelters activities were served for parents who accompanied their children. It usually started and ended by shouting an energetic slogan or positive confession that had no direct connection with Christian faith. A snack was provided for children and gifts, for example stationery or books, were also distributed occasionally. On some occasions free daily needs like rice, oil and sugar were shared and used clothes were offered. Both children and parents were also invited for picnics or joined the megachurch's special events. A number of the shelters' children received scholarships to continue further education at the megachurch's school. Occasionally the mobile market sold subsidised groceries and its mobile clinic also offered free medication in one of the shelters based on the request of the shelter's staff or leader.[607]

An orphanage[608] called the 'House of Shalom' was opened in November 2011 with a small number of abandoned children. It began humbly in a rented house as an independent ministry of a couple who were staff members. The orphanage prioritised accepting abandoned babies or children from impoverished backgrounds. The ministry had grown to accommodate 25 children in 2013 when a new building was launched on 20 March. The House of Shalom's current location is near the Holy Stadium. Its new building consists of a two-floor main building for bedrooms, a kitchen and a spacious dining room, a playground and a futsal[609] field in front of its main building. The children

[607] Participant Observation, 18 November 2014, 3 August 2015, and 19 August 2015. JKI Injil Kerajaan, *Tuhan Ulurkan Tangan-Nya*.
[608] 'Orphanage', JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/ministries/rumah-shalom-orphanage.html.
[609] A modified form of soccer played on a smaller field with five players each team.

were schooled at Light of the Nation school and lunch and dinner meals were provided by the public kitchen. It was also fully supported financially by the megachurch.[610]

5.2.3. Emergency Services

A Relief Team to respond to emergency situations (i.e. flood, volcano eruption, and earthquake) has served local needs and in many cities, villages and remote areas of Indonesia. The team was also sent to distribute food, blankets and financial support after the earthquake in Nepal and for Syrian refugees in Turkey, both in 2015. The team was known as Light of the Nation team rather than being directly identified with the megachurch. This was considered a strategic approach to avoid rejection simply because of its link with a church. While in Semarang most of the flood victims recognised the team as 'the church team'. The team usually distributed meals prepared by the public kitchen, blankets, medicines, and on some occasions they were accompanied by medical doctors. For longer term needs of refugees from a volcanic eruption, the team also provided clowns, puppet shows and games for children in refugee camps. A temporary public kitchen was also built for longer term involvement in a quite distant area from the city.[611]

A Public Kitchen[612] was built at the end of 2007 in a separate area but relatively close to Holy Stadium. The public kitchen building covers approximately 1,000 square meters and its exterior looks like a warehouse. The building consists of a packing room, the

[610] Participant Observation, 21 November 2014. Bunda (pseudonym), Interview, 21 November 2014. JKI Injil Kerajaan, *Simple Faith Great Faith: Perjalanan Iman Rumah Shalom Semarang* (Semarang: MIK, 2014).
[611] Video Recording of Emergency Team ministry for Mount Merapi and Mount Kelud eruption, landslide and flood in Banjarnegara, earthquake in Nepal and Syrian refugees in Turkey.
[612] 'Public Kitchen', JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/food-and-beverage/public-kitchen.html.

kitchen or cooking area, a room for five large refrigerators and two room-sized coolers, and a room for producing and baking bread. The packing room had five long tables (approximately 1.5 x 8 metres for each table) for packing meals. The main cooking area facility consisted of eight extra-large stoves, ten smaller stoves, two giant rice cookers that could be used to prepare 5,000 portions of meals in an hour, and also several number of large size mixers and blenders, steam-cookers, and peeler machines. The kitchen regularly distributed food during floods or other emergency situations in the city and its surroundings. The municipality of Semarang also frequently asked the public kitchen to support emergency needs for flood victims around the city. While for regular weekdays it supplied meals for church staff, athletic students, the orphanage, and for the needy students of the school called 'King's Children'.[613]

5.2.4. Education

Light of the Nation school was started in July 2007 with 1,000 students. It was prepared in six months with the assistance of Mahanaim's teachers and also adopted its curriculum. The school provided education from nursery to secondary school, and a vocational high school and an entrepreneurship academy were founded in the following years. Approximately seventy percent of the students came from the lower classes and the majority received partial or full scholarships. The scholarships mostly came from church members, whether as individuals or as a group. The members were motivated to participate through a sponsorship programme called 'the guardian angel'. The school had several classes with full scholarships for street children and children from slum

[613] Participant Observation, 18 November 2014. Yanti (pseudonym), Interview, 18 November 2014. Video Recording of Public Kitchen Activities.

areas, they were called 'the King's children'. In 2015, the school had more than 4,000 students.[614]

An Athletics school with a football field and two basketball courts started with a football course in 2009. This was a boarding school with two rented houses as its dormitories located behind the megachurch site. Students received full scholarships for tuition, accommodation and meals. The basic education was provided by Light of the Nation school while for athletics specialities coaches and curriculum were provided. Most of the students were selected and recruited from slums and villages surrounding the city. However, more recently applicants came from a wider range of cities and villages due to the reputation and achievements of the school.[615] *A Vocational High School,* as part of the Christian school, equipped students with various skills, such as hairdressing and beauty training, cooking, design, automotive repairs, and radio and television broadcasting.[616] *An Entrepreneurship Academy* started in 2008 in cooperation with the Ciputra Entrepreneurship University in Surabaya, East Java. Their motto was 'One student one company for the nations'. The alumni were expected to have the following values: 'breakthrough, innovative, creative, critical, create their own field work and for others, lifelong learner, servant leadership, intimacy with God, and as a role model citizen for the 21st century context'.[617]

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[614] 'Education', JKI-IK, accessed 6 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/education/terang-bangsa-christian-school.html.
[615] 'Soccer School', JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/education/terang-bangsa-soccer-school.html.
[616] 'Vocational High School', JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/education/terang-bangsa-vocational-high-school.html.
[617] 'Entrepreneurship Academy', JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/education/terang-bangsa-entrepreneurship-academy.html.

5.2.5. Curative Care

The megachurch ran a *Medical Clinic* equipped with a pharmacy, a dental clinic, two ambulances and a car functioning as a Mobile Medical Clinic.[618] The medical clinic was located in a building beside the Holy Stadium and next to the clinic was the pharmacy. This clinic operated as a walk-in medical clinic that also gave vaccinations and circumcision. In 2015 it had six full time medical doctors, three nurses, two midwifes, and an administrator.[619] Approximately 500 patients were being served per month, fifty percent of the patients were members and the public, while 25 percent were 'the King's Children', and the rest were the staff.[620]

Besides its routine service, the clinic also regularly offered free medication in slum areas of Semarang.[621] This free medication was given two or more times a month and reached the neediest communities in Semarang. The doctors and nurses were also frequently asked by other churches, ministries or communities to offer free medication. The medical staff were willing to support voluntarily any free medication ministry which was held in needy areas while the clinic provided medicine and transportation for the staff. The free medical clinic usually took three to five hours depending on the number of registered patients. It was most regularly held in a small alley of a poor area or beside a garbage disposal centre with chickens and dogs running between the doctors and patients. Free medicine and meals were also provided besides the free consultation. In

[618] 'Medical Clinic and Mobile Medical Clinic', JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/health/medical-clinic-and-mobile-medical-clinic.html.
[619] Lucia (pseudonym), Interview, 31 July 2015.
[620] Medical Clinic Report (January-June 2015).
[621] Participant Observation, 23 August 2015 and 9 September 2015.

addition there were more than thirty medical doctors among the megachurch members who regularly participated in the free medical service with the clinic and charity-market.

Healing Prayer was offered through special events like King's Children Services or the charity market and on a regular basis through the medical doctors who frequently prayed for the patients during consultations and in the free medical clinics. Cell group members also regularly prayed for the needy when they were distributing meals on the streets and in slum areas. In a charity-market, healing was seen as the main way to proclaim the gospel rather than merely selling cheap groceries. The initial plan to build a hospital was therefore perceived as a mistake. A sudden change was made in 2015 after the senior pastor announced that he had made a wrong decision because what God wanted was healing in a miraculous way. This approach would be served through the Miracle Healing Centre in a spacious area near to the Holy Stadium.[622] This would function as a medical clinic where the doctors could freely pray for the patients.[623] A spacious garden surrounding the clinic would be prepared as a supportive and curative environment for the sick.

5.2.6. Economic Development

The *Job Training Centre*[624] provided free training in sewing, hairdressing and repairing motorcycles. The sewing course was started in March 2007 and recruited approximately 20 students for each batch. Approximately a thousand skilful sewers had graduated by the end of 2014. It was reported that they easily got job offers in garment companies

[622] Lucia (pseudonym), Interview.
[623] Bimo (pseudonym), Interview, 3 August 2015.
[624] 'Job Training',JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/supports/job-training-lpk-permata.html.

around the city. The majority of the alumnae were female from needy Muslim backgrounds. The trainer who was an ordained minister who not only offered skills training but also emphasised character building for the trainees.[625] This was seen as equally significant training since most of them had had little education. Self-confidence and good manners were among the values most emphasised during the course. Participating in a morning briefing was obligatory for trainees. This usually consisted of thirty minutes of singing and an inspiring talk, mostly by the trainer. The other training courses seemingly had less than ten participants per batch and the trainers gave less emphasis to added values and soft skills.[626]

The *Agriculture Ministry*[627] was planned to support local farmers in several areas across Indonesia, by providing seeds, organic fertiliser, and by selling crops. This ministry rented a number of local farmers' fields as a pilot project combining organic farming with spiritual intervention. A formula for organic fertiliser was also developed and produced. Members and cell groups were motivated through investment and direct participation by renting land and applying this sound 'Charismatic farming'. Warfare prayer and prophetic action was the prerequisite before choosing a location and planting seeds. It was reported that most of the farmers welcomed this Charismatic style of farming.[628] This openness probably related well with the peasants' cosmology that is close to such an ontological position. However, this Charismatic approach was apparently not followed by long-term involvement. Most of the cell groups only planted for one or two seasons, while the peasants were less welcoming towards the organic

[625] Lena (pseudonym), Interview, 18 November 2014.
[626] Participant Observation, 29 June 2015.
[627] 'Agriculture', JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/supports/agriculture.html.
[628] Purnomo, Interview (1).

farming, which was considered costly in its early stage. A network and cooperation was attempted with one of the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia in order to support its members, the majority of whom were farmers. However, apparently less concern was given to this ministry. Organic fertiliser was no longer produced and the cell groups withdrew from direct involvement. Although the minister was still actively maintaining his network with farmers on his own in 2015, managing a small number of rice fields, and distributing organic vegetables and fruits through his network, this ministry was, in my observation, gradually decreasing and fading.[629]

5.2.7. Policy Change

A Law Firm was initiated in September 2007. This was part of the network of Rose of Sharon Law Firm, founded by a well-known Christian lawyer in Jakarta to offer free consultation and advice for the needy.[630] The Semarang Rose of Sharon Law Firm was located in the area of the old church building. The firm was supervised by a deputy and by the central firm in Jakarta. The megachurch emphasised the spiritual vision and fully funded the financial cost, while the firm was responsible for recruiting and training lawyers and internship law students. In 2015 it had 4 fulltime lawyers, 4 internship law students and 2 administrative staff.[631] From 2007 to the middle of 2015 it had offered free consultations to 5,045 people and assisted 555 clients. During 2014 it helped 676 people of whom 33 percent were Muslims and the majority were Christians (64 percent).[632] A client candidate had to come from a poor background, validated by an

[629] Participant Observation, 31 July 2015. Sugi, Interview, 31 July 2015.
[630] 'Legal Aid Foundation', JKI-IK, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.jkiinjilkerajaan.org/index.php/gospel-of-the-kingdom/supports/mawar-sharon-legal-aid-foundation.html.
[631] Ratu (pseudonym), Interview, 18 November 2014.
[632] Yuli (pseudonym), Interview, 3 July 2015.

official recommendation from a neighbourhood leader. The firm offered free on-air law consultations on Rhema Radio and had a regular column in a local newspaper and tabloid.[633]

5.2.8. Power Ministry

Warfare prayer was the basic strategy of the megachurch's public engagement. Conducting prayer walks and marching were considered to result in transforming society. Such prayer was believed to be the determining factor behind the success of public engagement. Dealing with the spiritual realm was regarded as a priority rather than merely dealing with visible aspects. Involvement in warfare prayer therefore could be perceived as a willingness to transform current social problems of the city, the country or even the nations. Training the members for such prayer in 2008 resulted in several large-scale warfare prayers in public spheres.[634]

In the consecutive years hundreds of prayer teams were sent to conduct warfare prayer in 33 provinces of Indonesia. The prayer team in most cases visited places that were perceived as haunted or socially deprived. Marching prayer on the street and other public spheres were held as a prophetic act to transform the current chaotic situation. A parade involving a group consisting of a marching band, dancers, flags, banners and symbols carriers was the most commonly observed form of marching prayer. This team was also involved in various parades and carnivals in the public spheres of a number of countries, for instances: Tiananmen Square in China, the public square of Moscow, and on the streets of Paris, France and Manchester, UK.[635] What was believed to be a

[633] Participant Observation, 18 November 2014 and 3 July 2015.
[634] See. Purnomo, *Membangun Pasukan,* 7-9.
[635] Thomas Daniarto, Interview.

mandate to 'roll out the red carpet' as a prophetic act welcoming the imminent return of Christ brought church members to most countries in the world in 2013.[636] Participants had to personally pray for the location and funding. I heard, during my period of observation, various testimonies of ordinary people who could only speak Indonesian, had never been abroad, and did not have enough finance to pay for the trip, but reported that they received miraculous provision in through various ways that enabled them to join the prayer trip. This could be regarded as a selfless effort rather than the result of egocentric prayer for a luxurious holiday in foreign countries, since most of the teams went to the poorest villages and slums of the Global South.

These forms of warfare prayer in public spheres could be regarded as a distinctive feature of the megachurch's public engagement. The interviewed members mostly mentioned participating in warfare prayer as their public engagement. They also believed that society had been transformed through their prayers and trips. The three months' training not only changed the customers into performers, but also raised members' awareness of actual social and political situations, since preparing for a prayer trip required a historical, cultural and sociological analysis of the destined area. Conducting a trip also required direct contact with local people which aroused empathy with the current social problems of that area. Further comprehensive research is needed to measure the direct impact of such warfare prayer. However, the result of warfare prayer could be clearly observed in the large scale public engagements that followed such prayer. In most areas of its hometown the megachurch conducted social ministries as a follow-up from its warfare and marching prayers. A transformational impact for

[636] Life TV, *Red Carpet*-Video Documentation. Most of the senior pastor sermons during 2013 were also followed by testimonies of prayer teams after they returned.

society is, therefore, evident through opportunities for the disadvantaged to get open access to free education and health care.

6. The Result

A quantitative measurement was used by the GKC, unlike most of the non-profit institutions observed by Drucker. The size of the attendance at an event was usually employed to measure the impact of the performance. The number of direct beneficiaries of engagements such as the medical clinic, law firm, or schools was also statistically presented to the members as the fund constituents. While the quantitative measurement was emphasised, the qualitative result was less accentuated by the leadership. Therefore, a qualitative measurement is also needed to examine the results of the extensive performance. The distinction between 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital is applied to assess whether such performance is restricted to the benefit of the in-group or can be extended to the wider public.[637]

6.1. Reception

In 2014 it was reported that eighty percent of the four thousand students at the school were receiving either full or partial scholarships. Approximately one-fourth of the students accepted full support including tuition scholarships, transportation, access to the medical clinic and lunch meals. The majority of students who received full scholarships came from slums, and a number lived in villages surrounding the city. The interviewed parents expressed their gratitude for the scholarships since for them the

[637] Tamelyn N. Tucker-Worgs, *The Black Megachurch: Theology, Gender and The Politics of Public Engagement* (Baylor University Press, 2012), 15.

opportunity for their children to study at the school was beyond their expectations. They testified that they had gained an education that was not only free but also of a high quality. The majority of the interviewed parents received scholarships for two children or more.[638]

Ika, a Muslim mother of three, obtained scholarships for all her children.[639] She had voluntarily coordinated transportation for nine other children from a shelter in her neighbourhood who also studied in the school. She regularly accompanied the nine children to the school by a rented minibus, paid for by the shelter ministry. Pur, another Muslim mother of three, who received the scholarship for all her children, also expressed her gratitude, not only because her children received scholarships but at that time she had worked as a cleaner at the school for eight months, while previously she had been jobless.[640] For her, the free transportation provided was considered very helpful because the transportation cost for three children would be too expensive without the available free school bus.

An impressive testimony was told by Nana, a Muslim mother of eight children, six of whom had studied at the school.[641] She explained that the two youngest children were babies, but one of them would also enter the nursery school in the following months with a full scholarship as well. She stated that such generosity was unimaginable for her. Earning a scholarship for one or two children was considered a miracle for Nana, but receiving help for six out of eight children was beyond her expectations. Access to

[638] FGD, Students' Parents, 21 November 2014.
[639] Ika (pseudonym), Interview, 21 November 2014. Her three children were one in kindergarten, one in elementary school, and one in secondary school.
[640] Pur (pseudonym), Interview, 21 November 2014.
[641] Nana (psedunomym), Interview, 21 November 2014.

education was perceived as a luxury in her economic condition. Nevertheless, she had received not only access to education but also scholarships to an accredited private school. This, according to her testimony, would usually only be an unreachable dream for needy people like her.

Shelter ministry could be considered as a link to connect children and parents to other departments and vice versa. The school usually required a written or spoken agreement from the shelter's staff to decide on a scholarship provision. Other ministries usually distributed clothes, meals, books, or organised cheap markets and free medication through the available shelters that were scattered around the city. Most of the interviewed parents initially gained access to scholarships through involvement at their nearest shelters. One received an offer after her daughter joined 'Fun Saturday', a regular service reaching children from slum areas that was held every Saturday afternoon at the Holy Stadium.[642] It was not only children who joined the shelter but also parents who accompanied their children. Direct benefits for their children and various presents for both children and parents became the main reason for them to welcome a shelter in their neighbourhood.[643] The interviewed parents claimed that the majority of their neighbours supported the existence of the shelter. I observed that a warm welcome was always expressed by parents when the teacher or staff entered their area or was walking to the borrowed or rented house that was used as a shelter. I was frequently assumed to be a new staff worker or teacher by parents and was always asked to introduce myself and revisit the shelter.[644]

[642] FGD, Students' Parents, 21 November 2014.
[643] FGD, Parents of Shelter's Children, 19 August 2015.
[644] Participant Observation, 18 November 2014, 3 August 2015, and 19 August 2015.

The majority of interviewed beneficiaries, such as students and parents, were aware of the consequences of receiving help from a church or Christians. Most of them received warnings from their neighbours or religious leaders on the possible hidden agenda of Christianisation. However, the majority argued that they had a personal right to decide instead of listening to rumours or others' opinions. They also stated that as adults they were able to choose what was good for them and their children. Some parents argued that it was the church who directly lent their hand to offer the scholarship, free transportation and lunch for their children, who previously had no opportunity to gain a proper education. Although they encountered resistance from Muslim leaders, a few of them voluntarily organised children from their neighbourhood to study at the school.[645]

An interviewed parent, a female Muslim, claimed that she frequently joined the healing prayer and never felt threatened by Christianisation.[646] Most of the parents from the shelters testified that they did not hesitate to participate in the activities that sometimes occurred at the Holy Stadium, usually for healing prayer or charity-markets.[647] The majority of the job trainees were also aware that the training centre belonged to the church. Some of them admitted that their family or neighbours warned them of the danger of Christianisation. However, most of them after a few weeks or months of training claimed that the initial awkward feeling and suspicion had already departed. A trainee wisely argued that it was quite common for everyone to have prejudice against

[645] FGD, Students' Parents, 21 November 2014.
[646] FGD, Students' Parents, 21 November 2014.
[647] FGD, Shelter's Parents, 19 August 2015.

people from other religions, but a close and direct relationship such as she experienced would decrease or eliminate such suspicions.[648]

A respectful and positive response from the patients during the free medication, whether in a charity-market or through various independent events was reported by the medical doctors and staff.[649] People usually asked for more frequent medical care. Enthusiasm from surrounding neighbourhoods could be observed during the free medication. Usually, one to two hundred people were queuing to get the consultation, medicine, vitamin and occasionally free meals that were also distributed. A local leader was usually invited to give an opening speech. Most frequently the medication took place in the front yard of the leader's house. A warm welcome speech and an expectation of further support to the local community was usually expressed.[650] Other churches, prayer groups and communities were reportedly helped by cooperation with the medical team of the megachurch. A leader of an ecumenical prayer group stated that the willingness of the medical team to support social ministries of other churches or groups was effective for smaller churches or groups that had limited resources.[651]

The vast majority of the interviewed voluntary members stated that a warm welcome was usually expressed when they prayed for the sick, distributed groceries during a charity-market, or distributed meals for the homeless. An offer for prayer was also frequently accepted by people on the street. Some of the young adult members claimed that their involvement was acclaimed by the beneficiaries, including military soldiers

[648] FGD, Job Trainees, 29 June 2015.
[649] Bimo (pseudonym), Interview, 3 August 2015. Lucia (pseudonym), Interview, 31 July 2015. Tata (pseudonym), Interview, 31 July 2015.
[650] Participant Observation, 23 August 2015 and 9 September 2015.
[651] Han (pseudonym), Interview, 23 August 2015.

who were trained and served for one month.[652] One of the officers reportedly expressed his praise to the young and affluent Chinese-Indonesians who wanted to humble themselves to serve the soldiers, since it was the soldier who usually worked illegally as security backup for the Chinese businesses. Furthermore, a cell member stated that such engagement was not only important as Christian participation but also for 'people like us', referring to his Chineseness as well as mine, to socialise with the other ethnic and social groups in the society.[653]

A warm welcome from adults and children was also observed and experienced when I joined a cell group to distribute meals and perform a clown show for children in an illegal prostitution area on the bank of a river. Many volunteers admitted that they were frequently asked by people whether they were 'the church people' or not.[654] Some of them stated that on some occasions people guessed that they were from the megachurch. For them, this indicated the broader influence of the megachurch in the city. It was reported that people from slums that were regularly flooded during rainy seasons recognised the megachurch as the first to come and provide meals, medicine and other help for them.[655] This created a good reputation that facilitated them in organising free medication or small-scale charity-markets almost everywhere in the city.[656]

[652] See section 6.4. in this chapter.
[653] FGD, MK-Majapahit, 8 September 2015.
[654] FGD, Youth, 29 July 2015.
[655] Petrus Agung Purnomo, *Aku Memotret Indonesia* (Semarang: MIK, 2009), 23-25.
[656] FGD, FTN, 18 November 2014.

6.2. Rejection

The megachurch was frequently accused of Christianisation by Islamists. Most of the accusations related to their social activities, such as emergency care for volcano eruption refugees, distributing logistics for earthquake victims, organising charity-markets, and various public activities ranging from healing prayer to providing free education.[657] According to Agung, this issue was a regular part of their public engagement. He did not perceive this as a severe hindrance to engaging publicly. He stated that such groups had no other agendas except to monitor church activities. He explained a case when a local Islamist group threatened their relief care for volcano eruption evacuees. It was reported by local media, and also by Islamist online media, as an attempt at Christianisation.[658] However, soon afterwards the news spread no further. According to him this group's intention was just to seek a 'security fee' which was paid and consequently the issue and the news faded away.[659]

Agung claimed that a large scale open rejection through demonstrations had never been experienced. However, in 2008, I heard many rumours that Muslim leaders were angry and worried about the monthly healing services which were attracting thousands of sick and impoverished people from slums surrounding the city. He admitted his

[657] See. 'Kronologi dan Keputusan terhadap Yayasan Terang Bangsa Semarang', Global Muslim, accessed 25 March 2016, http://www.globalmuslim.web.id/2012/01/kronologi-dan-keputusan-terhadap.html. 'Berkedok Pasar Murah Yayasan Terang Bangsa Gencarkan Kristenisasi', Kiblat, accessed 25 March 2016, http://www.kiblat.net/2014/07/27/berkedok-pasar-murah-yayasan-terang-bangsa-gencarkan-kristenisasi-di-kulon-progo/. 'Missionaris Bergentayangan di Semarang', Muslim Daily, accessed 25 March 2016, http://www.muslimdaily.net/berita/nasional/missionaris-bergentayangan-di-semarang.html#.

[658] See. 'FPI Keberatan Aktifitas JKI di Muntilan', Suara Merdeka, accessed 25 March 2016, http://www.suaramerdeka.com/v1/index.php/read/news/2012/02/26/110714/FPI-Keberatan-Aktifitas-JKI-di-Muntilan.

[659] Purnomo, Interview (2). It is common that local youth groups, gangsters, or even military and police officers extort some money from business owners, mostly Chinese-Indonesians, for what they called 'security fee'.

unawareness of such a situation at that time and claimed that he realised that this was an issue after he was warned by the Holy Spirit to move his focus to other approaches.[660] Meanwhile in 2011 Islamist online media reported an attempt at Christianisation in a Christmas celebration for the poor at the Holy Stadium.[661] There were some small Islamist groups from Semarang and other cities that reported the megachurch to the police, municipality, and interreligious forum of Semarang. These groups complained of the reluctance of the two largest moderate Muslim organisations in Semarang to support their action. It was claimed by these groups that the representative of the megachurch had expressed regret and promised not to repeat such activities. However, this claim could not be verified and the updated news was not available in the local newspaper.

The fact that only a small group of Islamists, which some of whom came from outside Semarang, indicated the small and insignificant percentage of these groups compared to the moderate Muslim organisations, which preferred to ignore this issue. These Islamists continuously monitored the activities of the megachurch, such as the social charity for needy children from a social housing area that was also known as the base of the transgender community. They merely wanted to prove whether the megachurch had attempted to convert these children or not. A mainstream online media reported

[660] Purnomo, Interview (2).
[661] 'Missionaris Bergentayangan di Semarang', Muslim Daily. 'Yayasan Kristen Terang Bangsa Semarang Angkut Warga Muslim Ke Gereja', VOA-Islam, accessed 26 March 2016, http://www.voa-islam.com/read/indonesiana/2012/01/03/17276/yayasan-kristen-terang-bangsa-semarang-angkut-warga-muslim-ke-gereja/.

that singing and games were the main observed activities that were guarded by police officers.[662]

The majority of the interviewed pastors, department leaders and staff and cell group leaders were aware of this issue, but they showed confidence and calmness when narrating their personal experience. Although the interviewed members frequently volunteered to join in ministry in the slum areas and streets, the majority were not aware of this issue and never experienced any direct accusation. Christianisation did not arise in personal or small-scale engagement. This condition apparently indicates that at the personal level people did not fear or feel threatened by Christianisation. Leaders and field-coordinators who acted as event organisers, particularly for large-scale charity-markets, were the ones who most frequently experienced direct accusations.[663]

Staff and teachers of the shelter house were also among those who most frequently encountered this issue directly.[664] One of the shelter staff explained that the problem probably related to their physical appearance rather than to their religious background. The staff worker, as was confirmed by other staff, argued that they were most frequently identified as Chinese not as Christian. Their Chineseness, which was usually linked to Christianity, instantly revealed their evangelistic motive from the initial encounter. Medical doctors claimed that there was no accusation of Christianisation during free regular medical care in slum areas and charity markets. The principals and teachers were also aware of this issue but claimed no direct accusation had been addressed to them. The principal of the vocational school argued that such accusations

[662] 'Takut Kristenisasi JAT dan PIS Awasi Yayasan Kristen', Berita Satu, accessed 26 March 2016, http://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/33637-takut-kristenisasi-jat-dan-pis-awasi-yayasan-kristen.html.
[663] FGD, FTN, 18 November 2014. Mike (pseudonym), Interview, 31 July 2015.
[664] FGD, Shelter House Staff, 18 November 2014.

were probably the result of miscommunication problems from outsiders rather than from the parents who willingly received scholarships for their children.[665]

The charity-market organisers usually planned a few weeks before the day of the event to get an official written permit from the police, local district leader or the municipality. However, the problem mostly did not come from the police or municipality, but rather from the objections and intimidation by people who claimed to be representatives of the local people. These people usually gathered from other cities or districts, but sometimes came from the local neighbourhood. The number of these people was relatively small compared to the rest of the population who welcomed the charity-market, including the local district leader or municipality.[666] A cell leader testified that some Muslim leaders had interrogated him under the supervision of the police and military officer and the district leader. This happened just before a charity-market to be opened in a small town next to Semarang. While the written permission had been granted, it seemed that the local leader preferred to be politically correct under the pressure of people who claimed to represent the majority Muslim inhabitants. He believed that the Holy Spirit gave him courage and serenity to answer and explain when they urged and threatened him to confess the hidden motive of that event. He explained, by referring to his physical appearance as of Chinese descent, that it would be impossible for him as an ordinary businessman to handle the situation with his own strength and ability.[667]

[665] Eni (pseudonym), Interview, 9 July 2015.
[666] FGD, FTN, 18 November 2014.
[667] FGD, FTN, 18 November 2014.

Many direct and indirect threats from local Muslim leaders were reported to have happened to people who allowed their houses to be used as a shelter for informal education. In a few cases, this threat ended with closing the shelter or moving it to another place nearby. In some cases, parents whose children had been educated at the shelter and parents who were actively involved directly or indirectly rejected the allegations.[668] It was reported that some parents, mostly female, directly faced the people or group who demanded that the shelter be closed. In other cases, the parents encouraged the staff and teachers to ignore such accusations and intimidation and continue to run the shelter as usual.[669] The local leaders who rejected the shelter were mostly more affluent than the average parents. Meanwhile, the children tended to join the shelter activities that they considered more fun and attractive than the traditional religious teaching offered by the local Muslim leaders.[670] A more serious accusation of Christianisation probably happened in some shelters because of issues such as splashing water or taking children to the swimming pool, which was prophetically considered as throwing out misfortune or perhaps even considered to be baptism. One of the staff attempted to give a further explanation, but the leader seemed to express reluctance to explore this issue further.[671]

Rejection from the beneficiaries was never heard during my observation. The only exception was a demand to provide or build a mosque for Friday prayer for the Muslim students at the school.[672] This case was raised by an NGO and a local Muslim leader who

[668] FGD, Students' Parents, 21 November 2014. FGD, Parents of Shelter's Children, 19 August 2015.
[669] FGD, Shelter House Staff, 18 November 2014.
[670] Participant Observation, 18 November 2014, 3 August 2015, and 19 August 2015.
[671] FGD, Shelter Staff, 18 November 2014.
[672] 'Permasalahan di Terang Bangsa Belum Ada Titik Temu', ELSA, accessed 26 March 2016, http://elsaonline.com/?p=3344.

claimed to represent the Muslim parents. In a mediation by the police, the representative of the school claimed that a common room was provided to be used for prayer, but to build a mosque in a church area was regarded as an exaggerated demand.[673] The school was also accused of hindering Muslim students from joining Friday prayer. Relating to this issue, the representative explained that since the school was a Christian school then the parents had already approved on a consent form to allow their children to follow school policy relating to religious teaching and activities. The representative argued that merely running a school was not the intention of the church, but helping the impoverished to access free and qualified education had been the primary driver for them.[674] Then the senior pastor offered a solution: to move all the Muslim students to another school with a guarantee from the complainant NGO and the municipality. All the Muslim parents were gathered to explain the problem to them, but reportedly none of them felt that they had been represented by either the NGO or the Muslim leader. The parents were reportedly angry and threatened the NGO and Muslim leader, insisting that they stop their demands. The senior pastor claimed that the majority of the parents came from slum areas with the highest criminal rates in the city and their anger frightened the NGO from continuing the indictment.[675] Further update was not available. One of the journalists who attended the mediation stated that he also never met with the parent who was represented by the NGO and the continuation of the case had faded after the mediation.[676]

[673] Mike (pseudonym), Interview, 31 July 2015.
[674] 'Permasalahan di Terang Bangsa Belum Ada Titik Temu', ELSA.
[675] Purnomo, Interview (2)
[676] Nurdin, Message, 23 February 2016.

The shelter staff reported that occasionally direct rejection came from other churches. A staff worker testified that she was rejected by a Catholic priest when she planned to open a shelter in a town next to Semarang.[677] The rejection related to the harmonious relationship with the Muslim neighbourhood which would possibly be disturbed by the presence of the shelter. Leaders and organisers of large-scale charity-markets also claimed that such objections were frequently raised by local churches and pastors from the neighbourhood where the charity-market was planned to be held.[678] The most common reason was the accusation of Christianisation and the anger of Islamists that would possibly be aimed at local churches after the event. It was also reported that on some occasions local pastors had reported the planned event to Islamist groups or the police so that it could be banned.

Rejection from other churches was perceived as a lack of shared vision but was also considered a communication problem. A leader of a regional ecumenical board argued that the rejection actually could be eliminated if the megachurch wanted to take time not only to explain but also to listen to other churches.[679] This leader explained the main reason behind the rejection of their plan to organise a charity market and healing prayer in his city was caused by the relatively short time given to socialise the plan. This event was also perceived as an aggressive approach for the more homogenous context of the city compared to the multicultural context of Semarang. A Charismatic pastor who served in a slum area and had graduated from the megachurch Bible school, expressed his disagreement based on what he claimed to be a manipulative report about the

[677] FGD, Shelter Staff, 18 November 2014.
[678] FGD, FTN, 18 November 2014.
[679] Rev. Herin K. Jayanto, Interview, 28 September 2015.

shelter ministry.[680] He claimed that he had allowed many children under his ministry in a slum area to join the shelter's event. Later he saw that the children were claimed and reported to have attended as the result of shelter ministry. This may reflect his jealousy of the well-known exponential growth of the shelter ministry. On the other hand, the criticism indicates less emphasis on the process of evangelism than the numerical result.

6.3. Conversion

The most significant number of baptisms occurred at the megachurch after a series of monthly healing services for the needy started in 2007. In that year 1,289 were baptised, almost double those of previous year. 2011 was its peak with 5,141 baptised in a year. The total number of baptised people was 21,517 by 2014. However, the registered members in 2014 were 15,109 or 6,408 less than the total number of baptisms. Meanwhile, the weekly attendance was only roughly 11,000 in 2014.[681] While the public engagement resulted in a significant number of baptisms (most of which were claimed to be from the Muslim background), its contribution was relatively insignificant in increasing membership and weekly attendance. This was probably in line with the megachurch's policy for membership which required active involvement in a cell group for several weeks and a written recommendation from the group leader in order to be registered as a member. The majority of the baptised Muslims may have remained as anonymous Christians who returned to their community and retained their religious identity, yet at the same time prayed to and believed in Jesus as their Lord and Saviour.

[680] Tom (pseudonym), Message, 19 December 2014.
[681] My analysis was based on the available data of the registered baptism since its early period to 2014 and was resulted by comparing it with the estimation of attendance in the certain particular period. Isaac (pseudonym), Email, 21 November 2014.

They could be categorised as between the C5 or C6 type of Christ-centred Muslim Communities.[682]

The largest percentage of conversions was claimed to have resulted from healing prayer and evangelistic services. The majority return home without any further pastoral ministry or changing their religious identity. According to Agung, the megachurch role was similar to that of Philip who was told by the Holy Spirit to evangelise and baptise the eunuch, but was suddenly taken away by the Holy Spirit without further chance to explain his faith.[683] In a cell group, I heard that a group of cell leaders was attempting to follow up the converts to be served by local churches in the neighbourhood, rather than directly bringing them to the megachurch. Agung also frequently emphasised that the mandate for the megachurch was only to bring the sick and needy people from the streets and alleys of the town to the master's great banquet.[684] Their role was merely to bring them in; the rest was the master's own business. He also believed that it was not their role to compel people since they would be compelled through circumstances arranged by divine intervention.[685]

The percentage of Muslim students in the school was approximately 10 percent of the total of 4,000 students in the middle of 2015. This percentage was probably less in 2014 when the school foundation stated that the number of Muslim students was only 209 out of 4,000 students.[686] So there was an increased percentage of Muslim students in

[682] While the C5 Muslims 'are viewed as Muslims by the Muslim community and refer to themselves as Muslims who follow Isa the Messiah', the C6 Muslims are considered as Muslim by their community and identify themselves as Muslim as well. See. John Travis (Pseudonym), 'The C1 to C6 Spectrum', 658-659.
[683] See. Acts 8: 26-40.
[684] Luke 14: 15-23.
[685] Based on my analysis of most of the senior pastor's recorded sermons in 2007.
[686] 'Permasalahan di Terang Bangsa Belum Ada Titik Temu', ELSA.

the new academic year of 2014-2015. The principals and teachers claimed that usually some students were baptised after an invitation was given in the Christian religion course.[687] However, they had difficulty in remembering the latest conversion, particularly those from a Muslim background except for the quite recent conversion of three high school alumni who had been previously considered as the troublemakers.

One of the teachers offered an opportunity to meet some converted graduates. In the following week, two of them returned to Semarang from two different cities and another one resided in Semarang as a mentor of the megachurch's athletics school. Two of them came from a conservative background (one was an orphan and another one from a broken home) and their only reason to study at the athletics school was the scholarship offer. All stated their refusal to join the devotional session which was obligatory for students. They claimed to be provocateurs for other students to sleep or sneak off during devotional sessions. Later in the second year one of them received a vision of a man, who he believed was Jesus as usually seen in paintings, during his Islamic midnight prayer. He testified this happened on three consecutive occasions of his midnight prayer. On the third time, he asked the person in his vision to give him a dream. He reported that that night Jesus appeared in his dream and asked him to follow his path. Consequently, he asked for baptism and two other friends who heard his testimony were encouraged in their personal seeking of the Christian faith.[688] All of them retained Islam as their religious identity since they still kept their conversion testimonies secret from their families. They joined the obligatory prayers when they returned home for vacations, usually during Ramadhan. One of them confessed that he

[687] FGD, High School Teachers, 9 July 2015. FGD, Vocational High School Teachers, 7 August 2015.
[688] FGD, High School Alumni, 11 July 2015.

usually spoke in tongues during the obligatory prayer when he returned home. According to their testimonies, their parents and families had praised the positive change in their personal manners and attitude.[689] The teachers also confirmed their positive transformation after conversion.[690] In this case, conversion happened through a spiritual experience and its influence could be perceived and confirmed by their families, friends, and teachers.

While receiving the full scholarships for more than one child, the interviewed parents, both of the school and the shelters, kept their previous faith. During my fieldwork, I was only informed that one shelter beneficiary who was currently voluntarily helping in the shelter was asking for baptism. This decision was taken after she occasionally read the Bible on her cell-phone. The staff worker claimed she urged this person for a while to seriously consider her decision and the possible rejection if her family discovered her conversion. However, the shelter's staff found it difficult to mention other current conversions in their ministry.[691] In three different places that I observed both the parents and children remained Muslims. The shelter activities focussed on informal education mixed with games and closed with a positive confession and motivational slogan. There was no direct or indirect utterance related to the Christian faith or any attempt at evangelism.[692] Therefore, conversion was probably the result of a personal spiritual experience of the children or parents. It was reported elsewhere that a group of children walked from a distant place to a shelter by following a small cloud that stopped and disappeared in front of that shelter. Another group of children testified

[689] FGD, High School Alumni, 11 July 2015.
[690] FGD, High School Teachers, 9 July 2015.
[691] FGD, Shelter's Staff (2), 19 August 2015.
[692] Participant Observation, 18 November 2014, 3 August 2015, and 19 August 2015.

that they met a handsome ice cream peddler who gave free ice cream and also advised them to join the nearest shelter, but the handsome peddler suddenly disappeared after they turned back for only a few seconds.[693] These miraculous experiences were believed to be a divine intervention to confirm the significance of reaching children from the slums.

The sewing trainer who was also an ordained minister claimed that a number of her students had converted to Christian faith.[694] She explained that this usually happened at the end of the training and sometimes after graduation. According to her testimony, the average number of conversions was two or three persons per batch. In 2014 the sewing training course had already graduated approximately 1,000 trainees. Therefore, the estimated number of conversions is that approximately one hundred people have come to Christian faith since 2006. However, during the period of observation, there was no trainee who was already converted.[695]

6.4. Transformation

An observed upward social mobility is hard to prove during the relatively short-term fieldwork period. However, the potentiality could be perceived through the various opportunities that had previously been inaccessible and unavailable for the majority of children from slum areas.[696] Access to formal education through the school and informal education via the job training centre, the informal education centre, and shelters

[693] The Senior Pastor occasionally cited both stories in his sermons. See also. JKI Injil Kerajaan, *Tuhan Ulurkan Tangan-Nya.*
[694] Lena (pseudonym), Interview, 18 November 2014.
[695] Participant Observation, 29 June 2015. FGD, Job Trainees, 29 June 2015.
[696] FGD, Students' Parents, 21 November 2014. FGD, Parents of Shelter's Children, 19 August 2015. Participant Observation, 18 November 2014, 3 August 2015, and 19 August 2015.

provided an opportunity for the younger generation.[697] The students, called 'King's Children', came from various slum areas of the city where mostly shelter ministry was also available. A regular meeting for parents whose children received scholarships was also provided. The possibility of a social transformation in slum areas that would result in decreased rates of criminality and upward mobility could be opened up by the long-term social intervention of the megachurch.

Charity-markets which were regularly held in slum areas could be considered as a form of social intervention also. The senior pastor suggested that the public response to the charity-market could be used to measure the microeconomic situation.[698] He believed that when a charity-market received high attention from people, this indicated a depressed real economic condition of the needy. Then the church could intensify the market frequency and decide which areas should be prioritised. Such social mapping was perceived as the role that should be taken to maintain the harmonious condition of the city.

The regular free medication organised in various slum areas of the city was still well received in 2015.[699] This acceptance indicated the need to provide the cheapest and most direct access to health care. Public health facilities were still considered too bureaucratic for the underprivileged. The free medication ministry could be regarded as a temporary answer to this condition rather than as a transformative solution. A voluntary medical doctor, who was not a member of the megachurch but frequently was involved with the free medication, explained that the church should think about a

[697] FGD, Shelter Staff, 18 November 2014. FGD, High School Teachers, 9 July 2015. FGD, Vocational School Teachers, 7 August 2015.
[698] Purnomo, Interview (2).
[699] Participant Observation, 23 August 2015 and 9 September 2015.

holistic mapping to answer the health problem of the needy. He realised that what he did was merely an emergency service for an urgent situation. Providing access to clean water and hygienic sanitation was among the suggested long-term engagements in the health sector, not only to cure illness but also to prevent it.[700] Apparently the megachurch was not yet considering such a developmental approach.

Christmas and Easter celebrations and an annual retreat for police and military were regularly organised by the megachurch.[701] The megachurch had benefited from a close affinity to cooperate with these institutions to organise events in public areas. On some occasions charity-markets were held or emergency relief was distributed in cooperation with local police or military. The commander of a special army battalion had asked to be equipped by the megachurch before being sent to the border of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. This was perceived as a troubled area with high conflict potentiality. Lecturers and experts were invited to equip the soldiers with social and cultural mapping of the local people of Papua. Several skills were also taught such as educating children in mathematics, cooking, haircutting, and massage therapy.[702] The battalion returned from that area in 2016 and it was reported that it was awarded honour as the best battalion because they used a non-combative and peaceful approach both to the separatist group and to local people.[703] Some members of the separatist group had reportedly surrendered without armed conflict. This battalion would later be sent abroad as part of the UN Peacekeeping forces. As a consequence, another battalion which would be sent to that area also asked to be trained. This direct influence on an

[700] Bob (pseudonym), Interview, 9 September 2015.
[701] *Natal Bersama TNI dan Polri*-DVD Video (Semarang: MIK, 2015). *Retreat TNI*-DVD Video (Semarang: MIK, 2014).
[702] *Pembekalan dan Pelatihan TNI-Banteng Raiders*-DVD Video (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).
[703] Petrus Agung Purnomo, Live Streaming Rhema Radio, 6 March 2016.

army battalion resulted in a peaceful approach indirectly in another island of Indonesia. A transformative result and impact could be observed both for the army and for the local people.

The law firm frequently advocated for victimised clients. At least four such specific cases were addressed by the firm in 2015. One of them, which became a headline news, was the case of Sri Mulyati, the cashier of a karaoke bar who was arrested by the police and accused of employing underage children. Both the district court and the high court sentenced her to eight and fourteen months respectively. Neither the police nor the judges seriously considered the fact that Mulyati was only a worker and not the owner of that place. Meanwhile, the owner of the karaoke bar was not arrested nor sent to trial. Malpractice in the police investigation was suspected due to the strangeness of the process where the owner was not charged.[704] The supreme court finally released Mulyati, but the amount of compensation for this case was minimal since the relevant regulations had not been revised since 1983.[705] After this case, the President asked the Minister of Law and Human Rights to revise the regulations and raise the compensation two hundred fold. Mulyati and her lawyer were asked by the minister to advise and read the draft of the revised regulation. More recently the lawyer, who was also the previous director of the law firm, was honoured with an award from the National Association of Lawyers for his advocacy in Mulyati's trial process which resulted in a regulation revision

[704] 'LBH Mawar Saron', Kabar 17, accessed 27 March 2016, http://kabar17.com/lbh-mawar-saron-kurang-jeli-polisi-sering-salah-tangkap/.
[705] Ganti Rugi Korban Salah Tangkap Naik 200 Kali Lipat', DETIK, accessed 27 March 2016, http://news.detik.com/berita/3092172/jokowi-ltigtsri-warningltigt-dan-ganti-rugi-korban-salah-tangkap-naik-200-kali-lipat.

from the government and justice for the victimised.[706] The senior pastor considered this revision and award as a hopeful sign for a broader influence and a seed for further structural transformation in other areas.[707]

6.5. Public Spheres

The Holy Stadium had been used as a public space even before its inauguration. The multitude of poor Muslims who were standing in front of the venue in the vision of the senior pastor had entered the megachurch. This vision had changed their private worship place into public space. The daily visitors to the megachurch were in contrast to the weekly attendances of the worship services. A number of school buses and rented cars fetched hundreds of children from poor neighbourhoods across the city on weekdays. These children, some of whom were in nursery and elementary schools, were usually accompanied by their parents, and did not only receive free education but also had the opportunity to build friendships with other students from different social, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Their parents also had opportunities to become familiar with the megachurch and its activities. On the other hand, the affluent members and their children had equal chances to interact with the underprivileged Javanese Muslims which would be a very rare intentional interaction in their daily life.

Most of the interviewed parents said that they regularly visited the Holy Stadium area to accompany their children and on some occasions to attend the healing prayer services.[708] Other facilities of the megachurch, such as schools, sports court and yard,

[706] 'Guntur Perdamaian Jadi Pejuang Bantuan Hukum Sejak Mahasiswa', Hukum Online, accessed 27 March 2016, http://www.hukumonline.com/berita/baca/lt56d4471b57ae3/guntur-perdamaian–jadi-pejuang-bantuan-hukum-sejak-mahasiswa.
[707] Purnomo, Live Streaming Rhema Radio.
[708] FGD, Students' Parents, 21 November 2014. FGD, Parents of Shelter's Children, 19 August 2015.

training centre, law firm, and medical clinic were perceived as a common and safe place to be accessed. The majority felt comfortable to visit or join activities in the Holy Stadium area. There is a possibility that the majority did not understand the meaning of the name of the venue. However, all recognised this area as a church and facilities that belong to Christianity.[709] The comfortable feeling to attend and join in the activities in the Holy Stadium was most probably affected by the absence of any symbol usually identified as a Christian symbol, such as the cross, paintings and sculptures. However, a large Davidic star, which the Islamist groups usually accused Christians of showing a pro-Zionist affiliation, was installed at the rear of the main venue. This symbol was probably less recognisable by the beneficiaries. The central symbol in front of the Holy Stadium site is a globe with a crown and sceptre that symbolised the calling to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom to the ends of the earth, with authority from the imminently returning King. Meanwhile, inside the main venue, there are flags of many nations which were inspired by the visit to Ulf Ekman's ministry in Sweden in the 1990s. A very large crown was also installed on the main stage and was occasionally carried by a dancer during worship sessions. However, these symbols usually do not directly correlate with Christianity for ordinary Muslims.

The facilities in the areas could be considered as public facilities since they were regularly used, borrowed or accessed by the public. The police, the military and the municipality frequently used the football field. Roughly 30 percent of the patients served by the medical clinic were students or parents from slum areas. The main venue was occasionally borrowed by other Christian schools or denominations for Christmas

[709] FGD, Job Trainees, 29 June 2015.

celebrations. The old site where the radio, informal education centre, and job training centre are based were frequently accessed by the neighbourhood and non-church members for training and education. The radio station regularly organised charity-markets, free medication and fun activities for the neighbourhood. The public kitchen regularly served daily meals for the needy students and staff, but large-scale activities occurred when the emergency team moved to help the relief for victims of floods, earthquakes, volcano eruptions or other natural disasters. This kitchen was also regularly referred to by the municipality to support its flooded districts during rainy seasons. In other words, the largest percentage who benefited from the public kitchen was the public.

The aforementioned case that demanded the provision of a mosque or a particular prayer room for the Muslim students at the school could be perceived as an attempt to contest and negotiate the private facilities as a public space.[710] Emphasising the Christian identity of the school and arguing that such a common prayer room was already provided showed the intention of the megachurch to provide a public facility with distinctive Christian values and identities. The absence of particular Christian symbols did not imply the neutrality of the place. It could be regarded as a private facility which was dedicated to public service with its own fixed vision and mission. The mediation process and the reported pressure from the parents to the NGO indicated the bargaining position of the church as well.

The presence of approximately forty shelters in the city could be regarded as an alternative public space for impoverished children and parents. A rented or borrowed

[710] 'Permasalahan di Terang Bangsa Belum Ada Titik Temu', ELSA.

house was changed from merely having a private function to providing wider public utilities in the neighbourhood. The shelter also functioned as an information hub that linked other facilities and ministries to the broader public, mainly from slum areas. The occasional free medical service and cheap groceries distribution held at the shelter also added benefits to the function of the shelter. Most of the shelters merely used the front yard or the living room of a voluntary family who were mostly Muslims. One of the shelters was located at the rear of an upper-class housing cluster with well-maintained and spacious gardens and swimming pool. This shelter was also next to the back wall of an international private school. However, there was no access to such luxurious facilities. The shelter functioned as a public space that provided further interaction and cooperation between the members, whom probably also resided in that cluster, with the disadvantaged neighbourhood. The fact that local Muslim leaders frequently threatened these functioning public spaces indicated the challenge for doing such common good works and the contestation of public spheres in this particular context.[711]

Prayer marches, prayer walks and warfare prayer that were usually followed by prophetic acts on the streets and public areas could be perceived as a negotiation process to present Christian values in the public spheres. The majority of the interviewed youth who regularly joined the marches and carnival claimed they never received any direct rejection. The most common response from the public was considered as a positive attitude and praising the artistic costumes and symbols that were used by the team. The youth believed that their prophetic acts and prayer marches were a peaceful action for the benefit of the wider community. They realised that the

[711] Participant Observation, 18 November 2014, 3 August 2015, and 19 August 2015.

character of such activities could be slightly different within the Bahtera network, particularly as one of its networks was considered as aggressive and audacious compared to that of the megachurch.[712]

7. Conclusion

The examination of the empirical findings shows a somewhat complicated process of transmission of the mission statement into a measurable performance. While the mission statement had remained similar over the past twenty-five years, the specific emphases were added to practically implement this statement. The role of the senior pastor in specifying the statement was influenced by the experience that he believed to be divine intervention. This condition accords with a theological framework which comprehensively connects human psychology with both the cosmic and society. The strategies to integrate the members with the mission clearly illustrated the cosmic scope relating to demonic power to be defeated, the spiritual troops to be prepared, and the spiritual law to be understood. What moved the members to become not only performers but also fund developers and fund constituencies was most probably the result of long-term internalised values rather than the sudden change in the specified mission in early 2007. The various responses to the exercise of power at different levels of leadership indicate the complexity of the relationships in the megachurch. What is often considered as simple structures of hierarchy somewhat oversimplifies the role of the lower level and lay leadership in translating the mission into performance. The personal and social network also shows the significant role of individuals or groups in

[712] FGD, Youth (1), 7 July 2015. FGD, Youth (2), 29 July 2015. See the fifth section of the first chapter.

performing the mission through creating relationships which were often overlooked by the structural leaders. However, unlike Drucker's critique on the lack of quantitative measurement, the megachurch shows awareness of such a quantified result, through their accountability to the members who were at the same time both volunteers and donors. Furthermore, the qualitative results also signify the impact of such a performance on the wider public, which indicate the bridging of social capital through transferring skills to other groups. The potential of such transmission is presumably essential to developing a civil society as one of the core elements of substantial democracy. Along with previous chapters, this chapter will be theologically articulated as a source of their public theology.

CHAPTER FIVE

'LOVE THE ENEMY AT ANY COST':

A CONTEXTUAL ARTICULATION OF EVANGELISM AS PUBLIC THEOLOGY

It was a hot and humid evening on the 27th August 2015. The senior pastor repeatedly wiped the sweat from his face during more than two hours of public discussion. Besides Agung, the speakers included Gus Mus, a Muslim leader-cum-poet who was the former Chief Adviser of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU),[713] and Father Aloysius, a Catholic priest whom I knew personally, who is the head of the interfaith commission of the archdiocese. Gus Mus explained that becoming a humanist as observed in the character of the prophet was more important than bearing a grandiose title. His point of reference was the life of the prophet Muhammad as what he was most familiar with. Meanwhile the priest cited the *Nostra Aetate* document particularly emphasising the common origin of humanity and acceptance of what is considered true and holy in other religions, while at the same time he firmly pointed that the church 'proclaims, and ever must proclaim Christ "the way, the truth, and the life" (John 14:6), in whom men [and women] may find the fullness of religious life, in whom God has reconciled all things to Himself'.[714]

Agung seemed quite nervous in contrast to his self-confidence when he preached to larger audiences. He was rather addressing the theme *On Becoming Religious and*

[713] Gus Mus or *Kyai* Ahmad Mustofa Bisri is one of the best friends of *Kyai* Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), the former leader of NU and the fourth president of Indonesia, since they studied at Cairo, Egypt in the 1960s.

[714] 'Nostra Aetate', Vatican, accessed 9 August 2016, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html.

Cultured Indonesians from a general perspective, with no direct reference to his Charismatic faith or experience. In the following Sunday morning service he admitted his awkwardness since it was the very first time for him to participate in such a discussion.[715] He considered not taking part in such an event again since he said that was perhaps not his calling. But a few months later he testified that the Holy Spirit had confirmed that such involvement was needed, since it could be regarded as a priestly ministry with the purpose of reconciliation.[716] What is proposed in this chapter is the continuation of such confirmation which will enable Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics to sincerely and faithfully express their exclusive faith as public faith.

1. Evangelism as Public Faith: A Theoretical Framework

I admit that theological pluralism is an elitist approach that lacks grassroots acceptance, but thus far an exclusive faith also does not have a feasible framework to address such a plural public. Then, I found Miroslav Volf's political pluralism proposal as an alternative framework for an exclusive faith to participate in plural society without watering down its exclusivism. What is offered by Volf is probably a more realistic option for the majority of adherents of monotheistic religions, particularly those who live in the Majority World. While Volf's main intention is to propose an alternative for the exclusion of religious expression from the public sphere in his secular Western context as well as the totalitarian imposition of fundamentalist Muslims,[717] my aim is to provide a public

[715] 30 August 2015.
[716] Petrus Agung Purnomo, 'Fungsi 6 Panggilan', https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tcOXYhjDvrc (accessed 9 August 2016).
[717] Miroslav Volf, *A Public Faith: How Followers of Christ Should Serve the Common Good* (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2013), xiv.

theology that is faithful to the evangelistic zeal of Charismatics as well as strengthening Indonesian democratic culture in the midst of the rise of Islamist groups who tend to impose totalitarianism.

The downward trend of religion, particularly Christianity, toward the wider society stimulated the discourse of public theology in the Western context since the second half of the 20th century,[718] while the role of religion has been shaping Indonesian public discourse and has been increasing since the fall of the New Order regime in 1998. Therefore, the significance of a public theology in the Indonesian context does not mainly relate to the return of religious influence to the wider sphere of society but it is more about the particular contributions of the so-called 'double minorities' (particularly as Chinese-Indonesians and Charismatic Christians) who were exiled from wider participation in Indonesian society for 32 years. I follow Max Stackhouse's argument that 'the public is prior to the republic'.[719] In this case both Chinese-Indonesians and Christians have been coexisting as well as contributing with other ethnicities and religions even long before the formation of Indonesia as an independent state. Then the adjective 'public' specifically refers to 'the fabric of civil society' which consists of various 'religious, cultural, familial, economic and social traditions that are prior to government'.[720] Thus a public theology indicates that the contribution of Chinese-Indonesian Christians, as part of the civil society, 'is more determinative and normatively more important for politics than politics is for [them]'.[721]

[718] Alison Elliot, 'Doing Theology: Engaging the Public', *International Journal of Public Theology 1* (2007), 290-305. See also other articles in the first edition of the journal.
[719] Max Stackhouse, 'Civil Religion, Political Theology and Public Theology: What's the Difference?', *Political Theology, 5:3* (2004), 285.
[720] Stackhouse, 'Civil Religion', 285, 289.
[721] Stackhouse, 'Civil Religion', 285.

Moreover, the impact of secularisation which results in the absence of religions from the public discourse of the secular West, that Volf attempts to deal with, is not applicable in the case of Indonesian democracy, which has been marked not only by the rise of political Islam but more interestingly by the involvement of witchcraft narratives to attain and sustain political power.[722] Secularisation and rationalisation which mark liberal democracy, as argued by Bubandt, are very probably 'specific to the West rather than [a] universal' depiction.[723] In other words, both the politics of piety and the politics of spirits are involved in Indonesian democracy whether sincerely believed or politically reproduced for the sake of power preservation and contestation.[724] While democracy is 'formally well-functioning, by both regional and global standards' in post-Soeharto Indonesia,[725] paradoxically and also ironically the country has one of the highest rates of corruption in the region as well as globally.[726] This indicates a substantial dysfunction of what is perceived as the success of modern democracy.[727]

Intriguingly, most recent anthropological research, apparently in tune with the Charismatics' unified perspective, indicates a close relationship between political power, corruption and the spirit realm. Alhumami based his observation on the media discourse on the 2009 general election and ethnographic research on the subjective experiences of investigators from the Attorney General's office, and anti-corruption activists who experienced witchcraft threats or attacks when they investigated or

[722] See. Nils Bubandt, *Democracy, Corruption and the Politics of Spirits in Contemporary Indonesia* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 16-17. Amich Alhumami, 'Political Power, Corruption and Witchcraft in Modern Indonesia' (PhD thesis., The University of Sussex, 2012), 67-121.
[723] Bubandt, *Democracy,* 7-9.
[724] See. Bubandt, *Democracy,* 16-19.
[725] Bubandt, *Democracy,* 10.
[726] 'Corruption Perceptions Index 2016', Transparency International, accessed 11 December 2017, https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016.
[727] See. Bubandt, *Democracy,* 132.

prosecuted corruption cases. He concludes that Indonesian democracy involves sorcery and corruption 'in support of the power struggle and political contest'.[728] Therefore, witchcraft is not only employed to reach political positions but also to cruelly assault those who investigate their corrupt actions in order to retain power. In this context, Alhumami suggests the significance of contextualizing witchcraft and corruption within the emergence of Indonesian democracy, due to the destructive potentiality of both parts to the public good as well as individual lives.[729] Meanwhile, after spending almost two decades observing post-authoritarian Indonesia, Bubandt proposes that to deal with the oxymoronic characteristic of contextualised democracy, researchers 'ought to take spirits seriously as political actors because the world of politics and the world of spirits are tightly interwoven'.[730]

In this particular context, I contend that Volf's political pluralism is a more realistic theoretical framework for exclusivists like Charismatics to participate in the public sphere. This is in contrast to the approach of religious pluralists, which is usually irrelevant for most Charismatics. This framework would potentially elaborate Charismatics' beliefs and practices to contribute in the public space. While there is a tendency for larger Charismatic churches to participate in the public domain, their exclusive faith is apparently not yet articulated as a resource for public theology, as observed in this research.

The vast majority of Charismatics could quite obviously be categorised as religious exclusivists. Such exclusivists, according to Volf, believe that their faith is the only way

[728] Alhumami, 'Political Power', 214.
[729] Alhumami, 'Political Power', 213.
[730] Bubandt, *Democracy,* 128.

of salvation.[731] This belief usually does not reject the ethical values of other religions, but considers other ways as insufficient for eternal salvation. The concern for evangelism among Charismatics indicates that this is a consequence of such a belief. Most Charismatics not only believe in this exclusive faith but also feel an urgency to spread their faith, because it is believed that the time to conduct evangelism is short due to the imminent return of Christ. Evangelism is therefore considered the most crucial and fundamental task for Charismatics.

The practice of evangelism would consequently bring Charismatics to an encounter with the adherents of other religions, particularly Islam, who are mostly exclusivists as well. This encounter would certainly lead their private faith to enter the public space and become a public faith. Volf argues that this becomes a problem 'if political exclusivism follows in the wake of religious exclusivism' because each camp 'will then want to control the public space'.[732] In the past, political exclusivism of both Islam and Christianity was imposed to cause the weak minority to leave or become second class citizens. The question is then on the potentiality of religious exclusivism to embrace political pluralism, because religious pluralism, as the opposite of religious exclusivism, cannot become an alternative option. This is basically Volf's proposal for the religious exclusivists to participate in the public space through an authentic expression of their exclusive faith.[733]

Volf argues that religious pluralists tend to ignore the authentic voice of religions when they are attempting to search for religious commonalities.[734] This was somewhat similar

[731] Miroslav Volf, *Allah: A Christian Response* (New York: HarperCollins, 2011), 224.
[732] Volf, *Allah,* 225.
[733] Volf, *A Public Faith*, 130.
[734] Volf, *A Public Faith*, 128.

to my ignorance of the evangelistic zeal of my fellow Charismatics when I tried to propose cultural expression and social concern as a meeting point with adherents of other religions, mainly Islam. Therefore, to speak in a Charismatic authentic voice is to underline evangelism and 'leave out what is shared with other religions as comparatively unimportant'.[735] According to Volf's argument, evangelism would provide articulation to Charismatic faith 'in its concreteness, whether what is said overlapped with, differed from, or contradicted' what is expressed by any other faith.[736] However, as argued by Volf, this requires an internal value 'for fostering a culture of peace', otherwise differences would merely cause violent clashes.[737]

Volf contends that God's love for sinners and the instruction to love enemies as themselves could be a peaceful foundation for Christians, while love also 'does not shy away from calling evil by its proper name'.[738] While God's love, as expressed in John 3: 16, could be proposed as an ontological reason for evangelism, instead of merely emphasising the redemptive motive, I argue that Charismatics could rather lean on their experiential love with the triune God, as commonly experienced in the illumination phase,[739] instead of on a doctrinal foundation of love. Concerning the obligatory nature of evangelism for most Christians, Volf suggests an application of love of neighbours as a code of conduct for witnessing to this exclusive faith.[740] In other words, the implementation of the Great Commission should be guided by the Great Commandment.

[735] Volf, *A Public Faith*, 130.
[736] Volf, *A Public Faith*, 131.
[737] Volf, *A Public Faith*, 131-132.
[738] Volf, *A Public Faith*, 132.
[739] See. Chapter 3 section 3.
[740] Volf, *Allah*, 211.

Evangelism is therefore included 'in everything' as commanded by Jesus to 'do to others what you would have them do to you'.[741] Consequently, there are two basic requirements for evangelism: evangelising others requires both a preparedness to receive others' witness and in the manner that would reciprocally be expected from others.[742] This is apparently similar to Hollenweger's proposal of non-colonial evangelism which emphasises 'dialogical and situational' aspects like that of Peter and Cornelius.[743] Hollenweger argues that in this case the conversion of Cornelius, as the evangelised, is equal to the conversion of Peter, the evangelist. The first implementation of Volf's proposal is probably equal to the vision which was received by Peter to prepare him not only to encounter Cornelius but also to be challenged by the testimony of the centurion.[744]

Instead of being guided by a code of conduct, the early church as depicted in Lukan narratives is personally and directly led by the direction of the Holy Spirit, mainly through visions.[745] Robert Menzies argues that visions are crucial to understanding the practice of evangelism in the book of Acts.[746] According to Menzies, visions are emphasised in the book of Acts, e.g. 2: 17, which is marked by intentional reverse composition between visions and dreams compare to the original quotation in Joel (2:

[741] Matthew 7: 24.
[742] Volf, *Allah,* 211.
[743] Walter Hollenweger, 'Evangelism: A Non-Colonial Model', *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 7 (1995), 116. See. Acts 10.
[744] Hollenweger, 'Evangelism', 117.
[745] Robert P. Menzies, *The Language of the Spirit: Interpreting and Translating Charismatic Terms* (Cleveland: CPT Press, 2010), 29-30.
[746] Menzies, *The Language,* 27.

28).[747] Furthermore, visions are not only frequently mentioned but more importantly appear at strategic moments, including Peter's preparation to evangelise Cornelius.[748]

Interestingly, unlike Volf's suggestion of what he called the 'hermeneutical hospitality' of the sacred texts to better understand others as companions instead of competitors,[749] Peter was confirmed as well as confronted, not on the basis of a biblical hermeneutic but on an experiential-based interpretation.[750] Peter was later assured, not by scriptural evidence but by an intervention of the Holy Spirit in the midst of his evangelism. It was clearly the 'pneumatic hospitality' through the vision which was received by the evangelist and the typical Charismatic experience of speaking in tongues by the evangelised which astonished the evangelist and later calmed the critics.[751] While ethical values and scriptural commands are not neglected, their function for Charismatics could be better understood through the distinction of *rhema* and *logos* like that of Yonggi Cho. *Logos* is explained by Cho as the written word of God that includes the whole content of the scripture and *rhema* is the spoken word of God that is based on the written word.[752]

Logos has a general meaning which could not be directly practised without a particular understanding or order through the reception of *rhema*. While *logos* could be generally

[747] Menzies, *The Language,* 25-27.
[748] Menzies, *The Language,* 28-29.
[749] Volf, *A Public Faith*, 136.
[750] Hollenweger, 'Evangelism', 118.
[751] See. Acts 11. Hollenweger, 'Evangelism', 120.
[752] The explicit use of logos and rhema is no longer expressed after the first edition of *The Fourth Dimension* (1979). According to Kim, this was happened after Cho's theological debate with another Korean denomination. However, the concept has not changed but only the phrase for logos is modified into 'the word which gives general knowledge' and rhema becomes 'the word which has a more specific aspect'. See. Ig-Jin Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism: Sunbogeum (Pure Gospel) Pentecostalism* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2003), 219. David Yonggi Cho, *The Fourth Dimension: The Key to Putting Your Faith to Work for a Successful Life,* The Third Edition (Seoul: Logos, 1996), 98-99.

understood through personal reading of the text, the reception of *rhema* should be based on the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit, whether through visions, dreams, audible or inward voices, or insights. Therefore, the nature of *rhema* is its particularity compared to the generality of *logos*. In addition to that, *rhema* also has a dynamic character compare to the more static nature of *logos*. According to Cho, what has been written should not be personally implemented without a spoken confirmation from the Holy Spirit.[753] A commission to go and preach the gospel to the ends of the earth therefore could not be directly taken as a personal commission without obtaining a *rhema*. The commission is functioning as a general order for evangelism, but a particular order should be first received before the practical mission could be conducted.[754] The implication is that no human initiative or strategy is required to define the certain place to be reached and people to be evangelised. The authority is therefore fully on the giver of *rhema*.

Within this evangelistic framework, the connection between the inner life and the cosmic with the public life is clearly observed. Therefore, Charismatics are not required to be guided by outward commands to enter the public sphere as is advised by Volf. Instead a personal intimacy with the Holy Spirit and an openness to be led through an experiential-based direction is indispensable.[755] If the driver of evangelism is a person instead of a command, the basic nature of evangelism is not only internal but also a

[753] Cho, *The Fourth Dimension*, 99-102.

[754] Cho, *The Fourth Dimension*, 102-103. While the commission is considered a general mandate, the implementation requires a particular direction. Cho recognises that his success is merely due to obedience in executing a particular direction of the *rhema*. His role is simply to wait for the particular command of the Holy Spirit, which is frequently received through visions, particularly in his early period of ministry.

[755] Menzies, *The Language of the Spirit,* 29-30.

personal relationship with the person who is indwelling the evangelists.[756] Attention to the inner life is therefore a prerequisite for Charismatics, who tend to be concerned with the outer world, to enter the public life.[757] This, however, requires a personality development to exercise the opposite and less developed personality types as well as to continue the inward journey towards a further degree of self-surrender through entering the dark-night phase of the mystical path.[758] Alternatively, Charismatics would be hesitating to articulate their exclusive faith that could potentially trigger conflict when their intention is merely so-called managerial evangelism.[759] To participate authentically in the pluralistic public sphere, through embracing Volf's proposal on political pluralism, Charismatics could continue their inner journey towards absolute self-surrender to place evangelism as an integral part of their pilgrimage towards the union phase. Nevertheless, it is not primarily the public but the self that should be their essential concern.

Meanwhile, Volf in his proposal is exploring the exclusive nature of monotheism and he attempts to elaborate the ethical dimensions of this belief in one God that can contribute to the political pluralism of exclusivist Christians.[760] While Volf has a Pentecostal background, the point of view that he takes represents the struggle of 'high religion' or a formal tradition of Christianity. That is, unfortunately, the polar opposite of grassroots Charismatics as folk religion. Charismatic Christianity as folk religion operates a unified worldview which does not dualistically distinguish between the

[756] See. Paul A. Pomerville, *The Third Force in Missions* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1985), 72-73.
[757] See Introduction section 3.
[758] See Chapter 3 section 3.
[759] See Chapter 3 section 2.3.
[760] Volf, *Allah,* 227-231.

natural and the supernatural as does the modern Western worldview.[761] 'High religion' tends to place the cosmic as part of the supernatural domain which has only indirect relations with the public domain. This results in an unbridgeable gulf between both spheres which is called the excluded middle zone. This is in contrast to the beliefs and practices of the megachurch and its beneficiaries. For both the so-called middle zone does not exist, since the cosmic and the public are interdependent. This unified worldview does not distinguish between or separate the natural and supernatural, the private and public, the worldly and other-worldly, and the secular and sacred.[762]

While the feature of monotheism that Volf choses indicates an attempt to answer abstract theological and ontological inquiries, Charismatics are pragmatically concerned with how to achieve the fulfilment of daily needs and the commission to evangelism with help from the invisible realm. In other words, Charismatics resolve practical concerns by integrating the cosmic and public.[763] Both are seen as interrelated and unified realms, rather than as separated spheres. This is clearly compatible with the framework of wisdom theology as elaborated in the introductory chapter and the particularity of the Indonesian democracy as explored above. The distinctiveness of a Charismatic public theology is therefore in its concern with the cosmic which is believed to be influential to the condition of the public. Further exploration on spiritual warfare as taught by the senior pastor needs to be conducted in order to comprehend the condition of the public through analogical discernment of the cosmic realm. Despite the integration of the cosmic and the public in the framework of wisdom theology, to

[761] Paul G. Hiebert, R. Daniel Shaw, and Tite Tiénou, *Understanding Folk Religion: A Christian Response to Popular Beliefs and Practices* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999), 89.
[762] Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou, *Understanding Folk Religion,* 89.
[763] Hiebert, Shaw and Tiénou, *Understanding Folk Religion,* 73-75.

understand the geography of the cosmos requires an experiential-based pilgrimage of the inner self since the logic of *sapientia* is analogical and not analytical. Therefore, to articulate Charismatic public theology requires dealing with the cosmic realm through an analogical comparison with the human interiority.

2. A Contextual Evangelism

Evangelism, as argued in Chapter 3, needs to be placed in a pilgrimage framework rather than within a managerial scheme. While the inward journey of the senior pastor indicates a progress toward a union phase with a warm acceptance of the significance of the dark-night experience, such an experience is not yet theologically related to evangelism. The emphasis remains on managerial evangelism, while the practice leans toward relational evangelism. On the other hand, as observed in Chapter 4, the tagline 'Win the Lost at any Cost' remains similar while a significant transition has happened through what Drucker called subdivided mission, from 'the church of Antioch' to 'the great banquet' vision toward what is not yet well developed and implemented, 'Ishmael is coming home'.[764] To be specific, the approach remains, in Hollenweger's term, colonial evangelism while the implementation as well as the articulation is toward what I called restorative evangelism. While the impact of the translation of the vision into public ministry is transformational, the theological notion is still strongly evangelical instead of mystical. Or theologically speaking, 'saving souls' evangelism is merely placing salvation within the juridical purpose of redemption without broadly relating it to the

[764] See. Chapter 2.

wider theological arch of creation and union. That is to say the emphasis remains on redemptive evangelism rather than creative and unitive evangelism.

Nevertheless, the psychological examination and the empirical observation indicate that the lack is rather in the synchronization of the inner journey with the theological articulation of evangelism. It is psychologically understandable since the dominant sensing preference of the senior pastor tends to focus on practical aspects in order to make things work rather than seeing the whole scheme, focusing on correlation and associations between facts or experiences, to grasp the pattern or meaning which is exactly his inferior personality function. My role is rather on orchestrating the scattered pieces of experiences, teachings and practices into a harmonious theological articulation as well as deepening and challenging their beliefs and practices within the broader Christian mystical tradition.

Regarding the analogical logic of wisdom theology, the form of presenting such a theological articulation is through an imagery of a journey rather than a systematic explanation.[765] The imagery of the journey is mainly based on the inner journey of Petrus Agung Purnomo as explored in the third chapter and the analogical consequence of such self-geography on the cosmic and public realm as elaborated in the fourth chapter. I created a fictional character of Ahian, who represents Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics and mainly based on Agung's mystical experiences, and to some extent also represents my alter ego. I identify three main sojourns of Agung's lifetime journey, those are the *dungeon*, where he remained for almost two decades from his conversion in 1979 until a dream that he received at the end of the 1990s; the *palace*, a metaphor which

[765] See the third section of the introductory chapter. See Appendix 6 for the key events of Agung's spiritual journey.

dominated his teaching from the early 2000s related to his emphasis on Jesus as the King and the megachurch like Queen Esther; and the *garden*, a vision that he received almost at the end of his life journey, in 2013, which was the least explained and therefore has not yet significantly influenced the megachurch, particularly their evangelism.

These sojourns are identical to Yusak Tjipto Purnomo's three phases of inner pilgrimage, from *faith* through *hope* toward *love.* Yusak's phases of inner journey not only represent ordinary Charismatics but more importantly provide a mystical framework which comes from a familiar and influential figure to both the senior pastor and megachurch, in order to mystically articulate the megachurch's evangelism.[766] The dungeon therefore can be described as the faith phase, the palace as the hope phase and the garden as the love phase. The love phase, or the garden, is therefore identical with the union phase in Underhill's mystical mapping. Union, as the goal of the pilgrimage of the evangelist, is employed as a broader theological umbrella which reverberates with what is highlighted in Eastern Orthodoxy. This consequently places redemption as part of the whole scheme of creation and union instead exclusively as a juridical theology apart from the rest of the economy of salvation.[767]

In order to deepen and challenge the practice of evangelism, I bring into the discussion the anthropological theory of René Girard, to better understand the psychological

[766] The three phases were explained in various occasions yet more comprehensively in the following titles: Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, *Iman, Harap dan Kasih (1)*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, *Iman, Harap dan Kasih (2),* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, *Tingkatan dalam Kekristenan (1),* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, *Tingkatan dalam Kekristenan (2)*, Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, *Selesai Sampai Garis Akhir (1),* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.). Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, *Selesai Sampai Garis Akhir (2),* Audio Sermon (Semarang: MIK, n.d.).

[767] Vladimir Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God,* edited by John H. Erickson and Thomas E. Bird (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), 99-103.

struggle of Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics and to offer the possibility of transforming this struggle for the public good.[768] I also employ Watchman Nee's redemption-creation framework of evangelism into my theological articulation. Nee's writings were influential in Agung's inward journey and his works can also be categorised as typical of Asian, grassroots, and mystical theology.[769] Nee also connected the experience of brokenness with evangelism within the wider purpose of creation. Therefore redemption could be identified with the dungeon sojourn or faith phase, the palace could be perceived as the imagery of the purpose of creation in the hope phase, while union as the end purpose of both creation and redemption is placed in the garden as the love phase of the pilgrimage.

2.1. The Dungeon: Redemptive Evangelism

It was a day when 'the tree was greener, the sky was bluer, and the surroundings became very beautiful'.[770] On that day, when the news 'touches every fabric' of his life, Ahian was a seventeen-years-old shy boy.[771] He had lived in a dungeon since his childhood. A humid and dark dungeon where he could hide anytime when he felt a rejection or disapproval from others. The dungeon was a safe haven for him, an introvert who was always exhausted in the midst of a multitude. But since that day, his world had been turned upside-down. There was now a crack in the dungeon where the light could breach and illuminate the surroundings. Unlike Saul, he was not dazzled by this light. It

[768] René Girard, *I See Satan Fall Like Lightning* (New York: Orbis Books, 2001).
[769] See. Chan, *Grassroots Asian Theology*, 24. Hwa Yung, *Mangoes or Bananas? The Quest for an Authentic Asian Christian Theology*, Second Edition (New York: Orbis Books, 2014), 164, 176. Dongsheng John Wu, 'Revelation, Knowledge, and Formation: Interpreting Watchman Nee through Mark McIntosh's Works on Spirituality and Theology' (PhD diss., Graduate Theological Union, California, 2006).
[770] See. Chapter 3 section 2.1. See also Appendix 6.
[771] See. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography*, 71. See also Chapter 3 section 2.1.

was rather a hazy light, like a paper lantern, romantic instead of gigantic. Perhaps this was the introverted side of the light while the same light who flashed on Saul until he fell to the ground showed the extraverted side.[772] It seemed that the light could grasp his shyness and treated him personally.

The light was Jesus himself. The light was a person! 'I have come into the world as a light, so that no one who believes in me should stay in darkness', said Jesus to Ahian.[773] It was unimaginable for a boy who grew with an inferiority complex like him to chat warmly with someone whom he recently knew. And Jesus was not judging or demanding. His eye contact and body language expressed a warm welcome, a sincere acceptance that he never experienced before, an unconditional love. Ahian was later known as Peter, but the little Ahian had been living yet hiding somewhere inside his interiority. He should disguise his identity in order to be accepted by others.

Ahian's name and physical appearance was Chinese but his motherland was Indonesia. He was called Chinese but he only spoke Indonesian and the Javanese language. Even his mother tongue was Javanese instead of Indonesian. His Chineseness had been emphasised yet at the same time discriminated against during the thirty-two years of the so-called New Order Indonesia. His personal experience was also a communal experience of his fellow Chinese-Indonesians. Yes, his, as well as their identity was, perhaps always, a hyphenated identity.

He was only two years old when the smiling General took over the presidency after a bloody massacre of anyone who was accused as leftist, or perhaps a loyalist of Sukarno,

[772] See. Acts 9: 3-4.
[773] John 12: 46 (NIV).

the former president. What seemed to be an internal conflict of some senior officers within the army was exploited to scapegoat the leftists as well as the Chinese-Indonesians. It was also a period when some businessmen of Chinese descent received privileges as the cronies of the regime, yet the rest were treated like enemies as the scapegoats since 'it is better for you that [the Chinese-Indonesians] die for the people than the whole nation perish'.[774] Soeharto, the president, was undoubtedly like Caiaphas who 'did not say this on his own',[775] but the General unconsciously prophesied that Chinese-Indonesians would suffer for the continuation of Indonesia. But it was also written that the suffering of Chinese-Indonesians is 'not only for the nation but also for the scattered children of God, to bring them together and make them one'.[776]

Ahian was safe in the dungeon but not outside it where he should pretend to be Peter. The dungeon was also still a safe haven when he was drained in the midst of too many people. He was always amazed at his peers who seemed to become more excited after attending the same exuberant event with him. As an introvert Ahian was dumbfounded by the extraverted environment of the Charismatic prayer group that he attended. He was flabbergasted by the enthusiasm of his peers after joining a joyous worship service. Ahian had attempted to adjust himself to the outward concerns of his new community, including their evangelistic fervour. He only longed that people could meet the light so that they could see what he had seen. His yearning was to share the good news of the unconditional acceptance for those who felt that they were rejected by society, like himself, yet unconditionally accepted by Jesus.

[774] John 11: 50 (NIV).
[775] John 11: 51 (NIV).
[776] John 11: 52 (NIV).

What he was not aware of was that his suppression of his innate introversion preference made him stuck with saving other's souls yet unaware of his own soulish nature. A soulish Christian is still a self-centred person. Such a person lives according to his or her previous tendencies before conversion. This person is justified but has not yet been sanctified. Unfortunately, the Charismatic environment provides spacious platforms for performers, mainly for those with natural gifts like public speaking, singing or playing musical instruments. Ahian still could not see his mimetic desire in the dungeon. He idolised Charismatic evangelists who confidently preached in front of hundreds of people. Extravert evangelists naturally enjoy such outward attention yet are not aware of the development of their opposite type of personality.

According to Yusak, who Ahian also knew as Tan Tjong Sien,[777] Ahian was still in the faith phase where human ambition, initiative and will were still very dominant. Yusak often classified 'naming and claiming' practice as another indication of this phase. Thus the three phases of conversion, purgation and illumination, as mapped by Underhill, are classified as the faith phase. For Yusak, as also argued by Underhill and Suurmond, this is the phase which most Charismatics prefer to stay in. Yusak explained that self-sacrifice was not found in the dungeon since the primary concern was still with the consolation of the self. Ahian, as depicted by Yusak, was still in the courtyard of the tent of meeting where people choose to sacrifice the lamb at the altar of burnt offerings instead of offering the self as a living sacrifice.[778]

It was the redemptive message of the passion and resurrection of Jesus that became the focus of his evangelism at this phase. For him the role of the Holy Spirit was simply to

[777] See. Purnomo, *Hidup bergaul Karib dengan Tuhan, Bagian 1*, 1-3.
[778] See. Leviticus 40.

empower him to share the message of redemption. In the dungeon, his evangelism was merely Christocentric. What Ahian had not realised in this phase was the connection of redemption with the broader purpose of creation and union. According to Andrew Louth, this is typical of the Western theological perspective, merely stretching from creation to redemption in contrast to the 'greater arch' theological scope of the Eastern Orthodox perspective, 'stretching from creation to deification, representing what is and remains God's intention: the creation of the cosmos that, through humankind, is destined to share in the divine life, to be deified'.[779] Of course, this was a lifetime journey and Ahian had just started his journey.

What Ahian understood was that the purpose of redemption is simply to rescue humans from condemnation or hell. This was exactly what Nee reminded Christians, that what they 'instinctively think of the judgement [sin] brings' was 'always of the punishment that will come to him [or her] if he [or she] sins'.[780] Redemption was simply understood as an escape from eternal punishment which explained the fervour of Charismatics to evangelise others in order to save their souls from hell. But, as argued by Nee, 'God's thought is always of the glory [hu]man will miss if he [or she] sins' since 'the result of redemption is that we are qualified again for glory'.[781]

God's purpose is immutable despite human inability to fulfil it on their own initiative. Therefore, redemption is needed to restore the initial purpose in creation. For Nee, redemption relates to the benefit of humanity since it prevents them 'from falling any

[779] Andrew Louth, 'The Place of *Theosis* in Orthodox Theology' in Michael J. Christensen and Jeffery A. Wittung, eds., *Partakers of the Divine Nature* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007), 34-35.
[780] Watchman Nee, *The Normal Christian Life*, translated by Angus I. Kinnear (Sussex: Kingsway Publications, 1982), 73.
[781] Nee, *The Normal,* 73.

further and to uplift' them as well.[782] However, the main purpose of redemption is to bring humanity back to the initial plan of creation to 'share in the divine life' which is 'to incorporate humankind along with the created world represented by humankind into the life of the Trinity'.[783] The problem with many Charismatics who are still in the dungeon is their preference to enjoy the benefit of redemption and perceive it as the final goal of Christ's redemptive work on the cross.

What is often lacking, according to Nee, is relating redemption to creation and, I contend, also to union. Nee's arch already stretched into union, or deification in Orthodox terms, since what he called 'glory' could be seen as an indication of sharing in divine glory as that of deification. For Nee, the goal of redemption is 'not only for the forgiveness of sins' to save humanity, but also to restore the initial purpose of creation in them. Nee furthermore argues that redemption is 'something afterward, so that God's purpose in creation may be fulfilled' therefore for him 'the place of redemption cannot be higher than that of creation'.[784]

The emphasis on creation is never to underestimate redemption but rather to place it in the relationship with creation. Humanity cannot be related to God without redemption, but the main purpose of this relationship is to fulfil the initial purpose which was given in creation. Nee's argument on the relation of redemption to creation implied a consequence for the purpose and practice of evangelism. The emphasis on 'saving souls' or eternal salvation therefore, in Nee's creation-redemption framework, only

[782] Watchman Nee, *The Glorious Church: God's View Concerning the Church* (California: Living Stream Ministry, 1993), 19.
[783] Norman Russell, *Fellow Workers with God: Orthodox Thinking on Theosis* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2009), 50.
[784] Nee, *The Glorious Church,* 18-19.

fulfilled the first half of the whole purpose of what I call creative evangelism. But in the greater arch of the economy of salvation, saving souls is one third of the whole journey toward union. This view also brings consequences to the Charismatic evangelists themselves, who perhaps have not yet realised the other two-thirds goal of redemption. Most Charismatics are seemingly focussing more on the one-third purpose of evangelism, redemption. This is however an inevitable situation since to fulfil the other two-thirds purpose of evangelism, creation and union, requires a further inner journey, including experiences of brokenness which would result in total surrender to or dependency on God. To fulfil the purpose of creation and union therefore requires a phase of spiritual experience which is apparently 'not typical of Pentecostalism'.[785]

Suurmond observes that most Charismatics stop at the step of illumination where the self remains in control and 'has not been broken radically enough in the "night" or "wilderness" from its tendency to ground and justify itself'.[786] This is also in line with Chan's point that this mystical experience has no place in Pentecostals' theological outline.[787] In other words, in the imagery of a journey, the evangelist is remaining in the dungeon. Or in Malick's term, how can an evangelist who still struggling with his or her insecurity, mimetic desire, rejection, and self-centredness listen to the cry of Ishmael, as the type of Muslims.[788] According to Girard, at the heart of Ahian's struggle is desire

[785] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit,* 160.
[786] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit,* 160.
[787] Simon Chan, *Pentecostal Theology*, 75-76.
[788] Faisal Malick, *The Destiny of Islam in the End Times: Understanding God's Heart for the Muslim People* (Shippensburg: Destiny Image, 2007), 26-28.

while its characteristic is mimetic. This desire 'comes into being through imitation of others' or modelling others.[789]

Ahian was still struggling with his mimetic desire for those who, religiously and politically, are claimed as the majority. That is why he believed that the majority will one day convert to Christianity. Building the very large sanctuary was therefore a logical consequence to welcome the forthcoming harvest. Evangelism had also been emphasised to imitate what belonged to the majority. Nonetheless, such imitation would eventually lead to conflict, which would also lead to violence, since both the model and the imitator now covet the same object. Ahian was unaware of the rivalry inherent in his mimetic desire. That is to say that 'Win the Lost at any Cost' can be translated into 'Desiring the Majority at any Cost'.

The redemption, as argued by Girard, provides a unique perspective which unveils the scapegoating mechanism and stands with the victim as the innocent one. What was experienced by Jesus is 'the old mimetic scapegoating situation of all against one', including the disciples.[790] But, what differs the Gospel from mythology is not only the resurrection of the victim but more importantly the conversion of the disciples after encountering the risen Jesus. Such conversion results in a dissenting opinion of the minority against the unity of the religious (Jewish) and political (Roman) majority. Girard argues that through the encounter with the risen Jesus '[t]he mythic power of the victim mechanism is now subverted in principle'. Therefore, the Gospel becomes 'the starting point for a new science or knowledge of humanity' which begins 'with faith in Christ the

[789] James G. Williams, 'Foreword' in René Girard, *I See Satan Fall Like Lightning* (New York: Orbis Books, 2001), ix.
[790] Williams, 'Foreword', xix.

innocent victim' and 'expand[s] to the point that the concern for victims becomes the absolute value in all societies'.[791] The problem is '[u]nder normal conditions the victim mechanism is unknowable [and] undiscoverable'.[792] Thus 'a power superior to violent contagion', who is the Holy Spirit, is required to 'break the power of mimetic unanimity'.[793]

What was needed by the evangelist was to continue his personal relationship with the Holy Spirit who had introduced himself not only as the Giver but more importantly as the Adviser. What was lacking in this phase of journey was rather the inarticulate relation between the mystical experience and the purpose of evangelism. Or in Nee's term, the message of redemption was not yet referring to the purpose of creation.

2.2. The Palace: Creative Evangelism

It took more than two decades for Ahian to be released from the dungeon. In the last eight years there Ahian was already aware that the Giver was also the Adviser. That last eight years of struggling in the dungeon had also taught him that not only 'evil is right there with me' but more importantly 'through Christ Jesus the law of the Spirit of life set me free from the law of sin and death'.[794] He had learned that he could not resist the sinful nature with his own strength but it was 'by the Spirit you put to death the misdeeds of the body'.[795]

Ahian initially thought that the Adviser would later bring him to the desert, like what was experienced by Jesus himself after baptism. But he could hardly believe his eyes

[791] Williams, 'Foreword', xix.
[792] René Girard, *I See Satan Fall Like Lightning* (New York: Orbis Books, 2001), 187.
[793] Girard, *I See Satan,* 189.
[794] Romans 7: 21; 8: 2 (NIV). See also Appendix 6.
[795] Romans 8: 13 (NIV).

when he was led toward a palace.[796] 'The desert could be anywhere' explained the Adviser while at that time Ahian did not fully understand what that meant. It reminded him of Hadassah, an ordinary Jewish girl who lived as an exile. Hadassah was also forbidden to reveal 'her nationality and family background'.[797] Perhaps Hadassah, like Ahian himself, was always living with a hyphenated identity as a Jewish-Persian. She would later be known as Queen Esther but somewhere inside her heart she was also living and hiding the little innocent Hadassah.

Living in a palace was like entering the nest of intrigue. Everyone was outwardly hospitable but inwardly rivalling each other. Unlike the dark and humid dungeon where the inhabitants attempted to hide themselves, in the palace the residents made efforts to bring themselves under the spotlight. Ahian soon realised that he could easily slip into vainglory which was probably more dangerous than his previous inferiority while he was in the dungeon. The situation was somewhat similar to what was faced by Hadassah when she entered the palace to attract the attention of the king. The contestants tried to please the king with their own preferences. But it was Hegai, the eunuch, who knew the preference of the Xerxes, the king. Ahian had already learned from his thirteen years of making efforts to please God which ended with Jesus looking aside at what he thought was pleasing God.[798]

Nee called Ahian's experience as 'the breaking of the outward man' which would result in the release of the human spirit and the Holy Spirit.[799] In other words, God's will could

[796] See. Chapter 4 section 3.
[797] Esther 2: 10 (NIV).
[798] See. Chapter 3 section 2.1.
[799] Watchman Nee, *Release of the Spirit: The Breaking of the Outward Man* (Chichester: New Wine Press, 2007).

be fully realised in a person who totally surrendered his or her own priorities. This is believed to be a lifetime's process, but the breaking of a person's ego is a continual process which starts with a moment of illumination of their own limitations and incompetence. The starting point therefore could happen in various lengths of time after conversion and is sometimes preceded by inward or outward failures.[800] Such an experience of brokenness or in mystical terms 'the dark-night', 'dryness' or 'wilderness'.[801] This resulted not only in an emphasis on the teaching of total surrender but also on the development of Ahian's evangelism from what he believed to be merely human initiative to a dependency on the guidance of the Holy Spirit.[802] This is a transition toward the union phase in the mystical path.[803] A phase where the focus has been shifted from the egocentric self to God alone. In Paul's term 'it is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me'[804] and everything is considered worthless and rubbish compare to a union experience with God.[805]

According to Nee, such an attitude of completely and absolutely obeying God is a non-negotiable prerequisite to fulfil God's unchangeable purpose for humanity.[806] The purpose can be found in the creation of human beings as a ruling creature upon the earth. God's desire is for humans to have dominion over other creatures in the earth.[807] Therefore, the area that is intended for humans to rule is the earth. Nee contends that the earth is originally given to human beings as a dwelling place and not as a desolate

[800] Nee, *Release of the Spirit,* 77-86.
[801] See. Suurmond, *Word and Spirit*, 158-159.
[802] See. Chapter 3.
[803] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit,* 159-160.
[804] Galatians 2: 20 (NLT)
[805] Philippians 3: 8
[806] Watchman Nee, *The Glorious Church*, 11-12.
[807] See. Genesis 1: 26-28.

space, but 'the problem was that Satan was on earth and intended to do a work of destruction upon it'.[808] This is implying that Satan, as a creature, is not vis-à-vis God, as the creator. It is the human being who is assigned to deal with Satan and intended to return the earth to God.[809]

The waste and void condition of the earth, according to Nee, was the consequence of the fall of Satan, who previously ruled over the earth.[810] The creation of human beings is to replace the position of the former ruler. However, since the fall of humanity the earth has become the sphere of Satan again. The problem therefore happened on earth since there is no problem in heaven. This is implied in the Lord's prayer. The phrase 'as in heaven, so also on earth' indicates heaven as an ideal reference for earth. What is to be sought is not to sanctify God's name, to exercise God's authority, and to implement God's will in heaven but on earth. Nee argues that despite the fall of humanity, God's intention for them is unchangeable. He refers to Psalm 8 as an indicator that God's desire for human to be able to praise God's name in all the earth is fixed.[811] The emphasis is on the phrase 'in all the earth' (Psalm 8: 1) which is a similar expression to that of Genesis 1: 26. Humanity is still remembered by God after their fall and also having a hope to be restored, through redemption, to their initial purpose to rule on earth.[812]

Ahian was passing the brokenness experience which became the prerequisite to rule over the earth as the purpose of creation. But his overemphasis on redemptive evangelism had trapped him in a struggle to merely measure the result of evangelism

[808] Nee, *The Glorious Church,* 9.
[809] Nee, *The Glorious Church,* 10.
[810] Nee, *The Glorious Church,* 9.
[811] Nee, *The Glorious Church,* 12-14.
[812] Psalm 8: 3-8.

with quantitative data on the number of attendees or baptised people. This had resulted in an absence of a qualitative self-analysis as another two-third purpose of evangelism. A self-centred and human-centred evangelism, as Nee warned, would potentially result when both the evangelists and the converts were stagnant in the redemptive purpose. What was quantitatively perceived as an achievement was probably 'only for the welfare of [hu]man'[813] while to satisfy God's desire would be achieved through resisting the evil dominion over the earth.

Ahian, as well as other Charismatics with a hyphenated identity, needed to realise his previous political condition under the authoritarian regime which reduced his humanity into 'economic cattle', as money-makers for the establishment of the corrupt bureaucrats. They were, and to some extent are, treated as a powerless minority (related to a statistical percentage) who could potentially generate a significant financial capital, a quantitative amount. The condition of Ahian was clearly depicted in the vision, where he was living in a ghetto, inside the palace, while at the same time facing the social needs of the impoverished neighbourhood outside the fence of the new pretentious venue.

Ahian recognised the multitude of poor and sick Muslims who were countless and standing in front of the new palace while he himself was standing within the palace. Perhaps they could see each other but had not yet interacted. The order that he received to reap the crowd was interpreted as an order to evangelise those particular people. The implementation of this interpretation had led the affluent Chinese-Indonesian

[813] Nee, *The Glorious Church,* 11.

Charismatics to interact with the impoverished Javanese Muslims. What was previously separated through social, ethnic and religious backgrounds was now being connected.

However, the crowd in his vision who later gathered remained anonymous in the large-scale social events in the palace. They were frequently not known through their personality or testimony but merely as a quantitative record. While the gap was bridged, the interaction tended to be superficial. This probably relates to the overemphasis on redemptive evangelism. As warned by Nee, this purpose tends to mislead Christians away from fulfilling God's desire. An earthly relationship was unconsciously ignored since the main purpose was merely a heavenly salvation.

This was understandable, since mystically the journey of the evangelist needed to be continued while theologically his understanding of redemptive evangelism, which apparently had brought him to overlook the purpose of creation, needed to be developed. The large number of attendees was seen as a product of evangelism rather than as a sincere and personal interaction with a person who had a name and personal story. Even though the quantity of evangelised people was sizeable, the quality of the relationship was poor. Impersonality is one of the evil dominions over the earth. It has shifted the warmth of relationship into a cold statistical record.

Ahian was perhaps unaware that, while in the palace, he was trapped with mimetic desire with a very few Chinese-Indonesian tycoons, perhaps less than fifty people who allegedly owned more than sixty percent of private sector capital in Indonesia.[814] These tycoons were the cronies of Soeharto who became the model for businesspeople from other ethnic and religious backgrounds. In Girard's perspective, they are the ideal

[814] See. Christian Chua, *Chinese Big Business*, 1-8.

models in the society who generate the desire of their admirers, who covet their quantitative assets.[815] Such desire to own the idiosyncrasy of this very small group of people who dominate a very large portion of wealth would certainly lead to rivalry between the admirer and the model.[816]

In the business and political bargaining spheres, particularly since the end of 1980s, a similar context that makes the model accessible would consequently raise rivalry. This would inevitably result in a symmetric imitation between the model and the imitator. The majority of people desire the capital of the very small minority group and at the same time this minority desires the political power of the majority. The mutual imitation between them produces intensive rivalry, which consequently leads to a crisis of not differentiating between the two. It ends with scapegoating the model, as in the riots in 1998 which targeted Chinese-Indonesians. However, according to Girard, the crisis not only intensifies the rivalry but is also transmittable to outside observers.[817]

The middle-class Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics and the impoverished Javanese Muslims are the observers of such rivalry between the political majority and the economic majority. But this is impacting the observers who are initially unaware of such rivalry. The poor Javanese Muslims are probably affected and consequently desiring to imitate their Chinese-Indonesian neighbours who are socially and geographically more accessible to them. Again, the majority (both ethnically and religiously) becomes a rival of the minority ethnic group who owned more capital accumulation. At the same time,

[815] René Girard, *Evolution and Conversion: Dialogues in the Origin of Culture* (London: Continuum, 2010), 62-63.
[816] Girard, *Evolution and Conversion,* 56-57.
[817] Girard, *Evolution and Conversion,* 57.

as argued by Girard, this would erupt into an identical imitation from the model to the imitator.[818] The minority desires the power of numbers of the majority.

Both sides now desire that which is owned by each other. Both want to become the majority in both the political and economic spheres, but when the rivalry intensifies then the existence of the desired object is no longer significant and the concern is merely to overcome the rivals. The object of desire is therefore a quantitative accumulation of numbers, whether economic or political capital. This has brought the Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics to desire the majority numbers of their neighbours. They are unaware that their desire for a quantitative measurement of evangelism is often the product of such rivalry, which results in a symmetric imitation.

This crisis in Girard's perspective would certainly trigger the scapegoat mechanism or a victimisation of a single victim, who is the scapegoat, to end the certain crisis.[819] The voice of an accuser would certainly point to the rival, followed by an accusation which could raise an anonymous crowd which disguises the voice of the accuser in the unanimity of anonymity. For Girard, the voice of the accuser is obviously the voice of Satan since 'etymologically Satan simply means "the accuser"'.[820] It is therefore impossible to face the father of the accuser with merely human initiative, power or wisdom. The only solution is to rely on the advocate, who is the Holy Spirit or *Paráklētos* which means 'the lawyer of the defence'.[821]

[818] Girard, *Evolution and Conversion,* 57-59.
[819] Girard, *Evolution and Conversion,* 197.
[820] René Girard, *I See Satan*, 32-46. Girard, *Evolution and Conversion,* 197.
[821] Girard, *Evolution and Conversion,* 196.

Nonetheless in the mystical tradition what is required to totally depend on the advice of the *Paráklētos* is entering the phase of union, which could not be experienced without passing through the dark-night or brokenness experience. In other words, to recognise, reveal and resist the mechanism of Satan, the accuser, requires a total surrender which is experienced through brokenness. Both the model and the imitator therefore would be unconsciously desiring, imitating and attempting to defeat each other without the counsel of the *Paráklētos*. Girard admits that this is the exclusive message of the gospel. This is also the exclusive message of evangelism which could be spread by Charismatics. However, to be able to resist this evil mechanism, Charismatics need to leave 'the phase of being in love'. Such a falling in love phase is not a less authentic experience of the Holy Spirit, yet this experience needs to be continued by 'maturing to love' through entering the phase of wilderness.[822]

Ahian was advised by Yusak that through a further degree of surrendering the self, the hope phase was entered. This phase is a condition where frequently a Charismatic feels that he or she has been abandoned by God. The enjoyment of reading the scripture is fading, praying becomes boring, and the presence of God experienced less. These features are similar to the dark-night phase as explained by Underhill, Suurmond and Chan. Yusak furthermore explained that most Charismatics were reluctant to enter this phase since its characteristic seems contrary to the previous phase. Yusak's explanation confirms Suurmond's observation on the unwillingness of most Charismatics to leave their illumination phase to enter the dark-night, while at the same time it contradicts Chan's opinion on the absence of a dark-night experience from the Charismatic

[822] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit,* 158, 160.

theological framework. The term differs yet the characteristic is clearly similar with the dark-night phase in Underhill's framework as well as the Three Ways framework that is employed by Chan. In this phase a demanding self is gradually transformed to be a hoping self where unfulfilled demand is interpreted as unsynchronised with that of God, which is considered as the better compared to theirs.

Ahian had thus far proclaimed 'the love of God and the authority of God' to an extensive number of the impoverished neighbourhood. But, as Nee insisted, the evangelist must at the same time 'exercise spiritual authority to overthrow the devil's power' from the earth, or particularly from within their own context, to 'testify the triumph of Christ' which could bring loss to the evil dominion and would consequently result in a holistic impact.[823] Such creative evangelism could contribute to wider public benefit for the actual people rather than just for a statistical number. A creative evangelism would benefit both the messengers and the receivers, who share a common struggle as the victims of the society.

What had been done by Ahian to enter the public sphere indicated the earthly impact of evangelism for the beneficiaries in the wider society. While the emphasis of evangelism was 'saving souls', the influence was holistically embodied in daily life. Nevertheless, a lack of synchronised understanding between the experience of brokenness and the teaching of evangelism had led the evangelist to focus on a banal measurement of the purpose of evangelism. This had perhaps unconsciously drawn him to reduce the significance of a person to merely becoming a statistical variable.

[823] Nee, *The Glorious Church,* 20.

The anonymity of the crowd should be translated into the personal identity of an actual person. The number needs to be transformed into an intimate testimony of relationship. A story of a student named Musa Al Fatih was quite frequently retold by Ahian. Musa was an elementary student in the megachurch's school who cried on his first day at school. Ahian saw Musa crying and looked for the cause of his weeping. He personally asked Musa and suddenly realised the cause of his cry. Musa saw his friends wore shoes but he himself was barefoot. Ahian reportedly shared that situation with the teachers and one of them offered the shoes of her child to Musa the following day. From a distance, Ahian observed that Musa was now joyfully playing with his friends. This testimony raised sympathy from the inhabitant of the palace who later collected used and new shoes for the other 'King's children' students.

Knowing, mentioning and remembering others' names could potentially shift the focus from statistical numbers to personalised stories. To gain such testimony also requires personal interaction and involvement rather than just general observation and calculation. Such personal relationships actually occurred yet were drowned out in the midst of quantitative achievement, which quite often tended to exaggerate the numbers. Reproducing a statistical success as the grand narrative would only lead Charismatics to dehumanise the people as a statistic. This is unfortunately replicating the most common political or industrial perspectives on such people. But Ahian was still on the second part of his entire journey. With the continual scrutiny and counsel of the *Paráklētos*, the evangelist would gradually shift the area of concentration from heaven to earth in order to resist evil dominion in the public sphere. Such evangelism could convert number into person, statistic into story, impersonal into personal, and could therefore reveal the scapegoating mechanism of the accuser from the earth.

2.3. The Garden: Unitive Evangelism

Ahian thought that the palace was the last stage of his journey. While he was unaware of the personality of the Adviser in the dungeon, he had become more familiar with the *Paráklētos* and relied on his guidance during his journey in the palace. This had led him to receive the favour of the King, like that of Hadassah. Nonetheless this was a very slippery road. After almost one decade in the palace, Ahian, now clothed with a royal robe, had possessed fame, power, and adherents. He was also assigned to train thousands of troops, to lead a mother ship with scores of aircraft and smaller ships, and to be the representative of the palace in order to distribute the wealth of the Kingdom. Ahian still thought this was because he had a closer relationship with the Adviser which caused him to receive the favour of the King.[824]

'Isn't that man similar to you?' asked the Holy Spirit, who currently introduced himself as the Adopter. Ahian saw a physically disabled man sitting in a wheelchair and getting priority to bypass the queue while he mocked other people who had to wait in the long line. 'He thought himself privileged by the ease that he received thus far, yet didn't realise his actual condition', said the Adopter again. Shortly afterward Ahian confessed his stubbornness and his failure to understand the nature of grace. He publicly admitted that he had received the privileged, not because of his exceptional status but through his incompetence. The Adopter nodded and confirmed that such humbleness was the splendour of heaven.

'Now I need to replace your royal robe' said the Adopter. 'But, isn't it a signifier of my royal priesthood?' Ahian still tried to argue. 'Certainly, but you need to adjust your robe

[824] See. Chapter 3 section 2.1. See also Appendix 6.

with the dress code of the new place that I will bring you in', answered the Adopter gently. 'Where is it? Isn't the palace the best place to dwell?', Ahian was still questioning. The Adopter did not answer him at this time but Ahian's eyes were opened to see the real condition of the royal robe which he was proud of. Ahian realised that the robe was shabby and raggy, not as glorious as he thought it was. Unlike the previous royal robe, the new robe consisted of three layers of plain robe. Before he asked, the Adopter explained that this was called the robe of humility. 'This is the dress code to enter the garden', explained the Adopter.

When he was astonished by the picturesque scenery, suddenly he realised that Jesus sat at a bench facing the lake. Ahian was still dazzled by what he saw while Jesus grabbed his hand, inviting him to sit together. Jesus was also laughing freely and shaking Ahian's shoulder. 'Could you feel what I feel, my brother?' Jesus enthusiastically asked. Ahian tried to open his mouth but he was still speechless not only because of the question but more by the love which radiated from Jesus' eyes. Jesus then rocked Ahian's shoulder and pulled him closer until his head was on Jesus' chest. 'Do you know how my heart is overjoyed to see you here? I delight that that you finally understand it', said Jesus.

When Ahian felt tranquil, he could clearly hear the voice of the Adopter again, 'Could you catch what he means? This is what has become the heart of the Father since before the creation of the world', the Adopter explained.[825] 'The story began neither on your conversion nor on the fall of your ancestor. I know that's how you see it thus far from your eyes and experiences', said the Adopter. In Ahian's ear the statement sounded comfortable rather than judgmental. 'But', said the Adopter, 'It is understandable since

[825] See. Matthew 13: 35; Psalm 78: 2.

you haven't arrived at the garden. I know how precious was the Light for you while you were in the dungeon'. Jesus calmly replied, 'You only knew me as Saviour, who saved you from the darkness. I can comprehend how grateful you were when you were fully released from there'. Jesus continued, 'It was neither for the sake of saving you from hell that I set you free nor merely in order that you could reign in the palace that I became flesh'.[826]

The Adopter then said, 'Well, the reason is surpassing knowledge but it is experiential. I have been helping you to gradually grasp how wide and long and high and deep …'. 'The love of Christ!', Ahian was suddenly yelling. 'I know that you already knew and are familiar with the phrase of Paul. Well, I told John as well and his phrase has become one of your favourite quotations', replied the Adopter. 'Hmm, do you mean John 3: 16?' Ahian asked. The Adopter was smiling while he replied 'Absolutely, have you grasped it? It is neither the fall of your ancestor nor the darkness in the dungeon that becomes the reason of incarnation, if you want to technically call it that'. 'It is neither to pay the ransom to the devil neither to satisfy the wrath of the Father that the Son died on the cross, for what you often refer as redemption', continued the Adopter.[827]

'It is the Father's love that I expressed by becoming flesh and dwelling among you', Jesus was smiling when he explained it. 'But, it is not only for the sake of your salvation that the Son became flesh, or took your humanity through incarnation', the Adopter was also smiling, 'nor merely in order to give you power to fulfil the purpose of creation, which is of course part of the consequence of it'. 'More importantly is that you can return to enter the fellowship with the Father through the Son', the Adopter winked to Jesus, 'in

[826] See. John 1: 14.
[827] See the theological argument of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in Lossky, *In the Image,* 101-102.

me'. 'Welcome to the family of the Father, my dear brother', Jesus shaking Ahian's shoulder again.[828] 'And he is your eldest brother', continued the Adopter.[829] 'But, the Adopter is the one who has been sent into your heart, by the Father', Jesus quickly added.[830] Then both Jesus and the Spirit of Adoption were hugging Ahian while he was unwittingly humming, '*Abba*, Father'.

The Fatherhood of God 'is very strikingly non-patriarchal' and the Father is not introduced in situations where his wrath and power are to be accentuated, said Jane Williams.[831] The biblical metaphor of the Father 'integrates those characteristics often associated with fatherhood with those specifically embedded in motherhood'.[832] To be specific, in the fatherhood of God the impression of power and authority is not isolated from his tenderness and care. Therefore, according to Smail, instead of avoiding the attribute of power and authority in order to exempt the abusive or repressive associations from the Father, the biblical metaphor of God as the Father reconciles those often categorised as masculine features with the feminine ones.[833] According to Wijaya, the nature of the relationship 'between the powerful and the powerless, between authority and subject, between the master and the obedient' is thus unreservedly transformed toward exercising power and authority in the 'the liberating caring spirit of

[828] See. Ephesians 3: 14.
[829] See. Romans 8: 29; Colossians 1: 15; Hebrews 2: 11-12.
[830] See. Galatians 4: 6. Romans 8: 15.
[831] Jane Williams, 'The fatherhood of God' in Alasdair I. C. Heron, ed., The Forgotten Trinity (London: BCC/CCBI, 1991), 93.
[832] Yahya Wijaya, *Business, Family and Religion: Public Theology in the Context of the Chinese-Indonesian Business Community* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2002), 192. See also. Williams, 'The fatherhood', 93-94.
[833] Thomas A. Smail, *The Forgotten Father: Rediscovering the Heart of the Christian Gospel* (London: Paternoster Press, 1996), 62-64.

loving familial relationship'.[834] This is forming, what is cited by Wijaya from Moltmann, 'a patriarchy of love'.[835]

It seemed that the power and authority which had been exercised by Ahian when he was in the palace could be categorised within this 'patriarchy of love' instead of by the impersonal feature of Weberian charismatic authority.[836] Nonetheless, such a warm character of fatherhood is probably in contrast with the common experience of many Chinese-Indonesians. Authoritarianism is what is often associated with the figure of the father, who is usually also the father of the family business. The character of such a father is usually far from any explicit expression of his affection. Relational warmness is almost always absent in his familial relationships, particularly with his son(s). Wijaya argues that this condition is most probably influenced by the authoritarian style of leadership in running the family firm as the main decision-maker, who is at the top of the traditional management system as well as the founding father whose position is incomparably superior to the rest of the firm.[837]

The love of the Father is also what has been longed for by Ishmael, as the spiritual type for Muslims. Malick said that 'Abraham had taught Ishmael about faith, but not about fatherhood'.[838] Figuratively, the spiritual sons of Hagar still live under slavery while the

[834] Wijaya, *Business, Family and Religion,* 193.
[835] See. Jurgen Moltmann, *History and the Triune God: Contributions to Trinitarian Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1991), 16.
[836] See. Chapter 4.
[837] Wijaya, *Business, Family and Religion*, 172-173.
[838] Faisal Malick, *The Political Spirit* (Shippensburg: Destiny Image, 2008), 126-127. Malick's theology represents the theology of the ex-Muslim Christians, which strongly relates eschatology and evangelism to their Muslim peers. See. Duane Alexander Miller Botero, 'Finding an End in the Beginning: Eschatological Trends among ex-Muslim Christians' in Brent J. Neely and Peter G. Riddell, *Islam and the Last day: Christian Perspectives on Islamic Eschatology* (Victoria: Melbourne School of Theology, 2014), 152-156.

spiritual sons of Sarah are the children of promise who are born by the Spirit.[839] The condition of Ishmael is similar with that of Ahian when he was in the dungeon. In other words, Ishmael still is the prisoner of the law. This is the void in Ishmael's heart, as argued by Malick, that results in his slave mentality 'submitting to God, hoping that, through their works, they can obtain acceptance and approval from God and avoid inevitable judgment'. That is to say this is the cry of Ishmael that 'has never ceased but has deepened with time' in order to 'earn acceptance by God through works rather than grace'.[840]

Hagar's misery was 'heard by the Lord' which became the meaning of Ishmael's name.[841] If such a loud expression of misery was heard by God himself, then 'how dare human creatures like us make an opposite response to that sound'.[842] It is not only the misery of Hagar which has been heard by God, but also the cry of Ishmael himself.[843] While his earthly father abandoned him, the love of the heavenly Father already embraced him even before he was born, since his cry was heard by God himself when Ishmael was conceived.[844] Ishmael was for fifteen years living with Abraham when he was expelled from his father's home into the wilderness.[845] It was in the wilderness, which was 'the place of death, pain, rejection and thirst',[846] that God heard the cry of the boy, but Ishmael had been waiting for his father to look after him and bring bread and water again.[847]

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[839] Galatians 4: 21-31.
[840] Malick, *The Destiny*, 31.
[841] Genesis 16: 11.
[842] Purnomo, *Ishmael is Coming Home*.
[843] Genesis 21: 17 (NIV).
[844] See. Genesis 16: 11-15.
[845] Genesis 21: 8-14.
[846] Malick, *The Destiny*, 27.
[847] Malick, *The Destiny*, 30.

The last time Ishmael had a chance to see Abraham was when he, along with Isaac, buried Abraham.[848] According to Malick, 'Ishmael didn't just bury Abraham, he also buried his chance to ever be a son' since the burial 'signified the death of Ishmael's hope to ever be accepted by a father again'.[849] Nonetheless, prophetically the burial could be seen as an eschatological hope of reconciliation between the spiritual children of Isaac and Ishmael who would also finally be reunited,[850] not in the tomb of their earthly father but in the garden of their heavenly Father. Meanwhile, the void in Ishmael's spiritual children is filled by believing that 'God is not a Father and has no Son',[851] since they merely resonate the experience of their spiritual father who was cast out by his father and left without an inheritance as a son. After Ishmael left his father's home he only knew that 'there was a God and that he was not worthy to be accepted as a son'.[852]

Without the love of a father Ishmael lost his identity, since identity, as argued by Malick, 'is not just about who you are but *whose* you are'.[853] The lack of belonging to a father would only result in an attempt to define himself through what he did. This was understood by Ahian through what was taught by the Adopter on the character of the wild donkey whose hand 'will be against everyone and everyone's hand against him'.[854] A wild donkey is considered similar to a young donkey that has never been ridden.[855] This is the most precious donkey, because once the donkey has been tamed it would totally submit to the first rider. Ahian had been taught that Islamophobia has drawn

[848] Genesis 25: 9.
[849] Malick, *The Destiny*, 30.
[850] Purnomo, *Ishmael is Coming Home*.
[851] Malick, *The Destiny*, 31.
[852] Malick, *The Political Spirit,* 127.
[853] Malick, *The Destiny,* 30. (Emphasis Original)
[854] Genesis 16: 12 (NIV).
[855] Mark 11: 2.

people to beat, overcome or tie the wild one since they do not have any ability to tame the donkey.[856] Human effort to tame the donkey is useless since the root of 'the woundedness that feeds the bitterness [that is] fueling terrorism' is laid at his fatherlessness.[857]

Ahian was taught that it was only Jesus who could tame the wild donkey that was brought by the disciples.[858] As Ahian entered into the garden, the end purpose of releasing the unridden donkey was not only for it to be submitted to a master, which was a familiar experience for Ishmael. It was rather to bring Ishmael into reconciliation with the love of the Father, who had heard the cry of Ishmael before he was born, through Jesus, the descendant of Isaac who would restore his sonship, in the Spirit of adoption who would cry and call out, along with Ishmael's spirit, '*Abba*, Father'. When Ishmael is no longer a slave but a son, then the Spirit of adoption will testify along with his spirit that he is also an heir, an heir of God and co-heir with Christ.[859]

The advice that Paul gave to the Galatians referred to the word of Sarai to Abraham to expel Hagar and Ishmael, since he 'will never share in the inheritance with the free woman's son'.[860] This passage should therefore also be interpreted figuratively, as Paul explains previously that the women and their sons 'may be taken figuratively'.[861] As long as Ishmael lives under the slavery of the law he would not become an heir. This is in line with Paul's argument that both the Jews and Gentiles who live according to the flesh or their own will, are living under the burden of slavery of the law. The suggestion to 'get

[856] Purnomo, *Ishmael is Coming Home*.
[857] Malick, *The Political Spirit,* 127.
[858] Mark 11: 2, 4, 6.
[859] Romans 15-17. Galatians 4: 6-7.
[860] See. Galatians 4: 30; Genesis 21: 10;
[861] See. Galatians 4: 21-24.

rid of the slave woman and her son' is therefore advice to live by the Spirit, be led by the Spirit, and keep in step with the Spirit, in order to produce the fruit of the Spirit.[862] In other words, this is the struggle in the inward being during the journey toward the garden instead of the rivalry between the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael.

What is underlying the wildness of the donkey is therefore a mistrust of the possibility of a relational love between a father and a son. What has been yearned for by Ishmael since he was in the wilderness is a father who provides bread and water. However, this longing is also what has been desired by Charismatics who have not arrived at the garden. Charismatics need to be reconciled with their imagery of God as the Father before they can compassionately introduce Jesus, the bread of life and refresh people with the living water, who is the Holy Spirit. In order to be reconciled with the heavenly Father, Charismatics are not told to leave the world but rather to meet the Father in their innermost being where the Spirit of his Son resides.[863] It is by the Spirit who indwells human interiority that the Father has revealed, through the Son, the love which is has never been seen by eyes, has never been heard by ears, and has never been conceived by minds.[864]

Smail contends that the primary role of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament relates to 'two central relationships that are summed up in the two confessions, '*Abba*, Father' and 'Jesus is *Kurios*, Lord' instead with the charismatic manifestations.[865] According to Smail, a person does not become Charismatic when he or she is speaking in tongues or

[862] See. Galatians 5: 16, 18, 22-23, 25.
[863] See. Watchman Nee, *The Spiritual Man Volume 2* (New York: Christian Fellowship Publishers, 1977), 15.
[864] See. 1 Corinthians 2: 6-16.
[865] Thomas A. Smail, *The Giving Gift: The Holy Spirit in Person* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), 13.

prophesies but rather when such a person 'enters the dynamic field of the Spirit's action […] when he [or she] confesses *Kurios* and *Abba*.[866] Nonetheless, in the context of mistrust of the son and father relationship, besides the relationship with *Abba*, I contend that the Holy Spirit would also introduce a person into relationship with Jesus as *Adelphos* (brother), or more precisely the eldest or firstborn *(prototokos) Adelphos*.[867] Such a relationship would bring to an end what is usually known as sibling rivalry between the older and the younger brother, in this case between Ishmael and Isaac.[868]

The sibling rivalry of Ishmael and Isaac has been continued with the claim of both descendants on who was sacrificed by their father on the altar. Both sides claim that it is the right of the firstborn to be offered to God.[869] However, in both stories it was not one of them who was really offered in the altar but a lamb. Abraham was prophesying when he answered Isaac's question on the availability of the lamb for offering, 'God himself will provide the lamb for the burnt offering', said Abraham.[870] 'Look, the lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world'.[871] It is the lamb who is genuinely the firstborn but this firstborn is not a rival to his younger brother(s). He ends the rivalry through what is called by Girard as the only non-scapegoating sacrifice. The lamb is the one who is 'standing in the centre of the throne' is also the one who is 'looking as if it had been slain'.[872] Girard revised his previous rejection of any sacrificial narrative through his rereading of the letter to the Hebrews where the only non-rivalry sacrifice

[866] Smail, *The Giving Gift,* 13.
[867] See. Colossians 1: 15; Romans 8: 29; Hebrews 2: 11-12.
[868] It can be extended for Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, and between the older son and his younger prodigal brother.
[869] More details on Islamic version see Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990).
[870] Genesis 22: 7-8 (NIV).
[871] John 1: 29, 36 (NIV).
[872] Revelation 5: 6 (NIV).

was the self-sacrifice of Jesus. He further admitted that Jesus 'is not simply another sacralized scapegoat' but became a scapegoat 'in order to desacralize those who came before him and to prevent those who come after him from being sacralized'.[873] Therefore, Jesus was not the victim of society but the martyr who was innocent, yet voluntarily offering himself to end the scapegoating mechanism.

Girard proposes good mimesis through imitating Christ, or via an intermediary model like Paul,[874] to end the circle of mimetic desire. He argues that Paul's confidence to be an intermediary model is feasible since 'only the Christian faith has good mimesis because Christianity provides us with a model that imitates God best of all, and most perfectly, Jesus'.[875] The advice of good mimesis is to some extent contextualised by Joas Adiprasetya who also struggles with his hyphenated identity.[876] He proposes a good mimesis, or discipleship, for Chinese-Indonesian Christians who live in the Javanese context based on the imitation of Jesus as Semar, the Javanese clown.[877] Semar, who is taken as an intercultural type of Jesus, is regarded as a contextual figure in the Javanese context. Through Semar, as a Javanese clown, Adiprasetya frames a metaphor of Jesus the (Javanese) clown.[878] He argues there are at least three similarities between Jesus and Semar as the clown: First is 'the self-emptying God' in Jesus through taking a servant form and 'culminates in the crucifixion';[879] Second is his self-contradiction. Jesus is both

[873] René Girard, *The One by Whom Scandal Comes*, translated by M. B. DeBevoise (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2014), 33-45. Compare with his previous view in René Girard, *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 173-214.
[874] See. Philippians 3: 17.
[875] Michael Hardin, *Reading the Bible with René Girard: Conversations with Steven E. Berry* (Lancaster: JDL Press, 2015), 155-156.
[876] Adiprasetya is a Chinese-Indonesian himself, who comes from a Reformed denomination whose majority members are of Chinese descent.
[877] Joas Adiprasetya, 'Following Jesus the Clown' in *Theology Today* (January 2013) Vol. 69 No. 4, 418-420.
[878] Adiprasetya, 'Following Jesus', 420-424.
[879] Philippians 2: 7.

the shepherd and the lamb, 'he is not only their *pastor*, but also their *amicus* (friend)';[880] and the third feature is a characteristic of both victim and healer that, in Jesus, 'reach their climax in agony of the cross'.[881]

Chinese-Indonesian Christians are imagined as a clowning community to imitate Jesus the clown. A community that walks and imitates the 'path that Jesus passed through'. However, unless this community has 'a willingness to apply self-criticism' they 'will not be able to follow Jesus the clown freely'.[882] In other words, Adiprasetya emphasises a critical and solidary discipleship for the Chinese-Indonesian Christians in the Javanese context. Therefore, 'the risk of being [the] victim must not be avoided' since becoming the representative of 'the kingdom of clowns' means taking the sacrificial way of Jesus.[883] Nonetheless, the way of imitation which is proposed by Girard and contextualised by Adiprasetya is not the familiar way which leads toward union (the garden) in the mystical tradition, as is mainly the case in Eastern Orthodox spirituality. Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* is perhaps the clearest example of a Western spirituality which 'may rather be defined as a *life in Christ*' in the Eastern mystical way.[884] Instead of imitation the way to end the circle of mimetic desire is therefore better defined as *participation*.

The descending way, or *kenosis*, to take human nature is the way of Christ in order that the created being, which form was taken by Christ, may take an ascending way, which is 'a rising up towards the divine nature by means of union with uncreated grace

[880] John 15: 14.
[881] Adiprasetya, 'Following Jesus', 424-426.
[882] Adiprasetya, 'Following Jesus', 427.
[883] Adiprasetya, 'Following Jesus', 426-427.
[884] Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, 215. (Emphasis Original)

communicated by the Holy Spirit'.[885] That is to say, the journey toward union with the Father is made possible through the incarnation of the Son, as the union of God-Man, through whom humanity can participate in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit. In such a mystical way of participation, Semar as an intercultural type could better reflect the person of the Holy Spirit. As argued by Magnis-Suseno,[886] making such a divine figure a model to be imitated is not its intended purpose and function in the Javanese shadow play.[887] Semar is never giving a moral story to be imitated or followed. According to Magnis-Suseno, Semar bears wholeness and divinity that would be impossible to be impersonated. Semar's basic invitation is rather to be responsive to him. This means a willingness to be guided and to lend an ear to his counsel that usually communicates with both gentleness and firmness. The destiny of the people could not be fulfilled without following Semar's advice, as *Sang Pamomong* (Java: the Nurturer).[888]

The appearance of Semar can be perceived as a Javanese mystical intervention in the midst of the elitism of the original Indian version of the story of Mahabharata. In its Indian version the power struggle between two parties in the Kingdom of Astina is purely elitist conflict; but in the Javanese adaptation the territorial, yet also believed to be universal, Spirit (Java: *Danyang*) is introduced.[889] Interestingly this divine figure who is believed to be more powerful than Batara Guru, the highest god in the Indian version, is not depicted in a beautiful appearance and manner, in contrast to the good-looking

[885] Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, 215.
[886] A German-born Jesuit who moved to Indonesia in 1961 and obtained Indonesian citizenship in 1977. See. Verena H. Meyer, 'The People and the Wayang by Franz Magnis Suseno: Translation and Introduction', *International Journal of Dharma Studies* (2016) 4: 3, 2.
[887] See. Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Jawa*, 195.
[888] *Pamomong* could be interpreted as someone who leads or guides the journey but also acts as an adopter with an advisory role instead of merely as an adviser, which connotes a less personal relationship like the role of *Paráklētos* in the palace.
[889] See. Ward Keeler, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 109-110.

heroes of both parties, Pandawa and Kurawa. Magnis-Suseno furthermore explains that the Javanese, through the presence of Semar, show 'a deep understanding of what really is of value for humanity' that is 'not one's appearance, nor one's command of the rules of etiquette' but 'rather it is one's inner nature' that 'determine[s] the degree of one's humanity'.[890] The elites perceive the palace as the source of power, authority, wealth and health which flow into the life of the people. But the ordinary people know, through the presence of Semar, that the source of the elitist power is the sacrifice of the lowly and uneducated servant who helps the heroes to reach their position. It is the people, or to be more specific the innocent victims of society, who are represented by the figure of Semar, 'who actually hold divine and cosmic power, they are the source of all the strength that can be found in society'.[891]

What is suggested by Girard and Adiprasetya to imitate the good mimesis could rather be seen as an elitist confidence like that of the warriors before they face troubles in their journey and seek the supervision of Semar. It is not the knights who protect Semar, their servant, but it is Semar who actually guards the knights. Even though Arjuna, a handsome knight who reaches his powerful and sacred status through meditation, has all the mundane characteristics of authority, this is useless without an endowment and guidance from Semar.[892] That is to say the assistant is at the same time the leader. Therefore, to reach *manunggaling kawula Gusti* (the human-divine union), which is the final goal of the inner journey for Javanese, is only possible through the fellowship with the Holy *Danyang*. Magnis-Suseno also emphasises that the way of Semar 'can help us

[890] Meyer, 'The People and the Wayang', 12.
[891] Meyer, 'The People and the Wayang', 13.
[892] Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Jawa*, 191-192.

destroy the danger of elitism in the endeavour of finding unity with God based on our own strength'. Therefore the presence of the Holy *Danyang* raises awareness of the weakness of humanity. The inner journey of the Javanese is therefore equal to the mystical way toward union through total surrender. Semar's appearance on the *wayang* (shadow play) show, according to Magnis-Suseno, is reminding the audiences that '[w]e do not need to search our own nature for strength that really […] we do not possess. It is only then when we admit that on our own, based on our strength, we are completely powerless, that we can be helped and guided'.[893]

The awareness of powerlessness is called by Yusak the love phase, which is marked by a priority to wait for the divine initiative. A phase where every circumstance is perceived as perfectly arranged for human well-being. The feature of this phase is clearly similar to the union phase in Underhill's mystical framework, a phase which is often misunderstood as indicating utter passiveness and often criticised as Quietism.[894] However, Guyon explains that what she means was not that 'the soul should be lazy or inactive' instead she encourages 'the highest activity the soul can engage in' that is on 'the total dependence on the Spirit of God'.[895] Therefore, the utter passivity in the union phase indicates 'the human will is in accord with the divine will in all things'.[896] Underhill also argues that even Guyon's 'natural tendency to passive states breaks down with her entrance on the Unitive Way'.[897] The evangelist was then, in Nee's term, becoming a

[893] Meyer, 'The People and the Wayang', 14.
[894] This is broadly understood as 'any form of mystical piety that stresses interior passivity to the neglect of exterior practice' more specifically in the beliefs and practices of Miguel Molinos, Jeanne Guyon and François Fenelon. See. Bernard McGinn, ed., *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism* (New York: Modern Library, 2006), 501-508.
[895] Guyon, *Experiencing*, 97.
[896] Guyon, *Experiencing*, 135.
[897] Underhill, *Mysticism,* 431.

spiritual man since 'the whole man is governed by the inner man: all the organs of his being are subject completely to it'.[898]

The evangelist was no longer confident to imitate the Master, as was experienced by Peter when he encountered the risen Christ on the shore of Tiberias.[899] The goal of more than three years of discipleship by Jesus himself was therefore similar to the presence of Semar, to help Peter terminate 'the danger of elitism in [his] endeavour of finding unity with God based on [his] own strength'.[900] What Peter had tried was to rely on his *philéō* (affectionate friendship)[901] but what Jesus had intended was for Peter to love through Him, or *agapáō.*[902] Peter had realised his brokenness when he admitted that what he had done was merely relying on his own strength and love, and it was not enough to utter the dissenting opinion toward the unanimity of the political correctness of the scapegoating mechanism. On his third question, Jesus descended to the lowliness of Peter, as he had done through incarnation, by employing the limited term of *philéō* in order to embrace Peter's brokenness.[903] At the moment the extravert charismatic evangelist embraced his brokenness, the concern was not any longer with his own will and strength, where he went where he wanted, but with entering the inner journey where he would be led into a way where his own flesh did not want to go.[904]

[898] Nee, *Spiritual Man Vol 2*, 34.
[899] John 21: 1-19.
[900] See. Meyer, 'The People and the Wayang', 14.
[901] 'Philéō', HELPS Word Studies, accessed 24 January 2018, http://biblehub.com/interlinear/john/21-15.htm.
[902] 'Agapáō', HELPS Word Studies, accessed 24 January 2018, http://biblehub.com/interlinear/john/21-15.htm.
[903] See. John 21: 15-17.
[904] John 21: 18 (NIV).

Nonetheless, Charismatics, as Peter, need to wait for Pentecost, when the Holy *Danyang* descends in order to bring them upwards toward union in the Trinitarian life.[905] The *dýnamis* (power)[906] which has been outpoured is not an impersonal power to demonstrate miraculous performance, but a personal accompaniment of the Spirit of the firstborn brother in the innermost being of the person, to restore the love of *Abba*. Charismatics are therefore invited to participate in witnessing, as martyrs, the lavish love of *Abba* through the self-sacrifice of the firstborn *Adelphos* in fellowship with the *Danyang* of adoption. Such participation had empowered Peter to stand with a dissenting opinion against the religious and political majority.[907] Evangelism, as what was publicly preached by Peter, is therefore a public proclamation on the innocence of the victim, as was proved by Jesus by his resurrection, and an exclusive invitation to break the circle of mimetic desire in order to unveil the scapegoating mechanism, through repentance from their sins of ignorance of the innocent victim through baptism, as the seal of participation, so that the Holy *Danyang* could dwell in their innermost being to restore their thirst for *Abba*'s love through the non-rivalry brotherhood of Jesus, the eldest *Adelphos.*[908]

'Save yourselves from this corrupt generation',[909] as publicly warned and pleaded by Peter to his audience, is also a contextual articulation of evangelism. The corrupt generation is not only the corrupt politicians who conspire with the Islamists but also includes those who remain anonymous behind the unanimity of the crowd in the scapegoating mechanism, or to be more specific: the oligarchs and the army. While in

[905] See. Acts 1: 1-8.
[906] 'Dýnamis', HELPS Word Studies, accessed 24 January 2018, http://biblehub.com/greek/1411.htm.
[907] Acts 2: 14-41; 4: 1-21.
[908] See. Acts 2: 17-39.
[909] Acts 2: 40 (NIV).

the palace the evangelist was desiring the idiosyncrasy of the oligarchs, in the garden the circle of mimetic desire was broken in the participation with the *Danyang* through the *Adelphos* to the *Abba*. The evangelist can therefore publicly stand with those who have been mainly scapegoated since the early period of the New Order until recently, the leftists and the Chinese.[910] The leftists are scapegoated when there is any resistance toward the benefits of the oligarchs, while the Chinese are victimised, previously when the military regime failed to satisfy public criticism of economic discrepancies, and currently (mainly since the presidential election of 2014), by opposition to the presidency of Joko Widodo, the first elected president from a non-elitist background.[911]

Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics who have realised the truth of the innocent victim should therefore evangelise society on the innocence of hundreds of thousands of people who were allegedly accused as leftists and brutally killed after 1965. However, their main role is better articulated through clowning like that usually done by Semar in the *wayang* (shadow puppet) show. The role of Semar 'to interrupt the thread of the grand narrative' is not conducted through direct or aggressive action but it is expressed 'by making ironical comments and cracking jokes'.[912] Semar uses white face make-up, an odd physical appearance, and a loud voice in contrast to the handsome knight who is mannerly speaking. But for the Javanese, Semar is not perceived as identical to the popular western clown, e.g. as Ronald McDonald.[913] It seems that Semar is not disrupted

[910] There are religious sects, the disabled, people with different sexual orientation, the transgenders, peasants and labours who are marginalised from society. But the two main scapegoats thus far are still the leftists, accused of being members of PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) which was dissolved since 1966, and the Chinese-Indonesians who are always accused as 'non-native' (associated with the Communism of China) and greedy.
[911] See. Ross Tapsell, 'Indonesia's Media Oligarchy and the 'Jokowi Phenomenon', *Indonesia* 99, April 2015, 29-50.
[912] Paul Bouissac, *The Semiotics of Clowns and Clowning: Rituals of Transgression and The Theory of Laughter* (London & New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 188.
[913] Bouissac, *The Semiotics,* 188.

by a disorderly situation. They are sitting and relaxing on the floor, enjoying the gamelan's joyous tune in contrast to the previous suspense rhythm during *gara-gara*.[914]

Gara-gara is probably the sequence most expected by the audience of the shadow puppet show. This is a chaotic scene where the puppet master performs his skilful technical and linguistic performance to speak on behalf of the calm knights and the harsh expression of the enemy side, whether other knights or giants. It starts with several natural disasters and it peaks with a terrific physical fight which is usually won by the heroes' side.[915] *Gara-gara* literary means riot, noise, furore or severity. It is basically a transition sequence toward the heart of the story. This chaotic scene could be seen as an analogy of the human journey toward maturity, a phase that is regarded as susceptible and crucial for a near future situation.[916] Nonetheless, this scene is currently misunderstood as announcing the soon appearance of Semar and other Punakawan.[917] While the original intention is not directly or always followed by these figures, it has become a canon since the end of the 1960s when Ki Nartosabdo, a famous puppet master from Semarang, always performed the appearance of Semar after *gara-gara*.[918]

What is probably lacking from the understanding of the younger Javanese is the historical background behind the new canon of the appearance of Semar after *gara-gara*. *Wayang* performance was strictly controlled from 1965 until 1971, which probably

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[914] Gamelan is a Javanese instrumental ensemble, typically including various bronze percussion instruments.
[915] Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Jawa*, 186-187.
[916] See Randyo, 'Peran Semar dalam Pertunjukan Wayang Kulit Jawa Gaya Surakarta' in *Harmonia* (2009) Vol. 9 No. 2.
[917] Three other figures, who usually accompany *Semar*, whom are considered his sons (Petruk, Gareng and Bagong).
[918] 'Gara-gara', Ensiklopedi Wayang Indonesia, accessed 4 July 2016, http://www.hadisukirno.co.id/artikel-detail.html?id=Gara-Gara

related to the potential social criticism by the leftist puppet masters *(dalang)*, who mostly were imprisoned or exiled. The Communist Party, since the early 1960s, had encouraged the appearance of Semar and the rest of Punakawan as the representative of the proletarians, on whom the heroes, as the bourgeois, ultimately depend.[919] The discourse was later countered by the new regime in a series of meetings which culminated in 1969 when Soeharto personally met the puppet masters, who were affiliated with the new regime with the supervision of an army general.[920] Consequently, in July 1969 a national organisation to guide the art of puppet master was later formed in Semarang and followed by an association of the puppet masters in 1971, both part of the government party.[921] Soon after the puppet masters were utilised as new regime propagandists not only for the agricultural and family planning programme but more importantly for the depiction of the president as Semar. Soeharto claimed that his new authority was entrusted to him by Sukarno through a (non-existing) letter called Supersemar, an abbreviation of the instruction letter of the eleventh of March, so was probably not coincidently identifying himself with Semar.

Under the New Order version, Semar, as the representative of the president and the regime, appears to reduce the tension in the midst of the conflict *(gara-gara)* and also bring laughter at midnight when the audience already felt saturated. The pre-New Order version of *gara-gara* involves the main scene of conflict (the Baratayuda war) between Kurawa, who was always placed on the left side of the *dalang* and Pandawa*,* on the right

[919] See. Ruth McVey, 'The *Wayang* controversy in Indonesian Communism' in Mark Hobart and Robert H. Taylor, eds., *Context, Meaning and Power in South East Asia* (New York: Cornel University South East Asia Program, 1986), 30, 34.
[920] Helen Pausacker, 'Presidents as Punakawan: Portrayal of National Leaders as Clown-Servants in Central Javanese *Wayang*', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* 35 (2) June 2004, 218.
[921] Pausacker, 'Presidents as Punakawan', 219.

side. In the New Order version, until recently, the great war has been replaced with a shorter narrative by the puppet master. It is followed by the appearance of Semar who intervenes in the great conflict, which has been disguised from the scene by the replacement narrative of the *dalang*. The concealment of the bloody war of Baratayuda, where all of the Kurawa siblings were killed, is concealing the bloody massacre of anyone who was allegedly accused of being leftist as well as the loyalists of Sukarno. Until recently the army still denies the mass killing of the leftists. The massacre never appeared in the official historical text book and was also disguised from the scene of the *wayang* show.

In the scene, Sukarno, the first president, could be portrayed as Basukarna, or Karna, the half-brother of Pandawa, the right wing, who opts to stand with Kurawa even though he knows the victory will be with his half-brother.[922] Sukarno's loyalty to the leftists is similar with that of Karna, since he refused to dissolve the Communist Party (PKI) when there was a possibility for him to retain his presidency if he sacrificed the leftists, as Karna to Kurawa.[923] Restoring the full scene of Baratayuda into *wayang* performance can be perceived as evangelism since it will unveil the scapegoating mechanism which has been disguised since the end of the 1960s. The nature of the *wayang* story is a myth where, according to Girard, the guilty victim is murdered in order to pacify the conflict, to heal the plague, or to harmonise the society.[924] The purpose of a myth is therefore to sacralise the real violence towards the victim so that the real murderer, or the first stoning, remains hidden.[925]

[922] Meyer, 'The People and the Wayang', 6.
[923] Pausacker, 'Presidents as Punakawan', 217.
[924] See. Girard, *I See Satan,* 65.
[925] See. Girard, *I See Satan,* 49-70.

Preaching the gospel is therefore necessary to unveil the scapegoating of Kurawa by Pandawa. The non-rivalry self-sacrifice of Jesus, the firstborn brother, is the exclusive narrative to be delivered to the public, mainly Javanese, to desacralize the divinity of the right wing as well as reinterpreting the figure of Semar. Experiencing the Holy Spirit through faith in Jesus the non-rivalry *Adelphos* will consequently transform the victimisation of the bourgeois in the leftists' version of proletarian Semar as well as deconstruct the divinisation of Soeharto in the New Order's version of Semar. Defining Semar without a Trinitarian relationship with Jesus, the non-rivalry *Adelphos* and the loving *Abba* will merely perpetuate the circle of scapegoating mechanism. The calling of the Charismatics who reach the garden is to participate in the public discourse by sharing their exclusive faith in Jesus, the innocent victim, who is the only way to end the sibling rivalry, whether between Ishmael and Isaac (Muslims and Christians), Kurawa and Pandawa (Leftist and Rightist), or Native and 'Non-native' (Javanese and Chinese-Indonesian), to participate in the perfect mimesis in the relationship of the Holy Trinity.

Conclusion

What could be called *Paradisiacal* or Unitive Evangelism is therefore sharing the inward journey of the Charismatic evangelists toward the garden. According to Underhill, 'the story of [hu]man's spirit ends in a garden: in a place of birth and fruitfulness, of beautiful and natural things'. Once they reach the garden, evangelism relies on what is called by Underhill, Divine Fecundity as the secret of existence which is 'not for its own sake, but for the sake of a more abundant life' that 'ends with the coming forth of divine humanity, never again to leave us: living in us, and with us, a pilgrim, a worker, a guest

at our table, a sharer at all hazards in life'.[926] The Church, according to Irenaeus of Lyons, 'has been planted as a garden *(paradisus)* in this world'[927] whose fruit of the Spirit 'will serve for food' and the leaves are 'for the healing of the nations'.[928] In the garden the evangelists could publicly sing the evangelistic invitation of *Bapa* (Java: father) through Jesus, our *Kakang* (Java: brother) in the Holy *Danyang.*

[926] Underhill, *Mysticism*, 450.
[927] Abridged in Johanna Manley, *The Lament of Eve* (California: Monastery Books, 1993), 33.
[928] Ezekiel 47: 12; Revelation 22: 2.

CONCLUSION

This research, which started with an autobiographical account, is intended to relate my two major epiphanies of Chinese identity and Charismatic experience with a case study megachurch in order to contextually articulate the evangelistic zeal of Charismatics as a public faith. The practical contribution of the research is to offer a dynamic proposal to be discerned and responded to by Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics, mainly through the case study. Meanwhile, its academic contribution is mainly in proposing the potency of 'saving souls' evangelism as public faith within the study of a Charismatic megachurch, and has implications for public engagement and Muslim-Christian relationships.

The contributions which have been made are:

First, 'saving souls' evangelism is found to be the primary motive of the public engagement of megachurches. While there are various influences from holistic mission or kingdom theology, the main goal remains 'saving souls'. In the case study, evangelism becomes the metanarrative which not only contributes to the quantitative growth but also to the qualitative public impact. This contradicts the trend of holistic mission in the U.S. megachurches, as argued by Thumma and Travis,[929] and also disputes Miller and Yamamori who excluded from their research those churches that only emphasised conversion.[930] My findings also underline what is stated by Buckingham and Davies on the significance of evangelism as the main driver of the public engagement of Charismatic megachurches.[931] The influence of premillennialism on the public

[929] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 78-79.
[930] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 2.
[931] Buckingham and Davies, 'Megachurches and Social Engagement'.

engagement of the case study megachurch disputes Miller and Yamamori, who suggest that an abandonment of such teaching enables sustainable engagement.[932]

Second, this research theologically explores what is called by Miller and Yamamori the 'S' factor behind the public engagement of Pentecostals.[933] My observation on the case study confirmed what is concluded by Thumma and Travis on the unexplained variable when comparing two churches that share similar features, methods and locations, but where only one of them grows as a megachurch.[934] What is quite obscurely regarded as divine intervention is more explicitly explored as a prominent factor behind the growth and the public engagement of the case study. Another contribution is theologically relating the unseen and seen factors in the growth of the megachurch and its public engagement, compared to the two aforementioned sociological researches.

Third, this research takes into account what is repeatedly emphasised by Anderson on the overlooked features of grassroots Charismatic theology.[935] The theological approach also implies a sensitivity to the orality and spirituality of Charismatic Christianity as suggested by Hollenweger.[936] The form of theology as wisdom *(sapientia)* which is not only compatible with the unified paradigm of Charismatics in the Southern Hemisphere but is also applicable in a society that is searching for a unified paradigm of self and society in the Western context. This wisdom theology provides an alternative for Charismatic academic theologians to speak not only for the academic discourse but also for their own ordinary peers, who are quite unfamiliar with the form of theology as

[932] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 213.
[933] Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 3-4, 108-110, 219-221.
[934] Thumma and Travis, *Beyond,* 164-165.
[935] Anderson, 'The Contextual Pentecostal Theology', 134.
[936] Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism,* 18-19.

science *(scientia)* that is usually employed. The employment of *sapientia* also proposes an integrated theological framework which is sensitive to the mystical aspect and cosmic scope of Charismatic experiences and concerns in contrast to the current trend in Charismatic academic theology.

Fourth, the employment of *sapientia* enables a comprehension of the mystic and cosmic aspects of evangelism as well as an interdisciplinary examination of both often overlooked factors. The regular exercise of the least preferred type of personality as one of the dominant functions challenges the warning of psychologists, including Francis, on the danger of burnout.[937] The mystical examination provides an alternative explanation for the spiritual aspect which is unobserved from merely psychological analyses. This research also questions the opinions of Suurmond,[938] Chan,[939] and Castelo[940] on the lack of dark-night experiences among Charismatics. A close observation of the epiphanies of the senior pastor indicates an observable mystical journey, which is signalled by a progression of self-surrender and an acceptance of the dark-night phase. Relating to evangelism, the regular exercise of the less preferred types that psychologists advise against, results in the change in the understanding and practice of evangelism, from what could be categorised as managerial evangelism toward relational and restorative evangelism.

Fifth, this research more comprehensively utilises Drucker's non-profit managerial framework that is briefly introduced by Cox.[941] The examination of the empirical findings

[937] Francis, *Faith and Psychology,* 101.
[938] Suurmond, *Word and Spirit*, 154-160.
[939] Chan, *Pentecostal Theology,* 73-77.
[940] Castelo, *Pentecostalism,* 167-172.
[941] Cox, *Fire from Heaven,* 234-237.

shows a somewhat complicated process of transmission of the mission statement into a measurable performance instead of what is usually perceived as a direct and personal relationship between the leader and the follower in the Weberian charismatic leadership framework. The empirical finding shows what is assumed to be a simple structure of hierarchy somewhat oversimplifies the role of the lower level and lay leadership on translating the mission into performance. In contrast to Drucker's critique on the lack of quantitative measurements among non-profit organisations,[942] the case study shows awareness of such a quantified result as their accountability to the members who were at the same time volunteers and donors. The empirical findings to some extent indicate the potential of 'saving souls' that motivates public engagement for the bridging of social capital through transferring skills to other groups. This is essential to develop a civil society as one of the core elements of substantial democracy.

Sixth, the potentiality of evangelism to become a public faith is elaborated through Volf's proposal on political pluralism, which assumes the authentic voice of religious exclusivism. The utilisation of this framework confronts my previous theological approach that is considered by Bagir as a progressive Pentecostal perspective on Muslim-Pentecostal relationships.[943] A theology of evangelism that accommodates the evangelistic fervour as well as the public articulation of such exclusive faith as a public faith is proposed. Volf's proposal is implemented in a Muslim-majority country which is in contrast to his secular Western context. While Volf's theological and ethical perspectives are taken from what can be considered 'high religion' or a formal tradition of Christianity, the nature of this Charismatic theological perspective can better be

[942] Drucker, *Managing,* 81-85.
[943] Bagir, 'Pentecostal-Muslim Relations', 193-194.

categorised as folk religion. In contrast to Volf's 'hermeneutical hospitality' of the sacred texts to better understand others, the findings of this research suggest an experiential-based interpretation by an intervention of the Holy Spirit in the midst of evangelism, which can be called 'pneumatic hospitality'. The ethical guidance as suggested by Volf is also considered as unfit for Charismatics whose basic nature of evangelism is experiential and internal rather than textual.

Seventh, the imagery of a journey that is based on the personal experience of the senior pastor contributes to a contextual articulation of evangelism. In the academic discourse this form of articulation provides an alternative expression of Charismatic theology besides a systematic form of theology. Such articulation is also considered more familiar for ordinary Charismatics. This theological articulation also provides an exclusive expression of evangelism which can be sincerely expressed in the public sphere. The imagery of a pilgrim enables Chinese-Indonesian Charismatics to sincerely share their inner journey with the Javanese Muslims, who also value pilgrimage. On the other hand, such imagery provides what is called by Underhill the map of self-geography for the evangelists to examine the harmony between their inward journey and evangelism. The paradisiacal evangelism is the ideal form of evangelism which requires psychological maturity and a mystical journey. The public articulation of such unitive evangelism can reveal the scapegoating mechanism that has been disguised by the myth of the *wayang* story. Participating in the Holy *Danyang* and positioning Jesus as the non-rivalry firstborn brother who expresses the loving care of *Abba* contributes to an experiential-trinitarian theology of evangelism.

There are also some suggestions for further study:

The case study megachurch split into two churches under the same denomination within a few months after the death of the senior pastor. A closer examination following on from this research will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the continuation of the vision within these two churches, in which both sides claim the legacy of the late senior pastor. A comparison between the first and second generation of the leadership will also provide insight on the growth factors, mystical experiences, evangelism and public engagement. The current female leadership of the case study megachurch will also provide a better understanding of the relationships between gender and evangelism and public engagement which is unexplored in this research. A detailed comparison between the theology of the leader and the members is also unexplored, as well as between members from different ethnicities and genders in the same megachurch.

There are some younger Indonesian megachurches which can be categorised as seeker churches. While the leadership and the majority of attenders are Chinese-Indonesians, they give less emphasis to premillennialism, healing, and other Charismatic features. Further research on these millennial generation megachurches will be important to compare with the findings of this research. A comparison with megachurches from outside Java is also crucial to be conducted to better understand the contextual struggle within quite different contexts, such as in Bali or Manado. Researching megachurches with senior pastors from other ethnicities will give better understanding of the influence of ethnicity on their leadership, evangelism, and public engagement. As an example, two megachurches in Jakarta whose senior pastors come from different ethnicities showed

explicit support for a governor candidate in 2012 and a presidential candidate in 2014. Interestingly, both megachurches' leaders chose candidates who were disliked by most Chinese-Indonesians.

Further employment and development of *sapientia* as a theological approach, particularly within Charismatic academic theology, is suggested in order to better understand both its potential and limitations. Its implementation in the Western context for a society with a similar unified paradigm will provide an insight on the sociological plurality of thoughts in such a context. This will enable ordinary Charismatics to participate in the public discourse from a distinct perspective as a dissenting opinion to what is considered politically correct. A contextual theological articulation of Charismatic megachurches in European, U.S. and Australian contexts will be a test of the potentiality of political pluralism from authentic Charismatic voices.

APPENDIX 1: Semi-structured Individual Interview Questions for Leaders

1. What is the nature/background/motivation of your social ministry?

2. What are your reasons of involvement in social ministry?

3. What are the biblical text that inform your understanding/vision of social ministry?

4. Are there other Christian books/writings/sermons that inform your understanding/vision of social ministry?

5. Are there significant people (leader/pastor) who inspire you to do this kind of ministry?

6. Are there social condition that motivate you to involve in social ministry?

7. Do you have resources from outside your local church to improve/support this social ministry? (financial, expert, etc.)

8. What do you think is the impact of this social ministry?

9. How do you think about the impact to a wider community's (include other religions/Muslim organisations/leaders)?

10. Do you face any issue of 'Christianization' (conversion to Christianity) during your social ministry? Or any other rejection from the wider community?

11. Do you have any involvement with government agencies (local municipality)? How do you think about their response?

12. Are there anything else you want to say about your social ministry?

APPENDIX 2: Focus Groups Discussion (Church Staff, Members, Volunteers)

1. Would you share your testimony on your involvement in social ministry? (and please mention the kind/type of ministry)

2. What are your reasons for involvement?

3. What are the biblical text that inform your understanding/vision of social ministry?

4. Are there other Christian books/writings/sermons that inform your understanding/vision of social ministry?

5. Are there significant people (leader/pastor) who inspire you to do this kind of ministry?

6. Are there social conditions that motivate you to involve in social ministry?

7. What do you think about church's size impact for your social ministry?

8. What are the particular aspects of size that matter? (Number of members? Financial power? Facilities? Network?)

9. Do you face any issue of 'Christianization' (conversion to Christianity) during your social ministry? Or any other rejection from the wider community?

10. Do you know other factors that influenced your social ministry? Please mention it and your reasons why do you think that it does matter?

APPENDIX 3: Focus Groups Questions (Clients/Receivers)

1. What type of ministry/service/support that you have received from the church?

2. Has it helps you personally?

3. And has it also helps your community?

4. What is your community response on this kind of help?

5. Are there anything else you want to say for church's social ministry?

Appendix 4: Leadership Consent Form

I am carrying out research on the Charismatic Megachurch and Public Engagement in Indonesian Context with Gospel of the Kingdom/*JKI Injil Kerajaan* as the case study, as part of a PhD project in Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies at the University of Birmingham, UK.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the nature of public engagement of Gospel of the Kingdom/*JKI Injil Kerajaan* as a Charismatic Megachurch in Indonesia and to interpret the significance of such civic participation for public theology in Indonesian context.

I will be present at Sunday services, cell group meetings and social ministry as a participant observer. It will be the responsibility of the leadership to inform the church members of this project via appropriate communication.

The senior pastor has been formally approached to request the involvement of the deputies, staff and membership by means of a letter. The main decision is coming from the senior pastor who already gave his consent for this research through an email to the researcher. The senior pastor will announce it to the deputies who directly relate to this research.

The leadership will be able to withdraw their consent at any point, and, in that event, any data gathered will be excluded from the study. Those requested to participate in an interview or the focus group will be under no obligation to take part. Complete anonymity will not be possible for this study since GKC and the senior pastor are well known institution and figure among Indonesian Charismatics and its networks. But this study will seek confidentiality by using pseudonyms to protect other individual participants from the very early stage of the fieldwork.

The interview or the focus group will be voice-recorded in the purpose of transcription. The record and transcript will not be used in the study unless consent is obtained. You should be aware that you have a right to decide not to participate or to withdraw at any time before 31 December 2015. To withdraw from the project please send an email to me at: , or write to me at:

Supervisor at the University of Birmingham: Prof Allan Anderson

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I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Participant Information Sheet dated _____.	☐
2.	I confirm that I am 18 years old or above.	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
4.	I understand that the consent may be withdrawn at any time before 31 December 2015 at my request. This withdrawal can be made effective immediately by email or letter.	☐

5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of pseudonyms, confidentiality of data) to me.	☐
6.	The purpose of voice-recording has been clearly explained to me.	☐
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, and archiving has been explained to me.	☐
8.	I agree to sign and date this consent form.	☐

Participant:

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Appendix 5: Timeline of Indonesian Pentecostalism

1909

In 1908 Gerrit Polman started the publication of *Spade Regen* (Latter Rain). In 1909 he reported that out of the 3,000 copies, hundreds were sent to Dutch speakers abroad, especially in South Africa, but also in Indonesia (van der Laan, 2012: 152).

1911

Based on the contact with Polman, there was started an ecumenical prayer group with Pentecostal nuances at Temanggung. Horstman (Gereformeerd Pastor), Weirs (Hervormd) and Van Abkoude were among the key figures of this group and later also played important role in the formation of Indonesian Pentecostalism (Wiyono, 2005: 308; van der Laan, 2012: 152).

1920

September. Polman published a request from friends in Indonesia to send Pentecostal missionaries to Java (Wiyono, 2005: 308; van der Laan, 2012: 152).

1921

In early 1921, Johan Thiessen sailed to Dutch Indies (Indonesia) as a Pentecostal missionary sent out by the Dutch pentecostal movement as their first missionary to Java. Formerly from 1902 to 1912 he was a Mennonite misionary in Sumatera.

Richard (Dirk) and Stien van Klaveren and Cornelis and Mies Groesbeek, all of Dutch descent and former Salvation Army officers, were sent by Bethel Temple, an independent Pentecostal church in Seattle, Washington led by W.H. Offiler. They arrived in Batavia on 23 February 1921 and then arrived in Bali on March 1921 and started evangelistic work.

1922

August 1922, William and Henriette Bernard, and Minna Hansen were sent by Dutch Pentecostal to Java. They settled in Temanggung and worked under Horstman (van der Laan, 2012: 156)

Hoekendijk, a reformed missionary, preach at the Whitsuntide Conference at Bandung about the necessity of the baptism in the Holy Spirit and prayed for a Pentecostal revival.

December 1922, Groesbeek (van Klaveren was earlier on mid 1922) and leaved Bali because Dutch Government summoned them to Java based on Balinese resistance. Not a single church had been planted. van Klaveren moved to Batavia and Groesbeek moved to Cepu. (van der Laan, 2012: 150; Wiyono, 2005: 308).

Thiessen, Bernard, van Klaveren and Groesbeek worked together in Java

1923

29 March. Revival in Cepu. Groesbeek invited Thiessen from Bandung to serve immerse baptism. On the evening while Thiessen led the Lord's Supper then people started to speak in tongues and received all kinds of visions.

19 June. *Vereeniging De Pinkstergemeente in Netherlandsch Oost-Indie* (Association of the Pentecostal Assembly in Dutch Indies) was founded.

July. Thiessen convened the first Pentecostal conference on Java at Bandung. (van der Laan, 2012: 159)

1924

4 June. Approval from the government for the legal status and changed its name as *de Pinkster Gemeente in Nederlandsch-Indie* (Pentecostal Congregation in Dutch Indie). Later in 1937 as "de Pinkster Kerk in Netherlandsh-Indie" (Pentecostal Church in Dutch Indie) and in 1942 has been starting using Indonesian name as Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia/Pentecostal Church in Indonesia (GPdI).

June. Publication of the first Indonesian Pentecostal periodical *Dit is Het*

1929

Thiessen visited Polman and Piet van Klaver from Amsterdam became attached to Thiessen's mission at Java until 1933 (van der Laan, 2012: 161)

1931

Margaretha Alt left PGNI because W.H. Offiler forbade women leadership. Later she started Pinkster Zending (The Pentecostal Mission) in 1935. (Wiyono, 2005: 312; van der Laan, 2012: 161)

Van Abkoude left PGNI because of his rejection on Oneness teaching and he started *De Gemeente van God* which later on 1950s joined The Assemblies of God in Indonesia.

1932

Thiessen left 'Pinkster Gemeente in Nederlandsch-Indie' and started 'de Pinksterbeweging' (Later known as Gereja Gerakan Pentakosta/Pentecostal Movement Church)

1936

Some independent evangelists from Assemblies of God in the USA (Ralph Devin, Kenneth Short, and Raymond Busby) started mission work in Indonesia, the were sent by Bethel Temple Mission in Seattle. During 1946-1951 they named their ministry as Indische Bethel Mission and became Assemblies of God in Indonesia/Gereja Sidang Jemaat Allah Indonesia (van den End, 1999: 274; Wiyono, 2006: 40-57)

1939

United Pentecostal Church started mission work in Central Java, later become Gereja Pantekosta Serikat Indonesia/United Pentecostal Church Indonesia (van den End, 1999: 274)

1942-1945

Under Japan occupation, all of the Dutch missionaries were interfered. The leadership shift to the Indonesian leaders. (van der Laan, 2012: 161-162)

1945-1971

'Secession Period' (Mostly seceded from GPdI)

- 1941, GPdI Sinaga, North Sumatera. Secession reason based on the prohibition of eating blood. It was seen as not contextual and rose rejection on North Sumatera's culture which still eat meat and blood on main ceremonial ocassions.

- 1946, Sing Ling Kauw Hwee, Semarang, later become Gereja Isa Almasih/The Church of Jesus Christ (Rev Tan Hok Tjoan). (Recently has 65,000 members with 125 congregations). Tan Hok Tjoan chose different style of church's government which combine Presbyterian system (elected elders), yet still give central portion to the Senior Pastor. GIA has been known as a well organised Pentecostal church.
- 1948, GPdI Siburian, North Sumatera (in 1970 had 351 congregations with 185,000 members)
- 1951, Sidang Jemaat Pantekosta/Pentecostal Congregation
- 1952, Gereja Bethel Injil Sepenuh/Full Gospel Bethel Church (van Gessel and H.L Senduk)
- 1957, Gereja Bethel Tabernakel/Bethel Tabernacle Church (seceded from GBIS)
- 1959, Gereja Pantekosta Pusat Surabaya/Pentecostal Church Surabaya Centre
- 1960, Gereja Nazareth Pentakosta/Nazareth Pentecostal Church (seceded from GBIS)
- 1966, GPdI Sianturi, North Sumatera.
- 1967, Elim Pentecostal Church, Surabaya and Timor
- 1969, Gereja Bethel Indonesia/Bethel Indonesian Church (H.L Senduk seceded from GBIS and started affiliation with Church of God in Cleveland, Tenesse. Since the last decade this Synod become the largest Pentecostal Synod in Indonesia, more than half of the Indonesia's largest megachurches are, and some were, part of this Synod).
- 1970, Gereja Pentakosta Tabernakel/Tabernacle Pentecostal Church (seceded from GBT)
- 1971, GPdI Sianipar (seceded from GPdI Sianturi).

1960

Gereja Isa Almasih (The Church of Jesus Christ) became the first Pentecostal Synod joined Indonesian Council of Churches (ICC). On the following years more or less 10 other synods joined ICC, yet at the same time became member of Indonesian Evangelical Fellowship and Indonesian Pentecostal Council.

1961

From October until November 1961, Edwin Stube, an Episcopal priest, visited Indonesia as part of a team with Gerald Derstine, a Mennonite minister from Florida. While Stube conducted Bible studies on the theme of the Holy Spirit in the mornings, Derstine preached at the evangelistic services in the evenings. Their ministry in the

main cities of Java was reported by Stube as a typical Charismatic ministry and '[e]verywhere large numbers were saved and healed and filled with the Spirit'.

1963

After his first trip, Stube felt that he 'fell in love with Indonesia and with its people, and left a large piece of [his] heart there when [he] finally headed home'. That was one of his reasons for his second trip to Indonesia from July to August 1963. On this occasion he was accompanied by his parents-in-law and his oldest son. The Stubes ministered in more cities than on his first trip, and not only in Java but also on other islands of Indonesia. It seemed that his second visit resulted in a wider renewal among the Mennonites.

1965

On some occasions local leaders spoke to Stube about an urgent need for a training centre for evangelists where the students could be trained with enthusiasm for spiritual ministry. This necessity would later become his main calling during his long-term ministry in Indonesia from 1965 to 1977.

1966

Full Gospel Bussinesmen Fellowship International Indonesia (http://fgbmfi.web.id/2013-07-06-04-08-39/profil/718-dr-lukas-halim-tokoh-pionir-fgbmfi-indonesia). The second half of the 1960s was the entering moment of Charismatic movement to Indonesia, yet was not too influential at that decade (Wiyono, 2005: 314).

1974

Carl Chrisner, a staff member of the US Embassy in Indonesia arrived in Jakarta on June. Together with Willy Lasut, an Indonesian army officer and two Assemblies of God missionaries, James Anderson and Tom Hines, they started the *Charismatic Worship Service* on 17 November 1974 with approximately 30 people and mostly expatriates. CWS growth significantly, it has over 8,000 members and more than 10 daughter churches in some big cities in 2005. (Wiyono, 2005: 315)

1977

Catholic Charismatic Renewal. A seminar on charismatic renewal was conducted in a Catholic church in Jakarta and more or less 300 people were present and baptized by the Holy Spirit (Wiyono 2005: 316)

Adi Sutanto started Sangkakala Foundation in Semarang. Petrus Agung Purnomo came to Christ in 1979 during 'Malam Oikumene' (Ecumenical Night) a series of revival services conducted by Sangkakala Mission. Approximately 400 high school students attended Malam Oikumene and came to Christ reponding the Altar Call of the late Evangelist Damaris from Bandung. Later Petrus Agung actived in Sangkakala ministry as a lay preacher while he was a college student. (Sutanto, 1986: 13, 26-28)

1979

14 September. Dewan Pantekosta Indonesia/Indonesian Pentecostal Council. Later in 1998 became Persekutuan Gereja-gereja Pentakosta Indonesia (PGPI)/The Fellowship of Indonesian Pentecostal Churches. Recently 51 Pentecostal denominations joined PGPI, yet they do not have their own office and website.

1980s

Some churches which later will become megachurches started their ministry:

- Gereja Bethany Indonesia, Surabaya (previously was GBI jemaat Bethany) in 1978,
- Gereja Yesus Kristus Tuhan/Abba Love Ministry, Jakarta in 1979, (http://www.abbalove.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6:masa-menanam-dan-menyiram&catid=2:history&Itemid=9)
- Gereja Mawar Sharon, Surabaya (previously was GBI Mawar Sharon) in 1985 (http://www.gms.or.id/gms4.1/profile.php?link=sejarah)
- GBI Gatot Subroto Street/Healing Movement Ministry (previously was GBI Bethany Jakarta. The Senior Pastor, Rev Nico Nyotorahardjo, started his ministry with FGBMFI Indonesia), (http://www.hmministry.com/cp/)
- GBI Keluarga Allah, Solo in 1989. (http://gbika.org/site/?page_id=1639)
- GBI ROCK/Representatives of Christ's Kingdom (previously was GBI Bethany Denpasar. The Senior Pastor, Rev Timotius Arifin Tedjakusuma, started his ministry with FGBMFI Indonesia), Denpasar-Bali in 1989. (http://rock.or.id/?page_id=4)

1985

GBI Bethany Surabaya built a church building which can accommodate 3,500 people (finished in 1986).

1990s

Significant development of megachurches phenomenon. (Robinson, 2008: 82; Wiyono, 2005: 318)

2000

GBI Bethany Surabaya finished their new building which can accommodate 20,000 people in Surabaya, East Java Province.

2007

17-20 July. Pentecostal World Conference was held at Bethany Church in Surabaya.

2010-2012

The first and still the largest research among Indonesian Pentecostal and Charismatic conducted by Center for Religion and Cross Cultural Studies, Gajah Mada State University of Yogyakarta as part of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Initiatives global research on Pentecostalism (http://crcc.usc.edu/initiatives/pcri/center-indonesia.html).

Appendix 6: The Key Life Events of Petrus Agung Purnomo

1962

Born in Semarang as Lie Tjong Hian. His modest family background was often reinterpreted as a relived epiphany when he compared the logo of the Mercedes-Benz that he later owned with an omelette from an egg which was cut into three, similar to the logo, to be shared with the siblings. He retrospectively gave a new meaning to his lowliness when he looked at the logo when he drove the car and it took him back to his childhood's dish.

His childhood was quite often retold as a phase where he grew as a shy boy who was always accompanied by his father during his elementary schooldays. He struggled with his inferiority complex until his late thirties.

1979

Agung had a 'born-again' experience at a student evangelistic service, called *Malam Oikumene* (Ecumenical Night), organised by the Sangkakala Foundation. This is explicitly one of his major epiphanies which significantly influenced his later life journey. This experience was often retold by Agung saying that 'the tree was greener, the sky was bluer, and the surroundings became very beautiful'.

1980

After Agung graduated from senior high school, he received an offer to study at Perth Bible College in Australia. However, according to his testimony, it was his father who resisted his plan to be a minister and Agung himself felt that God asked him to stay in the city and take his favourite field of study. He accordingly studied at Diponegoro University, a state university in Semarang, and took history as his major.

1980-1984

During his university life Agung actively served as a lay preacher of Sangkakala serving in various prayer groups in the countryside of Semarang. In this period his struggle with his humble family background brought him to search for a faith-based answer to resolve his financial problems.He acknowledged that Kenneth Hagin's teaching had laid a firm foundation on his understanding of the role and mechanism of faith, frequently taught as 'believing and speaking'. But it was his reading of Yonggi Cho's *The Fourth Dimension* that answered his struggle in understanding and experiencing the power of faith

The influence of Adi Sutanto was probably significant during Agung's university years. Agung most frequently mentioned his previous personal conversation or experience

with Sutanto as a relevant insight for his ministry. Sutanto's most observable influence on Agung was on his evangelistic zeal. This is a relived epiphany to relate a past ordinary experience with his contemporary condition to give a new meaning.

1984

Graduating as the best student, Agung received an offer to study in the Netherlands to be prepared as a lecturer in that university. But his interest was more with ministry instead of the academic track. He married Tina Astari just after his graduation which he believed was a divine requirement to prepare his future life and ministry.

1984-1986

Agung became an itinerant evangelist after his graduation and started to preach in a number of small prayer groups in Jakarta and Surabaya. At the same time, he served with Sangkakala and became one of its preachers.

1986

Agung became renowned after he met Timotius Arifin Tedjasukmana, a leader of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) in Surabaya and the founder of Surabaya Praise Centre (SPC), who later introduced Agung to the leaders and chapters of the Indonesian FGBMFI.

1990

Agung's recorded sermons were copied on more than ten thousand audiocassettes per year which seems a fantastic achievement at that time for a young itinerant evangelist.

1991

It was in the heyday of his ministry that Agung believed that God had called him to start a church and became a pastor. During the early years of his pastorate he was frustrated with the slow growth of the church. This situation brought him to question the calling that he had supposed to be the voice of God.

1992-1994

Agung frequently attended Benny Hinn's services in the US and Canada. It seems that Agung's pneumatology and his worship style would later be influenced by that of Hinn. While Agung quite frequently attended Hinn's services as an ordinary visitor, he never

had a direct and personal contact with Hinn. It seems to be Agung's personal experience of the Holy Spirit, while he was waiting for five hours for one of Hinn's services in 1992, that shaped his later pneumatology.

He experienced what he called the manifest presence of the Holy Spirit in 1992, which apparently transformed his personal understanding and relationship with the Holy Spirit and changed his approach in ministry. Two keywords that he regularly mentioned are the *preference* of the Holy Spirit and *surrender* to Holy Spirit's guidance.

This experience was evidently a cumulative epiphany from his long period of quest and frustration. Meanwhile, such an experience could be regarded as a relived epiphany also since Agung repeatedly mentioned it while explaining about the growth of the church and various ministries including its current large scale public engagement.

1994-1996

While experiencing a release from his long-term frustration, a minor epiphany clearly came at the same period. This can be observed in a failure to settle up the church building loan for several years (1992 to 1996) which later caused the split, when half the members left.

Agung felt that God asked him to sell his car, and he announced his failure to the congregation. In the following days most of the congregations, who were predominantly students, sold every valuable thing in their possession to repay the debt. This was believed to be another significant spiritual turning for Agung and the congregation.

1998

What could be categorised as another major epiphany is Agung's dream at the end of 1998. It was at the end of the 1990s when the church reached more than 800 new attendees in less than a year and the weekly attendance was growing to more than 1,000 when Agung felt that this should be pleasing God. Agung had a dream of a parallel timelines. The first one was God's timeline and the other one was Agung's. The lines had a significant contrast, the former line showed God's glorious and significant plan for Agung's life, while at the same time the parallel line showed how Agung was absorbed with his own enjoyment. Agung reported that he saw Jesus looking aside at him rather than praising what he had considered an achievement. He suddenly woke up with a cold sweat and physical trembling, and responded to the dream by kneeling and asking forgiveness for his boastful perception of his achievement. This major epiphany was also a cumulative epiphany since it was a discharge after several years of struggle to surrender his own plan. As a major epiphany the dream signifies a drastic change in emphasising total or absolute self-surrender whether in his personal life or ministry approach.

1999-2000

Yusak Tjipto Purnomo, a former dentist, should be regarded as the influential person that directly and significantly changed Agung's life and theology, most probably since the end of the 1990s. While Agung knew Yusak for quite long time, he felt that Yusak's teaching was unsuitable for him, and his preaching style was considered as unintellectual. A sudden turning point happened when he realised that the core theme of Yusak's unsystematic sermons was on 'self-surrender'. But it was not until the aforementioned dream that Agung became closer to Yusak.

2005

Agung with five evangelists, including Yusak, from West Java and a pastor from Central Java, founded a network of ministry called Bahtera (the Ark). This network, in my observation, had an exceptional influence on his later approach and style of ministry. Although visions, prophecies and hearing the voice of God were quite common for Agung, it was not until his involvement in Bahtera that he began to experience and refer to them more frequently.

Unfortunately, this involvement also signified another minor epiphany which most probably worsened his marriage relationship. It was presumably triggered by integrating the Mahanaim foundation, which was led by Yusak's daughter, with the megachurch.

2007

He felt that God's presence could not be sensed during the megachurch's New Year celebration. This led him to ask the pastoral team to join in prayer on the first day of 2007. While walking in front of the megachurch building he confessed that he saw a vision of so many people outside the megachurch site. They were Muslims and poor. And soon after he said that he heard a clear voice: 'reap them, or they will rot and end as waste if you are late'. The vision could be regarded as the trigger for the later extensive public engagement of the megachurch.

2013

Agung developed heart-disease. He testified that a few days after he was recovering from medical treatment he received a vision in his hotel room. He saw a man sitting on a wheelchair who was waving his hand to those surrounding him. That man got priority to bypass the queue because of his physical disability while he mocked other people who had to wait in the long line. Unconscious of his own condition the man felt that he was a VIP. Then reportedly Agung heard a question: 'Isn't that man similar to you? He thought himself privileged by the ease that he received thus far, yet didn't realise his

actual condition’. Shortly afterward Agung said that he confessed his stubbornness and his failure to understand the nature of grace.

2016

Unexpected death after led few days seminars and services with John Avanzini.

Appendix 7: The Key Events of the Gospel of the Kingdom Church

1991

Registered as a church under Jemaat Kristen Indonesia, a Mennonite-Charismatic denomination.

1992

The church purchased a large building, formerly a roller-skating arena, in a cluster area called Pondok Hasanuddin.

1994

The difficulties in paying instalments for the new venue caused a split, and half the members and leaders left the church to start a new one.

1998

649 people were baptised by the end of 1998 while its weekly attendance reached approximately 700 people.

1999

Founded a Bible school called The School of Acts (TSOA) affiliated with Raymond Mooi's TSOA in Malaysia. Mooi was the Asian director for Morris Cerullo Ministries which gave him a broad connection with global Charismatic networks.

2000

It was Kong Hee, the founder of City Harvest Church in Singapore, who personally challenged Agung, during his ministry at the church in 1998, to believe that the church would reach 2,000 people by the end of 2000. According to Agung, it was evident that by the end of 2000 the attendance rapidly reached over 2,000. Nevertheless the changing social and political situation most probably contributed to the growth during 1998 to 2000.

2004

The weekly attendance reached more than 4,000, it had baptised 3,543 persons. A new site was bought to build the current venue in 2004, finishing in quite a short period early in 2007. The Holy Stadium is regarded as the second largest Indonesian megachurch site with 12,000 seats.

2005

Affiliated with six other ministries, which was named Bahtera (the Ark). It was co-founded by a group known as The Six, initially The Seven, including the senior pastor. The network is believed to be a prophetic sign and warning, like that of Noah's Ark, of the imminent return of Christ. Bahtera has organised biannual meetings since 2005, every June and December, at the Holy Stadium and was attended by more than 15,000 people from various cities at each meeting.

2007

A vision referring to the church of Antioch had been repeatedly mentioned and explained by the senior pastor since the second half of the 1990s. Although this apostolic vision was regularly taught until 2004, it was not until 2007 that the megachurch fully acquired such aforementioned characteristics. Teaching series of the senior pastor before 2007 never referred to the implementation of this vision, particularly that relating to social problems and poverty. The primary narrative of evangelism since early 2007 was the vision to reap multitudes of impoverished Muslims using the invitation to the great banquet. This signified a new implementation of the mission statement. This also dynamically changed the practice of evangelism, from inviting to fetching, from targeting the advantaged to reaching the underprivileged, and from conducting evangelistic meetings to organising public services.

2007-2014

1,289 people were baptised in 2007 or almost double the previous year. 2011 was its peak with 5,141 baptised in a year and the total number of baptised people was 21,517 by 2014. However, the registered members in 2014 was 15,109, 6,408 less than the total number of baptisms. Meanwhile the weekly attendance was only roughly 11,000 in 2014.

In 2011 some senior deputies and hundreds of active members left the megachurch to start a new one under the same denomination. The dispute was probably related to the use of many prophetic symbols that were considered to be overemphasised and somewhat superstitious by the moving group.

2016

The senior pastor, who was also the founder of the case study megachurch, died unexpectedly in March 2016. A new senior pastor was appointed three months after the founder's death. While the appointed successor was the wife of the late pastor, her leadership style and approach was quite distinct from that of the founder. This would probably influence its public engagement, since the majority of the deputies who were directly involved in the public engagement chose to leave to start a new church, less than two months after the ordination of the new leader.

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