

NIGERIAN-INITIATED PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES AS A SOCIAL FORCE IN EUROPE: THE CASE OF THE REDEEMED CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF GOD

Richard Burgess

University of Birmingham, UK
r.h.burgess@bham.ac.uk

Kim Knibbe

VU University, Amsterdam
KE.Knibbe@fsw.vu.nl

Anna Quaas

University of Heidelberg, Germany
anna.quaas@wts.uni-heidelberg.de

ABSTRACT

This article discusses the spread and impact of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), a successful example of a Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal church in Britain, the Netherlands and Germany. The church's capacity as a social force in Europe is assessed with reference to three dimensions: the social impact on the wider society through its missionary and civic activities, the social impact on members' lives, and the extent to which the church contributes to the "deprivatization" of religion and its visibility in the public sphere (Casanova, 1994; Haynes, 1998). The article concludes that Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal churches such as the RCCG are quite clearly a social force in Europe: they are expanding, finding new ways of being present in public spaces and engaging with society, and are instrumental in constituting the spaces of the African Diaspora and shaping the self-conception of their members as valuable members of their host society. Furthermore, they contribute to the awareness of the European mainline churches that Christianity's centre of gravity is moving south. All of this is visible quite strongly in Britain, to a lesser extent in the Netherlands and least in Germany.

Keywords: Pentecostal/Charismatic, Migrant churches, Transnationalism, Social Force.

1. Introduction

April 2007 was the start-date of a research project that embodies many of the ambitions of the GloPent network: to study Pentecostalism from a perspective that takes this movement seriously as a major phenomenon in today's world, creating a project in which researchers with various disciplinary backgrounds from Heidelberg, Birmingham and Amsterdam worked closely together.¹ Nigerian Pentecostalism was an obvious choice of topic since Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal churches are among the fastest growing in the world.

Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal networks and churches are of interest for a number of reasons. First, there is an established Pentecostal landscape in Nigeria, arguably the most dynamic in the whole of West Africa (Ojo, 2006; Burgess, 2008; Marshall, 2009), often with a significant missionary impulse and theological influence on other African Christians (see Mwaura, 2005; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005a). These churches also circulate large amounts of printed and audio-visual material, providing ample sources for researching religious identity production (Hackett, 1998; Ukah, 2003a). Second, Nigerian migrant communities are often transnational themselves, combining multiple ethnic groups celebrating together in English-speaking congregations. This calls for a negotiation of religious and ethnic identities. Third, many of these churches are fairly well established and engage in missionary activities in Europe and back in their countries of origin (for example, via video broadcasting). Last, but not least, these migrant communities of Nigerians are fairly diverse in age, gender and status. They have not gone through waves of migration due to concrete political or humanitarian crises, but have shown a more continuous influx of migrants.

In the centre of the project stands one particular Nigerian (Yoruba) church, the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) which is active in Britain, the Netherlands and Germany. It is one of the major Pentecostal churches in Nigeria (Ukah, 2003b) and was not founded by Western Pentecostal missionaries but developed out of an African-initiated church,

1. Fieldwork for this article was conducted as part of the research project, entitled "Transnational Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal Churches, Networks and Believers in Three Northern Countries: Migrant Churches as a Potential and Potent Social Force," funded by NORFACE. See http://www.relemerge.org/project_09. We are grateful to Pastor Enoch Adeboye for allowing us access to the Redeemed Christian Church of God.

an Aladura church. Moreover, it had already received scholarly attention (Adeboye, 2005; Adeboye, 2007; Ukah, 2008) so that we had a basic knowledge of its historical and religious background within the Nigerian context. As we are not focussing on the Nigerian situation this was an immense help for the project. Moreover, the RCCG is already known as a church with a decisively global outlook and a strong visibility in the public sphere (Adogame, 2004a; Agbali, 2008; Hunt, 2002a, 2002b; Ukah, 2005). The project has one central question: *How do transnational Pentecostal churches, networks and believers from Nigeria operate in public space in Germany, Britain and the Netherlands, and to what extent are they representatives of religion as a re-emerging social force?*

However, very soon into the project, we realized that the term “public sphere” should be further broken down to be operationalized. In the different subprojects, this has been done in different ways, adjusting to national circumstances. For this article, we propose a fairly simple subdivision between the transnational public sphere created by Nigerian Pentecostalism itself, the national public sphere of national media (newspapers, television, radio), and the level of the urban spaces of the street, the neighbourhood (see Hervieu-Léger, 2002; McAlister, 2005; Hancock and Srinivas, 2008; de Witte, 2008). We do not use the public sphere as a normative concept, as has become usual in the wake of Habermas’ influential analysis of the public sphere in which religion was relegated to the private sphere (Habermas, 1989 [1962]). Clearly, religion is not confined to the private sphere. Therefore, following Meyers and Moors, we see the public sphere as that which is publicly accessible, “the space or arena evolving in (postcolonial) societies in conjunction with some measure of political liberalization and commercialization” (Meyer and Moors, 2006: 6). Yet the public sphere in which Pentecostalism is active is not confined to national boundaries. In fact, religious networks are instrumental in creating new public spheres through books, videos and DVDs, internet-sites and through the strong transnational networks and frequent travelling of pastors (see van Dijk, 1997; Ukah, 2003b; Meyer and Moors, 2006). In this way, certain ideas, practices, styles and church models circulate globally. Almost anywhere in the world, believers can have access to the preaching and praying of fellow believers. In the words of Fraser, “the current constitution of public opinion bursts open the Westphalian frame [of nation states]” (Fraser, 2007).

At the same time, there can be huge disjunctures between these transnational public spheres, or “religionscapes,” and the national public sphere of the host society (see Appadurai, 1996). Most people in the Netherlands

or Germany, for example, are quite aware of the growing numbers of migrants in their midst but have no idea of the transnational networks, public arenas and religiouscapes these migrants participate in. Through their physical presence, migrants become part of local ethnoscaapes and classifications that are not of their own making. But it is especially through church planting that this transnational public sphere becomes localized and potentially more visible on the level of the neighbourhood, but also on the national level. Taking into account the above considerations, a number of research questions come into focus. *How does this transnational public sphere become visible, or intersect with, national public spheres and public spaces in European cities? How do churches that are part of transnational Nigerian networks become entangled (or not) in more local processes in Europe? How do they (co-)constitute city spaces and places? And most importantly, how does this enable or inhibit the potential of the RCCG to become a "social force?"*

Any discussion of religion as a social force must make reference to that part of the secularization thesis which alludes to the loss of religion's social significance for public and/or private life (Wilson, 1982; Casanova, 1994; Woodhead and Heelas, 2000). With this in mind, we understand the concept of "social force" in relation to migrant churches as having three possible dimensions. The first is the social impact on the wider society through the missionary and civic activities of religious organizations and persons resulting in individual conversions, church planting and social transformation. The second is the social impact on members' lives in terms of capacity to shape the migration process, determine levels of religious participation, influence socio-economic mobility, guide social interaction and motivate civic activity. The final dimension associates social force with the "de-privatization" of religion and its visibility in the public sphere (Casanova, 1994; Haynes, 1998) through the media, church architecture, religious events, participation in civil society and recognition by government. In this article we will pay attention to all three of these dimensions.

The role of the RCCG as a social force and a presence in the public sphere and urban spaces in Europe cannot be understood without taking into account its strong focus on church planting; this will be described in section 3. In section 4 we will discuss the function of the RCCG in mediating between the transnational sphere and the host society, as well as the tensions this creates in terms of the choices it presents for adaptation or integration. Lastly, we will discuss how the RCCG becomes visible, or conversely, remains invisible at the level of the national public spheres of

Germany, Britain and the Netherlands (section 5). Each of these sections will relate findings from all three research sub-projects. In the concluding remarks we will summarize the insights gained from the study and indicate fruitful avenues for further research (section 6). To contextualize our findings, however, it is necessary to first present a brief history of the RCCG and its missionary aspirations (section 2).

2. The Redeemed Christian Church of God in Historical Perspective

The RCCG traces its roots to Josiah Akindayomi, an illiterate farmer, born in the year 1909 who was converted by the Anglican Church Missionary Society.² He later became a prophet in the Cherubim and Seraphim (C&S) Church, one of the first Aladura churches to emerge in Nigeria (Omoyajowo, 1982). From 1947, Akindayomi gradually separated from the C&S, culminating in the founding of a new church, which is officially dated to 1952. The adoption of the name “Redeemed Christian Church of God” marked a significant landmark in the church’s history, presented in RCCG’s founding narrative as a divine revelation given to Akindayomi following a period of prayer and fasting. Coupled with the new name was the “covenant” which God is said to have made with the founder regarding the establishment and sustenance of the church (Ukah, 2008: 13): as long as the conditions of the covenant were met, the success of the church was guaranteed. One of the promises given to Akindayomi was that the church would spread to the ends of the earth before the Second Coming of Christ. This covenant, widely known in RCCG circles, is considered to be one of the driving forces behind its global expansion.

The subsequent history of the RCCG can be divided into two phases. During the first phase (1952 to 1980) the founder laid the foundation of the church by planting other branches in southwestern Nigeria. RCCG culture under Akindayomi was characterized by an anti-materialistic lifestyle, strict dress codes and worship services mostly conducted in Yoruba. When he died in 1980, the RCCG had 39 branches with a membership less than a thousand, largely drawn from the poorer sector of Yoruba society. The second phase (1981 to today) began with the accession of Enoch Adejare Adeboye as head of the church. This leadership transition is often considered the major event in the history of the RCCG, propelling the church into a period of rapid expansion. It was a time

2. For the history of the RCCG, see for example, Ukah, 2008; Adeboye, 2007; Adekola, 1989; Uponi and Idowu, n.d. [2002].

when Nigeria was undergoing a fresh phase of revival, focused around the university campuses where prayer fellowships were springing up everywhere (Ojo, 2006; Burgess, 2008). As a former university lecturer, Adeboye knew how to appeal to these people and connect them to his church. Furthermore, although never letting go of the holiness doctrine, he relaxed some of the rules and started to emphasize prosperity and miracles (Ukah, 2008; Marshall, 2009: 82).³ This emphasis on prosperity was very much in line with a worldwide trend within Pentecostalism that emphasized health and wealth, associated especially with the Word of Faith movement (Coleman, 2000; Hunt, 2000). Adeboye often visited famous prosperity preachers in the USA and also kept in touch with leaders of mega-churches worldwide, such as the South Korean Yoido Full Gospel Church.

Adeboye has been largely responsible for transforming the image and constituency of the church by his implementation of a series of innovative initiatives. The most important was the model parish system, initiated to stimulate the growth of the RCCG by attracting young, urban professionals, imitating the style of other Pentecostal churches that were growing fast at the time (Adeboye, 2007; Ukah, 2008; Marshall, 2009). Professionals such as the lawyer Tunde Bakare and the medical doctor Tony Rapu, who like Adeboye himself were successful in the “secular world,” were instrumental in setting up these parishes and facilitating the spread of the RCCG. Many of the leading pastors planting churches in Europe are products of the model parish system in Nigeria. As well as supplying potential missionaries, the model parishes have also proved attractive to Nigerians in Europe, where it has become the dominant pattern for RCCG congregational life.⁴ The most significant goal of the church, as expressed in its four-fold mission statement, is to “plant churches within five minutes walking distance in every city and town of developing countries and within five minutes driving distance in every city and town of developed countries.”⁵ This has generated a proliferation of parishes

3. The doctrinal shift from holiness to prosperity within Nigerian Pentecostalism has been discussed by Ojo, 2006; Marshall, 2009; Burgess, 2008.

4. Some of the missionaries who will be mentioned later are former members of the “Apapa family” founded by Tony Rapu, one of the first and most successful model parishes.

5. The RCCG’s full mission statement is as follows: “To make heaven; to take as many people as possible with us; to have a member of RCCG in every family of all nations. To accomplish No. 1 above, holiness will be our lifestyle. To accomplish No. 2 and 3 above, we will plant churches within five minutes walking distance in every city

around the world. At the moment, the RCCG is present in about 150 countries and intends to reach the remaining nations by 2010.⁶

Church historiographies are often tied into contemporary identity constructions which are used to sustain a certain contemporaneous self-conception of a particular church. Clearly, the RCCG's founding narrative, including the divine revelation of the name and the church's end-time destiny, has helped to shape the present day self-understanding of the church and its strong emphasis on planting churches, which in turn has implications for its role as a social force in Europe. In the next section, we will describe the spread and impact of the RCCG in Europe, specifically in Britain, the Netherlands and Germany.

3. Church Planting: Localizing Transnational Religious Networks

The rapid expansion of the RCCG in Europe is partly stimulated by a conscious missionary agenda which is fuelled by the founder's vision, the church headquarters in Nigeria and the missionary ambitions of its European leaders. Undoubtedly the members themselves regard the church as a significant social force with the potential to reverse the secularizing tendencies of European society. From the perspective of RCCG pastors, Nigeria is currently experiencing a Christian revival, which they hope to introduce into Europe through a process of "reverse mission." This reverse mission theory, according to Asamoah-Gyadu (2005b: 297), states that "the rise of African churches in the northern continents is a reversal of Christian mission because Africans, once the beneficiaries of the Western Christian missionary enterprise, are now evangelizing the former heartlands of Christianity," which are regarded as increasingly secular (see also Währisch-Oblau, 2000, 2009).

Ukah (2009) identifies three ways congregations are founded outside Nigeria. First, a rich, usually a model parish could sponsor the establishment of a parish in Europe. The most notable example is the Apapa Parish in Lagos, founded by Tony Rapu, which has sponsored church planters in London, Amsterdam and Bonn. Second, a member of RCCG who has migrated either for work or study may start a parish, which is then incorporated into the RCCG family once it becomes viable. Finally,

and town of developing countries and within five minutes driving distance in every city and town of developed countries." See <http://rccgint.org/vm.html> (accessed 8 October 2009).

6. Interview, Pastor Brown Oyitso, April 2009.

a rich parish in Europe can found a parish by commissioning one of its members. This is the most common means of planting new parishes.

In the countries in which we did research, the spread of the RCCG seems to follow the contours of the Nigerian/African Diaspora.

Britain is without doubt one of the major centres of this Diaspora and the place where the RCCG is most strongly established. Its relative success compared to the Dutch and German contexts is largely due to Nigeria's historic links to Britain as a former colony, which has resulted in a much larger Nigerian community. The first wave of African church planting in Britain was directly linked to the increase in immigration in the 1960s, and consisted of mainly Aladura-type churches from Nigeria, transplanted to cater for the needs of their members in the Diaspora (Oshun, 1999; Gerloff, 2000; Harris, 2006). The second wave involved mainly African neo-Pentecostals from Nigeria and Ghana. It began in the 1980s, as a means of catering for the growing number of members who had migrated to Britain at a time of economic decline at home (Osgood, 2006). Church growth was stimulated by a conscious missionary agenda as Nigerian Christians, who had migrated in pursuit of education and employment, considered that God had given them a unique opportunity to bring the gospel back to those who originally provided it. One of the earliest Nigerian transplants was the RCCG, which started as a London-based house fellowship in 1988 and now has close to four hundred branches in Britain. Its strong transnational links with Nigeria are reinforced by regular visits from the General Overseer, by the attendance of UK pastors at RCCG programmes and by the use of media technologies.

The RCCG's expansion in Germany clearly demonstrates the importance of transnational networks that not only go back to Nigeria but span several continents. As in the Netherlands and Britain, it follows the contours of the African Diaspora but has aspirations to reach beyond it. The important role of the Nigerian headquarters is apparent in the number of pastors sent from there to ensure the continuing growth of the RCCG in Germany. In 1991, the first parish was started as a house fellowship in Bonn, composed mainly of diplomats and embassy employees. Following its registration in 1993, it was led by a succession of pastors sent from Nigeria, including Ghandi Olaoye, now a RCCG pastor in Washington, Dave Okunade, who started several RCCG branches in Nigeria and the USA before setting up an independent ministry in Houston, and Musa Bako, who subsequently became a RCCG pastor in Britain. There are now officially ten RCCG parishes in Germany. Some of these were planted by existing parishes in Germany and most remain quite small.

RCCG Hamburg started as a prayer group before seeking affiliation with the Nigerian headquarters. The church was officially registered in 1998 and has since planted three other branches in Germany. The church in Heilbronn is different in that it started as an independent initiative in 2005 following a meeting between the pastor and a friend in Dublin, a RCCG pastor who offered to help him in this venture. Consequently, its transnational connection to Ireland was initially more important than its links to other national churches. Up until now the RCCG in Germany has a rather loose structure. However, there are plans to restructure it and to introduce more regular pastors' meetings.⁷

In the Netherlands, a RCCG prayer group started in the 1980s which later disbanded. In the late 1990s, a Dutch member of Jesus House London was encouraged by her church leaders to start a fellowship in The Hague, which attracted Nigerians working in the city and subsequently grew into several parishes. Continuity and consolidation was provided by the present National Coordinator, Dele Olowu. When he first joined the RCCG in the Netherlands, he was a lecturer at the Institute for Social Studies in The Hague. He is also the coordinator of the RCCG for the whole of mainland Europe. Under his leadership, the RCCG in the Netherlands has planted 20 churches and is now present in all of the provinces of the Netherlands. Several of the churches are student churches, whose congregation therefore fluctuates strongly, carried over from year to year by expatriates working for Shell, big NGOs or international educational institutions. These expatriates also have to move every few years creating problems of continuity. However, unlike in Germany, there is a centralized training programme in place to train church workers and deacons. Most pastors in the Netherlands are part-time but there are also several full-time "missionaries." The pastor of the Jesus House for All Nations parish in Amsterdam, for example, was called to establish a church in Amsterdam while he was still in Nigeria, well established in his career as a banker there. He describes it as a call from God that actually went against his own wishes, since he did not want to leave Nigeria. He and his family were supported financially via his parish in Nigeria. Another Nigerian missionary was brought to the Netherlands specifically to expand the church in the Northern region of the Netherlands.

In Britain the growth of the RCCG seems to be characterized by a tension between networks of parishes that all grow out of several "mother parishes" and a centralized organization divided into zones and areas managed

7. Interview with the acting national coordinator of Germany, August 2009.

from the national mission headquarters (see Ukah, 2008: 89–93). Sometimes these zones and areas have not followed a geographical logic but the contours of a particular network of parishes (e.g. Holy Ghost Zone, Royal Connections, House of Praise). These networks are headed by particularly charismatic preachers from whose parishes missionaries have gone out to establish churches elsewhere. It seems that Adeboye was concerned about the tendency of these networks to become semi-autonomous “kingdoms.” Through a recent restructuring, the national mission has attempted to break away from this networked structure. The growth of the RCCG in the Netherlands is much more centrally managed, although personal ties with pastors and their parishes in Nigeria, Britain and elsewhere are also important. The Netherlands is geographically divided into areas and zones, which also determines the flow of tithes, offerings and donations. To set up a parish, the Netherlands mission provides financial support. After a while, it is expected that the flow of money will go from the parish via the level of area and zone to the Netherlands mission. This is the ideal situation; in practice the flows of money may be much more variable.

The size and impact of the British case is an exception, since both the Nigerian Diaspora and Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal churches are present on a much larger scale than in Germany or the Netherlands. The RCCG in Britain has become one of the major centres of the RCCG worldwide, and ties between church leaders in Nigeria and in Britain are quite close. Transnational connections, both in terms of people and financial support, are important for the establishment of the RCCG in all three countries, though it is especially apparent in Germany, perhaps because of the lack of financial and human resources available for church planting due to its relatively weak national presence. Pastors in the three countries are often involved with other ministries around the world in various ways. The implantation of local churches is crucial to the RCCG’s fulfilment of its ambition to become an agent of social transformation in Europe.

4. Shaping Migration and Motivating Civic Engagement

Once a church is planted, it then sets about building up its membership and seeking a permanent place of worship. Acquiring a building of its own is often a significant step in the process of social integration. Church buildings, as symbolic “holy places,” are important identity markers and provide congregations with a measure of visibility in public space, both at a local and national level. For Nigerian Pentecostals, they are often multi-functional spaces, operating as social support mechanisms on behalf of the local community. Many RCCG congregations have to move from place

to place or share spaces with other groups, which seriously hampers their organizational structures, their numerical growth as well as their potential for social interaction and public influence. Most parishes in Britain occupy rented space, but a growing number are buying their own buildings. In the Netherlands, several congregations have acquired buildings of their own, sometimes with the help of donations from abroad, while in Germany none of the parishes have their own building.

Through church planting, the RCCG has to engage with local social realities. Conversely, it forces local actors to take note of its presence, if only through the negotiations and permits needed to acquire or rent a building, the problems caused by the lack of parking spaces on Sunday, or the noise caused by all night prayer vigils. Several authors have shown how African Christian churches are instrumental in constituting the spaces and places of the African Diaspora (Knibbe, 2009; van der Meulen, 2009; Koning, 2009; Hunt, 2002a; Harris, 2006). This means that they are an important avenue for transnational migrants to engage with local realities, while at the same time providing a safe haven. According to Ukah, this latter function is in fact dominant. He characterizes Nigerian churches in Britain as “asylum Christianity” (Ukah, 2009). However, as we saw in the description above, the RCCG as a whole is very much focused on mission and church planting, considerable amounts of money are invested in this, and its expansion is significant. But if the RCCG is not (yet) successful in converting “the natives” of Europe, how then can we characterize the RCCG as a social force?

One indicator of religion as a social force is its capacity to act as a “motor” or driving force of migration (Adogame and Weißköppel, 2005). Based on a survey among members of several congregations of the RCCG in Britain,⁸ it can be concluded that *religion is to some extent a driving factor in the migration process*, albeit a small one: 31 percent of respondents stated that the main reason they came to Britain was to study, 23 percent to join their families, and 19 percent to work. Seven percent came primarily for Christian ministry, and most of these were pastors. Furthermore, 15 percent of respondents who attended the RCCG before coming to Britain said that the church directly influenced their decision to migrate. The decision to remain as long-term migrants was more

8. The questionnaire survey was conducted during 2008 and led to 474 usable questionnaires, including 174 pastors and 300 members. In the case of members, questionnaires were distributed in six RCCG congregations in London: Royal Connections, House of Praise Peckham, Power of Jehovah, Trinity Chapel, Mount Zion and Inspiration House.

likely to be influenced by missionary considerations, especially as far as pastors were concerned. Out of 131 pastors who intended to remain, 72 (55 percent) said that Christian ministry was one of the reasons for making this decision. We discovered that a number of influential RCCG pastors, responsible for facilitating church growth in their respective host countries, migrated specifically for missionary purposes. Among these were Agu Irukwu (Jesus House, London), Sola Fola-Alade (Trinity Chapel, London), Dave Okunade (London and Bonn), Musa Bako (Bonn and Sheffield), Paul Awede (Embassy of God, Groningen) and Ibrahim Abarshi (Jesus House for All Nations, Amsterdam).

The RCCG's congregational life and the networks that grow out of it also impact *the way (Nigerian) migrants relate to European society*. One could describe this in terms of negative or positive effects, depending on what one sees as desirable. The RCCG itself aims for integration, as opposed to assimilation or becoming an enclave (see Grillo, 2001: 3). In all three countries, church leaders emphasize the importance of adapting to the local context, both to be successful individually and to extend the church's social influence. Having a "burden" for the place, understanding and offering solutions to problems, and evangelizing in ways that appeal to the local people, are all regarded as prerequisites for successful mission. In the Netherlands and Germany, learning the language is also considered a priority.⁹ The few "indigenous white" pastors within the RCCG come under tremendous pressure to take on a more prominent role, since they are seen as one of the primary means to reach across the cultural divide.

Yet the church's function as a social support network for Nigerian migrants and its strong transnational ties ensure that ethnic and cultural differences are maintained (Burgess, 2009). RCCG congregations in Europe express their identities by constructing symbolic boundaries to mark out their difference from the "world" but also from other ethnicities (Hunt, 2002a: 163). This can sometimes militate against integration by discouraging members from mixing with non-Christians and non-Africans. Helen Ebaugh and Janet Chafetz (2000: 456) refer to this as selective assimilation, where individuals may be assimilated educationally, linguistically and

9. Bajo Akinsanya, Heart and Soul of the Church conference, Amsterdam, 21–23 May 2009; Oni-Orisan 2007. Akinsanya is Director of Youth of RCCG UK. The "Heart and Soul" conference was organized by Jesus House London on behalf of the RCCG in the Netherlands. Oni Orisan is pastor of RCCG King's Court Fellowship, Leipzig. His book, entitled "You Must Prosper in the Land: How to Succeed in a Foreign Land," was written for Nigerians intending to emigrate and to enhance the integration of people living in the Diaspora.

socially, but chose to continue participating in their ethnic congregations. By providing contexts where migrants can socialize with others, immigrant religious institutions “serve as important sites for both ethnic reproduction and for immigrant adaptation to their new community” (Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2000: 356).

In Britain, where there are far more RCCG parishes than in Germany or the Netherlands, there is significant variation in terms of cultural orientation, which affects the growth of its individual congregations and their capacity to integrate into British society. Those whose main focus is on the African Diaspora have made limited headway in terms of church growth and social integration, while others more oriented towards British culture have established close links with local churches, civil society associations and government institutions in their immediate neighbourhoods. Afe Adogame (2005: 508) identifies a “lack of cross-cultural appeal” and the tendency of African migrants to interact mainly with fellow Africans as the main barriers towards the realization of a multi-racial group. Nigeria’s global reputation for corruption and criminal activity, and the perception of African churches by white Europeans as institutions obsessed with money and the activities of evil spirits are also barriers to successful integration (this will be discussed in more detail in section 5).¹⁰ It is not surprising therefore that despite its multicultural aspirations the RCCG has generally failed to make incursions into the indigenous European communities and remains predominantly Nigerian in composition. In the British survey, 80 percent of respondents were Yoruba and 97 percent were Nigerian, with only two Caucasian respondents, both married to Nigerians.¹¹ In the Netherlands, despite the fact that a Dutch woman was involved at the beginnings of its establishment, the RCCG has not managed to attract many “indigenous Dutch.” Most members are of African, mainly Nigerian origin, and those that are Dutch usually have a Surinam or Antillean background. In Germany, the picture is similar, although there are attempts

10. This has been brought to the fore recently by events in Africa and elsewhere, such as the administrative takeover of the London-based Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC), following allegations against Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo for using church funds for personal enrichment, and the exposure of exorcism episodes among African communities involving children.

11. This is slightly higher than Hunt and Lightly found in their survey of Jesus House, RCCG’s flagship congregation in London, where 90 percent designated themselves Nigerian (Hunt and Lightly, 2001; Hunt, 2002a). Jesus House was started by Tony Rapu, pastor of Apapa Parish in Lagos, in 1994. Based in London, it currently has over 2,500 members.

to break this trend by starting programmes specifically geared towards reaching indigenous Germans.

The RCCG's potential as a social force in Europe depends in part upon its internal organization, its inter-church relationships, and its capacity to engage with other civil society associations and government institutions. Church leaders realize the importance of organizational consolidation for gaining recognition in the local and national public spheres, and for influencing the wider society. One of the RCCG's strengths is its internal structure which is designed to mobilize the laity. In fact, Ukah (2005: 330) describes it as a "laity-driven church," where individuals are empowered to pursue their vision without too much hindrance from bureaucracy. By training a committed workforce of lay men and women, the church is able to generate considerable financial and human resources.

Civic engagement is another measure of social force and is increasingly regarded as an integral component of the RCCG's missionary vision, especially in Britain where it has helped the church to gain recognition in the public sphere at a local and national level. The term "civic engagement" refers to "people's connections with the life of their community" (Putnam, 1995: 665) and involves activities designed to address issues of public concern, whether through social service provision or political action (Foley and Hoge, 2007). Social scientific research has shown the importance of religious institutions for developing civic skills and encouraging civic engagement (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995; Wuthnow, 1999; Foley and Hoge, 2007). Often this activity is focused on the interests of their own organizations, especially where evangelical churches are concerned (Wuthnow, 1999: 366). However, in the case of the RCCG, it is linked to its holistic understanding of mission which includes social ministry and political action on behalf of the wider community. This has partly been a response to the difficulties it has encountered in a so-called post-Christian context like Europe, where people are increasingly unreceptive to traditional evangelistic techniques and reluctant to attend church. In the case of RCCG in Britain, it is also a response to the Charitable Commission's public benefit test, which requires religious institutions to engage in social action if they are to receive the tax benefits of charitable status.¹² From the perspective of the members themselves, social action is an expression of the church's commitment to the biblical mandate to love one's neighbour by addressing the

12. To give some idea of the financial benefits involved, in 2007 Jesus House was able to reclaim nearly £0.5 million through Gift Aid, the tax relief on money donated to UK charities (Jesus House, Annual Review, 26 April 2009).

spiritual, physical and social needs of the wider society. Thus, Agu Irukwu, senior pastor of RCCG's Jesus House, refers to the church's duty "to show the love of God in a practical way" through prayer, charitable giving and participation in social welfare programmes (Irukwu, 2008: 5).¹³

Although it has yet to develop a coherent social doctrine to undergird its social praxis, several strands of thought can be detected within RCCG social ethics. Here we focus on Britain where the church has become more involved in social and political activities than in Germany and the Netherlands, largely because of its much larger constituency and its greater visibility in public space. The first focuses on the provision of social services on the level of neighbourhoods. Some RCCG programmes fall within the category of relief and individual charity; for example, Royal Connections' "Feed the Homeless" project and Croydon Tabernacle's "Heart of Compassion," both geared towards helping the poor in London. Other RCCG programmes fall within the category of development-oriented ministries. One example is the Novo Centre, a drop-in centre set up to help combat the causes of youth-related offences by mentoring young people and providing an alternative social context for them to express themselves.

The second main strand of thought regarding social engagement focuses on changing society for the better by enabling lay members to become leaders in the arenas of politics, media, business and education. One parish that has embraced this model is Trinity Chapel in London, whose social vision is reflected in its church motto: "Transforming Leaders. Influencing Society." It implements this by holding seminars and conferences, using the media, publishing magazines, organizing mentoring programmes and engaging in "prophetic" prayer.¹⁴ Like other Pentecostal churches, the RCCG considers spiritual warfare prayer an important means of political engagement. This is reflected in the regular periods of prayer and fasting followed by all its parishes in Britain, and its participation in the Global Day of Prayer London, led by the Nigerian pastor, Jonathan Oloyede. While the bulk of African Pentecostal prayer focuses on personal needs such as healing, deliverance, fertility and finances, some RCCG parishes regard themselves as "spiritual gatekeepers" in their communities and organize programmes specifically to address national issues.¹⁵

13. Agu Irukwu is currently the Chairman of RCCG's UK Executive Council.

14. A recent initiative is Trinity Chapel's Transformation School, which aims to "raise Transformational leaders, who will take and transform territories for God in their generation." See http://www.trinitychapel.org.uk/ts_jan09.htm (accessed 1 March 2010).

15. See, for example, the London-based Royal Connections parish: "Our desire has

5. Intersecting Transnational and National Public Spheres

As we have shown, the RCCG is developing considerably as a social force, mostly in Britain and in more modest ways in the Netherlands and Germany. Increasingly, the RCCG is recognized worldwide as a church to watch. One striking example is that in January 2009 the magazine *Newsweek* listed Adeboye as one of the 50 Global Elites.¹⁶ The article was widely distributed among the RCCG parishes all over the world and displayed in congregations in Germany, Britain and the Netherlands. Among Nigerian Pentecostals this could be interpreted as the fulfilment of an outstanding prophecy declared by Adeboye at a Watch Night service in 1993/1994,¹⁷ or simply as a measure of the growing importance of the RCCG.

Yet this awareness does not immediately translate to the national and local levels. In this section we discuss the impact of the RCCG in relation to the third dimension of social force referred to in the introduction of this article: that of the de-privatization of religion, or in other words, its presence in the public sphere and its participation in public discussions at the national and local levels. There are several ways in which this might take place: via media technology, a local presence in the form of a parish and big public events. Organizational consolidation is strengthened and sustained through the use of mass media technology, and especially the Internet/world wide web. Internet presence encourages organizational cohesion on a local, national and international level as well as recognition within the public sphere. A striking difference between the RCCG in Britain and the Netherlands on the one hand and the RCCG in Germany on the other is internet presence. In Germany, only one of the RCCG parishes has a website. The Dutch RCCG has one central website and some individual parish websites. The RCCG in Britain has one central

always been to impact society because God has an expectation for our community... We are gatekeepers in the city, watchmen interceding for the United Kingdom daily” (Royal Connections Network, May 2007: 13).

16. <http://www.newsweek.com/id/176333> (accessed 1 September 2009).

17. <http://www.prayersfire.com/?p=206> (accessed 1 September 2009). According to a blog on “prayersfire,” a webpage of Mountain of Fire and Miracles, another Nigerian Pentecostal church, it was announced in the Watch Night service 1993/1994 that three giants would emerge: a spiritual giant, a political giant and a financial giant. Adeboye is identified as the spiritual giant, and Barack Obama, the political giant: “the Top 50 Global Power Elite list for 2008/2009 includes two prominent Africans – President-Elect Barack Obama and Pastor Enoch Adejare Adeboye. For the first time that list is topped by an African-American.”

website and many congregational websites. Furthermore, large congregations with buildings, and large events, such as London's Festival of Life (FOL), raise the RCCG's profile in the national public sphere. Held biannually in London's Excel Centre and hosted by Pastor Adeboye, the FOL attracts over twenty-five thousand, mainly African, participants during one night of praise, prayer and preaching. It also provides a platform for a variety of public figures, including prominent church leaders, Christian politicians and senior members of the Metropolitan Police Service. On the mainland, a European Convention is organized every two years, hosted by one of the national missions of the RCCG.

In the introduction we made a distinction between the transnational public spheres in which the RCCG participates and itself co-constitutes, the national public spheres of specific nation states, and the local urban spaces in which individual RCCG parishes are located. With regard to the national media, Nigerian Pentecostal churches have been receiving attention, especially in Britain and the Netherlands. This has been both positive and negative. In both countries, Nigerian Pentecostal churches have been noted as dynamic and fast growing, with a missionary agenda. But they have also been associated with criminality and child abuse following witchcraft accusations. However, it is difficult to speak of a "public presence" of Nigerian churches in Germany and the Netherlands when the majority of the population is in fact oblivious to their existence. This "oblivion" should be qualified in the case of the Netherlands: there are some public debates that generate categories that implicitly include Nigerian churches. The first centres on the so-called "migrant churches"; the second on the quite strong association of migrants, and in particular Nigerians, with illegality and criminality.

In the first debate, migrant churches have in recent years been "discovered" by policy-makers, researchers and the mainline churches in the Netherlands, and a whole discourse has developed around these churches: they help migrants to cope with a strange and hostile society, they increase the participation of migrants, they can be used as conduits for campaigning by local politicians and for public health interventions, they add colour and life to neighbourhoods that are at the same time known as areas of poverty and crime. Interestingly, Jesus House for All Nations in Amsterdam has resisted the role of "poor migrant church," emphasizing that members did not come here to profit from the economic climate, but to bring the gospel: "we did not come here as tenants, but as landlords!" (Knibbe, 2009). Within the hotly contested space of Amsterdam South East, there are also many critics of the optimistic view

of “migrant churches.” Some point out that many members actually live outside Amsterdam. Furthermore, the fortunes of individual churches wax and wane with the popularity of their pastors and changes in the immigration laws. In the past year, accusations have been levelled at the migrant churches (especially the Pentecostal variety) that they promote so called “homo-healings”: occasions at which gays can be “cured” both of their gayness and of HIV/AIDS. The churches find it hard to combat these allegations. Although it could be argued that there is no such thing as a “homo-healing,” they do believe that homosexuality is not supported by biblical teaching. Furthermore, the belief in miraculous healings is an intrinsic part of Pentecostalism worldwide. However controversial their practices, and despite (or even through) their difficulties in finding space to worship, African Christian churches have become an intrinsic part of the local dynamics of Amsterdam South East and London. As Den Uyl and Brouwer showed for Amsterdam, they represent “decent” culture as opposed to “street culture” among black youth (Den Uyl and Brouwer, forthcoming 2010).

The second debate that implicitly includes the RCCG and its members is the one focusing on the association between Nigerians and certain types of crime. This debate impacts on the way Nigerians are perceived and treated by the authorities in quite far-reaching ways, leading to raids, arrests and forced deportations, but surprisingly few prosecutions under criminal law (Knibbe, 2009). As in many countries in Africa, in Europe the association between Nigerians and crime is easily made and often associated with the supernatural (Adogame, 2004b; van Dijk, 2001). Although individual Nigerian pastors are sometimes involved in combating crime, on the whole the suspicion of the police and the authorities towards the Nigerian churches is easily stirred up by reports in the media that gratefully exploit the sensational combination of drugs, trafficking of women and such “exotic” practices as “voodoo” and “exorcism.” Recently, Nigerian churches in the Netherlands were accused of laundering money earned through advance fee crime.¹⁸ According to church-leaders, it is very difficult to counter these sorts of accusations because reporters do not bother to actually visit and talk to them. In Britain as well, Nigerians feature prominently in debates about criminality – bank fraud, 419¹⁹ and drug trafficking. Another aspect of the public debate has to do with child abuse

18. See *Nederlands Dagblad* <http://www.nd.nl/artikelen/2009/februari/20/criminele-kerkgang> (accessed 7 September 2009).

19. The number “419” refers to the article of the Nigerian Criminal Code dealing with fraud.

connected with witchcraft accusations and deliverance (see footnote 10). Following media reports, Jesus House London held a major symposium, inviting academics, journalists and religious leaders to discuss this. In the Netherlands, however, churches have only reacted anonymously to accusations such as money-laundering.

We could ask whether it is through the phenomenon of an African Diaspora, a sizeable African community in Europe, that the RCCG and African-initiated churches in general are entering the public awareness. Do they enter into public space primarily as churches or as the more visible and easily located institutions of the African Diaspora? More and more, in Britain but also in the Netherlands, politicians know where to find the Pentecostal churches and see them as a means to address the African community. One example is the much cited instance of Ken Livingstone visiting the RCCG in London to get support for his candidacy as a mayor. Also Boris Johnson, the present Mayor of London, visited Jesus House, as did Prince Charles. Other politicians have visited different London parishes and addressed the Festival of Life.

However, there are also signs that the RCCG is creating a name for itself as a religious movement, rather than as a “migrant” or “African” church, through alliances with British and Dutch national ecumenical organizations such as the Evangelical Alliance and the VPE (Alliance of Pentecostal Churches in the Netherlands). In Germany, this development is not visible within the RCCG. Public recognition and social influence is also enhanced or diminished by the RCCG’s ability to relate with other local churches, with secular civil society associations and with government institutions in their respective host countries. In the Netherlands, strong ties with Dutch Pentecostal churches are being established through frequent “pulpit exchange.” Recent national events have usually included one or more speakers from a Dutch Pentecostal organization. Furthermore, the headquarters of the RCCG Netherlands Mission used to rent the property from a Dutch Pentecostal church which led to exchanges. In Britain, leaders from white-led Pentecostal churches, the older Caribbean-initiated churches and Protestant mainline churches are sometimes invited as speakers at RCCG events such as the Festival of Life.²⁰ There are also quite close ties with the Church of England (Anglican) in Britain, which finds expression in an informal agreement whereby it will

20. For example, guest speakers at the FOL have included Bishop Eric Brown (New Testament Church of God), Bishop Wilton Powell (Church of God of Prophecy), Revd Mark Melluish (Anglican), Revd Steve Chalke (Baptist) and Revd Joel Edwards (Evangelical Alliance).

first offer to sell its church buildings to the RCCG before putting them on the market. Another important link is Jesus House's relationship with Holy Trinity Brompton (HTB), one of the most influential churches in the evangelical wing of the Church of England. Nicky Gumbel, the vicar (senior pastor), was indirectly responsible for introducing Jesus House to Prince Charles, which resulted in a partnership between the RCCG and the Prince's Trust, a social initiative founded in 1976 to improve the lives of disadvantaged young people.

To any intelligent observer, Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal churches are a much bigger phenomenon than can be captured by the debates on "migrant churches" or the association between Nigerians and certain types of crime. The awareness of the mainline churches of the shift in Christianity's centre of gravity does not, ironically, include a treatment of "migrant churches" as equals. Rather, as it has been recently shown for Amsterdam, they are seen in terms of the traditional development relationship: as the recipients of "help" (van der Meulen, 2009). In the case of Britain this is changing as the Church of England, and especially the Anglican Church Mission Society, establishes mission partnerships with the black majority churches.²¹ Connections with the Pentecostal movements in Britain and the Netherlands seem to take place on a much more equal footing from the start.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations for Further Research

Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal churches such as the RCCG are quite clearly a social force in Europe: they are expanding, finding new ways of being present in public spaces and engaging with society, and are instrumental in constituting the spaces of the African Diaspora and shaping the self-conception of their members as valuable members of their host society. As such they represent a challenge to the secularization thesis and the notion that religion is losing its social significance for public and/or private life. Furthermore, they contribute to the awareness of the European mainline churches that Christianity's centre of gravity is moving south. All this is visible quite strongly in Britain, to a lesser extent in the Netherlands and least of all in Germany. Although, even in Germany it is becoming clear that Nigerian churches constitute strong transnational

21. For example, RCCG pastor, Yemi Adedeji, is New Relationships and Outreach Advisor to the Church Mission Society (CMS) and has been instrumental in establishing a partnership between the CMS and black majority churches in Britain (interview, 23 July 2008).

networks. Their emphasis on experiential religion enables them to mobilize their members and empower them to become church planters. The growth of the church in Britain is seen as an example for the church in the Netherlands and Germany in terms of organizational structure, civic engagement and financial accounting practices. Although the general feeling is that the reality still falls far short of the ideal, also in terms of the available leadership, the accomplishments of the past few years and the growth of the RCCG in other parts of the world helps to fuel the motivation of local pastors and congregations.

In the introduction we conceived of public sphere in three different ways: transnational, national and local. In terms of creating a transnational public sphere, the RCCG is undoubtedly very successful. In terms of localizing this transnational movement by planting churches, they are also advancing at an astonishing pace, consolidating their presence not only in the three countries we discussed, but also in other European countries. However, in terms of entering the “national” public sphere as represented by, for example, the national media, they are facing some problems in that often the discussion does not take place on their terms. Especially in the Netherlands there is a discrepancy between the intentions of Nigerian churches and the way they are perceived, whether as “migrant churches” or as conduits for criminal money. In contrast to Britain, Nigerian churches have only reacted anonymously to these accusations. In terms of becoming present in local public spaces, the RCCG has enjoyed a measure of success through its acquisition of church buildings and, at least in Britain, through its outreach activities. In some cases (London and Amsterdam) they become part of the dynamics created by the presence of a concentration of African Pentecostal churches that shapes a local cityscape to a large extent. This has been explored more thoroughly for the case of Amsterdam in a recent special issue of the journal *African Diaspora* (Knibbe, 2009; van der Meulen, 2009).

Our research has focused on Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal churches with a strong awareness of the fact that they are a global phenomenon and part of the worldwide religionscape of Pentecostalism rather than a “typically Nigerian” phenomenon. However, Nigeria and the Nigerian Diaspora are undeniably a source of much religious dynamism. As a Nigerian phenomenon they are a focus for European suspicions and anxieties about “Africa” as a crime riddled continent, burdened by ethnic and religious violence and “backward” beliefs in witchcraft, brought uncomfortably close by the presence of black migrants in European cities. The research has produced lines of enquiries that did not get the attention

that they deserve here. One of those lines of inquiry concerns the strong undercurrents of xenophobia and racism in the debates on Nigerians in Britain and in the Netherlands, informed by exoticizing notions of “Africa” reminiscent of the novella, *Heart of Darkness*, written by Joseph Conrad, casting Africans as essentially “opaque” (van Dijk, 2001).

These anxieties are not based on any thorough insight and understanding of the phenomena of witchcraft and crime, which many Nigerians will assert are real enough, but rather on a deliberate misunderstanding that seems intended to establish more firmly the boundaries between “us” and “them” in a world where Europe is coming to see itself as an enclave of relative peace and justice. It will be a great challenge for Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal churches to wriggle out of this awkward corner and become “transparent” to outsiders as churches with a religious message. This has to some extent been achieved in Britain: due to their greater visibility in the public sphere, Nigerian churches have become quite a strong discussion partner in public debates, especially concerning “unpleasant” subjects such as crime and child abuse through deliverance practices. However, the need to be transparent in some cases clashes with the need of migrants to have a safe haven where they can practice their faith in ways they are familiar with, without being thought strange, thus hiding from the public gaze. It is between these two poles of “reverse mission” and “asylum Christianity” that Nigerian churches must navigate.²²

References

- Adeboye, Olufunke. 2005. “Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa: The Redeemed Christian Church of God, Nigeria.” In Laurent Fourchard, André Mary and René Otayek (eds), *Entreprises religieuses transnationales en Afrique de l’ouest*. Paris, Ibadan: Karthala, 439–65.
- 2007. “Arrowhead’ of Nigerian Pentecostalism. The Redeemed Christian Church of God, 1952–2005.” *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 29.1: 24–58.
- Adekola, Moses Akinwumi. 1989. “The Redeemed Christian Church of God. A Study of an Indigenous Pentecostal Church in Nigeria.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.
- Adogame, Afe. 2004a. “Contesting the Ambivalences of Modernity in a Global Context. The Redeemed Christian Church of God, North America.” *Studies in World Christianity* 10.1: 25–48.
- 2004b. “Engaging the Rhetoric of Spiritual Warfare: The Public Face of Aladura in Diaspora.” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34.4: 493–522. doi:10.1163/1570066042564392
- 2005. “African Communities in Diaspora.” In Ogbu U. Kalu (ed.), *African Christianity: An African Story*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 494–514.

22. See Ukah 2009.

- Adogame, Afe, and Cordula Weißköppel (eds). 2005. *Religion in the Context of African Migration*, Bayreuth African Studies Series 75; Bayreuth: Thielmann & Breitingger.
- Agbali, Anthony A. 2008. "Ethnography of Religion and Spirituality among St. Louisian African Immigrants." In Toyin Falola and Niyi Afolabi (eds), *African Minorities in the New World*, New York: Routledge, 105–51.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, MN, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Asamoah-Gyadu, J. Kwabena. 2005a. "Half a Century of Touching Lives: Nigerian Charismatic Personalities and African (Ghanaian) Christianity, 1953–2003." In Chima J. Korieh and G. Ugo Nwokeji (eds), *Religion, History, and Politics in Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Ogbu U. Kalu*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 230–45.
- 2005b. "An African Pentecostal on Mission in Eastern Europe: The Church of the 'Embassy of God' in the Ukraine." *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 27.2: 297–321.
- Burgess, Richard. 2008. *Nigeria's Christian Revolution. The Civil War Revival and its Pentecostal Progeny (1967–2004)*. Carlisle: Regnum/Paternoster.
- 2009. "African Pentecostal Spirituality and Civic Engagement: The Case of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Britain." *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 3 (December): 255–73. doi:10.1080/13617670903371563
- Casanova, Jose. 1994. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago, IL, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Coleman, Simon. 2000. *The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity. Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511488221
- De Witte, Marlene. 2008. "Accra's Sounds and Sacred Spaces." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32.3: 690–709. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2008.00805.x
- Den Uyl, Marion, and Lenie Brouwer. Forthcoming 2010. "Immigrant Girls in Multicultural Amsterdam: Juggling Different Cultural Messages." In Jennifer H. Helgren and Colleen A. Vasconcellos (eds), *Girlhood: A Global History*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Ebaugh, Helen, and Janet Chafetz. 2000. *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Foley, Michael W., and Dean R. Hoge. 2007. *Religion and the New Immigrants: How Faith Communities form our Newest Citizens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2007. "Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: on the Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post Westphalian World." In Seyla Benhabib, Ian Shapiro and Danilo Petranovich (eds), *Identities, Affiliations and Allegiances*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 45–66.
- Gerloff, Roswith. 2000. "An African Continuum in Variations: The African Christian Diaspora in Britain." *Black Theology. An International Journal* 4: 84–112.
- Grillo, Ralph D. 2001. "Transnational Migration and Multiculturalism in Europe." Oxford: ESRC Transnational Communities Working Paper WPTC-01–08.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1989 [1962]. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. Thomas Burger; Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hackett, Rosalind I. J. 1998. "Charismatic/Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28.3: 258–77. doi:10.1163/157006698X00026
- Hancock, Mary, and Smriti Srinivas. 2008. "Spaces of Modernity: Religion and the Urban in Asia and Africa." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32.2: 617–30. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2008.00800.x

- Harris, Hermione. 2006. *Yoruba in Diaspora: An African Church in London*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9780230601048
- Haynes, Jeff. 1998. *Religion in Global Politics*. London, New York: Longman.
- Hervieu-Léger, Danielle. 2002. "Space and Religion: New Approaches to Religious Spatiality in Modernity." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26.1: 99–105. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.00365
- Hunt, Stephen. 2000. "'Winning Ways': Globalisation and the Impact of the Health and Wealth Gospel." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 15.3: 331–47. doi:10.1080/713676038
- 2002a. "'Neither Here nor There': The Construction of Identities and Boundary Maintenance of West African Pentecostals." *Sociology* 36.1: 147–69. doi:10.1177/0038038502036001008
- 2002b. "A Church for all Nations': The Redeemed Christian Church of God." *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 24.2: 185–204.
- Hunt, Stephen, and Nicola Lightly. 2001. "The British Black Pentecostal 'Revival': Identity and Belief in the 'New' Nigerian Churches." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24.1: 104–24. doi:10.1080/014198701750052523
- Irukwu, Agu. 2008. "In the Crucible with Pastor Agu. Our Corporate Social Responsibility." *Outflow* (October): 5.
- Knibbe, Kim E. 2009. "We did not come here as tenants, but as landlords: Nigerian Pentecostals and the power of maps." *African Diaspora* 1.2: 133–58.
- Koning, Danielle. 2009. "Place, Space, and Authority. The Mission and Reversed Mission of the Ghanaian Seventh-day Adventist Church in Amsterdam." *African Diaspora* 1.2: 203–26.
- Marshall, Ruth. 2009. *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria*. Chicago, IL, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- McAlister, Elizabeth. 2005. "Globalization and the Religious Production of Space." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44.3: 249–55. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5906.2005.00283.x
- Meyer, Birgit, and Annelies Moors. 2006. *Religion, Media and the Public Sphere*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Mwaura, Philomena Njeri. 2005. "Nigerian Pentecostal Missionary Enterprise in Kenya." In Chima J. Korih and G. Ugo Nwokeji (eds), *Religion, History, and Politics in Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Ogbu U. Kalu*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 246–64.
- Ojo, Matthews A. 2006. *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Omoyajowo, Joseph Akinyele. 1982. *Cherubim and Seraphim: The History of an African Independent Church*. New York: NOK Publishers International.
- Oni-Orisan, Agboola. 2007. *You Must Prosper in the Land: How to Succeed in a Foreign Land*. Köln: The Redeemed Christian Church of God.
- Osgood, Hugh. 2006. "African neo-Pentecostal Churches and British Evangelicalism 1985–2005: Balancing Principles and Practicalities." Ph.D. Dissertation, SOAS, London.
- Oshun, Christopher Olubunmi. 1999. "Aladura Evangelists in Britain: An Assessment of Spiritual Adventurism." Paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh, 9 March.
- Putnam, Robert. 1995. "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America." *Political Science and Politics* 28.4: 664–83. doi:10.2307/420517
- Rosenstone, Steven, J. and John M. Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan.
- Royal Connections Network. 2007. "Achievements of the Church." *Royal Connections*.

- Changing Expectations to Manifestations, Impacting Society. Special Anniversary Edition* (May): 13.
- Ukah, Asonzeh F.-K. 2003a. "Advertising God. Nigerian Christian Video-Films and the Power of Consumer Culture." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33.2: 203–31. doi:10.1163/15700660360703141
- 2003b. "The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), Nigeria: Local Identities and Global Processes in African Pentecostalism." PhD Dissertation, University of Bayreuth, Bayreuth.
- 2005. "Mobilities, Migration and Multiplication. The Expansion of the Religious Field of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), Nigeria." In Afe Adogame and Cordula Weißköppel (eds), *Religion in the Context of African Migration*. Bayreuth African Studies Series 75; Bayreuth: Thielmann & Breitingger, 317–41.
- 2008. *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power: A Study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- 2009. "Reverse Mission or Asylum Christianity: A Nigerian Church in Europe." In Toyin Falola and Augustine Agwuele (eds), *Africans and the Politics of Popular Cultures*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 104–32.
- Uponi, Patrick and Tunde Idowu. n.d. [2002]. *The RCCG at 50. 1952–2002: Like a Mustard Seed*. Lagos: n.publ.
- Van der Meulen, Marten. 2009. "The Continuing Importance of the Local: African Churches and the Search for Worship Space in Amsterdam." *African Diaspora* 1.2: 159–81.
- Van Dijk, Rijk. 1997. "From Camp to Encompassment: Discourses of Transsubjectivity in the Ghanaian Pentecostal Diaspora." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 27.2: 136–59.
- 2001. "'Voodoo on the Doorstep': Young Nigerian Girls and Magic Policing in the Netherlands." *African Affairs* 71.4: 558–85.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehmann Schlozman and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Währisch-Oblau, Claudia. 2000. "From Reverse Mission to Common Mission...We Hope: Immigrant Protestant Churches and the 'Programme for Cooperation between German and Immigrant Congregations' of the United Evangelical Mission." *International Review of Mission* 89.354: 467–83.
- 2009. *The Missionary Self-Perception of Pentecostal/Charismatic Church Leaders from the Global South in Europe: Bringing Back the Gospel*. Global Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies 2; Leiden: Brill. doi:10.1163/ej.9789004175082.i-430
- Wilson, Bryan. 1982. *Religion in Sociological Perspective*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Woodhead, Linda, and Paul Heelas. 2000. *Religion in Modern Times: An Interpretive Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 1999. "Mobilizing Civic Engagement: The Changing Impact of Religious Involvement." In Theda Skocpol and Morris P. Fiorina (eds), *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 331–65.