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Charismatic Leadership, Organizational Dynamics and the Growth of Independent Pentecostal Churches in Lagos Metropolis

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DOI:
[10.33612/diss.143454023](https://doi.org/10.33612/diss.143454023)

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:
2020

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Ojo, J. O. (2020). *Charismatic Leadership, Organizational Dynamics and the Growth of Independent Pentecostal Churches in Lagos Metropolis*. [Thesis fully internal (DIV), University of Groningen]. University of Groningen. <https://doi.org/10.33612/diss.143454023>

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Charismatic leadership, organizational dynamics and the growth of independent pentecostal churches in Lagos metropolis

PhD thesis

to obtain the degree of PhD at the
University of Groningen
on the authority of the
Rector Magnificus Prof. C. Wijmenga
and in accordance with
a decision by the Doctorate Board.

This thesis will be defended in public on

Thursday 5 November 2020 at 9.00 hours

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the interconnections of charismatic leadership, organizational dynamics and the growth of the Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos metropolis, Nigeria. It further discussed the processes of establishing, nurturing, and consolidation of these churches by their leaders from their inception until 2017. The study adopted Weber's definition of charisma as referring to the special qualities attributed to a leader by the followers. The study also examined the routinization process of the charisma of the leaders and organizational structures of the selected churches and further explored the extent to which the charisma of these leaders has influenced the growth of their churches. The result of the study showed that the attribution of charisma played a major role in the emergence of the leaders of these selected Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos metropolis. It was also discovered that the wives of these pastors have successfully taken up pastoral leadership positions alongside their husbands and are attributed charisma; indicating that charisma can be shared, an issue Max Weber overlooked. Lastly, it was discovered that though routinization of charisma has set in, these leaders have not allowed its completion. The study concluded that the interconnections of charismatic leadership and organizational dynamics, which has led the Independent Pentecostal churches to grow rapidly within three decades call for a re-evaluation of Max Weber's thesis on charisma and routinization when applied to the African context.

Key Words: Pentecostalism, charisma, leadership, church, organization and growth.

Charismatisch leiderschap, organisatorische dynamiek en de groei van Onafhankelijke Pinksterkerken in de metropool Lagos

Deze studie onderzocht de verbanden tussen charismatisch leiderschap, organisatiedynamiek en de groei van onafhankelijke pinksterkerken in de metropool Lagos, Nigeria. De processen van oprichting en consolidatie van deze kerken door hun leiders vanaf hun oprichting tot 2017. De studie nam Weber's definitie van charisma over als een verwijzing naar de bijzondere kwaliteiten die de volgelingen aan een leider toeschrijven. De studie onderzocht ook het proces van routinering van het charisma van de leiders in relatie tot de organisatiestructuren van de geselecteerde kerken en onderzocht verder de mate waarin het charisma van deze leiders de groei van hun kerken heeft beïnvloed. Het resultaat van de studie toont aan dat de toekenning van charisma een grote rol heeft gespeeld in de opkomst van de leiders van deze geselecteerde onafhankelijke pinksterkerken in de metropool Lagos. Ook werd ontdekt dat de vrouwen van deze voorgangers met succes pastorale leiderschapsposities hebben ingenomen naast hun echtgenoten, en dat hun ook charisma wordt toegeschreven. Dit geeft aan dat charisma kan worden gedeeld, een mogelijkheid die Max Weber over het hoofd heeft gezien. Tot slot werd ontdekt dat, hoewel de routinering van charisma is ingezet, deze leiders de voltooiing ervan niet hebben toegestaan. De studie concludeert dat de wisselwerking tussen charismatisch leiderschap en organisatiedynamiek, die de Onafhankelijke Pinksterkerken de afgelopen drie decennia hebben doen groeien, vragen om een herwaardering van Max Weber's thes over charisma en routinering wanneer deze wordt toegepast op de Afrikaanse context.

Sleutelwoorden: Pinksterbeweging, charisma, leiderschap, kerk, organisatie en groei.

DEDICATION

This thesis is humbly dedicated to the memory of my late mother,

Mary Olajumoke OJO

Who slept in the Lord on Wednesday, 23rd September 1980.

And my father, Rev Joseph Bamidele Ojo,

who transited into glory on Thursday, 6th October 2018.

Sweet is the memory of the Righteous, sleep on, dear Mum and Dad.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, my unreserved and unalloyed gratitude and appreciation go to God. He alone is my strength, hope, joy and comfort. It is by His mercy and grace that I am what I am today. He has been wonderfully good to me. I must also register my profound gratitude and appreciation to my promotor, Dr Kim Knibbe for her patience and efforts to the successful completion of this work. I appreciate her thorough supervision, and kind gestures, which made my stay in Groningen a worthwhile experience. When I thought of abandoning the work, her firm belief in my ability to complete this work encouraged me. I also thank Professor Kocku von Stuckrad, the former Dean of the Faculty who also doubled as my co-supervisor for his support and efforts in ensuring timely completion of my study. His friendly disposing, valuable suggestions and comments have gone a long way to improve the final quality of the work.

I sincerely appreciate all the academic staff of the Faculty for their assistance, encouragement and support. I also say a big thank you to all my colleagues and friends in the Faculty. I thank the following people who have assisted me in one way or the other, Iis Surcham, Tineke van der Deure, Johannes van Buren, Seyi Adekanmbi, Tega Otojare, Kehinde Omisile, Emmanuel Asa, Adegboyega Adebayo, Tayo Irantiola, the Pastoral team and the entire members of Good News Baptist Church, Surulere, Lagos for their love, support, prayers and the opportunity given to me to do this programme. I cannot forget the encouragement and support received from the following: Dn. Yemi Adeogun and Dr Dayo Fodeke, thanks so much for your assistance and support.

I thank all my family members – Professor Matthews Ojo, Mrs Florence Ojo, Mrs Iyabo Aremu, Mr and Mrs Biola Areo, Dr Jide Ojo, friends, and many others who are too numerous to mention but have contributed in one way or the other to the successful completion of this work, I appreciate you all. Last but not the least; I express my unalloyed gratitude to my wife, Mrs Funke Ojo and our two daughters, Precious-Oluwadara and Marvelous-Oluwaferanmi for their love, prayers, patience, and understanding during my frequent travels. I thank you all. God bless you abundantly.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGO	Assistant General Overseer
CAC	Corporate Affairs Commission
CAC	Christ Apostolic Church
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
C&S	Cherubim and Seraphim Church
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DAYSTAR	Daystar Christian Centre
DLA	Daystar Leadership Academy
GO	General Overseer
GS	General Superintendent
MFM	Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries
PBOF	Pastor Bimbo Odukoya Foundation
PFN	Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria
RCCG	Redeemed Christian Church of God
RCM	Roman Catholic Mission
TFOLC	The Fountain of Life Church
TREM	The Redeemed Evangelical Mission
UCC	United Church of Christ

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The main objective of this research work is to explore how charismatic leadership impacts on the growth and the running of internal organizational systems of Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos metropolis. This is to understand the importance of leadership in the emergence, growth, and the social visibility of Independent Pentecostal churches in Nigeria since the 1980s. Matthews Ojo has argued that the growth of Pentecostalism in Nigeria is due to its ability to contextualize the Christian faith and make it relevant to the needs of the people.¹ This is both a theological and contextual appraisal. However, a cursory observation suggests that leadership styles and the dynamics of organizational structure could also play an important role in the growth of Independent Pentecostal churches. Many observers of the Nigerian Pentecostal landscape have commented on the prominent role of the leaders of Pentecostal churches. These Pentecostal leaders thus play a large role in contextualizing the Gospel message, spreading it through the various programmes in their churches, and determining the nature of the organizational structures through which their charisma is channelled and their churches operate.² A pertinent question to ask then is, what shape does this charismatic leadership take and how does it influence the growth, organizational dynamics and structures of Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis? Furthermore, how is charisma affected by the routinization that takes place when organizations develop and establish themselves after the initial start-up period?

In this study, it is argued that the charisma of the leaders, usually the founders, is greatly interconnected with the growth of their churches and the dynamics of the organisational systems since most of their innovative religious activities and the processes of the routinization of their charisma have enlisted more members and shaped the structures through which the organizations operate.

Charismatic leadership shaped the ministries of Independent Pentecostal churches because these leaders emerged outside formalized structures. For example, in the formative years of the currently dominant wave of churches, i.e. the mid-1980s to mid-1990s, the followers were attracted to these churches because of what they perceived to be the charisma,

¹Matthews A. Ojo, "The Contextual Significance of the Charismatic Movements in Independent Nigeria," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 58, no. 2 (1988): 175-192.

²For more details, see Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria*. (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2006).

that is, specific gifts of the founders, and not necessarily because of any organizational structure. These charismatic leaders had no formal pastoral or theological training, but usually laid claims to visions and instructions from God to start their churches. Besides, in the early years, these churches had no fixed administrative routines. Despite this, they have grown to become big organizations with complex bureaucratic structures with specialized and professional leaders. In the early years, the charisma of the leader-founder dominated in the churches. However, as these churches grew, the charisma of the leader-founder became routinized and the leadership style changed to cope with the increasing formal administrative structures that were introduced to meet the organizational demands of these churches.

What then is charisma? Max Weber, the early-twentieth-century German sociologist, popularized the term charisma concerning a particular form of authority and leadership.³ He used the term to characterize self-appointed political and religious leaders who are followed by those who believe in them as extraordinarily qualified or endowed.⁴ Weber defined charisma as:

A certain quality of an individual's personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them, the individual concerned is treated as a leader.⁵

In a similar vein, the infrastructure sociologist, Douglas Barnes defined charisma as that authority relationship which arises when a leader through the dynamics of a set of teachings, a unique personality, or both, elicits responses of awe, deference, and devotion from a group of people.⁶ He went further to describe a charismatic leader with the submission that,

it is the charismatically qualified leader as such who is obeyed by virtue of personal trust in him and his revelation, his heroism or his exemplary qualities so far as they fall within the scope of the individual's belief in his charisma....⁷

Weber argued that charisma by its nature is unstable because it upsets existing structures, introduces new ideas and ways of doing things, often by divine mandate, and is linked to a person rather than to a particular position within a structure. To stabilize this form of authority,

³David Norman Smith, "Faith, Reason, and Charisma: Rudolf Sohm, Max Weber, and the Theology of Grace," *Sociological Inquiry* 68, no. 1, (February 1998): 34.

⁴Max Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, ed. S. N. Eisenstadt, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968), 52.

⁵Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, 48.

⁶Douglas F. Barnes, "Charisma and Religious Leadership: An Historical Analysis," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17, no.1 (March 1978): 2.

⁷Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, 47-48.

routinization needs to take place. However, this process of routinization may ultimately undermine charismatic authority. Therefore, Weber argued that the charismatic leader tends to develop into ‘one of the forms of every-day authority, particularly the patrimonial form in its decentralized variant or the bureaucratic’.⁸ Thus, charisma is transformed into routinized forms of power that make the charisma sustainable, that is, it becomes an every-day thing. This is what Weber called *Veralltäglichung*. *Veralltäglichung* leads to diminishing of charisma, causing it to lose some of its creative and even supernatural characters.

Going from Weber’s view on charisma to the situation in the Nigerian religious landscape, we can see that the charismatic power of many Nigerian Independent Pentecostal leaders has, since the mid-1990s, been undergoing routinization and institutionalization processes. Despite the dynamic nature of this religious landscape, many Independent Nigerian Pentecostal churches are stable institutions with a developed organizational structure, mega-churches that function well with a more or less stable financial income, completing large building projects, running complex programmes and projects. So how do they maintain the charisma that is so central to their appeal? I will adopt the definition of charisma as propounded by Weber and his view on the routinisation of charisma for this study. This is so because the church leaders being investigated are charismatic, but are torn between the use of their charisma and its routinization. I will examine the various use to which they have put their charisma and various efforts to prevent its routinization. This tension between routinization and charisma is what I will explore in the chapters that follow. In chapter two, I will give a more detailed analysis of the concept of charisma. For now, I define charisma as those special gifts or endowments, which are both natural and supernatural in nature that is attributed by church members to their leaders and at the same time, claimed by the leaders who see themselves as being called by God. It is the gifts that make the members follow these leaders and see them as charismatic leaders.

Beyond the special nature of charismatic leadership, the leadership of whatever form is recognized as an important factor in any organization, be it secular or religious. According to Talaka, leadership is an inevitable functional element in all social organizations.⁹ In the multidisciplinary field of organizational studies, the quality of leadership is recognized as a determining factor in the direction, goals and growth of any organization. In the context of Nigeria, there is a widespread recognition that no institution can grow beyond the quality of its

⁸Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, 60.

⁹T. Takala, “Plato on Leadership,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 17, no. 7 (May 1998):787.

leadership.¹⁰ Thus, it is important not just to have leaders, but also to have morally upright, effective and dynamic leaders. Many institutions have attained prominence because of the quality of their leadership, while many have atrophied or gone into extinction due to poor leadership quality.¹¹ Leadership often determines the effectiveness of the organizational structure and organizational culture in any institution or establishment. It is not a surprise then to suggest that pastoral leadership occupies an important place in Nigerian religious organizations in contemporary times.¹² Therefore, to appreciate this phenomenon, there is a need to understand various historical events that have contributed to the importance of religious leadership in Nigeria. That is, what is the historical context for leadership and organizational structure in Nigerian churches? Below, I will go into some detail on this historical context. The term leadership will be explored in more detail in the next chapter.

1.2 An Overview of Christianity in Nigeria

The coming of the American and European Christian missionaries to Nigeria in the mid-nineteenth century marked the beginning of Christianity in Nigeria. The missionaries arrived in the early 1840s responding to the request of freed slaves from Sierra Leone who had settled in the coastal town of Badagry and needed missionaries to help them in their Christian faith. The first of these Christian missions were the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who arrived in Badagry on the 24th September 1842. The emissaries of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) joined them in December 1842 while those of the American Southern Baptist Mission and Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M.) followed in 1850 and 1863 respectively, then others came later.¹³

As pioneers of the Christian faith in the country, Western missionaries occupied the leadership of the church until the 1880s when indigenous leaders, trained in the mission schools, began to emerge. The organizational structure of the church then was very simple and devoid of any complex and bureaucratic structure. A few Nigerian adults who were able to read

¹⁰For example, see Oluwaponmile Gideon Adetunji, *Leadership in Action* (Ibadan: Baptist Press, 2010) and Chinua Achebe, *The Trouble with Nigeria* (London: Heinemann, 1983).

¹¹World famous Organizations that have gone down because of leadership problem include Enron, WorldCom, Rite Aid, Tyco, Imclone Systems, Global Crossing and Computer Associates and so on. For more detail on this, see Mark A. Thomas, *Gurus on Leadership* (London: Thorogood Publishing 2006), 8-12.

¹²Matthews A. Ojo, 'Religious Leadership in Contemporary Nigeria' in "Christian Movement and Democratic Governance in Nigeria." (Unique Dimension Ltd, Abuja), 1.

¹³For a detailed history on the coming and activities of Christian mission in Nigeria in the mid nineteenth century, see J.F.A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891* (London: Longmans, 1965) and E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914* (London: Longmans, 1966).

and write became vernacular interpreters to the missionaries. Some of these interpreters later became assistant leaders to the missionaries. These assistant leaders were known as ‘Lay Leaders’.¹⁴ These were indigenous people, trained by the missionaries to provide leadership for outstation churches due to the insufficient number of missionaries; however, they needed approval from the missionaries to take any serious decision.

The emergence of *Ethiopianism*¹⁵ at the close of the nineteenth century provided more space for religious leadership in the emerging indigenous African Churches. Many of the pioneers of Ethiopian churches were members who seceded from the mission churches.¹⁶ For example, Mojola Agbebi, James Johnson and J.K. Coker emerged as prominent indigenous church leaders at that time. The reason for their secession was the desire to free Africans from the control of the Europeans and encourage them to lead themselves. These leaders were similar to European leaders in mission churches. They were simple leaders without any title to their name other than ‘reverend’. Their followers saw them as ordinary men who know the word of God and were living a holy life. They were helped in their social mobility by the knowledge of Western education they had acquired. This continued the phenomenon of indigenous church leadership in Nigeria.

The organizational structure of these churches was simple and similar to the mission churches from which they seceded. The situation continued until the emergence of African Indigenous Churches (AICs)¹⁷ in the second decade of the twentieth century. AICs, unlike the Ethiopian churches, were led in indigenous ways such as the use of local language in worship, singing of indigenous songs and the use of indigenous musical instruments as well as emphasis on prayer and divine healing. The members of AICs attributed special gifts, such as the gifts of healing, prayer and vision to their leaders. AICs led to the emergence of indigenous church leaders such as Garrick Braide, J. A. Shadare, David Odubanjo, Moses Orimolade Tunolase, Abiodun Emmanuel, Joseph Ayo Babalola, and Josiah Oshitelu. Some of the AICs that emerged during this period included Cherubim and Seraphim Church (C&S), Church of the Lord, Aladura and Christ Apostolic Church (CAC). It is also worthy of note that some of the

¹⁴It was coined from the word, ‘laity’.

¹⁵This is a struggle and desire of Africans for self-government and leadership. For more detail on *Ethiopianism* in Nigeria, see Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*, 177 & 205-238.

¹⁶For example, J.A. Coker and others seceded from the Anglican Church Breadfruit, Lagos in 1901 to established United Native African Church. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*, 177 & 205-238.

¹⁷See C. G. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana: A Study of Some "Spiritual" Churches* (London: SCM, 1962) and H.W. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movement* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1979) and M.L. Daneel, *Quest for belonging: Introduction to a study of African Independent Churches* (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1987).

church leaders at this time could be described as charismatic leaders. Christiana Abiodun Akinsowon, the first female church leader in Nigeria¹⁸ emerged during this period. Their followers attributed the possession of some supernatural gifts such as the gifts of healing, prophecy, and exorcism to them.¹⁹ The organization of AICs usually consisted of elders or leaders in the churches, who assumed the position of authority and administrative council. The charismatic leader provided the church with spiritual leadership, while the elders provided administrative assistance to him. The relationship was usually cordial. This reflects an African indigenous system of administration in which elders (older people, mainly because of their age) take decisions on behalf of the whole organization. The organizational structure was devoid of any bureaucratic complexity and practices.

The emergence of the Independent Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements in the early 1970s from a revival on the campus of the University of Ibadan introduced a new strand into Nigerian Christianity and brought a new dynamism to pastoral leadership in the country.²⁰ Young and educated people who were mainly graduates of higher education institutions led Independent Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, unlike the AICs who were led by adults and not too educated people. Furthermore, the medium of communication in their meetings (meetings of Independent Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements) was the English language. Western music and instruments were used in their services. The leadership of the charismatic groups or campus fellowships, as they were called then, was mainly students in the institutions of higher education.²¹ The organizational structure of these fellowships was simple; the leaders held no special position and access to them was easy and devoid of any bureaucracy. The leaders bore no title, both the members and the leaders were addressed as either ‘sister’ or ‘brother’. In the beginning, the followers did not attribute any special gift to their leaders since it was generally believed that all members are equal before God and each believer is empowered by God for supernatural acts. Moreover, there were no pronounced or outstanding

¹⁸J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 63. and Akinyele Omoyajowo, *Cherubim and Seraphim: The History of an African Independent Church* (New York: NOK Publishers, 1982).

¹⁹For example, Moses Orimolade, Josiah Oshitelu, Joseph Ayo Babalola, Garrick Braide were believed to possess supernatural power of healing and working of miracles.

²⁰The emergence of the Independent Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements in the early 1970s from a revival on the campus of the University of Ibadan is just a strand of the history of the emergence of Independent Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements in Nigeria with focus on the Western Nigeria. The second strand is the Eastern Nigeria. Richard Burgess has written to trace its emergence in the Eastern part of Nigeria, which he termed, Neo-Pentecostal Movement in Nigeria in his book. (Richard Burgess, *Nigeria's Christian Revolution: the Civil War Revival and its Pentecostal Progeny (1967-2006)* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 2008). Nevertheless, the emergence of the Independent Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements in the West is more prominent.

²¹For more detail, see Ojo, *The End-Time Army*, 1-25.

leaders then. With time, these amorphous religious organizations eventually grew to become new denominations when they began to hold Sunday Services from 1983.²² With their transformation into fully-fledged churches, the leadership structure and administration of these churches also changed. They began to put in place a more formal administration and organizational structures.

Furthermore, with growth in the membership of these groups, the responsibilities of the leaders increased; hence, there was the need to put up a formal organizational structure to make the burden of leadership easy for the leaders and to sustain the loyalty of the members. Also, the growth and spread of these churches to other areas, towns and cities from where they started, necessitated the establishment of formal organization and bureaucratic administrative structures to link the branches to the headquarters. As a result, the leadership position became routinized and eventually institutionalized. The emergence of mega-churches in the United States of America and South Korea also contributed to the routinization and institutionalization of leadership positions in Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches. The management and running of these (Mega) churches required full-time pastors.²³ The leaders of Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches copied this from their US and South Korean counterparts, and thus, the leadership in Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches became a full-time job.²⁴ As a result of this, the leaders started bearing titles such as ‘the Pastor’, ‘General Superintendent’, ‘President and Founder’, ‘Presiding Bishop’, etc. Besides, phrases like ‘G.O’, that is, General Overseer, ‘the Man of God’, Daddy, ‘Our Father in the Lord’ were used while their wives took on titles such as ‘Mummy GO’, ‘Mummy’, ‘Mother in the Lord’ and so on.

These titles were adopted to create a distinction between the followers (members) and the leaders. Their followers saw the leaders as charismatic leaders, who possess supernatural gifts from God. According to Ojo, ‘these leaders are not merely pastors, but ‘Presidents and Founders’, ‘the Anointed men of God’, ‘the men with power-packed messages’, ‘the Rev. Dr.’ and lately bishops and archbishops’.²⁵ Ukah describes them as celebrities, superheroes and

²²Matthews A. Ojo, ‘Deeper Christian Life Ministry’, in *New Dimensions in African Christianity*, ed. Paul Gifford (Ibadan: Sefer Publications, 1992), 141.

²³Asonzeh Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power: A Study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008), 112-118.

²⁴For more on the emergence of Mega Churches see, Scott Thumma and Warren Bird, ‘Changes in American Megachurches: Tracing Eight Years of Growth and Innovation in the Nation’s Largest-attendance Congregations,’ (2008), http://hrr.hartsem.edu/megachurch/megastoday2008_summaryreport.html (accessed September 2, 2019) and Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power*, 112-118

²⁵Matthews A. Ojo, ‘Of Saints and Sinners: Pentecostalism and the Paradox of Social Transformation in Modern Nigeria’, (Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press, 2010), 4.

business executives;²⁶ while Enzo Pace depicts these men and women as ‘extra-ordinary religious leaders with a mobile personality able to move and change the symbolic boundaries of the belief system, inventing new means of communication...’²⁷

Furthermore, rapid social change and the socio-economic and political dislocations of the 1980s in Nigeria provided fertile soil for the growth and spread of Independent Pentecostal churches and the emergence of Pentecostal leaders. Shortly before Nigerian independence from Britain in 1960, petroleum was discovered in Nigeria.²⁸ This discovery led to an economic boom in the early 1970s. However, because of the civil war, leadership problems, mismanagement and corruption, by 1980, Nigeria experienced an economic crisis. The introduction of a set of economic policies, called ‘Austerity Measure’ by the civilian President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1982 and the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986 by the military government under General Ibrahim Babangida further worsened the economy and impoverished the citizens. However, the economic crisis provided a catalyst for the growth and widespread of Independent Pentecostal churches and their prosperity gospel in Nigeria. Nigerian Pentecostal leaders began to give hope to the people with the promise of prosperity, miracles and healings in their preaching and teachings. This message readily found acceptance among the citizens who were already impoverished by the ailing economy.²⁹

Many of the leaders of Independent Pentecostal churches were college-educated and young professionals with oratory gifts, managerial and entrepreneurial skills, and highly attractive personality; qualities that have helped to attract people to their churches. This resulted in a Pentecostal revolution in Nigeria and particularly in Lagos Metropolis. Some Independent Pentecostal churches erected mega-churches, which can seat thousands of worshippers. Examples of such are Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), Deeper Life Bible Church, Living Faith Church (Winners Chapel), The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM), Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM) and so on.³⁰ This was later followed with the emergence of prayer camps and cities such as the Redemption Camp of RCCG, Prayer City of MFM, and Canaanland of Winners Chapel. These churches grew from sect-type to

²⁶Asonzeh Ukah, “Roadside Pentecostalism: Religious Advertising in Nigeria and the Marketing of Charisma,” *Critical Interventions* 2, (Spring 2008): 124-141.

²⁷Enzo Pace, “Big Man of the Big God: Nigeria as a Laboratory for Multiple Modernities,” in *Multiple Modernities and Postsecular Societies*, ed. Rosati, Massimo and Kristina Stoeckl (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 149.

²⁸Petroleum was discovered in Olobiri town, Rivers State in 1956.

²⁹For more details on this, see Ojo, *The End-Time Army*, 22-55.

³⁰For example, RCCG has an auditorium that is 3km by 3km in dimension, Faith Tabernacle of Living Faith Church (Winners Chapel) can seat 50, 000 at once, MFM has an auditorium that can seat 100,000 worshippers at once while Daystar Christian Centre, and TREM can accommodate up to 5,000 people in a single worship service.

denomination and became transnational in nature, spreading and sending missionaries and pastors to other countries and nations of the world. These churches also set up schools and hospitals.³¹ They have become visible through electronic and media technology.³²

1.3 Relevance of the Research and Statement of the Research Problem

The rapid growth of Independent Pentecostal churches in Nigeria is a phenomenon that has interested and puzzled many scholars. It has been called a revolution, the rise of a new paradigm of power, a revival and so on.³³ These churches continue to grow and attract membership from the existing mainline Protestant and AICs. Even though many of these Independent Pentecostal churches came into existence less than forty years ago, they now permeate and even dominate the religious landscape in the country.

Nigerian Pentecostalism has received attention from many scholars such as Ojo, Marshall, Asamoah-Gyadu, Burgess, Kalu, Ukah³⁴ but only a few of them have focused on leadership. While Ukah and Marshall focused on the Redeemed Christian Church of God, Ojo's work was a general discussion on Charismatic Christianity in modern Nigeria. In contrast, Burgess' focus was on Pentecostal churches in Eastern Nigeria. These authors all note and describe the rapid growth of these churches. Ojo, Asamoah-Gyadu and Gifford³⁵ have identified the use of mass media, theology, personality, managerial and entrepreneurial skills as factors responsible for the growth of these churches. An earlier study conducted by the researcher³⁶ has discovered that one of the reasons many young adults are switching to the RCCG has to do with the charisma of the leaders of RCCG and the relatively low barriers to become pastors.

³¹RCCG has a university, Redeemer University (RUN), Living Faith Church has Covenant University (CU) and Landmark University, Deeper Life Bible Church has Anchor University, while MFM owns Mountain Top University.

³²Many of these Independent Pentecostal churches have functional websites, internet radio, satellite Television (Dove TV of RCCG) and many of them stream their programmes live on the internet.

³³Asonzeh Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power*, 10-25.

³⁴Ojo, "The Contextual Significance of the Charismatic Movements in Independent Nigeria, 175-192 and Ojo, *The End-Time Army*; Ruth Marshall, "Pentecostals in Southern Nigeria" in *New Dimension in African Christianity*, ed. Paul Gifford (Ibadan: Sefer, 1993); Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics: Current Developments within Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana* (Accra: African Christian Press, 2005); Burgess, *Nigeria's Christian Revolution*; Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power*.

³⁵Ojo, "The Contextual Significance of the Charismatic Movements in Independent Nigeria," Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics: Current Developments* and Gifford Paul, *Ghana's New Christianity: Pentecostalism in a Globalising African Economy* (London: Hurst & Company, 2004).

³⁶See John O. Ojo, "Migration of Young Adults and Switches in Religious Affiliation from the Baptist Church to the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG)," (M.A., VU Universiteit, Amsterdam, July 2010).

Members of Independent Pentecostal churches often praise their leaders and testify to their extraordinary leadership qualities. This led to the emergence of a new culture where religious leaders, especially Pentecostal church leaders, are very important and highly revered. A culture, arguably, of hero-worship. It is a general practice in African culture to honour leaders, especially traditional and religious leaders because they are regarded as servants of God; however, the honour received by and the powers attributed to many of the leaders in Independent Pentecostal and Charismatic churches are rather extra-ordinary as one may conclude from the examples given below.

Their members often regard their words as sacred, and laws that must be obeyed without any question. For example, Pastor Enoch Adeboye of the Redeemed Christian Church of God is attributed with supernatural gifts of miracles and healing which has enabled him to heal diverse illnesses. Because of this, many people have elevated him to the status of the divine in human form ‘whose authority is supreme, his orders final and his power and supremacy considered next to Jesus Christ’.³⁷ He is so revered to the extent that ‘at the end of each service, there is a scramble by worshippers who struggle to be the first to touch, prostrate or lie on the same area...that Adeboye freshly stepped on or where he stood during the service’.³⁸

In some cases, the attribution of charisma may develop in dangerous directions. For example, Rev Emeka Ezeugo King popularly known as Rev King of Pentecostal Praying Assembly, one of the popular Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos, claimed to have specifically received a divine mandate to heal all kinds of diseases of the blood, including AIDS. Members of his church acknowledged him as a charismatic leader and a revered man of God and addressed him as ‘His Most Holiness’. He had the habit of using a cane to flog any of his church members who disobeyed him or cause any disturbance or distraction while worship service going on in his church. In January 2007, a court sentenced him to death for murdering some of his members by setting them on fire on the allegation that they disobeyed his orders. Interestingly, many of the church members believed that what he did was right and that the government and his enemies were just persecuting him because he was a true man of God.³⁹

What then is the difference between a charismatic leader and a leader who abuses power, or an authoritarian leader? A charismatic leader receives acceptance and followership

³⁷Moses A. Adekola, “The Redeemed Christian Church of God: A Study of an Indigenous Pentecostal Church in Nigeria,” (Ph.D., Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, 1989), 283.

³⁸Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power*, 264.

³⁹The members of Rev King even sent birthday wishes to him after he had been convicted for the murder of one of his members. See Eric Dumo, “A ‘king’ sentenced to death on his birthday,” *Punch*, February 27, 2016. <http://punchng.com/a-king-sentenced-to-death-on-his-birthday> (accessed October 10, 2016).

from his followers or members because of the perceived unique quality or gift he or she possesses. This unique gift draws people to him or her. On the other hand, an authoritarian leader may not possess any unique gift or extra-ordinary quality but uses force to compel people to accept and follow him. It needs to be pointed out that charismatic leadership can also lead to excesses, and therefore it is important to understand it.

To understand in more detail the role of charisma in the organizational dynamics and growth of Independent Pentecostal churches, this thesis focuses on four purposively selected Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis, whose leaders are considered by their members as vibrant, with exceptional charisma. Within three decades, beginning from about 1990, these churches have grown from para-church groups or evangelistic associations to become churches with full-blown denominational structures.

1.4 Objectives and Research Question

This research has sought to understand the links between charismatic leadership and the growth of four Independent Pentecostal Churches in Lagos Metropolis. It examined the leadership styles and organizational structures that emerged in the process of the routinization of the charisma of the leaders and explored the indices, nature and type of growth as well as factors responsible for growth in these churches. Lastly, it investigated the nature of the current organizational structure, the exercise of administrative control and the succession plans that operate in these churches in the course of the routinization of the charisma of the leader-founder.

The main research question for this study was, “how are charismatic leadership and organizational development and Church growth interconnected in four Independent Pentecostal Churches in Lagos Metropolis?” To do justice to this question, the researcher raised and provided answers to some other pertinent sub-questions, which included the following: What has been the historical development of leadership and organizational structure in the selected Pentecostal churches? How does charismatic leadership shape the organizational structure and growth of the selected churches and what organizational structures emerged in the process of the routinization of the charisma of the leaders in the selected churches? What are the consequences of the routinization of the organization for the attribution of charisma to the leader? What are the administrative procedures and plans for leadership succession in the selected Pentecostal and Charismatic churches? And lastly, in what ways do leaders exercise control in the area of organization of these churches in terms of day-to-day administration,

appointment, transfer, discipline, dismissal, the retirement of pastors, budgeting, finance and expenditure in the selected Pentecostal churches?

1.5 Selection of case studies and Methodology

The data was collected via a combination of qualitative methods focusing on four purposively selected Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis. These churches were chosen because they have grown from small fellowships or para-church groups to become churches with full-blown denominational structures and large followership in more than three continents of the world with an average membership of over 50,000 to over 400,000 both within and outside Nigeria. Furthermore, in each case, this growth took place under the guidance of one charismatic leader. These four churches have leaders that exemplify charismatic leadership in Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis. The following criteria were considered in the selection. These included location (the four churches are located in Lagos Metropolis), similar age (the founders are relatively within the same age bracket), and distinctive branding.

These churches and their leaders are:

1. The Redeemed Evangelical Mission, Lagos– founded by Bishop Mike Okonkwo in January 1981 with emphasis on ‘Word’ or ‘Preaching’. (www.trem.org).
2. Daystar Christian Centre, Oregun, Lagos– the church was inaugurated in November 1995, founded by Pastor and Pastor Mrs Sam Adeyemi. Its emphasis is on leadership and human development. (<http://daystarng.org>).
3. Fountain of Life Church, Ilupeju, Lagos- Rev and late Mrs Taiwo Odukoya established Fountain of Life Church, Ilupeju in 1994. The emphasis of the church is faith and human emancipation. (www.tfolc.org).
4. Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries founded in 1990 by Rev Dr Daniel Olukoya. Its emphasis is on deliverance and warfare prayer. (<http://www.mountainoffire.org>).

The research employs an inter-disciplinary approach. The historical method was used in tracing the history of these churches, as well as the life history of their charismatic leaders; the beginnings of these churches and their trajectories of growth. The interpretative sociological approach was adopted with a specific focus on the Weberian theory of charisma to look at the sociological issues that pertain to these leaders and their churches. A qualitative/ interpretative sociological approach was also used in the collection and interpretation of data relating to the charismatic leadership of the selected pastors.

Both primary and secondary sources were used in data collection. The primary sources used comprised of archival materials made up of annual reports, correspondences, newsletters and newspaper cuttings housed in the headquarters of the churches of these selected leaders in Lagos Metropolis. Also, interviews were conducted with two senior pastors and three members randomly selected in each of the churches of the selected leaders to understand the charismatic leadership qualities and organizational structures of these pastors. Only one of the leaders of the churches consented to an interview, namely Pastor Sam Adeyemi.⁴⁰

The research also included participation in events, programmes and services, as well as regular interaction and informal interviewing with pastors and members over a period of ten months beginning in October 2014. The events, programmes, and services participated in were mainly those open to both the members and non-members and were randomly selected. Some of these events/programmes and services were weekly, others monthly or annual.⁴¹

Besides, the researcher consulted both internal and external literature written about these churches to reconstruct the history of the churches, as well as its organizational development. Paramount among the internal literature consulted were *Power in the Word*, a quarterly magazine published by The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM), *The Fountain* and *The Showers*, a quarterly and monthly magazine respectively published by Fountain of Life Church. Specifically, of much importance was the April 2012 edition of *The Fountain*, titled, *The Fountain of Life Church 20 Years*, published to mark the 20th anniversary of the church. Also, Vol. 6, Issue 2, of 2014, titled, *A Story of Grace*, published to mark the dedication of The Fountain of Life Church new auditorium. Also, a brochure titled, *Daystar Christian Centre: A Testimonial to the Power of Vision*, published in 2005 to mark the 10th anniversary of Daystar Christian Centre. Lastly, the websites of these churches, as well as other relevant organizations such as the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC), newspapers and so on, were used.

These internal publications were used because they provided first-hand information about these churches. They are also primary sources on these churches. Nevertheless, since these materials are internally published by these churches, there is a tendency for the information in them to be biased. Therefore insights based on these sources were triangulated with the information and insights obtained through the interviews and participant observation as well as existing academic literature and publicly available information. Some information related to growth was not divulged either through interviews or through internal or publicly

⁴⁰The author and Dr. Richards Burgess in a discussion with Sam Adeyemi, October 9, 2011 in Sam Adeyemi's office located within the premises of Daystar Christian Centre.

⁴¹The details of what I observed as well as observation guideline are provided in Appendix 2.

available literature. Such information is confidential or too sensitive to be made public. For example, the amount of money received through Sunday collections or the balance of the bank accounts of these churches. These were not made open probably for reasons of security, reputation and tax. In those cases, the researcher has provided estimations based on information available as well as what was observed.

Lastly, content analysis of print materials made up of books, magazines, television shows, handbills, posters and banners produced by these leaders were examined. These assisted in the assessment of the charisma of these leaders and the growth of their churches. Lastly, confessional kinds of literature produced by these churches were examined to understand the beginnings, growth, source, and the nature of the charisma of the Leader-Pastors in the selected churches. The secondary source included journal articles, books, and the internet. Data collected were coded, arranged into similar themes and analyzed, using the historical and sociological approaches.

As mentioned earlier, the study focused on Lagos Metropolis. Lagos was chosen because it is the commercial capital city and economic nerve centre of the country with a population of over 10 million people and over 2500 industries, the highest concentration in the country.⁴² The concentration of newspapers and magazines with national coverage in Lagos has given social visibility to the Independent Pentecostal and Charismatic churches as they increasingly utilize the media for the enlistment of members. Lagos is highly populated and may perhaps be the most populous state in Nigeria.⁴³ Lagos is a metropolitan city with seaports, one local airport, and an international airport. Lagos was originally called *Eko*, which was given to it by its first king, Oba Ado during its early history. However, the Portuguese merchants changed it to the present Portuguese name of Lagos in the 17th century.⁴⁴

⁴²*Encyclopedia.com*, 'Lagos facts, information, pictures,' <https://www.encyclopedia.com/places/africa/nigeria-political-geography/lagos#3426000038> (accessed June 15, 2018).

⁴³The National Population Commission (NPC) credited Lagos State with 9,113,605 in the 2006 Population census with population density of 2,607, the highest in the country. For further detail, see <http://population.gov.ng/core-activities/surveys/dataset/2006-phc-priority-tables/> (accessed June 15, 2018).

⁴⁴This is the official website of the Lagos State Government, <https://lagosstate.gov.ng/> (accessed June 15, 2018).

Figure 1.1 A map of Nigeria showing the 36 States and their capitals as well as the Federal Capital Territory (FCT)⁴⁵

There is no religious census of churches in Lagos, however, it is estimated that there are over 5,000 Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis out of which some are very big and have achieved social visibility while some are small, still struggling to enlist membership. Lagos was the capital of Nigeria until December 12, 1991, when the Military President, General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, moved the capital to Abuja. Lagos is bordered by Ogun state as well as the Atlantic Ocean and Republic of Benin (Figure 1.1). In terms of landmass area, Lagos state is the smallest state in Nigeria, with an area of 356,861 hectares of land, out of which 75,755 hectares are wetlands. It has a high population, which is over five per cent of the national estimate; of this population, Metropolitan Lagos, an area covering 37% of the land area is home to over 85% of the state population. In 2006, the population of Lagos State was estimated to be about 14.5 million, (based on the parallel count conducted by the state during

⁴⁵<https://www.igfm.de/news/article/nigeria-karikatur-proteste-und-brandschatzungen-gegen-christen> (accessed June 15, 2018).

the National Census)⁴⁶ with a growth rate of 3.2%. Presently, the population of Lagos is estimated to be over 17 Million.

Lagos has 20 Local Government Council Areas and 37 Local Council Development Areas (LCDA). The twenty Local Government Areas in Lagos State are divided into five administrative divisions, commonly called *IBILE*. They are Ikeja, Badagry, Ikorodu, Lagos Island and Epe. Sixteen out of the twenty local government areas in Lagos are known as Lagos Metropolis (Figure 1.2); while the remaining four Local Governments, Badagry, Ikorodu, Ibeju-Lekki and Epe are outside areas commonly called Lagos Mainland. There are about ten higher education institutions in Lagos, consisting of federal, state and private institutions.

Lagos has been described as the economic nerve centre of the country, housing many companies and serving as the gateway for the import and export of goods in Nigeria; as more than three-quarters of all Nigeria's imports and exports take place through Lagos.⁴⁷ Lagos is branded as a 'Centre of Excellence',⁴⁸ yet, it is a city full of paradoxes. There is so much wealth in Lagos, yet at the same time, there is abject poverty. Azonseh Ukah has summarized the contradictions of Lagos thus: 'a high concentration of individual wealth but also unimaginable squalor; abysmal public infrastructure but a plethora of private luxury cars; spectacular gated suburbs but littered with slums, noise, dirt and dust; an unusual concentration of churches and mosques but the cesspool of corruption and low-level disorder.'⁴⁹

The residents of Lagos are sharply divided into the super-rich who live in opulence and luxury, the poor people who live in shanties and the middle class, who oscillate between the super-rich and the poor people.⁵⁰ Because of the high population density in Lagos, the social amenities and services are grossly inadequate. There is stiff competition and struggle among the populace for limited resources. Because of this struggle, there is a culture of assertiveness among Lagosians especially those in the position of authority. This assertive culture on the part

⁴⁶The National Population Commission (NPC) credited Lagos State with 9,113,605 in the 2006 Population census but the Lagos State Government rejected the figure and went to Court to contest it, insisting that the Lagos population is 17, 553,924. Lagos has a population density of 2,607, the highest in the country. For detail, see <http://population.gov.ng/core-activities/surveys/dataset/2006-phc-priority-tables/> (accessed June 15, 2018).

⁴⁷Lagos State Government's home page, '<https://lagosstate.gov.ng/>' (accessed June 15, 2018).

⁴⁸Each of the 36 states in Nigeria has an appellation, which was given during the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, for example, Oyo State is known as 'Pacesetter' State while Sokoto State is 'Born to Rule'.

⁴⁹Azonzeh Ukah, "Redeeming Urban Spaces: The Ambivalence of Building a Pentecostal City in Lagos, Nigeria," In *Global Prayers Contemporary Manifestations of the Religious in the City*, ed. Jochen Becker, Katrin Klingan, Stephan Lanz and Kathrin Wildner (Zurich: Lars Muller Publishers, 2014), 180.

⁵⁰Presently, there is an ongoing construction of a mega city on the Island known as the 'Eko Atlantic City', described as the world biggest civil engineering project. Chinedu Uwaegbulam, "Low supply, demand in Eko Atlantic scheme drive land prices higher," *The Guardian Newspaper*, June 21, 2015. <https://guardian.ng/lead-story/low-supply-demand-in-eko-atlantic-scheme-drive-land-prices-higher/> (accessed June 15, 2018). A plot of land in an area on the Island known as 'Banana Island' is being sold for about ₦250M (€619,595 or \$715,000)

of residents continues to put pressure on the limited facilities in the city so they break down and remain inadequate. Lagos is primarily a Yoruba speaking state, but it is more or less a socio-cultural melting point attracting both Nigerians and foreigners alike. Furthermore, because of the uneven distribution of wealth, there is a high crime rate in Lagos. Ukah describes Lagos as ‘Sin City’, characterized by congestion and lack of elasticity’.⁵¹ At the same time, Lagos is also a ‘Saint City’, with innumerable cathedrals, providing shelter for the religious faithful.

Figure 1.2 Map of Lagos State showing the 20 Local Governments Areas⁵²

Because of the economic dichotomy between the rich and the poor, religion is very important in Lagos. Both the rich and the poor are very religious. The poor people take solace in religion believing that one day; their fortune will change for the better, while the rich take religion as a defence that will continue to provide the needed security for their wealth and well-being. The religious leaders know this truth and continue to use it to their advantage, proselytizing both the rich and the poor. The rich provide the money for building cathedrals and running of churches, while the poor give their time and labour to serve the church. The religious leaders also seem to know Lagos in and out, it is easy for them to map it out and

⁵¹Ukah, "Redeeming Urban Spaces: The Ambivalence of Building a Pentecostal City in Lagos, Nigeria," 182.

⁵²Ministry of Physical Planning, Lagos State.

locate whatever they need. Hence, it is easy for them to find choice locations where they site their churches and build their religious empires.

Figure 1.3 Map of Lagos State showing the areas (16 Local Governments) commonly regarded as the Lagos Metropolis⁵³

Nevertheless, the wealth of Lagos is not evenly distributed, but Independent Pentecostal Churches have branded and positioned themselves in such a way that they always have a fair share of the wealth of the city.⁵⁴ The branding of their churches, mostly with the aid and use of media is appealing to their clientele, which comprises of both the rich and the poor; while their advantageous positions make them visible, and draw them to the ‘high and mighty’ in the City, especially politicians, government officials and leaders of the corporate world. Specifically, the churches I investigated seek to attract both rich and poor people and ask for donations both in time and in money. Furthermore, they think carefully about the siting of their churches in choice areas or locations as can be seen in Figure 1.4 below.

⁵³Adejuwon Adeneye, https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Lagos-state-showing-the-sixteen-Local-Government-Areas_fig1_258440997 (accessed October 21, 2019).

⁵⁴Ukah, "Redeeming Urban Spaces: The Ambivalence of Building a Pentecostal City in Lagos, Nigeria," 180-181.

Figure 1.4 Map of Lagos State showing the location of the headquarters of the four churches⁵⁵

The headquarters and the prayer camp of the four churches are not located on Lagos Island,⁵⁶ but rather on Lagos mainland. Yet, all four churches were carefully located in choice areas. The National headquarters of MFM at Olasimbo Street, Yaba is located in a middle-income earning area. However, when the church acquired the land, it was a slum. Parallel to the rising fortunes of the church, the area is fast becoming an area for upper-income earners. The place is strategically located near the entrance (second gate) of the University of Lagos (UNILAG), sandwiched between the International School, Lagos (a secondary school owned and located inside University of Lagos), and Queens College, a well-known Federal government school for girls established in 1929. The area is densely populated and surrounded by rich neighbourhoods. This location easily gives visibility to the church. On the other hand, the prayer city of the church is conspicuously located on the ever-busy Lagos-Ibadan Expressway. The prayer city is located on the main road, which gives visibility to the church. Not only that, but it is also easily accessible. Middle-income earners mainly populate the area, which is fast developing.

⁵⁵Map drawn by Architect Dare Ige, November 2019.

⁵⁶The reason for this may be the fact that Island was not easily accessible at the establishment of these churches. Furthermore, the development on the Island was poor then, Island was more or less a slum, with majority of the population living on the mainland. However, the area is fast developing now and these churches will soon begin to move to the Island. For example, the satellite centre of Daystar Christian Centre is on the Island.

The international headquarters of TREM, 'Habitation of His Glory' is located on the ever-busy Anthony-Oworonshoki Expressway. The church is located conspicuously on the main road. It is easily accessible and upper-class income earners populate the area. The area is densely populated and surrounded by rich neighbourhoods. The Fountain of Life Church is located in the Ilupeju Industrial area. It is not far from the Nestlé Company. The area is also populated, easily accessible and surrounded by rich neighbourhoods. Although, the church is located on the main road; however, the area is more of an industrial area than a residential area. The administrative office and the church auditorium of Daystar Christian Centre are located in the Ikeja Business District. The office and the Auditorium are located on the main roads in a highly densely populated surrounded by rich neighbourhoods. The two offices are conspicuous, easily accessible, and are not far from the Lagos State Government Secretariat, Alausa, Ikeja. This further gives visibility to the church. Furthermore, the residents in the area are a mixture of both upper and middle-income earners. Other popular Independent Pentecostal churches in the area include Household of God Church of Chris Okotie and Christ Embassy of Chris Oyakhilome.

1.6 Definition of Terms

For this research, the following terms (most already mentioned and explained before) were defined and used as follows:

Independent Pentecostal churches are churches that emerged from the indigenous Pentecostal revival of the 1970s.⁵⁷ They were initially interdenominational Christian fellowships before becoming denominational churches from the mid-1980s. These churches are different from the classical Pentecostal churches such as Assemblies of God Church, Foursquare Gospel Church and others, which were established in North America and introduced into Nigeria in the early 1930s.

Mainline Protestant churches are churches established from the activities of Protestant mission societies in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Nigeria. They include the Methodists, the Baptists, the Catholics and the Anglicans. These are the pioneering churches in the history of the Christian faith in Nigeria. The Aladura Churches are independent churches, which emerged out of the indigenous revivals in Southwestern Nigeria from the 1920s to the 1940s. These churches placed emphases on prayers, healing and prophecies.

⁵⁷Ojo, "The Contextual Significance of the Charismatic Movements in Independent Nigeria," 175-192.

Lastly, Pentecostals are Christians or Christian religious groups/denominations, who believe and emphasize the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with evidence of speaking in tongues as a second experience after conversion. They seek a deeper spiritual relationship and experience of God beyond regular church attendance.

1.7 Outline of the Thesis

The research work is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one is Introduction. Chapter two provides a review of relevant literature to understand the various concepts of the study. Chapter three gives the historical background of the four churches selected as case studies and their founders. Chapter four provides in-depth discussion and analysis of the charisma of the leaders and their leadership roles as well as that of their wives in the four selected churches. Chapter five examines the organizational and administrative structures of the selected churches to understand the functional relationship among the various offices and people in each of the four churches. Chapter six looks at the Church growth efforts of the churches through their leaders and attempt to provide an answer to what constitutes Church growth in these churches. Chapter Seven summarises the whole study and the findings of the research work.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of relevant literature on the key concepts of this study and a theoretical framework on which the thesis is grounded. The theoretical framework is based on Weber's theories of charisma and charismatic authority. The chapter examines the following concepts: leadership with an emphasis on definition and theories of leadership, authority, charismatic leadership, and leadership styles. It also examines the concept of organization with a focus on organizational theories, the meaning of organization, and religious organization. The concluding part dwells on Pentecostalism with definition and analysis of Pentecostalism, a taxonomy of Pentecostal churches, beliefs and practices of Pentecostal churches in Nigeria. In conclusion, the chapter provides a synthesis of these concepts about the focus of the study.

The theoretical framework for the study is based on Weber's work on charisma and charismatic authority as found in the translations of his books, *On Charisma and Institution Building, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* and *The Sociology of Religion*.⁵⁸ His writings on charisma and charismatic authority are classics and timeless and are still applicable to the contemporary religious milieu. Bernard Bass, a leading scholar on leadership⁵⁹ provides insights into the concept of leadership. On Pentecostalism, *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, by Allan Anderson et. al. and Harvey Cox's *Fire From Heaven*⁶⁰ provides a good grasp for understanding the global view of the concept. On the home front, Matthews Ojo's work especially, *The End-Time Army* and his inaugural lecture were used.⁶¹ Ojo has written extensively on Pentecostalism in Nigeria and pioneered studies in this field. Other works consulted are Ruth Marshall and Ogbu Kalu, who are also leading scholars in the area of Pentecostalism in Africa, especially in Nigeria.

⁵⁸Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964) and Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. and ed. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (London: Oxford University Press, 1946).

⁵⁹Bernard M. Bass, *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research and Managerial Applications* 3rd ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1990).

⁶⁰Allan Anderson et. al., *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010) and Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven* (London: Cassell, 1996).

⁶¹Ojo, *The End-Time Army* and Ojo, 'Of Saints and Sinners,'

2.2 Leadership

According to Bass, 'leadership is one of the world's oldest preoccupations'.⁶² Leadership is an amorphous concept because there is no generally accepted definition of it. Hence, he suggests that a definition of leadership should do more than identify leaders and indicates how they acquire their positions. It should also account for the maintenance and continuation of leadership. Hence, Bass defines leadership as 'an interaction between two or more members of a group that often involves a structuring or restructuring of the situation and the perceptions and expectations of the members.'⁶³ According to Arthur Jago, leadership is both a process and a property. The process of leadership is the use of non-coercive influence to direct and coordinate the activities of the members of an organized group toward the accomplishment of group objectives. As a property, leadership is the set of qualities or characteristics attributed to those who are perceived to successfully employ such an influence.⁶⁴

Most definitions of leadership understand leadership as leading to achieve set goals that could be from the leader, the group or a shared goal from both the followers and the leader. Leadership also involves a relationship between the leader and the followers. The relationship is supposed to be mutual and beneficial to both the followers and the leader. The leader usually emerges from a group; thus, any member of a group could become a leader. The goal of a leader is to lead or influence the followers to achieve his goal or the goal set by the group. This is in line with Winston and Patterson's definition of a leader. They defined a leader as:

One or more people who selects, equips, trains, and influences one or more follower(s) who have diverse gifts, abilities, and skills and focuses the follower(s) to the organization's mission and objectives, encouraging the follower(s) to willingly and enthusiastically expend spiritual, emotional and physical energy in a concerted coordinated effort to achieve the organizational mission and objectives.⁶⁵

It is a process because it does not happen suddenly. Time is required for the leader to emerge, and between the followers and the leaders to understand each other and build trust. It is also a property because the leader is expected to possess some qualities (social, intellectual, emotional, physical and spiritual) or traits that will help him or her to lead or influence the followers. On the part of the followers, the society expects them to affirm the qualities or traits a leader possesses and accept him or her as the leader. The qualities that a leader possesses make the followers interact and submit to his or her influence and leadership.

⁶²Bass, *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*, 3.

⁶³Bass, *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*, 19.

⁶⁴Arthur G. Jago, "Leadership: Perspectives in Theory and Research," *Management Science* 28, no. 3 (1982):315.

⁶⁵Bruce E. Winston and Kathleen Patterson, 'An Integrative Definition of Leadership,' *International Journal of Leadership Studies* 1, no. 2 (2006): 7.

However, some questions readily come to mind. According to Jago, if leadership is a property, who determines what qualities the leader should possess and how does a leader acquire these qualities? Are these qualities only inherent in the leaders and not the followers? Do all leaders possess these qualities? What makes the followers submit or accept a leader? Is the submission based on just the perceived qualities or are there other factors to it? What is the nature of the influence of leaders on followers? Concerning the position of pastors in the church, are pastors necessarily leaders? How do pastors become leaders in the church? What convinces members that pastors are leaders? What makes members submit to the leadership of pastors in the church? Some of these questions, the study will try to provide answers to.

Another aspect of leadership has to do with the influence of culture and religion. Cultures develop based on the experiences of people over a period.⁶⁶ Generally, in African culture of which Nigeria is a part, leaders (both traditional and religious) are often considered people with unique endowments and abilities. They are seen as men and women of vision and power, who should be followed and respected. Hence, there is a culture of respect; honour and deference built around leaders.⁶⁷ This culture is also reinforced by the religious beliefs and teachings especially among Christians that they should obey their leaders. For example, Redeemed Christian Church of God, a well-known Nigerian Pentecostal Church, has teaching known as ‘Follow Your Leader’ (FYL), by which they teach their members to obey their church leaders.

This culture of deference to leaders is prevalent not only in the Pentecostal churches but also in various social, political and economic organizations in the Nigerian society. However, the respect and honour that members of Pentecostal churches give to their leaders are greater, because these leaders are seen as God’s servants and representatives. Like elsewhere, despite this culture of deference to leaders, criticism of leaders is also quite common, both to Pentecostal as well as secular leaders. As Stephen Fineman states, ‘we talk a lot about our leaders – our bosses and politicians – and we criticize them freely. But our desire to follow has a deep emotional root.’⁶⁸

⁶⁶Roger Gill, *Theory and Practice of Leadership* (London: Sage Publications, 2006), 131 and 154.

⁶⁷This idea has support in the bible where several passages admonish followers to honour their leaders. Examples of such passages are Romans 13:1-5 and 1 Peter 5:5.

⁶⁸Fineman Stephen, *Understanding Emotion at Work* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 76.

2.3 Theories and Models of Leadership

According to Bass, theories of leadership attempt to explain the factors involved either in the emergence of leadership or leadership and its consequences, while models show the interplay among variables that are conceived to be involved; they are replicas or reconstructions of the realities.⁶⁹ Some of the most popular leadership theories or models that are relevant to this study are discussed below.

The 'Great Man Theory' emerged from the writings of Thomas Carlyle and William James. The theory presumes that leaders are born and not made. It maintains that leadership is a collection of inborn qualities.⁷⁰ Proponents of this theory often give examples of great men and women such as Douglas MacArthur, John F. Kennedy, Margaret Thatcher, Martin Luther King and Lee Iacocca, who have become great leaders.⁷¹ However, several scholars have criticized the 'Great Man Theory'. For example, Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus argued that leadership is a skill, which can be learned, and as such, has nothing to do with inborn talents.⁷²

In the place of 'Great Man Theory', Trait Theory was put forward. According to Bass, the assumption that 'if the leader is endowed with superior qualities that differentiate him from his followers, it should be possible to identify these qualities'. This assumption gave rise to this theory.⁷³ The theory is of the view that leadership is a set of traits or attributes scattered in some way among the population. These traits make a leader succeed. In this sense, different people view leadership as a measurable and quantifiable property that individuals may possess in different amounts.⁷⁴ Trait Theory does not make assumptions about whether leadership traits were inherited or acquired. It simply asserts that leaders' characteristics are different from non-leaders'.⁷⁵ However, the theory had been criticized by Stogdill who argued that a 'person does not become a leader by the possession of some combination of traits'.⁷⁶ He argued that a leader is a product of situation, not the blood relative or son of the previous leader.⁷⁷ Great Man and Trait Theories are similar to Weber's theory on charismatic authority, although Weber emphasizes that charismatic authority is based on the ascription of certain traits by followers,

⁶⁹Bass, *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*, 37.

⁷⁰T. Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1907), 6.

⁷¹Bass, *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*, 38.

⁷²Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus, *Leaders: Strategies for Taking Charge* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 207.

⁷³Bass, *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*, 38.

⁷⁴Jago, 'Leadership: Perspectives in Theory and Research,' 316.

⁷⁵Shelley A. Kirkpatrick and Edwin A. Locke, "Leadership: Do Traits Matter?" *The Executive* 5, no.2 (May 1991):48.

⁷⁶Ralph M. Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," *Journal of Psychology* (1948): 25 & 64.

⁷⁷Ralph M. Stogdill, 'The Evolution of Leadership Theory,' *Academy of Management Proceedings* (August 1975): 4.

and does not say much about the actual psychological structure of charismatic leaders. Both theories emphasize the possession of some extra-ordinary qualities by a (usually male) leader. Such qualities could be inborn or learned, but they make the leader stand out among the rests.

In contrast, Situational Theory maintains that leadership is a function of a situation, hence the success or otherwise of a leader depends on the situation he or she finds himself or herself. The Situationists argue that the emergence of a great leader is a result of time, place and circumstance.⁷⁸ An argument against this theory is that situation is not in itself sufficient to account for leadership, but a combination of personal and situational elements needs to be considered.⁷⁹ Lastly, Fred Fiedler pioneered Contingency Theory. The theory conceptualizes leadership in terms of an interaction between leadership styles and variable situations. The theory assumes that the effectiveness of a particular style of leadership depends on the relationship between the characteristics of the leader, the followers and the situation.⁸⁰

According to Gill, 'No theory or model of leadership so far has provided a satisfactory explanation of leadership'.⁸¹ This is also the view of Gary Yukl, who posits that 'most of the theories are beset with conceptual weaknesses and lack strong empirical support'.⁸² However, Case maintains that conjunction of three factors produce leadership. These are the personality traits of the leader, the nature of the group and its members, and the event (situation) confronting the group.⁸³

For this study, I will propose an integrative leadership approach. By integrative approach, I mean that I understand leadership in a way that draws on elements from various leadership theories. Leaders are people with unique traits and character, recognized by a group and enjoy their devotion as he/she leads them to achieve a common goal. These qualities set a leader apart from followers and commend a leader to the followers. The qualities could sometimes be natural or in some cases supernatural, however, these gifts become enhanced and nurtured in a good and enabling environment. Furthermore, situations, circumstances and environment can easily throw up a leader, make him/her known and recognized by people who may decide to follow or listen to such a unique person. Nevertheless, a leader should be acknowledged to possess emotional, intellectual, behavioural and spiritual qualities that make him stand out among a group. As Weber states:

⁷⁸Bass, *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*, 38.

⁷⁹Bass, *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*, 39.

⁸⁰Gill, *Theory and Practice of Leadership*, (London: Sage Publications, 2006), 47.

⁸¹Gill, *Theory and Practice of Leadership*, 60.

⁸²Gary Yukl, "Managerial Leadership: A Review of Theory and Research," *Journal of Management* 15, no.2 (1989): 251.

⁸³C. M. Case, 'Leadership and Conjuncture,' *Sociology and Social Research* 17, (1933): 510-513.

‘It is the charismatically qualified leader as such who is obeyed by virtue of personal trust in him and his revelation, his heroism or his exemplary qualities so far as they fall within the scope of the individual’s belief in his charisma.... these are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader.’⁸⁴

Nigerian Pentecostal Pastor-leaders such as the leaders/founders of the churches discussed in this thesis are indeed attributed with special qualities. These special qualities relate to emotional, intellectual, behavioural (natural) and supernatural gifts. Many of these leaders are believed by their members to have supernatural gifts such as the gifts of healing and the working of miracles; (the attribution of) these qualities have enabled them to gain prominence in the public domain. These leaders are depended upon to provide leadership amid socio-economic and political dislocations in Nigeria where disappointments with governmental leadership are widespread.

2.4 Leadership Styles and Leadership Authority

In research on leadership, different styles are distinguished. Leadership styles have to do with the method by which leaders influence their followers to achieve a set goal. Leaders' styles encompass how they (leaders) relate to others within and outside the organization, how they view themselves and their position, and largely, whether or not they are successful as leaders.⁸⁵ According to Ponle Adetunji, ‘leadership styles include what a leader does and says and how he acts. It is the study of a leader’s approach to the use of authority and participation in decision making’.⁸⁶ Often, the leadership style or behaviour of a leader in an organization defines such organization and has profound effects on the people within that organization, and on everything, the organization does.⁸⁷ Some of the well-known leadership styles include Autocratic or Coercive, Democratic, Laissez-faire, Bureaucratic, Transactional, Transformational and the Coach.⁸⁸ Out of all these styles, Transformational leadership style is most relevant to this study because it is most closely linked to the notion of charismatic leadership.

⁸⁴Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, 47-48.

⁸⁵Bass, *Bass & Stogdill’s Handbook of Leadership*, 46. See also, Phil Rabinowitz, ‘Style of Leadership’ <http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/leadership/leadership-ideas/leadership-styles/main>(accessed February 24, 2014).

⁸⁶Adetunji, *Leadership in Action*, 21.

⁸⁷Gill, *Theory and Practice of Leadership*, 36-44.

⁸⁸Gill, *Theory and Practice of Leadership*, 40-44.

Transformational leadership describes a form of leadership that can distil the values, hopes, and needs of followers into a vision, and then encourage and empower followers to pursue that vision. Thus, leaders seek to change and transform those they lead.⁸⁹ Gill describes transformational leadership as the process by which leaders raise people's motivation to act and create a sense of higher purpose.⁹⁰ Gary Yukl maintains that in transformational leadership 'the followers feel trust, admiration, loyalty, and respect toward the leader, and they are motivated to do more than they are originally expected to do.'⁹¹ The conception behind transformational leadership is thus providing and working towards a vision, but also has elements of empowerment, of taking care of people, and even of task orientation. The job of the transformational leader is not simply to provide inspiration and then disappear. He/she is to be there, day after day, convincing people that the vision is reachable, renewing their commitment, priming their enthusiasm.⁹²

Transformational leadership is similar to charismatic leadership in that there is an emotional relationship between the leader and the follower. The followers trust and give their loyalty to their leader because of the belief that the leader is gifted and capable of leading them effectively to achieve the goal of their group or organization. This is similar to the kind of trust that followers of Independent Pentecostal churches in Nigeria give to their leaders. People believe that certain pastor-leaders are uniquely capable of leading them to achieve their spiritual goals.

An important dimension of leadership is authority. Referring to the source of legitimacy for a leader, Max Weber identifies three types of authority. The first is traditional authority, which rests 'on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them.'⁹³ Charismatic authority rests on 'devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of a person, and of the normative pattern or order revealed or ordained by them'.⁹⁴ In contrast, rational-legal authority rests on 'a belief in the legality of enacted roles and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands.'⁹⁵ However, Weber has pointed out the unstable nature of charismatic

⁸⁹Micheal A. Germano, 'Leadership Style and Organizational Impact,' <http://ala-apa.org/newsletter/2010/06/08/spotlight/> (accessed February 24, 2014).

⁹⁰Gill, *Theory and Practice of Leadership*, 36.

⁹¹Gary Yukl, 'An Evaluation of Conceptual Weaknesses in Transformational and Charismatic Leadership Theories,' *Leadership Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1999): 286.

⁹²Yukl, 'An Evaluation of Conceptual Weaknesses,' 286.

⁹³Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations* trans., A.M. Henderson & T. Parsons, ed. T. Parsons (New York: Free Press, 1947), 328.

⁹⁴Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations*, 328.

⁹⁵Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations*, 328.

authority. According to Weber, 'by its very nature, the existence of charismatic authority is specifically unstable.'⁹⁶ Hence, the holder of charisma must constantly prove his or her charisma. To do this, the holder must devise ways (sometimes beyond his/her charisma) to prove his/her hold to power and keep his/her followers.

Among these three types of authorities, charismatic authority seems to be most directly relevant to this study. This is because charismatic leaders usually emerged outside the formalized structures and most of Nigerian Pentecostal leaders that this study sets out to examine emerged outside of formalized structures. Not only that, but these Pentecostal leaders are also known to be charismatic, their followers attribute to them certain special qualities that set them apart from other religious leaders in Nigeria. It must be pointed out that charismatic authority is typically unrestricted in scope and may be applied to all areas of a person's life.'⁹⁷ Other strategies of maintaining their normative pattern or revealed order include 'making the members as dependent as possible upon them (leaders) and their churches for meeting members' social, emotional, and material needs. Seeking organizational growth; delegating authority to trusted close associate; seeking... and modifying or strengthening the ideology, which justifies their group's existence, its goals, and its strategies.'⁹⁸ This makes the concept of charismatic authority directly relevant to this study.

Looking at Weber's definition, there is a relationship between his definition and charismatic leaders in Independent Pentecostal churches in Nigeria. The first part of Weber's definition, 'devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character' describes very well the attitude of many followers of charismatic pastors. The word 'devotion' among Nigerian Pentecostals means unalloyed commitment and dedication to a cause or someone. First, members in Pentecostal churches are expected to show their unreserved commitment and loyalty to the Almighty God, who is the creator and sustainer of life. Besides this, they are also expected to show commitment and loyalty to Pastor-leaders of the Pentecostal churches who are regarded as God's appointed servants, anointed and commissioned by God for the deliverance and prosperity of the 'heirs of salvation'. Since these Pastor-leaders are anointed,⁹⁹

⁹⁶Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 248.

⁹⁷Eileen Barker, "Charismatization: The Social Production of an Ethos Propitious to the Mobilization of Sentiments" in *Secularization, Rationalism and Sectarianism: Essays in Honor of Bryan R. Wilson* ed. E. Baker, J.A. Beckford and Karel Dobbelaere (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 182.

⁹⁸Doyle Paul Johnson, "Dilemmas of Charismatic Leadership: The Case of the People's Temple," *Sociological Analysis* 40, no. 4 (1979): 316-318.

⁹⁹Anointing (with oil) is a Biblical practice ordained by God. It is meant to specially set people apart for God's used. In Exodus 29:1 & 7, God specifically told Moses to anoint Aaron and his children as priests. Other references include Exodus 40:9, Leviticus 8:12, 1 Samuel 16:1, and so on. It is believed that anointing confers special ability or gift on the anointed in order to be able to carry out the assignment or task. This was the case with Saul, the first

the members believe that they are not ordinary people; God has empowered and equipped them with supernatural gifts to perform heroic deeds such as healing, deliverance (exorcism) and so on. Therefore, these leaders are as heroes that their followers show devotion and honour to, and in some cases, worship them.

These Pastor-leaders appear as heroes before their followers, they build around themselves an aura of the divine through their teachings, proclamations, ostentatious lifestyle and claims of miracles.

2.5 Charismatic Leadership

According to Alan Bryman, charismatic leadership has ‘essentially to do with a particular kind of relationship between leaders and followers which can be regarded as a form of exchange.’¹⁰⁰ Howell states that charismatic leadership is the most frequent name given to the emotional bonds between followers and leaders.¹⁰¹ Usually, charismatic leaders appeal and gain acceptance and following through personal styles and strategies which include the use of rhetoric, simile, metaphor, allusions to myth and history. Others include appropriate gestures, use of ritual, handling crises appropriately, and dealing with anxieties.¹⁰² Charismatic leadership challenges accepted belief; it can destroy as well as create by prophecy, revolution and counter-revolution, or visions.

Gibson, Hannon and Blackwell, gave the following characteristics of charismatic leaders: they ‘describe goals by painting word pictures, have an exceptional ability to win the devotion and support of followers, have no fear of presenting their ideas to anyone who may be able to help them, and are reputed to possess excellent persuasion and negotiation skills.’¹⁰³

It needs to be pointed out that charismatic leadership is not limited to religious circle or organizations only; there is charismatic leadership in virtually all areas of human endeavours. Such examples in politics and government include charismatic leaders like Indira Gandhi of India, Abraham Lincoln, and Martin Luther King Jnr of the United States of America, Adolf

King in Israel who prophesied as prophet after he was anointed 1 Samuel 10:1-11 and the Apostles who on the day of the Pentecost spoke in tongues (glossolalia) after they had been anointed by the Holy Spirit Acts 2:1-11. The Holy Spirit anoints and empowers people to do extra-ordinary things. Pouring of sanctified oil on people is believed to attract the Holy Spirit that brings power and spiritual gifts to the anointed.

¹⁰⁰Alan Bryman, *Charisma and Leadership in Organizations* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992), 68.

¹⁰¹Jane M. Howell, ‘Two Faces of Charisma: Socialized and Personalized Leadership in Organizations’ in *Charismatic Leadership and The Elusive Factor in Organizational Effectiveness*, ed. J. A. Conger & K. N. Kanungo (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1988), 213.

¹⁰²Ann Willner and Dorothy Willner, ‘The Rise and Role of Charismatic Leaders,’ *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, (1965): 77-88.

¹⁰³Jane W. Gibson, J. C. Hannon and C.W. Blackwell, ‘Charismatic Leadership: The Hidden Controversy’ *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*5, no. 4 (1998):13.

Hitler of Germany, Charles de Gaulle of France and so on. In *Economy and Business*, Robert Louis-Dreyfus, Bill Gates, and Steve Jobs are an example of charismatic leaders. Howell and Avolio have maintained that

...the term 'charisma' is value-neutral: it does not distinguish between good or moral and evil or immoral charismatic leadership. This means the risks involved in charismatic leadership are at least as large as the promises. Charisma can lead to blind fanaticism in the service of megalomaniacs and dangerous values, or heroic self-sacrifice in the service of a beneficial cause.¹⁰⁴

Most of the Nigerian Independent Pentecostal church-leaders can be described as charismatic leaders. Many of them seem to have unique personality traits such as humility, temperance, intelligence, intuition, vision and oratory gifts. Their personality attracts people to their churches and their teachings and messages seem to keep them there. Although there have been some cases of Pastor-leaders who have been accused of immorality and as such, have lost their popularity and followers, these cases are few and have not led to widespread scepticism of this style of leadership. There seems to be a close relationship and emotional attachment between these Pastor-leaders and their followers. The members often consult them for prayers, for themselves, their families and businesses. Members see these leaders as their confidants and counsellors; hence, their burdens, pains, successes and progress are shared with these leaders. When members accomplish good fortune such as getting new jobs, new cars, promotions, weddings or birth of new babies, etc. they inform and share the testimonies with their Pastor-leaders. The members often share the testimony of how their Pastor-leaders have supported them with prayers and words of encouragement to face and triumph over the vicissitudes of life.

The emotional attachment between the Pastor-leaders and their members can also be seen in the name members call their leaders. Some members call their pastors 'Daddy' or 'Father in the Lord' and their spouses 'Mummy' or 'Mummy in the Lord'. These names reveal the level of bond and emotional attachments. These pastors are affectionately called these names to show how involved they have been in the lives of their members. Likewise, members also accord the spouses of these Pastor-leaders the same honour and respect given to their husbands because they have been 'charismatized' by their husband. Many of these Pastor-leaders often respond by calling their members, 'my son in the Lord or my daughter in the Lord'.

¹⁰⁴Jane M. Howell and Bruce J. Avolio, "The Ethics of Charismatic Leadership: Submission or Liberation?" *The Academy of Management Executive* (1992): 43-44.

2.6 Religious Leadership

This section examines religious leadership. Religious organisation, like any human organisations, has leadership. Weber had broadly categorized religious leadership into two, Prophet type and Priest type, that is, religious leaders function largely in the typologies of either a ‘prophet’ or a ‘priest’.¹⁰⁵ Religious leaders of the priest-type function within stable religious organizations that have some bureaucratic structures and procedures of administration.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, prophet-type religious leaders emerge and function in a new religious movement and a society experiencing rapid social change. Religious leaders of the prophet-type, according to Weber, derive their authority from their personality and charisma.

Weber also differentiated between the priest type and prophet type of religious leaders this way: The Priest lays claim to authority by his service in a sacred tradition, while the Prophet’s claim is based on personal revelation and charisma. The priest dispenses salvation by his office, but the prophet exerts his power simply by his gifts. Other differences include, a priest type leader acquires special knowledge through training and has vocational qualifications as well as fixed doctrine, whereas, a prophet type does not need any special training or knowledge or vocational qualification, he only need to exert influence through his gifts, evident in the performance of miracles. Furthermore, prophet-type religious leaders directly challenge and disrupt traditional authority with the claim that they want to establish a new religious group or movement with new directives. Prophet-type leaders often oppose rationality. However, with time and routinization taking place in the religious groups they lead, they soon adopt legal-rational authority.¹⁰⁷

The leaders of the selected Independent Pentecostal churches fall into Prophet-type religious leader and derive their authority from their charisma. The members of these churches claim that their Pastor-leaders have both natural and supernatural powers to perform miracles. Not only that, the members believe that their leaders possess adequate knowledge and skills that can help them grow their churches. This belief stems from claims of members of these churches to have received solutions to their problems through the ministrations and prayers of their Pastor-leaders. Although many of these Pastor-leaders did not have theological or biblical training before becoming a pastor, their members believe that they have led and are still leading their churches remarkably well. These leaders do not seem to have a fixed doctrine, their doctrine changes with the revelation they claim to have received from God. Besides, they lay

¹⁰⁵Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 46-59.

¹⁰⁶Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 254.

¹⁰⁷Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 254.

claim to special gifts from the Lord, which enables them to perform miracles that often elicit display of awe and submission from their members. These pastor-leaders spice their messages with testimonies of their great accomplishments, miracles and wonders they have performed. Their followers have come to accept the claim of their supernatural gifts manifesting in miracles and revelations. This largely accounts for the acceptance and devotion of their members to them and the kind of overbearing authority and influence these leaders have over their members. For example, the members of the four churches being studied have attributed the following gifts to their Pastor-leaders; Okonkwo is believed to possess the gift of preaching, teaching and administration; Olukoya is believed to possess gifts of healing and miracles; while Odukoya is seen as having the gift of teaching. Adeyemi is believed to possess the gifts of teaching and leadership. More will be said on the gifts of these Pastor-leaders in chapters three and four. In sum, the label of the prophet, as described by Weber, certainly applies to the type of leadership that characterizes the churches in this study.

2.7 The nature of Charisma

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, prophet-type religious leaders derive their authority from their charisma. The term originates from an ancient Greek word meaning ‘gift’. Later, the early Christians used it with a derivation, ‘*charismata*’ which means, ‘gifts from God that allowed receivers to carry out extra-ordinary feats such as healing or prophecy’.¹⁰⁸ Rudolf Sohm, the Strassburg Church historian and jurist used the word from a purely theological point of view. Weber borrowed the term and popularized it.¹⁰⁹

More recently, Charles Lindholm defined the term as “the spiritual ‘grace’ that compels followers to submit themselves to a deified leader.”¹¹⁰ He went on to liken charisma to a ‘star quality’.¹¹¹ Willner and Willner defined it without departing from Weber’s intrinsic intention as ‘a leader’s capacity to elicit from the following deference, devotion and awe toward himself as the source of authority. A leader who can have this effect upon a group is charismatic for that group’.¹¹² On the other hand, Douglas Barnes sees it as ‘that authority relationship which

¹⁰⁸Jay A. Conger et.al. “Measuring Charisma: Dimensionality and Validity of the Conger-Kanungo Scale of Charismatic Leadership” *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences* 14, no.3 (1997): 290.

¹⁰⁹David Norman Smith, ‘Faith, Reason, and Charisma: Rudolf Sohm, Max Weber, and the Theology of Grace’, *Sociological Inquiry* 68, no.1 (1998): 34.

¹¹⁰Charles Lindholm, ‘Introduction: Charisma in Theory and Practice,’ in *The Anthropology of Religious Charisma*, ed. Charles Lindholm (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1.

¹¹¹Lindholm, ‘Introduction: Charisma in Theory and Practice’, 3.

¹¹²Ann Willner and Dorothy Willner, ‘The rise and role of charismatic leaders’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, (1965): 65.

arises when a leader through the dynamics of a set of teachings, a unique personality, or both elicits a response of awe, deference, and devotion from a group of people.’¹¹³ Spencer identified two types of charisma: supernatural charisma and secular charisma. In supernatural charisma, the bearer convinces his followers of possessing supernatural power, while in secular charisma; the leader acquires his following through mastery or representation.¹¹⁴ Most times, charisma is considered the antithesis to rationality.

From Weber’s definition, charisma is personalistic, non-rational and dynamic. On the sociological dimension, a group of people, that is, the followers must recognize the charisma or the authority of the leader. This calls for a relationship between the people, the followers, and the person who has the charisma, that is, the leader. The psychological dimension has to do with the emergence of the gifts from the inner personality of the bearer of charisma. Weber did not specify what he meant by the ‘certain quality of an individual’s personality’. Some scholars have referred to this as a ‘divine or supernatural gift’ especially when Weber went on to mention that the owner of charisma must continue to prove his charisma by performing miracles, lest he/she loses followership.¹¹⁵ However, some scholars have argued against the idea that Weber meant ‘divine or supernatural gift’. For example, David Norman opposed this idea and argued that it was an error. He argues that the error came because of attaching Weber’s idea of charisma with that of Rudolf Sohm’s idea of charisma, which was purely theological.¹¹⁶

Many of the Independent Pentecostals in Nigeria believe that their Pastor-leaders are charismatic. They often attribute the growth and spread of Pentecostal churches to the charisma of their Pastor-leaders. However, there is no agreement among the members on what exactly is this charisma they claim their Pastor-leaders possess. To some, this charisma is the ‘anointing’. To others, it is ‘the character or personality of the man of God’. Yet to others, it is the oratory gift. Some even argue that it is the ‘administrative skill’ of these Pastor-leaders. The problem with these attributes is that they are not definable or measurable to know if these Pastor-leaders have them in abundance than other members of the church. Furthermore, some of these attributes are not unique or extraordinary in any way. For example, the anointing, which many Christians often describe as the ‘power of God,’ is available to all Christians. Moreover, it cannot be determined to know if a leader possesses it in a more ‘quantity or unique’ way than the members. Also, in terms of ‘personality or character’, these concepts are

¹¹³Douglas Barnes, ‘Charisma and Religious Leadership: An Historical Analysis’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17, no. 1 (1978): 2.

¹¹⁴Martin E. Spencer, “What Is Charisma?” *The British Journal of Sociology* 24, no. 3 (1973): 344.

¹¹⁵Weber, *Charisma and Institution Building*, 49.

¹¹⁶Norman, “Faith, Reason, and Charisma,” 34-35.

not measurable to determine if these Pastor-leaders have them in abundant measure than other Christians. Many do not possess the oratory gift, yet their churches are growing and expanding, whereas some possess it, yet there are no appreciable impacts or growth in their churches. In conclusion, we can only say that the charisma ascribed to pastor-leaders in the Nigerian context is a dynamic quality that is changeable in nature but is seen as God-given. Later on in this study, we will see how the particular gifts ascribed to leaders are bound up with the branding of their churches.

Generally, the medium for the charisma of the Nigerian Pentecostal Pastor-leaders is the power of the spoken word.¹¹⁷ The spoken words of these leaders are believed by members to be vested with power and authority, which enables them to use their words to heal the sick – physically, emotionally and spiritually, do deliverance (exorcism), teach and preach, counsel, and perform miracles as their members claimed. This spoken word is not just the oratory gift or motivational talk. Rather, it is an unusual ability to craft and use spoken words in such a way that the hearer is affected, either positively or negatively. These Pastor-leaders are known to speak into the lives and situations of their members in such a way that their members are enlivened and encouraged, receive strength, hope, healing and transformation. This spoken word is evident when these leaders pray, teach, preach or counsel. So powerful are these words that members and non-members use them as their ringtone, caller identification and in some cases, the members subscribe on phone and receive words of their Pastor-leaders as daily ‘golden nuggets’ or ‘daily tonic or inspiration’. This practice relates to ‘the word of faith’ doctrine, which has to do with the belief that by speaking a word, it will happen.¹¹⁸ In some cases, the members record the words of these leaders on DVDs and play them in their cars or at home.

These Pastor-leaders often spice and reinforce their words with quotations from the Bible. Sometimes, members memorize the sayings of their pastors and recite them every day, before embarking on any journey, transaction, business deal, examination or interviews. It is through this power of the spoken word that these Pastor-leaders of Nigerian Independent

¹¹⁷Although, Asonzeh Ukah and Marleen de Witte’s have argued that medium for the charisma of the Nigerian Pentecostal Pastor-leaders is touch, however, not all the Nigerian Pentecostal Pastor-leaders do touch their members physically before healing or influencing them. Furthermore, the Nigeria Pentecostal Pastor-leaders influence over their members is more than physical touch, it includes emotional, psychological and spiritual. This is possible because of the power of the spoken word.

¹¹⁸World Evangelical Alliance Commission on Unity and Truth among Evangelicals, *Faith, Health and Prosperity: A Report on Word of Faith and Positive Confession Theologies* by ACUTE (The Evangelical Alliance Commission on Unity and Truth among Evangelicals: Paternoster Press, 2003).

Pentecostal churches continue to prove their charisma and sustain the devotion, obedience, loyalty and followership of their members.¹¹⁹

2.8 The routinization of charisma

Weber has argued that for charisma to remain stable, it becomes either traditionalized or institutionalized or a combination of both'.¹²⁰ Since charisma is not stable by nature, there is always the need to make it stable and be transformed into a permanent routine, especially for the bearer to continue to enjoy the devotion of his/her followers. The process by which charismatic leaders stabilize charisma and bring it into an everyday routine is known as routinization. According to Wasielewski, 'routinization consists of developing rules for the maintenance and succession of personally-held power.'¹²¹ This, Weber has termed *Veralltäglichung*.

However, *Veralltäglichung* leads to diminishing of charisma, losing some of its creative and even supernatural characters, thus creating new challenges to charismatic leadership. Weber posits that the routinization of charisma is depended upon the institutional framework of the movement and especially upon the economic order: 'routinization is identical with adjustment to the conditions of the economy, that is, to the continuously effective routines of workday life'. Furthermore, Weber argues that 'the routinization of charisma also takes the form of the appropriation of powers of control and economic advantages by the followers or disciples and regulation of the recruitment of these groups'. With the process of routinization in place, the charismatic group tends to develop into 'one of the forms of every-day authority, particularly the patrimonial form in its decentralized variant or the bureaucratic'.¹²² Thus, the role of followers and the development of organizational structures with other types of leadership roles to continue growing become important.

Besides, the routinization of charisma will often result in the institutionalization of charisma. Spencer posits that the 'routinization' of charisma culminates in the institutionalization of the new charismatic order as a new status order.¹²³ According to Weber, institutionalization commences after the death of the founder-leader of a group, 'with the disappearance of the personal charismatic leader'.¹²⁴ This process does not seem to be taking

¹¹⁹Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 248.

¹²⁰Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, 54.

¹²¹Patricia L. Wasielewski, 'The Emotional Basis of Charisma', *Symbolic Interaction* 8, no. 2 (1985): 208.

¹²²Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, 60.

¹²³Martin E. Spencer, "What Is Charisma? 342.

¹²⁴Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, p. 55.

place in the context of Nigeria. It is one of the main findings of this study that succession of the original charismatic leader is a taboo subject (see the discussion in chapters five and seven). Nevertheless, the regulation of churches in Nigeria requires a form of institutionalization of charisma during the lifetime of the founder-leader through formal registration with the Government.¹²⁵ To do this, they usually put up a formal organizational structure, drafting and approval of constitution for the organization, the appointment of Board of Trustees, employment of full-time paid workers, well-formulated salary structures, a succession plan and so on.

However, the question is whether these forms of routinization and institutionalization do indeed lead to a diminishing of the vitality and dynamism of charisma in these organizations. According to Ojo, Nigerian Pentecostal and charismatic groups have been able to sustain their distinctiveness within the Christian milieu despite routinization and institutionalization.¹²⁶ If this is the case, how is this accomplished? I will return to this question in the latter part of this study. In the next section, I will turn more specifically to the emergence of bureaucracy as a corollary of the routinization of charisma.

2.9 Bureaucracy and Bureaucratization

According to Max Weber, bureaucracy is the ‘means of carrying community action over into rationally ordered societal action.’¹²⁷ He went further to say that ‘as an instrument of ‘societalizing’ relations of power, bureaucracy has been and is a powerful instrument of the first order for the one who controls the bureaucratic apparatus’.¹²⁸ Bureaucracy is in line with rational-legal authority, but many times, it is in conflicts with charisma. Thomas Kirsch summarized Weber’s idea of bureaucracy to include: a specialized domain of responsibilities by each member of the organization, hierarchical arrangement of different offices which form a chain of command and structure of supervision; reliance of the organization on established and prescribed regulations; office holder acting on institutional regulations such as treating clients of the organization as ‘cases’ and not as individuals; communication of the activities of the organization in written form; making it a permanent record to guide the action; basing

¹²⁵In Nigeria, the government parastatal involved with registration of organization is known as the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC).

¹²⁶Ojo, *The End-Time Army*, 88.

¹²⁷Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 228.

¹²⁸Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 228.

allocation of offices on technical competence and qualification; and the existence of administrative staff to support the operation of the organization.¹²⁹

However, Weber's idea of bureaucracy has been criticized for creating a dichotomy of 'formal' and 'informal' social behaviour.¹³⁰ Furthermore, formal social behaviour does not seem to work well in a Nigerian setting where church members' loyalty is only to the leaders and not to any supporting staff. In a bureaucracy, the assumption is that supporting staff may not be explicitly connected to the goal of the organization as a whole, but, rather only to the correct execution of their tasks. In contrast, in the setting of Independent Pentecostal churches, every member of the church is expected to assist in achieving the goal and the vision of the church put forward by the leader.

Despite this seeming incompatibility of charismatic leadership and bureaucracy, it is interesting to note that in the early years, Independent Pentecostal churches indeed had no fixed administrative routines, but with time, have grown to become big organizations with complex bureaucratic structures with specialized and professional leaders. Since bureaucracy is associated with rational-legal authority, this raises the question, how is bureaucracy handled and developed in an organization that operates according to the rules of charismatic authority? In subsequent chapters, the study will further discuss the processes by which bureaucracy emerges, and its interconnection to charismatic leadership.

2.10 Theories of Organization

Another concept that is very germane to this study is the organization. This concept is ambiguous and difficult to define. We can find organization virtually in all human endeavours. There are political, economic, social, education, health and religious organizations. Stark, while writing on the importance of organization submits that, 'it is necessary to realize that no social group, sacred or secular, can exist for any length of time without some kind of organization.'¹³¹ In its simplest form, an organization is a process of organizing human groups or activities into a stable association to achieve a common or set goal. The organization has also been defined as a collection of people who work together to achieve a wide variety of goals.¹³² According to

¹²⁹Thomas G. Kirsch, *Spirits and Letters: Reading, Writing and Charisma in African Christianity* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 185.

¹³⁰Howard Aldrich, *Organizations Evolving*, 15.

¹³¹Werner Stark, 'The Routinization of Charisma: A Consideration of Catholicism,' *Sociological Analysis* 26, no. 4 (1965): 206.

¹³²*Understanding and Managing Organizational Behaviour*, 1. <http://www.apexcpe.com/publications/471001.pdf> (accessed June 18, 2018).

Etzioni, 'organization are social units (or human groupings) deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek specific goals.'¹³³ Howard Aldrich defined organization as 'goal-directed boundary-maintaining and socially constructed systems of human activity.'¹³⁴

Ukah posits that organizations, whether religious or secular, are driven by two broad objectives, viz., an orderly pursuit of goals and a desire for self-perpetuation. These goals determine the structures of the organization and the strategies for the pursuit of the goals.¹³⁵ Organizations are often categorized according to their goals and benefit to society and individuals. One major feature of any organization is the division of labour. Each member of an organization is assigned a different role or task. According to Howard, 'the division of labour between activities in an organization leads to role differentiation and specialization of functions'.¹³⁶ Role differentiation also shows a distinction between the leader and members. Howard posits that organizational growth produces problems of coordination and control that generates attempts at simplifying structures, such as through creating new sub-units and divisions.¹³⁷

This study deals with religious organizations. According to Stark and Bainbridge, religious organizations are 'social enterprises whose primary purpose is to create, maintain, and exchange supernaturally-based general compensators'.¹³⁸ By compensators, they mean 'postulations of reward that are not readily susceptible to unambiguous evaluation'.¹³⁹ Miller also views the provision of supernatural compensators as the core business of religious organizations.¹⁴⁰

There are many typologies of religious organizations. However, the one that is relevant to this work is the typology of religious sects' versus denominations. Bryan Wilson and other scholars have written extensively on the nature and characteristics of religious sects. Generally, a sect is a relatively small religious organization that is often in conflict with some of the norms and values of the larger society or existing religious organization from which they have emerged. A sect promotes religious exclusiveness and commitment and moral regulations are intense, and the charisma of the leader determines the health of the sect. Wilson noted that

¹³³A. Etzioni, *Modern Organization* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1975), 5.

¹³⁴Aldrich, *Organizations Evolving*, 1.

¹³⁵Asonzeh F. Ukah, "the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), Nigeria. Local Identities and Global Processes in African Pentecostalism" (Ph.D., University of Bayreuth, Germany, 2003), 104-105.

¹³⁶Aldrich, *Organizations Evolving*, 5.

¹³⁷Aldrich, *Organizations Evolving*, 5.

¹³⁸Stark Rodney and Bainbridge Williams, *A Theory of Religion* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 42.

¹³⁹Rodney and Williams, *A Theory of Religion*, 36.

¹⁴⁰Kent D. Miller, 'Competitive Strategies of Religious Organizations' *Strategic Management Journal* 23, no.5 (2002): 436.

sects might develop over time to become 'established sects' or 'denominations' when membership goes beyond the first generation'.¹⁴¹ An example of a religious sect is Peoples Temple of Jim Jones, while the Roman Catholic Church is an example of a denomination.

Many of the Nigerian Pentecostal churches started as a sect. However, they have developed into denominations over a period of forty years. Their process of becoming a denomination was largely due to changes in their internal structures as well as a response to external stimuli. At the beginning of these churches, there was no formal organizational and administrative structures put in place, but with time, these churches put up bureaucratic structures such as the establishment of departments, units and administrative structures. These processes eventually turned them into denominations. Ojo has enumerated reasons why religious groups, especially Independent Pentecostal churches put up organizational structures. According to him,

Organizational structure is important because it is the form by which the doctrinal emphases are assured of continuity to future generations and their dissemination over wide geographical areas. The organization is needed to determine how the leadership functions, to ensure a stable pattern of the procedure, to protect the members and to ensure the continuity of the religious organization...Moreover, the adoption of formal organizational structure ensures role differentiation between the laity and the clergy, a distinction, which is crucial for the survival of charisma, and the delineation of power, privileges and status.¹⁴²

As mentioned earlier, organizational setup is also part of routinization and institutionalization of charisma. Ojo identifies two types of organizations in the Nigerian Pentecostal landscape. The first type is an organization led by a solitary or visionary leadership of a prominent individual. In such an organization, the life of the organization centres on the interpretations of the visions of the leader and the leader also creates the main religious symbols prevalent in the organization; members relate to these symbols as divine. The second type is an organization with a collective leadership. Examples of this are Independent Pentecostal churches that are being led by husband and wife such as Daystar and TREM.¹⁴³ He maintains that 'growth in an organization with collective leadership may not be as rapid as in the ones with solitary leadership, because growth may be restricted by administrative procedures and the weight of collective responsibility'.¹⁴⁴ In the selected churches for this case study, solitary leadership is the norm.

¹⁴¹Bryan R. Wilson, 'An Analysis of Sect Development' *American Sociological Review* 24, no.1 (1959): 3.

¹⁴²Ojo, *The End-Time Army*, 88.

¹⁴³However, this may still fall within the idea of (modified) solitary leadership; another example is the Living Faith Church Worldwide, (Winners' Chapel International) of Bishop David Oyedepo.

¹⁴⁴Ojo, *The End-Time Army*, 93.

Another field of study that is relevant to this study is that of organizational behaviour and organizational culture. Organizational behaviour has been defined as ‘a field of study devoted to understanding, explaining, and ultimately improving the attitudes and behaviours of individuals and groups in organizations.’¹⁴⁵ According to Schein, culture is what a group learns over a period as that group solves its problems of survival in an external environment and its problems of internal integration. He went further to define organizational culture as:

A pattern of basic assumptions invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, is to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.¹⁴⁶

What then are the organizational behaviour and culture prevalent in the selected Pentecostal churches? What effect does the organizational behaviour and culture of these churches have on their growth? These issues will be examined in chapters four and five of this study.

2.11 Pentecostalism and Independent Pentecostal Churches

Pentecostal churches constitute the fastest-growing group of churches in Christianity today, representing already a quarter of all Christians worldwide.¹⁴⁷ Pentecostalism can be traced to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the disciples of Jesus on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem as recorded in Acts 2.¹⁴⁸ This outpouring experience resulted in the disciples speaking in tongues. However, the history of the modern Pentecostal movements is linked to the Azusa Street Revival of the Holiness preacher, Charles Parham and William Seymour in 1901 and 1906 respectively.¹⁴⁹ The revival marked the beginning of the modern Pentecostal movements that has spread to other parts of the world. Nevertheless, some scholars believe that not all the modern-day Pentecostal movements can be traced to the Azusa Street Revival. This view is also supported by Asamoah-Gyadu, who stated that ‘in the documentation of the history of

¹⁴⁵McGraw-Hill Education, http://highered.mcgrawhill.com/sites/dl/free/0078137179/807652/colquitt2e_sample_ch01_lores.pdf. (accessed June 4, 2014).

¹⁴⁶Edgar H. Schein, ‘Organizational Culture’ *American Psychologist* (1990): 111.

¹⁴⁷See “Islam and Christianity in Sub Saharan Africa” Pew Research Center’s Forum on Religion & Public Life, (2010) <http://www.pewforum.org/executive-summary-islam-and-christianity-in-sub-saharan-africa.aspx> and ‘The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050’ *Pew Research Center’s Religion & Public Life Project*, 2 April 2015. <http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050/> (accessed June 4, 2014).

¹⁴⁸The Holy Bible, Acts of Apostles 2:1ff.

¹⁴⁹There are two movements: one in Kansas with Charles Parham, the other in Azusa Street California with William Seymour. Although Parham was, first to identify baptism in the Holy Spirit as a central theological doctrine and glossolalia as a sign of it, the Azusa Street revival is more often referred to as the birthplace of the Pentecostal movement. For details on history of Azusa Pentecostal revival, see Cox, *Fire from Heaven*.

Pentecostalism, the origins of the movement in different contexts across the world should be distinguished from the efforts of its American versions to globalize knowledge of it'.¹⁵⁰ This is also the view of Hollenweger who sees the different contexts of Pentecostalism as distinctive members of a global family.¹⁵¹

'Pentecostals' are members of any Pentecostal church, whose distinctive doctrines include a belief in the baptism of the Holy Spirit as a second experience after the conversion experience, acceptance of spiritual gifts like healing, exorcism, speaking in tongues, prophecy, and demonstration of power.¹⁵² This is also the view of Robert Anderson, who defined Pentecostals as people 'concerned primarily with the *experience* of the working of the Holy Spirit and the *practice* of spiritual gifts'.¹⁵³ For Ojo, Pentecostals and Charismatics are Christians seeking a deeper experience of God beyond regular church attendance. They rely on the 'new birth' and the power of the Holy Spirit. They frequently moralize about the condition of their society and extend the African spirit world into pictorial but malevolent satanic forces often dogging the lives of believers.¹⁵⁴ The distinctive characteristic of the Pentecostals is the strong emphasis on the Holy Spirit and his manifestations. Besides, there is an emphasis on the experience and practice (manifestations) of the Holy Spirit. However, Miller and Yamamori cautioned that though Pentecostals believe in the Holy Spirit, the manifestations of the Holy Spirit such as being slain in the spirit, speaking in tongues, prophesying and healing do happen in some Pentecostal churches but they do not take place in all Pentecostal churches every week.¹⁵⁵

There are different brands of Pentecostals and Pentecostal churches, which make their typology difficult. According to Walter Hollenweger, there are three types: classical Pentecostals, the charismatic renewal movement and Pentecostal or 'Pentecostal-like' independent churches.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, Allan Anderson classifies Pentecostal churches into four types. The first, Classical Pentecostals that originated in the early twentieth-century revival and missionary movements.¹⁵⁷ Second, Older Independent and Spirit churches,

¹⁵⁰ Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, 11.

¹⁵¹ Walter J. Hollenweger, 'Intercultural Theology', *Theological Renewal*, 10, (1978): 4.

¹⁵² Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2.

¹⁵³ Robert M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1979), 4.

¹⁵⁴ Ojo, 'Of Saints and Sinners', 4.

¹⁵⁵ Donald Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Faces of Christian Social Engagement* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 20.

¹⁵⁶ Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 1.

¹⁵⁷ Allan Anderson, 'Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions' in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, ed. Allan Anderson et.al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 17.

especially in China, India, and sub-Saharan Africa. Third, Older Church Charismatics, including Catholic, Charismatics, Anglican Charismatics, and Protestant Charismatics. Fourth is the Neo-Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches often regarded as Charismatic Independent churches, which include churches like, Word of Faith churches, Third Wave churches, New Apostolic churches and many other different Independent churches.¹⁵⁸

Although there is disagreement on whether all Pentecostal churches derive from one single source or emerged independently of each other in different geographical locations. There is considerable agreement over the fact that they form a global phenomenon and are characterized by many transnational connections and exchanges. André Droogers outlined three broad but common features of transnational Pentecostalism: 1) the central emphasis on the experience of the spirit with ecstatic manifestations such as speaking in tongues, 2) the ‘born again’ or conversion experience that accompanies acceptance into the Pentecostal community and, 3) the dualistic world view that distinguishes between the ‘world’ and the ‘church’; the ‘devil’ and the ‘divine’, and lastly, 4) ‘sickness’ and ‘health’.¹⁵⁹ According to Anderson, Pentecostalism has given the Christian message a new form with its emphasis on the Holy Spirit and the environment in which to practice the gifts of the Spirit. The spread and growth of Pentecostalism are particularly interesting in the light of its growth despite secularization and modernization processes that are thought to affect Christianity more generally. According to Anderson, this is due to its flexibility and adaptability to the world’s cultural heterogeneity without losing its identity, its ability to attract a wide variety of audiences. This growth, which has taken place particularly in South America and sub-Sahara Africa, has led to the consensus that the Global South must now be considered the new centre of gravity of Christianity.¹⁶⁰

The growth and success of Pentecostal churches have been attributed to its ability to address ‘the corporeal and material aspects of peoples’ lives, including problems caused by modernization process’, the ways it integrates its members into the widening modernized world, the use of market strategies and entrepreneurial tools and the use of mass media and modern communication technology.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸Allan Anderson, ‘Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions’, 18-19.

¹⁵⁹André Droogers, ‘Globalisation and Pentecostal Success’ in *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*, ed. André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani (Bloomington: IUP), 44-46.

¹⁶⁰Anderson et al, ‘Introduction’ in *Studying Global Pentecostalism*, 3.

¹⁶¹Allan Anderson et.al, ‘Introduction’ in *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*, 1-2.

2.12 Pentecostalism in Nigeria

Generally, three strands of Pentecostal churches are recognized in Nigeria. The first strand is the Classical Pentecostal churches. These are foreign Pentecostal churches that emerged from the Asuza Street Revival and the Welsh Revival, introduced into Nigeria from 1930. Such churches include Apostolic Faith Mission, Assemblies of God Church, Foursquare Gospel Church, and The Apostolic Church. The second strand consists of Indigenous Pentecostal churches, which emerged in Nigeria from the early 1940s to 1960s. These include Salem Gospel Mission with headquarters in Ile-Ife, the Gospel Faith Mission and Christ Apostolic Church with their headquarters in Ibadan, and the Redeemed Christian Church of God with the headquarters at Ebute Metta, Lagos.

The last strand, which is the focus of this study is the Independent Pentecostal churches,¹⁶² which surfaced from the Charismatic revival on the university campuses in the early 1970s. This revival started from the University of Ibadan in early 1970 when some students who were members of the Ibadan Varsity Christian Union claimed to have been baptized in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. ‘Despite opposition from other members of IVCU, this group of students strongly publicized their new experience such that the enthusiasm for the Pentecostal experience spread among the Christian students on the campuses.’¹⁶³ From this small group, the fire of revival and Pentecostalism spread to other campuses of higher institutions and parts of the country. As students who have acquired Pentecostal experience graduated from school, they continued to spread the experience to their churches, workplaces and schools. Some of these people later established Independent Pentecostal ministries and churches. Ojo, while writing on the characteristics of the Charismatic Revival of the early 1970s maintains that the most prominent feature of this revival was the evidence of the working of the Holy Spirit.¹⁶⁴ He went on to say that ‘this emphasis so dominated the revival that all its other features, such as speaking in tongues, healing, miracles, holiness and prophecy were anchored on it. Even after the revival had subsided, baptism of the Holy Spirit became its surviving landmark.’¹⁶⁵ Ojo has referred to this strand as Independent Pentecostal and Charismatic churches.¹⁶⁶ However, for this study, the group will be referred to

¹⁶²Independent Pentecostal Churches are also called Indigenous Pentecostal Churches. For detail on this, see Deji Ayegboyin and S. Ademola Ishola, *African Indigenous Churches: An Historical Perspective* (Lagos: Greater Heights Publication, 1997).

¹⁶³For more detail on this, see Ojo, *The End-Time Army*.

¹⁶⁴The evidence of the working of the Holy Spirit includes, speaking in tongues, interpretation of tongues, prophecies, baptism of the Holy Spirit, healing, miracles and so on. For further reading see 1 Corinthians 12:5-11

¹⁶⁵Ojo, *The End-Time Army*, 37.

¹⁶⁶Ojo, ‘Of Saints and Sinners’ 5.

as Independent Pentecostal churches. All the four selected churches for this study are Independent Pentecostal churches. Educated Nigerians, nurtured by Nigerians and have no foreign or external support and influence founded them. Besides, they are not affiliated to any church or a branch of any other existing church.

2.13 Typology of Pentecostal Churches in Nigeria

The classification of Nigerian Pentecostal churches is not an easy task because there are many strands of it. Apart from sharing some common identifiable tenets such as belief in the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues, miracles and divine healing, Pentecostal churches in Nigeria have different doctrinal emphases and practices. Using the paradigm of power (which is the process of empowering members to confront the difficulties of life and to resolve a personal and communal dilemma in contemporary society), and piety, (that is, deepening of the religious experience of their members) as the analytical tools, Ojo has categorized Nigerian Pentecostal and Charismatic movements into six groups. The first in this categorization is the Faith Seekers who are known for their vigorous evangelistic activities and are generally from low socio-economic class. The second group is Faith Builders who are mainly from the educated middle class and emphasize the realization of human potentials in the individual to overcome contemporary difficulties of life. They believe that through faith, Christians can achieve success in life and be prosperous. The third category is Faith Transformers, they are mission-minded groups and traditionally, the mission-sending agencies that seek the conversion of large and isolated ethnic groups rather than individuals. They believe more in the ascetic life. The fourth category is the Reformists who are mainly members of mainline churches but have been influenced by the wave of Pentecostalism and seek to influence and reform their churches. The Deliverance churches constitute the fifth category. They constitute a new phenomenon within Nigerian Pentecostalism. They are preoccupied with healing and thus act as ‘forensic experts’ viewing African cultural roots as being responsible for the contemporary dislocation in the lives of individuals and society as a whole. The last category is the Modernists who are mainly from Aladura churches but who seek to repackage their faith to make it more acceptable to a more enlightened society.¹⁶⁷

Marshall’s inclusive categorization of Nigerian Pentecostal churches seems less cumbersome and straightforward.¹⁶⁸ She categorized Nigerian Pentecostal churches into two

¹⁶⁷Ojo, *The End-Time Army*, 88-89.

¹⁶⁸Ruth Marshall, ‘Pentecostals in Southern Nigeria’, 8-39.

types based on their theological and doctrinal emphasis. The two categories are the ‘Holiness’ churches and the ‘Prosperity’ churches. The Holiness churches are ‘world-rejecting’ in their spiritual emphasis, while Prosperity churches are ‘world-affirming’ in their spiritual emphasis. Deeper Life Bible Church of Pastor William F. Kumuyi is an example of a Holiness church, while Winners Chapel of Bishop David Oyedepo is an example of Prosperity church. It needs to be pointed out that Marshall’s categorization is too general and does not adequately cover some Nigerian Pentecostal churches and groups. For example, the Redeemed Christian Church of God would fall into the two of Marshall’s categorizations, while a church like Daystar Christian Centre may not be adequately captured in any of the categorizations because Daystar emphasis is neither prosperity nor holiness, but leadership and human emancipation.

It may be concluded that categorizing Nigerian Pentecostal churches is very difficult if not impossible.

In terms of typology of Pentecostal churches discussed above, the churches being studied fall under four categories as highlighted by Ojo. These categories are as follows:

1. **Faith Builders** - The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM), Daystar Christian Centre and Fountain of Life Church.
2. **The Deliverance Churches** - Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries.
3. **The Modernist** - Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries
4. **Faith Transformers** - The Redeemed Evangelical Mission and Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries.

Table 2.1: Categorization of Nigerian Independent Pentecostal Churches using Ojo’s Typology

Faith Builders	The Deliverance Churches	The Modernist	Faith Transformers
The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM)	Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries	Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries	Daystar Christian Centre
Daystar Christian Centre			Fountain of Life Church
Fountain of Life Church			

As mentioned earlier, Ojo’s categorization gives room for some of these churches to fit into more than one category. For example, in the first category, Faith Builders, three of the

churches understudy, fit into the category. These three churches draw their members mainly from the educated middle class and emphasize the realization of the human potential of the individual to overcome contemporary difficulties of life. They emphasise prosperity and faith in the word of God. For example, this is evident in the slogans of TREM: 'There is power in the Word' and 'the Word works', stressing the importance of the word of God and at the same time encouraging her members to have faith in the word of God and use it. For Daystar Christian Centre, the Church has an annual leadership Programme and a radio programme tagged 'Success Power' designed to help her members achieve and maximise their potentials. The Fountain of Life Church has a quarterly programme tagged, 'Discovery for Men'. The goal of the programme is to help men develop and achieve their potential.

In the second and third categories, (deliverance and modernist church), Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries is the only church that fits. The church emphasizes healing and deliverance from all malevolent spirits and powers that are responsible for every human problem and hinders people from achieving and fulfilling the plan of God for them. The Church is greatly influenced by the background of her founder, Daniel Olukoya, who came from Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), an Aladura church. MFM, while leaning towards Aladura church, also seeks to repackage and modernize her practices to make it acceptable to more people, especially the educated elite.

The last category is Faith Transformers. The Redeemed Evangelical Mission and Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries fit into this category. The two churches are mission-minded and send out missionaries and evangelists to different areas of the country and even outside the countries to plant churches.

2.14 Nigerian Pentecostal Beliefs and Practices

The administrative and organizational structures in most Pentecostal churches are hierarchical and centralized, especially around the founder. As mentioned earlier, Pentecostals' distinguishing labels include an emphasis on the Holy Spirit and manifestation of spiritual gifts (especially *glossolalia* or speaking in tongues), faith or divine healing, evangelism sometimes referred to as witnessing and missions (soul winning). Since the beginning of the 1990s, there has been a strong emphasis on prosperity teaching among the Pentecostals in Nigeria.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹See Deji Ayegboyin, 'A Rethinking of Prosperity Teaching in the New Pentecostal Churches in Nigeria' *Black Theology* 4, no.1 (2006): 70-86; George O. Folarin, 'Prosperity gospel in Nigeria: a re-examination of the concept, impact, and evaluation' *African Journal of Biblical Studies* 23 no. 2 (2006): 79-97 and Hilary C. Achunike, 'Prosperity Preaching in the Nigerian Religious Space' *NJSS* 4 no.1 (2007): 83-96.

Recognition of women and their spiritual giftedness in the church is another important belief and practice in Nigerian Pentecostal circle. During my fieldwork in the selected four churches, I noticed that there are more female members than male members during each of the services I attended. This is evident in many women being ordained as pastors in Pentecostal churches. Furthermore, women are known to have founded many Pentecostal churches.¹⁷⁰ In some Pentecostal churches like Redeemed Christian Church of God, wives of Pastors are automatically recognized as ministers while many of the wives of the founders are co-pastors or presiding bishops with their husbands.¹⁷¹ This is also the view of Ogbu Kalu who affirmed that ‘Generally, Pentecostal and charismatic movements recognize “sisters” and give women who are endowed with charismatic gifts the opportunities to minister those gifts at the ritual level without challenging the patriarchal base of the polity. This has enlarged the female role’.¹⁷² However, Ojo had argued that ‘although women predominate, men dominate the leadership of Pentecostal and Charismatic organizations. Leadership in the areas of preaching, counselling, and giving administrative directions is almost the exclusive right of men’.¹⁷³

The worship service in a typical Pentecostal church is usually lively and full of fast tempo and danceable songs termed ‘praise worship’. There is the use of drum sets and other modern musical instruments. The choir usually sings contemporary songs more than classical hymns. This perhaps explains why young people are easily attracted to them. Also, many of these churches make use of electronic media and media technology in proclaiming the gospel within and beyond the shore of the country. According to Ogbu Kalu, Pentecostals saw in electronic media and media technology ‘a medium that could reinforce the message and vision’.¹⁷⁴ Pentecostal leaders also value and model material success. This is evident in the type of vehicles they use; which are usually the latest flamboyant cars in town, sometimes with unique number plate and the type of clothes they wear. Some of the Pentecostal pastors have a special dress they wear and such dresses easily identify them as the ‘Man of God’ or the ‘GO’. The general saying among the Pentecostal leaders is, ‘you are addressed the way you dressed’.

¹⁷⁰Example of such women-founders and their churches include: Power Pentecostal Church, Lagos, founded by Bishop Bola Odeleke; World Royal Evangelical Ministries (Graceville Chapel), Lagos, founded by Rev Mrs Temitope Ogunnoiki and Apostle Helen Ukpabio, the founder of Liberty Foundation Gospel Ministries (Liberty Gospel Church), Calabar.

¹⁷¹Examples include Bishop Peace Okonkwo, Resident Pastor, TREM Headquarter, Pastor Nike Adeyemi, Co-Founder and Deputy Senior Pastor at Daystar Christian Centre, Pastor Nomthi Odukoya, Pastor at The Fountain of Life Church, Pastor Shade Olukoya, Co-Founder and Pastor at Mountain of Fire and Miracle Church and so on.

¹⁷²Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction*, 152 and Bolaji Olukemi Olayinka, *Female Leaders of New Generation Churches as Change Agents in Yorubaland* (Ph.D., Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, 2000).

¹⁷³Ojo, ‘Religious Leadership in Contemporary Nigeria’ p.4.

¹⁷⁴Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction*, 105.

They are also known to wear expensive shoes, while their wives wear expensive and imported perfumes and jewellery. According to Ogbu Kalu, ‘The dress and lifestyle of the big man of God become essential ingredients of the composite culture’.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, they put up imposing and gigantic edifices, with grandiose names, such as ‘Cathedral’. Leaders often live in mansions. All these are put in place to create an imposing image to their members and the society as ‘God-Ordained Messengers’.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, this “idea of big man”, is not limited to the Pentecostal pastors alone, it is also a common trend among the Nigerian politicians and business moguls who have generally equate success and power with outward appearance. However, while the members ascribe Pentecostal pastors with supernatural gifts, the politicians and business people are not ascribed with any supernatural gift by their followers. Instead, many of these politicians and business moguls seek proximity to supernatural power through an alliance with Pentecostal pastors and mega-churches.

Ogbu Kalu has summarized the characteristics of contemporary Nigerian Pentecostalism thus:

1. The rise of the mega-church with its thousands of members and branches;
2. The success of the rich big man of God;
3. The creation of megaprojects, such as the elaborate church centre, bible school, businesses, and elaborate stadia outreaches;
4. The increased access to electronic media, such as radio, television, video-, and audiocassettes;
5. The increased access to print media, such as a glamorous house, magazines, handbills, posters, billboards, and books;
6. The availability of clothes such as t-shirts, caps, fashion;
7. The means to hear and perform new forms of music;
8. The radical shift in ecclesiology from congregationalist polity to the episcopacy with centralized, bureaucratized administration; and
9. The emphasis on fivefold ministry, where prophets and apostles controlled evangelists, teachers, and deacons (lower cadres of church workers); the wife of “the man of God” organized sodalities for women; and pastors acquire degrees especially doctorates either *honoris causa* or by outright purchase.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*: 112.

¹⁷⁶This kind of behaviour is a common way of modelling success in the Nigerian society by successful big men such as politicians and business executives, however, these big men, unlike the church leaders, are not ascribed with any supernatural qualities.

¹⁷⁷Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*: 115.

2. 15 The Growth of Independent Pentecostal churches

Church growth has been a vital issue in churches and denominations throughout the world.¹⁷⁸ At first sight, Church growth simply means an increase in the size, membership, and spiritual life of a church.

There are two major dimensions of Church growth; these are the quantitative and qualitative aspects. The quantitative aspect of church growth has to do with the numerical growth of a church, such as an increase in membership, financial offerings; and several churches planted. On the other hand, qualitative church growth deals with the changes in the life of church members. In other words, qualitative church growth has to do with the quality of life of church members such as new birth, commitment and dedication of members, rendering of services to the church, and obedience and loyalty to God and the pastor-leader. This type of qualitative growth is not easy to measure; hence, many churches only rely on quantitative growth, which is more feasible and noticeable. The concern of this study is quantitative growth; however, I will also look briefly at the qualitative growth in chapters five and six.

Among Nigerian church leaders, especially in the Pentecostal circle, Church growth is believed to have two dimensions, the supernatural dimension and the human dimension. This is in line with Eugene Nida's submission that basic factors influencing Church growth are supernatural (the work of the Holy Spirit) and human.¹⁷⁹ The assumption of a supernatural dimension rests on the belief that God alone has the power to grow the Church. This belief is based on the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 3:6-7 which reads 'I planted the seed, Apollos watered it, but God made it grow. So neither he who plants nor he who waters is anything, but only God, who makes things grow (NIV). In the end, human organization, strategies and plans do not grow a church but God does. Hence, Church growth is understood as a divine act.

On the other hand, there are church leaders who hold the position that God has blessed his people with all blessings in heavenly places and has invested in them all that is needed to grow the Church. They hold on to the belief that God has deposited virtues in His people to grow the Church. Hence, God's people have the strategies, techniques and wherewithal to grow a church. Any pastor or servant of God whose church is not growing should not blame God but should blame him or herself for not using and maximizing the potential God has given him or her. This school of thought believes that any human strategy can be used to grow a church and

¹⁷⁸Peter C. Wagner, Arn Win Peter; and Elmer L.Towns, *Church Growth State of the Art* (1986). http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/towns_books/19

¹⁷⁹Donald A. McGavran ed. *Church Growth and Christian Mission*, 175.

such human strategies are acceptable to God. Hence, strategies like marketing, advertising, and ‘godly propaganda’ are appropriate. ‘Godly propaganda’ and ‘heavenly gimmicks’ may include renting a very big hall and using loudspeakers even when the membership is less than ten, using the word ‘International Church’ even when such a church is a single branch church with membership from a single tribe and sometimes renting or inducing crowd to the church with gifts or money.

Based on my observations during the fieldwork, growth in any church is mostly discussed based on quantitative parameters such as an increase in membership, income, attendance, multiplication of branches, territorial spread and elaborate organizational structure. This is my perspective, based on my observation of church activities and programmes of these churches as well as interviews conducted with some pastors and members of these churches. Such growth is known as numerical growth. It usually occurs through proselytising, enlistment, switching of religious affiliation and migration.¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, quantitative growth has to do with the quality of life as believers such as service, commitment, giving and dedication. This is based mainly on the internal church perspective. Furthermore, there is often a lot of traffic between churches of a similar type, since people are continuously looking for a better profound connection with God, sometimes referred to as ‘circulation of the Saints’.¹⁸¹

2.16 Conclusion

The central theoretical framework of this study is the theory of charisma and charismatic leadership as propounded by Max Weber. The theory provides an exposition on the nature of charismatic leadership, the role of charisma in the emergence of charismatic leadership and the routinization and institutionalization of charisma. The theory seems to fit well with the phenomenon of the emergence of charismatic leadership in the Independent Pentecostal churches being studied. It gives insight into the relationship between the members of these churches and their leaders; especially as regards their submission to their Pastor-leaders and the attribution of charisma.

The issue of the routinization of charisma and bureaucratization was also examined. This has helped in understanding the issue of routinization and institutionalization of charisma,

¹⁸⁰Kirk Hadaway, ‘Denominational Switching and Religiosity’ *Review of Religious Research* 21, no. 4 (1980): 451-461 and Robin D. Perrin, Paul Kennedy and Donald E. Miller, ‘Examining the Sources of Conservative Church Growth: Where Are the New Evangelical Movements Getting Their Numbers?’ *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36 no.1 (1997):71-80.

¹⁸¹For further discussion, see Reginald Bibby, and Merlin B. Brinkerhoff, ‘The Circulation of the Saints: A Study of People Who Join Conservative Churches’, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 12, no.3 (1973): 273-283.

which led to a discussion of the establishment of a bureaucratic structure in these churches. Besides, charismatic church leaders have put up bureaucratic structures as part of the routinization and institutionalization of their charisma thereby transforming their charisma from day to day routine to a permanent one. The tension between the dynamic nature of charisma and the ‘everyday-ness’ of routinization, as well as the rationalizing influence of bureaucratization, is of central interest to this study.

Lastly, Church growth and the growth of Pentecostal churches were also examined. Church growth can be understood both qualitative and in quantitative terms and is affected by both institutional and contextual factors. However, the discussion of quantitative growth is usually dominant among Nigerian Pentecostal leaders. The leaders of the churches studied are prophet-type and they base their authority to their claim of power of the divine and their competency.

Previous studies of Pentecostal churches in Nigeria have focused on the history, growth, doctrinal emphases and practices of the churches with little or no attention for the influence of charismatic leadership on organizational dynamics and the growth of Independent Pentecostal churches, and more particularly, in the churches studied. This present study seeks to fill this lacuna by exploring how charismatic leadership impacts the growth and the running of internal organizational systems of Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis. It will consider both quantitative and qualitative growth, as explained in chapters five and six. The parameters for examining qualitative growth are based on internal church perspective. These include conversion, service (ministry) both in the church and outside the church.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SELECTED CHURCHES AND THEIR FOUNDERS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the historical background of the four churches selected as case studies. I have reconstructed these narratives from different sources, including interviews with pastors and members. The founding narratives have something in common; these leaders were initially members of Mainline/Mission and Pentecostal/Aladura churches, who claimed to be called by God to establish their churches. Furthermore, they all started in small ways with a simple structure but as they grow, the organization of these churches became increasingly complex.

Another common trend is that initially, the wives of the leaders in these churches were not very visible but as these churches grow, they became more visible and jointly occupied leadership position with their husbands. An exception is late Bimbo Odukoya the wife of the founder of the Fountain of Life Church, who was already well known through her ministry before the church was established.

The wives of these leaders did not only minister at the ritual level but also held leadership positions with equal authority to that of their husbands. They preached, taught, and held administrative positions in their respective churches. They were recognized as de-facto co-leaders with their husband in these churches. Nevertheless, some of the wives of these church founders are more visible than others, and some are more involved in the leadership than the others are. I will return to this discussion after presenting the historical material.

The chapter argues that the official history of these churches and their founders as presented by these churches are crafted in such a way to show that these leaders are charismatic. This invariably prepares the ground for claiming the divine origin of the churches. At the same time, the official narration of these churches removes the human side of the history of these churches, which are characterized by disagreements and secessions.

The main sources for this chapter are interviews conducted with members and some pastors of these selected churches, as well as literature published by these four churches for internal and external uses. Of these, there are two biographies officially endorsed by the leadership of the two churches concerned. Pastor Taiwo Odukoya of the Fountain of Life Church wrote a biography of his late wife, Bimbo Odukoya.¹⁸² Another biography was written by one of the pastors in TREM to mark the 70th birthday anniversary of the founder, Bishop

¹⁸²Taiwo Odukoya, *Glorious Legacy: The Life and Times of Bimbo Odukoya* (Lagos: Grace Springs, 2015).

Mike Okonkwo and was endorsed by Okonkwo himself and published by the publishing arm of the Church.¹⁸³ *Power in the Word* is a monthly official publication of TREM. The websites of the four churches were also used as resources. Efforts were made to verify the authenticity of the information provided in this literature and the websites by comparing them with other sources. This chapter also used secondary sources. These are materials published on these churches by non-members. These include a Master's degree dissertation by Pastor Aderogba Ralph Adewale,¹⁸⁴ two unpublished PhD theses by Ezekiel Ajani¹⁸⁵ and Christopher Aigbadumah,¹⁸⁶ a book by Pastor Seyi Oladimeji, a former pastor of one of the churches,¹⁸⁷ and articles in some academic journals. The chapter ends with some concluding remarks.

3.2 The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM)

Evangelist Mike Okonkwo (now Bishop) established The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM) in Lagos in January 1981. The church was officially inaugurated with a service on Sunday, January 4, 1981, with about 30 people in attendance. Before that, Evangelist Mike Okonkwo was a clergyman and Lagos Circuit (area) Leader of the United Church of Christ (UCC), an Aladura church with the headquarters in Enugu, Enugu State. However, due to some disagreements on practices and doctrinal issues, Okonkwo left to start a new church. In an interview with Rev Uche Emeka,¹⁸⁸ he maintained that the disagreements concerned incessant levies on Lagos branches of UCC without considering the ability to pay; the use of holy water; the insistence that UCC clerics should wear white cassocks and should not shake hands with ladies while in cassock as well as forbidding lady attendants to cook for senior clergies while having their menstrual periods.

However, this is contrary to what Apostle Egbo, the founder of UCC said, he claimed that Okonkwo left UCC after forcibly taking away some church's property and members to start his church. Evangelist Okonkwo with some elders severed their relationship with UCC

¹⁸³Lizzy Ikem, *Empowered to Impact: A Biography of Bishop Mike Okonkwo, The Presiding Bishop of TREM* (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, 2015).

¹⁸⁴Aderogba R. Adewale, 'The Influence of Yoruba Culture on The Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries in South-Western Nigeria, 1991-2000' (M.A. Obafemi Awolowo University, 2006).

¹⁸⁵Ezekiel O. Ajani, *Leadership Roles in the Transnationalisation of Nigerian Pentecostal Churches: The Mountain of Fire and Miracles Church in the Netherlands and Ghana*, (Ph.D., Vrije Universiteit (VU) Amsterdam, 2013).

¹⁸⁶Christopher A. Aigbadumah, *Jesus the Healer: A Theological Reflection on the Role of Christology in the Growth of the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Church in Nigeria* (Ph.D., Vrije Universiteit (VU) Amsterdam, 2011).

¹⁸⁷Seyi Oladimeji, *Church Administration and Management* (Lagos: Mimshack Publishing House, 2012).

¹⁸⁸Rev Uche Emeka (a senior Pastor at the TREM national headquarters) in a discussion with the author, February 2014.

and left towards the end of 1980 to establish TREM. The Founder of UCC, Late Apostle S.U. Egbo claimed that Okonkwo took over UCC branch in his care and converted it to his church. This resulted in a court case, which was later settled out of court. The two of them finally resolved their differences in 1995.¹⁸⁹ This has also been confirmed by Rev Lizzy Ikem when she wrote, ‘however, Evangelist Mike knowing that Apostle Egbo was not pleased with the development, insisted that he must receive a blessing from him... the Apostle blessed Evangelist Mike as well as his work’.¹⁹⁰

The Inaugural Service was held in an uncompleted building on Afolabi Brown Street, Akoka, Lagos. According to Lizzy Ikem, the uncompleted building was initially the place of worship for UCC. Hence, the building was taken over by Okonkwo when he started TREM: ‘with the benefit of hindsight, it is not out of place to say that God was strategic in the building and growth of Akoka Church of UCC. That church later metamorphosed to what is now known as The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM)’.¹⁹¹ At the inception, the name “Redeemed Evangelical Ministries” was adopted but as the Ministry grew; the name was officially changed to The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM) on 4th January 1981¹⁹² to set the church aside from other ministries and churches that have similar names.

TREM first branch at Afolabi Brown Street, Akoka, Lagos (now known as TREM Wisdom House) remained the Headquarters of the church until a branch of the church was later established at Obanikoro/Anthony, Gbagada Way, Lagos and the International Headquarters of the church was moved there in 2001. Three years later, on September 22, 2003, the foundation of a new Headquarters building known as The Cathedral of His Glory was laid. The construction was completed in 2011 and was dedicated on Saturday, July 2, 2011. The seating capacity of the building is fifteen thousand (15,000), while there are satellite-branches elsewhere in Lagos.

The introduction of satellite-branches around 1996 brought about a change in the direction and structure of the church. Satellite branches enabled TREM to compete favourably with other Pentecostal churches in Lagos that was also adopting a multi-branch system. Also, the traffic congestion in Lagos made it difficult for members who live in far areas and suburbs to get to the headquarters of the church in Anthony, hence the practice of single branch church was no longer practicable and it had to be jettisoned. TREM, which started in a small-

¹⁸⁹Apostle S.U. Egbo ‘Called to Raise an End-Time Army’, <http://theunitedchurchofchrist.org/the-general-overseer/2-uncategorised.html> (accessed July 02, 2014)

¹⁹⁰Ikem, *Empowered to Impact*, 48.

¹⁹¹Ikem, *Empowered to Impact*, 32.

¹⁹²Ikem, *Empowered to Impact*, 50.

uncompleted building, has grown to over 200 branches in about 10 countries of the world-spanning Africa, Europe, Asia, and United States of America with an estimated membership of about 250,000.

While TREM portrayed its beginning as solely of divine making, the history of the church from other sources typified some of the human efforts that went into it. The church began when Okonkwo seceded from UCC. However, in the official version of the history of the church as written by Lizzy Nkem, the church tacitly left out circumstances surrounding the establishment of the church. The history is constructed for the public to appreciate how God used the man of God, Bishop Okonkwo, the founder, to achieve an enviable feat in nurturing a church, which started in an uncompleted building to become a successful, thriving and prosperous church, with a gigantic edifice in a conspicuous place. This has validated the charisma around the founder. After all, charismatic people are imbued with power and they do extraordinary things!

The church history, according to Ikem, also left out the dispute between Okonkwo and his erstwhile church leader, Apostle Egbo. The history presented the issue of secession of Okonkwo from UCC and the taking over of the UCC uncompleted building by Okonkwo to start TREM differently. However, Ikem confirmed it when she wrote in her book,

‘In many ways, the story of the life, time and ministry of Mike Okonkwo is also, in part, the story of a ministry that transited from UCC to become The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM). The crisis UCC experienced between 1978 and 1980, resulted in the exit of many members and full-time workers, including Evangelist Mike Okonkwo’.¹⁹³

Through the writing of the history of the church, the church has prepared the ground for the founder to gain acceptance as a charismatic leader. The next segment of this chapter will take a closer look at the founder, Bishop Mike Okonkwo and His wife, Bishop Peace Okonkwo

¹⁹³Ikem, *Empowered to Impact*, 48.

3.2.1 Bishop Mike Okonkwo

Bishop Mike Okonkwo is an acclaimed man of God. He has a deep baritone voice and talks loudly. He is a man who loves to flaunt his wealth by dressing gorgeously and distinctively. He walks tall and can easily be noticed because of the way he dresses. He commands respect and there is an aura of a ‘VIP’ around him, with several men who usually flock around him to carry his items and to serve as his attendants. This can be seen in the photograph of Okonkwo in Figure 3.1.

According to Ikem,¹⁹⁴ Mike Okonkwo was born on 6th September 1945 to the family of Papa and Mama Okonkwo of Ogbunike in Oyi Local Government Area of Anambra State. He started his primary education at Salvation Army Primary School, Enugu and eventually completed his primary school at St. Marks Primary School, Offa in Kwara State.

Figure 3.1: Bishop Mike Okonkwo, the presiding Bishop of TREM in one of his big regalia, revealing his taste for gorgeous and fanciful clothes.¹⁹⁵

He was then admitted to Mayflower College, Ikenne, Ogun State, but later moved to Merchants of Light Grammar School, Oba, Anambra State, where he completed his secondary school education in 1963. After his secondary education, he worked briefly with the Nigerian Ports Authority and later moved to the now-defunct African Continental Bank (ACB) as one of its pioneer staff at its Martins Street branch, Lagos. He was deployed to the eastern branch of ACB in 1966 because of the Nigerian civil war and was later drafted to the Biafran army for military

¹⁹⁴Ikem, *Empowered to Impact*, 1.

¹⁹⁵Nigerian Independent Pentecostal church leaders do not have any dress code like their counterparts in Mission/Established and classical Pentecostal churches. However, Bishop Okonkwo has his own design of cloths, which are always big, fanciful regalia. <https://www.agvictor.com/2019/07/20/bishop-mike-okonkwo-net-worth-biography/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

training. However, the sudden end of the civil war made it impossible for him to go to the war front.¹⁹⁶ Thus, he continued with his banking career.

Though he came from a religious family (his parents were devout members of the Anglican church) Okonkwo claimed to have surrendered his life to Christ in November 1970. Thereafter, he decided to join United Church of Christ instead of the Anglican Church, which the family was attending. He became a committed member of the Church and was ordained as a pastor in the UCC by the founder, Apostle Samuel Egbo in 1971. By 1972, he resigned from the bank. A year later, he was posted to Lagos for his first pastoral assignment. He did so well that by 1976, he had been recognized as an Evangelist¹⁹⁷ of the church. Apostle Egbo confirmed him as an Evangelist on June 20, 1976. In later years, Apostle Egbo commented on Evangelist Okonkwo thus:

Evangelist Mike Okonkwo (as we ordained him then) was of all my children, the most beloved. A very dynamic young man, he had left his bank job to answer the call of God. I was sure of his call. He was in a sense different from the others, by virtue of the anointing of the Holy Spirit. When it was time to post him out, as our Lagos Akoka branch was ready, he was a natural choice. He went to Lagos with a lot of zeal and the Lord used him greatly enlarge [sic] the kingdom.¹⁹⁸

Okonkwo continued with UCC until 1980 when there was a misunderstanding between him and the leadership of the church. As mentioned earlier, the official position of TREM was that the disagreement had to do with some practices and doctrinal issues. However, Apostle Egbo claimed that the disagreement started when Okonkwo refused to go to Aba, (a town in the eastern part of the country, which is about 9 hours drive from Lagos) on transfer as directed by the leadership of UCC. Apostle Egbo observed that:

Trouble began when [sic] after he had put in six years in the same place, we at the Headquarters felt that he should go on transfer to Aba in swift lightning speed, a section of the church loyal to him declared autonomy for them, refusing to have any dealing with the headquarters. Spanners were thrown to the works when a section of the church loyal to headquarters began to join issues with dissidents.... My position then was for all to follow the path of peace, since all were my children in the Lord. I handed the bunch of keys to the church building (which the section loyal to headquarters had possession of) back to the police to give to Mike's (Okonkwo).¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶Chris Irekamba, Seyi Olumide and Femi Alabi Onikeku, 'Okonkwo At 65, All I ever want to do is serve and serve' *The Guardian Life* (Nigeria) 253, (September 5-11 2010), 15.

¹⁹⁷Evangelist is one of the five-fold ministry of the Church mentioned in the Bible, Ephesians 4:11, Evangelists are specially gifted by the Holy Spirit to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and to plant churches. Hence, Okonkwo as an Evangelist is specially gifted to preach the gospel and plant churches.

¹⁹⁸Egbo, 'Called to Raise an End-Time Army'

¹⁹⁹Egbo, 'Called to Raise an End-Time Army' The UCC faction reported the matter to the Police.

Mike Okonkwo was consecrated the first Bishop of The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM) on 7 May 1988 by late Archbishop Benson Idahosa.²⁰⁰ Okonkwo graduated with a diploma in ministry from the Morris Cerullo School of Ministry, San Diego, California, the USA in 1981. Okonkwo has many other degrees and certificates from Bible schools and seminaries, which are listed on the website of the church. The acquisition of certificates and degrees are seen as evidence of God's blessing and the exploit of charisma.

At the early stage of Pentecostalism in Nigeria, most Pentecostals believed in an austere living, shunned materialism and emphasizing of status, position and worldliness; instead, they emphasized holiness. However, with the popularity of prosperity gospel from the early 1980s, many Pentecostals now see material blessings and status symbols such as educational degrees as evidence of God's favour and the working of charisma.

More intriguing is the fact that many of Okonkwo's degrees and certificates are awarded as honorary degrees by institutions that are not officially recognized by the Ministry of Education of the Nigerian government. Nevertheless, these certificates and degrees contribute to his person as a unique Pentecostal pastor who towers well above his equals and is well recognized internationally, especially among the American Pentecostals. Some of his degrees include:²⁰¹

Diploma from International Bible Institute and Seminary, Orlando, Florida, 1982. Bachelor of Bible Theology in the same school, 1982. Doctor of Divinity, Covington Theological Seminary, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, USA (after the School had given him a waiver for Master's Degree). Honorary Doctor of Letters Degree from International Bible Institute, Orlando, Florida, USA, 1984. Honorary Doctor of Divinity from United Christian International Bible Institute, Cleveland, Tennessee, USA, 1987. Scenic Center of the South Certificate by the City of Chattanooga, Tennessee, USA, 1989. Other honorary awards from ministries and institutions include World Ministry Fellowship, Shreveport, Louisiana, USA; National Christian Fellowship Conference, (NCFC) the USA, the Church of God Mission International, Nigeria, United Christian Church and Ministerial Association, USA; Golden State University; University of Honolulu; Ephraim Moore University; International Theological Seminary and Spiritual Life Ministries, all in the USA and the Trinity College of Ministerial Arts in Nigeria.²⁰²

²⁰⁰The late Archbishop Benson Idahosa, was the founder of Church of God Mission International, Benin City, Edo State. He died in March 1998, and was then, a leading Pentecostal bishop in Nigeria and President of the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN).

²⁰¹It must be pointed out that not all the degree are verifiable because many of them are not awarded in Nigeria. Furthermore, some of the degrees were awarded some years back, so to verify them now is a bit difficult. In fact, some of the members of the church interview could also not verify them since they were not there when those certificates and degrees were awarded. Most of these awards and degrees are included for publicity.

²⁰²'Dr Mike Okonkwo', <http://trem.org/home/dr-mike-okonkwo/> (accessed July 2, 2014).

Okonkwo has played an active and prominent role in the Nigerian Pentecostal and Christian landscape at the national level. Bishop Okonkwo is one of the founding fathers of the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) the umbrella body for all the Pentecostal churches in Nigeria. PFN, which was founded in 1985 is one of the five blocs or divisions of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN).²⁰³ Okonkwo has served as both the National Secretary General of PFN and President. He is still a member of the Board of Trustees and Advisor Council of PFN and a one-time National Vice President of CAN.

He is married to Peace Okonkwo, who is also a Bishop; their marriage produced a daughter, Uche Okonkwo.

3.2.2 Bishop Peace Okonkwo

Bishop Peace Okonkwo is a tall woman. Like her husband, she loves dressing gorgeously and wearing religious regalia to distinguish her from other members of the church. However, unlike her husband, she has a mild voice and gentle look, which give her the appearance of a shy person.²⁰⁴ Members of the church have often described her as a woman of prayer.²⁰⁵ According to Taiwo Ubany, a member of the church, Peace Okonkwo hails from Obosi in Idemili Local Government Area of Anambra State.²⁰⁶ She was born on the 10th of June 1952, the first child and daughter of her family. She had her primary education in Anambra State before moving to Lagos State for her secondary education, but she had to return to the East when the civil war started to complete her secondary education. She later travelled to London where she studied Secretarial Studies and Personnel Management at Kirkby College in Liverpool.

²⁰³CAN is an association of Christian churches in Nigeria. It was founded in 1976 with the mission to meet regularly and take joint action on vital matters, especially on those issues which affect the Christian faith and the welfare of the generality of Nigerians. The body also serves as religious pressure group. For detailed information on CAN, see Christian Association of Nigeria <http://archive1.canng.org/aboutus.html>

²⁰⁴Taiwo Ubany, 'Nwabuogo Marks 64 Years in Grace' *Power in the Word* (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, June 2016): 6.

²⁰⁵Lechi Eke, 'Women in Ministry' *Power in the Word* (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, June 2016): 9-11.

²⁰⁶Ubany, 'Nwabuogo Marks 64 Years in Grace', 6.

Figure 3.2: Bishop Mike Okonkwo and wife, Bishop Peace Okonkwo, sharing leadership position in TREM²⁰⁷

She returned to Nigeria in 1980 and married Mike Okonkwo on July 5, 1980. Although raised as an Anglican, Bishop Peace Okonkwo claimed to have given her life to Christ in 1974 at a Scripture Union meeting. She is also a graduate of Morris Cerullo School of Ministry and Rhema Bible Training Centre, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Barely two years after her marriage to Mike Okonkwo, Peace Okonkwo, was ordained as a Pastor in TREM in 1982.²⁰⁸ On 22nd April 2006, which was about eight years after her husband was made a Bishop, she too was consecrated as a Bishop in the church. Peace Okonkwo presently heads the Women and Children Directorate of TREM. She also serves as the Presiding Pastor of the Headquarters Church and coordinates the International Women Prayer Conference.

A look at the profile of Bishop Peace Okonkwo reveals that right from the establishment of the church, there is a gradual effort to put her in the limelight and bring her to the same pedestal as her husband. She now occupies a conspicuous position in the running of the church. She is the de-facto second in command to the husband. Thus, the leadership of the church seems to be a joint venture of Bishop Okonkwo and his wife, Bishop Peace. As a couple; she is also called by God just as her husband had been called. This leadership legitimated through their personal qualities, after all, there is no other couple that occupies such a role in the church's set up. The picture above clearly affirms this, as Bishop Mike and Bishop Peace (Figure 3.2)

²⁰⁷www.trem.org (accessed June 18, 2018).

²⁰⁸Ubany, 'Nwabuogo Marks 64 Years in Grace' p.6.

are jointly shown as the leaders of the church, and as a couple who are always together and on the same pedestal. Perhaps, this is a confirmation of God's calling and anointing on her into the ministry like her husband.

3.3 Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM)

The history of MFM and the General Overseer of the church, Daniel Olukoya and his wife, Sade Olukoya as written by the church promotes MFM and its founder as extraordinary human beings who have been commissioned by God to do extraordinary works.²⁰⁹ The story focused on the great achievements of the founder and his great exploits. The history of the church does not give much detail on the early life of the founder and his struggles. The story started with his achievement as a PhD holder, his lucrative job, and his powerful prayer meetings, which brought rapid growth and numerous miracles. According to the church, the story of the church with its founder weaved together goes thus:

Soon after completing his PhD in the United Kingdom, and while working at the Nigerian Institute of Medical Research, Dr Daniel Kolawole Olukoya (DKO) summoned a prayer meeting. This was on a Wednesday in 1989. 24 brethren showed up at the meeting. The venue of that meeting was in the living room of DKO. After that meeting, the voice of providence kept calling for subsequent meetings. At these meetings, the power of God came down and verifiable miracles began to happen in the lives of the attending brethren. The power of God began to evangelise the prayer meetings and a spiritual explosion began with people coming from everywhere to seek the face of God.²¹⁰

Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, popularly known as MFM was established in Lagos in 1989.²¹¹ The Church started as a prayer group with about 24 people in the flat of Daniel Kolawole Olukoya at 3 Edmund Crescent, Yaba in the National Institute of Medical Research. With time, the prayer group increased in number and moved out of Olukoya's flat to a bigger place at 60 Old Yaba Road, Adekunle, Ebute-Metta, Lagos. The number of people attending the prayer meeting kept growing. The interdenominational group met only on Wednesdays. However, in November 1991, the prayer group started a Sunday worship service with 24 people in attendance. Those who did not like the idea of turning the prayer group into a church stayed away. With the Sunday service, the Prayer Group became a church, marking the formal beginning of Mountain of Fire and Miracle Ministries. The church claims that the

²⁰⁹ 'About MFM', <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about> (accessed June 18, 2018).

²¹⁰ 'About MFM', <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about> (accessed June 18, 2018).

²¹¹ Aderogba, 'The Influence of Yoruba Culture on The Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries', 5.

name 'Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries' was revealed to Daniel Olukoya during a prayer session.²¹² According to Deji Aiyegboyin, the name Mountain of Fire and Miracle was probably chosen because it implies that the church is considered a mountain higher than any problem. Fire is indicative of both the presence and power of God that can be invoked to consume and destroy any evil to ashes.²¹³

Most members of the Mountain of Fire and Miracle Ministries are 'transfers' from other churches seeking solutions to their problems. The church experienced such rapid growth that by the first quarter of 1994, the membership had increased to about 2000. This made the meeting place grossly inadequate for them.²¹⁴ Faced with threats from the local government for obstructing the free flow of traffic on the road where they met for worship, the church bought a piece of land and eventually moved to 13, Olasimbo Street, Onike, Iwaya on Sunday 24th of April 1994.²¹⁵ It was a large piece of land near the second gate of the University of Lagos. It was an abandoned slum but has now been transformed into the International Headquarters of the church. The church experienced rapid growth, which necessitated the acquisition of more land and property in the area to expand the church buildings.

The church operated a single branch at the International headquarters until 2000 when the problem of traffic congestion around the area occasioned by the large congregation started to pose problems to the church. This eventually led to the adoption of an organizational structure with multiple branches. According to the official history of the church on the church website,

'Even at the new location, believers and those seeking help kept coming, leading to a very large congregation. This situation posed a challenge of crowd, growth and expansion management to the leadership of the church. Thus, under the direction of the Lord, MFM evolved a strategy of a network of branches in every state capital, local government headquarters, senatorial district and locality.'²¹⁶

Apart from the traffic problem at the International Headquarters, another likely reason for the adoption of multi branches was to compete for membership with other Pentecostal churches in Lagos who had adopted multiple branches and were growing rapidly.

The first international branch of the church started in London in the late 1990s. Now there are MFM branches in the United States, Canada, Europe, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia.

²¹² 'About MFM', <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about> (accessed June 18, 2018).

²¹³ Deji Aiyegboyin, '...But Deliver us from evil...', *The Riposte of the MFM and its implications for the Reverse in Mission.* *Orita- Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies* 37, (June & Dec. 2005): 35-42.

²¹⁴ Aderogba, 'The Influence of Yoruba Culture on The Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, 18.

²¹⁵ Aderogba, 'The Influence of Yoruba Culture on The Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, 18.

²¹⁶ 'About MFM', <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about> (accessed June 18, 2018).

The emphasis of the church is on the efficacy of prayer and deliverance from the powers of Satan. The church has a big auditorium along the Lagos-Ibadan Express road known as Prayer City. This is where the monthly special prayer programme known as 'Power Must Change Hands' takes place every first Saturday of the month. The Prayer City project started in November 1997, when MFM acquired 50 hectares of land at kilometre 12, Lagos-Ibadan Expressway. Work began on the site on June 9, 2000. As of 2017, a 500,000-seater stadium known as Prayer Stadium is under construction at the Prayer City.

A comparison between the official history and the reconstructed history of the church put together from various sources shows that the church deified its beginning and the role of its founder. This is probably done to prepare the way for the acceptability of Olukoya as a charismatic person. Furthermore, history tries to play down on the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) root of MFM. According to Ajani, 'it is important to note that, either directly or indirectly, CAC had an impact on Olukoya's prayer life and the ministry which he later formed. For example, CAC is a group that attaches much belief and importance to the mountains.'²¹⁷ It is very possible, that his previous membership of the CAC influenced his choice of the present MFM logo which has in it a mountain on which fire is burning'.²¹⁸ However, the secession of Olukoya from CAC was omitted from the official history to avoid the linkage of MFM with CAC.

Mrs Shade Olukoya, the wife, provides solid leadership alongside her husband at the MFM Church as the International Coordinator of MFM Women Fellowship.²¹⁹ However, at MFM, the founder is the central figure, and he is in control of the affairs of the church. Nevertheless, the wife is also visible, but not as visible as the husband. This is different from what obtains in TREM, where the founder and his wife are jointly visible and prominent.

²¹⁷CAC are fond of setting up secluded (sacred) area, which could be a mountain or a hilly place for retreat and prayers.

²¹⁸Ezekiel Ajani, *Leadership Roles in the Transnationalisation of Nigerian Pentecostal Churches*, 80.

²¹⁹'Dr. Daniel and Sis. Shade Olukoya', <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about/dr-daniel-and-sis-shade-olukoya> (accessed June 18, 2018).

Figure 3.3: Photograph showing Pastor Dr Daniel Kolawole Olukoya, General Overseer of MFM²²⁰

3.3.1 Dr. Pastor Daniel Kolawole Olukoya

Members of MFM claim that Daniel Kolawole Olukoya is a gentle, lovable, and generous man who can easily be overlooked in a crowd. He is an eloquent and a gifted speaker. Before he dedicated his life to the role of Overseer of MFM, he had a very successful career as a scientist. Olukoya was born on 15 July 1956 to the family of Mr and Mrs Olukoya, a retired police officer and a petty trader respectively from Epe, in Epe Local Government area of Lagos State.²²¹ He started his primary education at Saint John's CAC (Christ Apostolic Church) Primary School, Akure, Ondo State, which is his mother's hometown. He later moved to Lagos to complete his primary education at Saint Jude's Primary School, Ebute Metta, and later gained admission to Methodist Boys' High School, Lagos. He studied Microbiology at the University of Lagos graduating with a first-class. After about two years of employment as a Research Assistant in the Nigerian Institute of Medical Research (NIMR), Yaba, Lagos, Olukoya travelled to the United Kingdom under the Commonwealth Scholarship to do his postgraduate studies in

²²⁰<https://www.mfmbowiemd.org/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

²²¹Aderogba, 'The Influence of Yoruba Culture on the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, 18.

Molecular Genetics at the University of Reading, Reading, England. He obtained his PhD degree in 1984 and returned to Nigeria.

Upon his return, he continued his job as a researcher at the National Institute of Medical Research, Yaba, Lagos. By 1993, he had risen to become the head of Genetics Department in the Institute and by 1998; he became the Deputy Director-General of the Institute. Dr Olukoya was the first scientist to establish an indigenous Laboratory of Molecular Biology and Biotechnology in Nigeria and the laboratory was the first to clone genes in Nigeria. In 1998, he resigned his appointment with the Institute due to increasing demand for his ministerial work and the need to devote more time to it. With his resignation, he became a full-time clergy and the General Overseer of MFM.

Olukoya was a member of Christ Apostolic Church²²² where he gave his life to Christ in 1975. Thereafter, he became an active member in the church and rose to the position of coordinator of the church's choir. He was later made the Sunday School Coordinator of his local branch. Upon his return to Nigeria from his doctoral programme in England, he continued with CAC. He was ordained as a pastor in CAC in 1985. He established a branch of CAC in the Makoko area and became the pastor there. However, in 1988 he left the church due to a crisis in the church, the details of which cannot be verified now.²²³

The reason Olukoya left CAC could be his desire to start his ministry and church, since barely a year after he left CAC, he turned the Prayer Group to a church. His biography does not mention attendance at any theological school but believes that he has been divinely called to preach and demonstrate the power of God in the ministry. On this, Aigbadumah has postulated that 'The Mountain of Fire and Miracles can be classified into the Afro-theology, i.e. oral theology. Leadership here is not given to biblical scholarship but seeks a demonstration of power over existential circumstances and needs in the African context, particularly as it relates to their understanding of evil and diseases'.²²⁴

²²²Christ Apostolic Church is one of the Aladura (Praying) churches, an Indigenous Pentecostal church in Nigeria, established in the 1930s.

²²³Though Christ Apostolic Church had experienced many crises and splits, D.K. Olukoya's exit from his church was a local crisis and only related to his getting out of his church. The crisis was not in anyway related to a broad crisis of CAC.

²²⁴Aigbadumah, *Jesus the Healer*, 83.

3.3.2 Pastor Folashade Olukoya

Folashade Olukoya, who shares the same birthday and month with her husband, is a woman who does not like publicity and hates frivolities. The picture in Figure 3.4 testifies to this, in the picture, she is not highly stylized like other wives of the church leaders. She is claimed to be a prolific writer, a singer, a soloist, a cloth designer and a talented artist. She likes drawing as her pastime activity. Pastor Folashade Olukoya, or Mummy G.O as she is fondly called, is the wife of the General Overseer and the Overall Coordinator of the Women's Foundation of MFM. She was born on July 15, 1966, to the family of Mr. & Mrs George F. Adesanya as the fifth of seven children.²²⁵ Mrs Olukoya attended Surulere Baptist Primary School, Lagos, Modupe Johnson, and proceeded to Reagan Memorial Baptist Girls Secondary School, Yaba, for her secondary education. She later attended the Darnley Career Academy, London, UK, a college of Arts, Fashion and Textile design, from where she obtained a Diploma in Fine Arts and Interior Decoration and a Bachelor of Arts degree.²²⁶

She was a member of the choir in one of the branches of Christ Apostolic Church, Lagos where she met her husband. She got married to Daniel Olukoya in 1986 after his return from England and the marriage is blessed with a boy, Elijah. At the beginning of MFM, she was not very visible; she was just known as the wife of the G O. Since the early 2000s, she has become more visible in the church. The church members ascribed her with the gift of prayer and leadership; they also see her as being called of God to lead the women. She oversees the Women and Children ministry of the church. She is the Coordinator of Women Foundation, the ministry that supervises Women, Children and Youth ministries of the church.

²²⁵Dr. Daniel and Sis. Shade Olukoya', <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about/dr-daniel-and-sis-shade-olukoya> (accessed June18, 2018).

²²⁶Dr. Daniel and Sis. Shade Olukoya', <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about/dr-daniel-and-sis-shade-olukoya> (accessed June18, 2018).

Figure 3.4: Pastor Folashade Olukoya, the wife of Dr. D.K. Olukoya of MFM²²⁷

3.4 The Fountain of Life Church

The church's records revealed that from its humble beginning in 1992, The Fountain of Life Church is today a network of ministries with thriving parishes in the United Kingdom; United States of America; Switzerland and South Africa. It also has missions to Kenya, Central Africa Republic, Republic of Benin, Côte d'Ivoire and Togo.²²⁸

Pastor Taiwo and Mrs Bimbo Odukoya started The Fountain of Life Church in April 1992. Pastor and Mrs Taiwo Odukoya were both initially, Baptists. Shortly after their wedding at Yaba Baptist Church in November 1984,²²⁹ the couple joined Christ Chapel International Churches (CCIC), an Independent Pentecostal church, under the leadership of Dr Tunde Joda. They soon left for The Redeemed Evangelical Mission (TREM) and became active members. Taiwo Odukoya became the Vice-President of the Men's Fellowship, while his wife, Bimbo,

²²⁷<https://wecaremf.org.uk/index.php/about-us/message-from-mummy-go> (accessed June 18, 2018).

²²⁸'About Us', <http://tfolc.org/about-us>, (accessed June 18, 2018).

²²⁹Odukoya, *Glorious Legacy: The Life and Times of Bimbo Odukoya*, 56.

became the President of the Women Fellowship.²³⁰ The couple briefly left TREM around 1987 to assist Rev Chris Okotie in the establishment of his Household of God Church²³¹ and then returned to TREM. In 1991, Pastor Taiwo Odukoya attended a Pentecostal training in Tulsa, USA where he claimed he received a calling to start a church.²³² In January 1992, the couple started a small Bible Study and Prayer Fellowship in their sitting room at Maryland Estate, Lagos. The Fellowship eventually metamorphosed into The Fountain of Life Church (TFOLC) when the Odukoyas finally left TREM in April 1992.

The church started formally with the Inaugural Service on 15 April 1992, at Ilupeju Recreation Centre, where it stayed for some months before moving to its present location at 12 Industrial Estate Road, Ilupeju, which used to be a warehouse, on a lease for about five years. The church eventually bought the property at the cost of ₦22.5 Million (€97,000.00). Mrs Bimbo Odukoya had earlier resigned from her job to become a full-time pastor in the church while her husband continued to work with the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) until December 1994 when he also resigned to become a full-time pastor in the church. Bishop Mike Okonkwo of TREM dedicated the church and ordained the Odukoyas. The church grew, became popular, and spread mainly because of the emphases on relationships and marital issues in the church's programmes: 'Discovery for Women', 'Singles and Married Programmes'. These programmes were aired on many television stations in Nigeria.

The Fountain of Life Church has since grown with regular attendance of about 5000 worshippers every Sunday and membership of over 8,000 people. A new ultra-modern church building was dedicated on Saturday, 29 June 2014 with the then Governor of Lagos State, Mr Babatunde Raji Fashola, SAN, in attendance and cutting the tape to declare the building opened. The presence of the Governor who is a Muslim shows the high status and influence of many Pentecostal pastors who are known to be charismatic and highly connected with influential people in society.

A critical look at the history of TFOLC reveals that both Pastor Taiwo and his late wife, Bimbo Odukoya, jointly established the church. It is also interesting that the wife became a full-time pastor of the church before the husband, probably to ease the pressure on her, as a wife, a worker and a pastor in the church, as well as a mother of three little children, to cater for them. Furthermore, the church was still small then and was not rich enough to take the two

²³⁰Odukoya, *Glorious Legacy*, 113-114.

²³¹Rev Chris Okotie founded an Independent Pentecostal church in 1987 known as Household of God Church.

²³²Taiwo Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us', in *The Fountain* (Lagos: The Fountain of Life Church, April 2012), 20.

of them as a full-time pastor. The exit of the Odukoyas from TREM was not because of disagreement; hence, Bishop Okonkwo inaugurated TFOLC and commissioned the Odukoyas. Bimbo was well known for her ‘Singles and Married’ Programme.²³³ Since the couple jointly established the church, the leadership in TFOLC is also a shared leadership. Nevertheless, Taiwo Odukoya is the dominant figure and authority in the church. Noteworthy is the fact that his wife died in a plane crash on 10th December 2005 but he remarried in January 2010, with his current wife also preparing to take up a joint leadership position eventually, as I will describe below.

3.4.1 Pastor Taiwo Odukoya

Pastor Taiwo Odukoya dresses simply and mixes easily with his subordinates. He was born on 15 June 1956, in Kaduna, Kaduna State. He grew up in Kaduna and attended Baptist Primary School, Kigo Road, Kaduna. He then proceeded to St. Paul’s College (Now Kufena College), Wusasa, Zaria, Kaduna State. Upon completion of his secondary education, he gained admission in 1976 to University of Ibadan to study Petroleum Engineering and graduated with a Bachelor of Technology in 1981. While still in the University, he rededicated his life to Christ in October 1979 and received the new birth experience. After the one-year mandatory National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) between 1981 and 1982, he got a job in April 1982, with the Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR), Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Lagos, and resigned in December 1994. He has written many Christian books such as *The Portrait of A Champion*, *Unleash Your God-Given Potentials*, *Created for Blessings*, *Get All You Want* and so on.²³⁴

3.4.2 Pastor Bimbo Odukoya

Late Pastor Abimbola Rosemary Odukoya (nee Williams) was a gifted speaker, a singer, a powerful preacher, a prolific writer, and energetic woman. She was popularly known as Pastor Bimbo. She was born on 12th September 1960, in Lagos to the family of Mr Herbert Oladipupo and Mrs Mary Anike Williams of Abeokuta, Ogun State.²³⁵ She was the third child from the

²³³Bimbo Odukoya, at the beginning of TFOLC started this programme. It was for the youth and singles of the church. Later, married people became part of the programme. This programme made Bimbo to be very popular and contributed to the growth of the church.

²³⁴The list of books written by Taiwo Odukoya can be found on <https://www.thriftbooks.com/a/taiwo-odukoya/1272723/> (accessed June 18, 2018). The are also available in the Church’s Bookshop within the church premises.

²³⁵Odukoya, *Glorious Legacy*, 12-13.

family of five. Bimbo had her primary education at St Mary's Private School, Lagos Island from 1966-1972, after which she proceeded for her secondary school education at Holy Child College, Obalende, Lagos between 1972 and 1977.²³⁶ She later did her Advanced Level Certificate at Federal Government College Ijanikin, Lagos in 1978. While doing her A-Level, she claimed, she gave her life to Christ and was made the Vice-President of the Christian Fellowship. She attended the University of Ibadan and studied History/Archeology graduating in 1983 with a B.A. degree. She did her National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) at the National Theatre Orile-Iganmu, Lagos between 1983/84 where she served as curator in the Cultural Department. After the completion of her Youth Service, she was offered permanent employment at the Centre for Black Arts and Culture (CBAAC), National Theatre. In 1979, while still in the University, Bimbo met and was engaged to Taiwo Odukoya and wedded on 3rd November 1984. The marriage produced three children, a boy and two girls.²³⁷

Shortly after their wedding, Bimbo and her husband, Taiwo Odukoya joined The Redeemed Evangelical Mission and left in 1992 to start their church. In their newly established church then, she headed the 'Discovery for Women', a ministry dedicated to challenging, motivating and empowering women in their various roles as wives, mothers and leaders. In the church, she was also the president and the coordinator of Singles and Married, a programme for spinsters and bachelors as well as married people in Fountain of Life Church as well as non-members. This made her very popular. The teachings of Bimbo at this programme were recorded and shown on many television stations. As evidence of the impact of her ministry, Pastor Bimbo received many awards from both secular and non-secular organizations.

²³⁶Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us,' 17-18.

²³⁷Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us,' 17-18.

Figure 3.5: Late Pastor Bimbo Odukoya of Fountain of Life Church²³⁸

For example, she was one of the three people chosen by Samsung to represent Nigeria in carrying the Olympic Torch in Athens, Greece at the 2004 Olympic Games. Pastor Bimbo Odukoya died on Saturday, December 10, 2005, along with 102 other people in the crashed Sosoliso Airline flight 1145 in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria. The Fountain of Life Church has established a foundation known as Pastor Bimbo Odukoya Foundation (PBOF) in her memory.²³⁹

3.4.3 Pastor Rosemary Nomthi Odukoya

Simangele Rosemary Odukoya (Figure 3.6), popularly known as Pastor Nomthi, is the current wife of Pastor Taiwo Odukoya.

²³⁸<http://www.nigerianmonitor.com/i-am-grateful-for-the-life-that-bimbo-lived-pastor-taiwo-odukoya-celebrates-late-wife-bimbo-odukoya/bimbo-odukoya/> (accessed on 18/06/2018).

²³⁹Pastor Taiwo Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us', in *The Fountain*, (The Fountain of Life Church 20 Years) published by the Fountain of Life Church, Ilupeju, April, 2012, 17-18.

Figure 3.6: Pastor Taiwo and Pastor Mrs. Nomthi Odukoya, the presiding Pastor of Fountain of Life Church²⁴⁰

She was born in South Africa and obtained her Bachelor's degree there before travelling to the United Kingdom where she obtained a Master degree in Global Human Resource Management. She is an educationist and a life coach.²⁴¹ Pastor Taiwo met Simangele Rosemary in the United Kingdom at a church where he had gone to minister. She got married to Pastor Odukoya on January 5, 2010, at Civic Centre, Lagos. The marriage has produced three children, which include a set of twins. She currently serves as the Associate Senior Pastor of the church, under the leadership of her husband, Pastor Taiwo Odukoya. The members ascribed her with the gift of counselling.

3.5 Daystar Christian Centre

Daystar Christian Centre started in Lagos in 1995. Pastor and Pastor Mrs Samuel Adesanya Adeyemi founded the Church. Pastor Sam claimed that he received a revelation from God in April 1994 while praying with his wife at Lekki Beach that God wanted to use him. In July of the same year, he claimed that God spoke to him to leave his church then, and start a new church.²⁴²

²⁴⁰<http://www.auntymbimbo.com/2015/11/pastor-taiwo-nomthi-odukoya-celebrate.html> (accessed June 18, 2018).

²⁴¹ Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us,' 19.

²⁴² 'Daystar Leadership Academy' <https://daystarnrg.org/upcoming-events/dla/>. (accessed June 18, 2018).

Sam Adeyemi was a member of Rhema Chapel in Ilorin, Kwara State under the leadership of Reverend George Adegboye. He later became a Pastor in Rhema and was in charge of Pastoral Care of the Church.²⁴³ Afterwards, he was posted to Lagos, to head the branch of the church. In 1995, he left Rhema and started a fellowship in his house, which eventually became the Daystar Christian Centre.

The Inaugural Service was held on November 18, 1995, at Eko Chinese Restaurant, 76 Allen Avenue, Ikeja.²⁴⁴ After about three months, due to financial constraints, the church moved to Coker Village, Alausa, Ikeja. In March 1996, the church moved to 71 Oregon Road (now Kudirat Abiola Way), Ikeja, which remained as the Administrative and office complex of the church. In March 2006, the church finally moved to its present location at Plot A3C, Ikosi Road, Oregon. Lagos. The leadership claimed that the name of the church is taken from 2 Peter 1:19, 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the *day star* arise in your hearts.' As of 2018, the church is still a single branch church but has grown to a membership of about 10,000 people and 4 services every Sunday. The church is well known for her annual Excellence in Leadership Conference and the Leadership Academy, a non-profit oriented Leadership and Management Development School, which came into existence in January 2002.²⁴⁵

A critical look at the official history of the church showed that visibility is given to Adeyemi and his wife, Nike, more than to any other person in the church. They are projected as the people in charge of the church. The official story also gives divine origin to the church and eliminates human roles and involvement. It presents Adeyemi and his wife as well equipped by God to lead the church effectively and successfully. The founder and his wife are presented as divinely called and commissioned to establish the church, thus laying a foundation for their recognition and acceptability as a charismatic people. However, the story is silent on the fact that Adeyemi had been a pastor with Rhema Chapel before establishing Daystar. The official story presents Adeyemi and his wife as the joint founders of the church. The wife is visible in the leadership of the church, an indication of shared or joint leadership.

²⁴³Dn. Abel Ololade (he is a childhood friend of Sam Adeyemi, they both lived in Ilorin before they moved to Lagos) in discussion with the author in Surulere, Lagos, October 2014.

²⁴⁴Oladimeji, *Church Administration and Management*, 91.

²⁴⁵'Daystar Leadership Academy', <https://daystarnrg.org/upcoming-events/dla/>. (accessed 18 June, 2018).

3.5.1 Pastor Sam Adeyemi

Samuel Adeyemi, a Civil Engineer turned Pastor, is recognized as an eloquent speaker. He loves to dress simple at all times. Pastor Samuel Adesanya Adeyemi, popularly known as Pastor Sam Adeyemi was born on February 3, 1967, in Odo-Ere, Yagba, in Yagba-West Local Government Area of Kogi State, Nigeria. He is the President of Success Power International, an NGO that specializes in organizing financial, leadership and motivational seminars. He also anchors the programme 'Success Power' on radio stations where he teaches his audience Biblical principles of success. Pastor Sam is also the President of Daystar Leadership Academy, a leadership school for business owners and ministers of the Gospel. He has written several Christian books. He has a personal ministry with his wife known as Sam Adeyemi Ministries. He is married to Nike Adeyemi and the marriage produced three children.

Figure 3.7: Pastor and Pastor Mrs Sam Adeyemi of Daystar Christian Centre²⁴⁶

3.5.2 Pastor Nike Adeyemi

Nike Adeyemi, an Architect turned Pastor, is a teacher and writer. She is the co-founder and deputy senior pastor of Daystar Christian Centre. She possesses an M.Sc. degree in Architecture from Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife, Nigeria. She also holds an MBA in

²⁴⁶ <https://believershub.com.ng/see-pastor-sam-adeyemis-sweet-message-wife-birthday/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

Business Studies from the Netherlands. Nike Adeyemi founded The Real Woman Foundation in 2001; a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) dedicated to empowering women and children economically and socially, and hosts the television programme, 'Real Woman with Nike Adeyemi' on some TV stations across Nigeria. The church members ascribed her with the gift of teaching and counselling.

3.6 The Brand of Each of the Churches

Independent Pentecostal churches have to establish themselves and survive in a competitive religious landscape.²⁴⁷ Many of their members engage in window shopping, visiting other churches, looking for the best or better church to patronize. This has resulted in the use of marketing strategy by churches to sell themselves and their products to the public.²⁴⁸ One of these strategies is 'branding'.²⁴⁹ According to Adetayo, 'A brand can be viewed as a name, term, sign, symbol, group of words intended to identify the goods of one or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of the competitors'.²⁵⁰ He went further to say that branding adds value to the product. Borchers defined it as, 'how "objects obtain value" among consumers',²⁵¹ while Cooke sees branding as 'the art of surrounding a product, organization or person with a powerful and compelling story'.²⁵² The goal of branding is to make any product appealing to the consumer or buyer and make them patronise the product. In this case, the leaders make their churches appealing to would-be members and at the same time, invite them to patronise these churches by becoming members. Each of the four churches has its brand.²⁵³

TREM's brand can be summarized with the terms 'Word' or 'Preaching'. Okonkwo's emphasis is on the power in the word of God. He teaches his members that there is power in

²⁴⁷Jacob Olupona has described the religious landscape of Nigeria, as been complex, fluid, dynamic and characterised by a multiplicity of religious traditions. See, Jacob Olupona, "African Religion" in *Global Religions: An introduction*, ed. M. Juergensmeyer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 78-86 and Afe Adogame, "How God became a Nigerian: Religious Impulse and the Unfolding of a Nation" *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28, no. 4 (2010): 479-498.

²⁴⁸For more detail on this, see Afe Adogame, "How God became a Nigerian," 479-498; Rosalind J. Hackett, 'Managing or Manipulating Religious Conflict in the Nigerian Media' in *Mediating Religion: Conversations in media, religion and culture*, ed. Jolyon Mitchell, and Sophia Marriage, (New York, NY: T & T. Clark, 2003), 47-64; Rosalind J. Hackett, "Charismatic/Pentecostal appropriation of media technologies in Nigeria and Ghana" *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 3 (1998): 258 and Mara Einstein, "The Evolution of Religious Branding" *Social Compass* 58, no. 3 (2011): 331-338.

²⁴⁹For more detail on this, see Ruth Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009) and Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction*.

²⁵⁰J.O. Adetayo, *Marketing Management*, (Lagos: Yemthom Resources, 2012), 222.

²⁵¹Timothy Borchers, *Persuasion in the Media Age* 3rd ed. (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2013), 42.

²⁵²Phil Cooke, *Unique: Telling Your Story in the Age of Brands and Social Media*, (Ventura: Regal, 2012), 46.

²⁵³Einstein, "The Evolution of Religious Branding", 331-338 and Hackett, 'Managing or Manipulating Religious Conflict in the Nigerian Media,' 47-64.

the word of God and this power can bring good fortunes, healing, deliverance, promotion, and miracles to all those who know, believe and obey the word of God. For example, part of the Mission Statement of the church says it aims to ensure that members are, ‘equipped with the Word of God for growth and fellowship with one another’.²⁵⁴ This explains why the watchword of the church is, ‘Power in the Word’ and the title of the official magazine of the church as well as her TV programme is ‘Power in the Word’. Therefore, to encourage his members to know, believe and use the word of God, Okonkwo often devotes a substantial part of worship service in his church to preaching. In service of about three hours, Okonkwo can preach for about 1 hour and 30 minutes, which is long, compared to other pastors. Members are encouraged to reference, read, memorise, recite, use and obey the word of God so that it will work wonders in their lives, ‘for the Word works!’²⁵⁵ To help the members know and keep the word of God in their lives, there is a weekly confession,²⁵⁶ which every member of the church is expected to memorise and confess daily throughout the year. For example, for 2018, the daily confession is

‘I believe that Jesus Christ died for my sins. He rose again triumphant over death, grave and hell. He is sitting at the right hand of the Father God from where He will come to take me home. I am glad that I am saved, sanctified and filled with the Holy Ghost. While I am waiting for Him, I will live my life here to please Him... I am a firm believer in the word of God, and I know that whatever the Word cannot give me does not exist. And I do not need it. I stand boldly on the word of God and the word will produce in my life. Therefore, I am convinced beyond every shadow of a doubt, that, every word of prophecy and every declaration that has been made over my life this year for good will come to pass. I live under an open heaven. I am an Overcomer (John 1:1-3; Hebrews. 1:3; Isaiah. 44:24-26)... Evil shall bow before me; the wicked shall bow at my gate. Everywhere I go this week, I carry the goodness of God because there is Power in the word of God!’²⁵⁷

Members are taught to use the word of God by confessing it or praying it over their challenges that they are in or face. They can confess the word of God on the sick person, their car, property, while travelling, over a project or any document; they want to submit for approval. The members are also encouraged to share the word of God with others through evangelism so that many people can come to Jesus and TREM and be the beneficiary of the working Word.

²⁵⁴‘Mission Statement’, <http://trem.org/home/about/> (accessed October 29, 2018).

²⁵⁵Preaching of Bishop Okonkwo during the Sunday worship service at the Cathedral of His Glory, on Sunday 1st December 2013.

²⁵⁶Usually, there is a general confession for every member, it differs from year to year. Every member of the church in all the branches are expected to memorise and recite it daily throughout the year. There is also weekly confession; this is a weekly Bible passage that members are expected to say each week, thus a new Bible passage is given every week for members to memorise and recite.

²⁵⁷<http://trem.org/home/daily-confession-28th-october-3rd-november-2018/> (accessed October 29, 2018).

The emphasis on the word of God and its efficacy to transform lives and solve myriads of human problems is unique to TREM and has become its brand which members gladly accepts and follows. This emphasis on the power in the word of God resonates with an African belief system in which incantation or invocation of spiritual power is usually made with the belief that it brings about the desired solution to whatever problem plaguing anyone who uses it. Adherents of traditional religion often seek the help of a herbalist to help them make incantation which they can use by reciting it to solve problems or ask the herbalist to help them invoke spiritual powers to help in solving their problems. Many traditional worshippers believe that some problems can only be solved by the invocation of spiritual powers through incantation or spoken of 'sacred words'. However, such practice among the Pentecostals is known as 'positive confession' or 'word of faith' teaching.²⁵⁸

The brand of MFM can be summarized with the terms 'deliverance and warfare prayer'. Pastor Olukoya's teachings emphasize the existence and activities of malevolent spirits, which always seek to oppress, suppress and afflict people with pains and sorrows - believers and unbelievers alike. These malevolent spirits, often referred to as demonic spirits or fallen angels, seek to prevent believers from achieving their goals and being the very best that God wants them to be in life. Hence, the activities of these demonic spirits must be curtailed and dislodged, or uprooted from the life of a believer, so that he or she can enjoy the best of life.

The only way to do this is through effective, constant warfare prayers to neutralize the activities of these evil forces. On the other hand, the malevolent spirits enjoy their destructive activities, they will not be willing to be disturbed or dislodged, rather, to stay put and continue in their nefarious activities undisturbed. The only way to eject them is through 'violence of force of prayer', known as a deliverance. According to Odukoya, since Africans have their roots in traditional religion and their forebears had offered sacrifice to idols and evil forces, every believer has a root and connection with demonic forces, hence every believer must be delivered from the demonic powers and influences that seek to hold them captive. Besides, he attributes poverty and backwardness to demonic causes.²⁵⁹

It needs to be pointed out here that the founder has the background of an Aladura church, which is in line with the African belief system and worldview about demonic activities. Thus, emphasis on deliverance and warfare prayer has become the hallmark of MFM and has

²⁵⁸World Evangelical Alliance. Commission on Unity and Truth among Evangelicals. *Faith, Health and Prosperity: A Report on Word of Faith and Positive Confession Theologies* by The Evangelical Alliance Commission on Unity and Truth among Evangelicals (ACUTE), (Paternoster Press, 2003).

²⁵⁹D. K. Olukoya, *The Tongue Trap*, (Lagos: The Battle Cry Christian Ministries, 1999), 28-29.

set it apart from other Independent Pentecostal churches. This is possible because Olukoya is seen as a prayerful person with the gift of healing and ability to set people free from demonic and malevolent spirits.

The brand of TFOLC is 'Faith and Human Emancipation'. Pastor Taiwo Odukoya believe that God's plan and desire for all His children are to bless and make them the best in life. God has wonderful plans and gifts He would like to give to all His children – gifts of financial breakthrough, promotion, good health, financial prosperity, marriage, children, healing, miracles and many more. However, before they can receive these wonderful gifts, they must exercise their faith in God. It is the believers' faith that serves as a vehicle that brings good fortunes from God to them. Hence, believers, especially members of the church must have faith, live a life of faith and exercise their faith in God to be blessed by God. Members are taught how to develop and increase their faith capacity in God. This accounts for the church's special programme on Thursdays tagged, 'Morning Showers', where members are encouraged to exercise faith so that God's showers of blessings can fall on them. Related to the issue of faith is the idea of human emancipation.

The church believes that many factors are limiting or restricting believers from receiving God's blessings and become the best that God wants them to be. Therefore, there is a need for believers' emancipation from all forms of restrictions and limitations and move into unlimited freedom through faith in God and achieve all that God has for them. This can be possible through revelation from the word of God as well as enlightenment and acquisition of knowledge through teaching and various religious educational programmes such as 'Discovery for Men' as well as 'Discovery for Women'. Like other leaders, the ability of Odukoya to teach and arouse faith in his members and focus on human emancipation is the reason why the church has been branded as a 'Faith and Human Emancipation church'.

Lastly, the brand of Daystar can be summarized with the terms 'Leadership and Human Development'. For Adeyemi, the greatest need in human endeavours is effective, capable, and dynamic leadership. When the problem of leadership is solved, various problems such as poverty and under-development facing humankind will be solved. Adeyemi believes that each believer has the potential to be a leader because God has made him or her be so - leaders in various strata of life – family, organization, church, and nation. However, for this to happen, people need to be taught to be good leaders and to awaken the leadership potential in each individual. People will become an effective leader when they are helped to change and experience self-development in all areas of their life. Such people will become role models (leaders) that others can follow and emulate. Adeyemi's teaching and preaching are therefore

geared towards developing the human capacity of his members and making them leaders or role models wherever they are located. To achieve this, the church established the Daystar Leadership Academy, which is designed for every member and non-members of the church to learn leadership principles that will make them effective leaders. The watchword of the academy is ‘Raising Exceptional Leaders’.

Also, the church organizes Excellent Leadership Conference (ELC), which is an annual leadership development conference. The average attendance at this conference is about 10,000 and is usually well advertised in the dailies, social media and the church website. Participants are required to pre-register and usually, registration closes two weeks to the event because of large numbers of intended participants and limited spaces available. At the conference, leadership lessons and ideas are shared with the participants. This brand has worked and is still working for the church as evident in the members of the church taking up leadership position in their various fields of endeavour.²⁶⁰ Overall, the church has been branded as a church for Leadership and Human Development.

Each of these churches emphasizes its brand and it is their selling point for their members and would-be members. This makes the religious economy of Nigeria and especially Lagos Metropolis interesting and highly competitive. The frequency of various programmes and activities organized in these churches keeps their members busy, occupied, and wins their loyalty. The leaders are the ones who introduce and sell these products through their teachings and preaching and ‘godly propaganda’. Each brand influences the behaviour, character, belief and growth of members in each of the churches. Furthermore, these brands are linked to the special qualities and gifts of the leaders of the four churches. The wives of these leaders contribute significantly to the brand developed by their husband through the teachings and programmes they organize either with the women or with other members of the church. Their emphasis is always in tandem with the brand of their husbands.

3.7 Concluding Remarks

All the leader-pastors were members of other Christian churches before establishing their own. They all lived in Lagos where their churches are, although not all the four are indigenes of

²⁶⁰Some of the church members have taken up leadership position in their endeavours, for example, one of the members of the church served as a Commissioner in Lagos State during the regime of Governor Babatunde Raji Fashola. Some of the members are also Directors and CEOs in various Establishment in Lagos, some of them have been invited to give talk during the annual Leadership Conference of the church.

Lagos, they have spent a substantial part of their lives in Lagos. They had all lived in Lagos since their young adult life. This gave the four pastors the advantage of knowing Lagos intimately and using to their advantage in locating places for their churches and making their churches visible and accessible to their followers. All four pastors have located their headquarters in Lagos. They all lay claim to the divine call to the ministry, and it is this claim to the divine call that prompted them into full-time ministry and assume a position of pastoral leadership in their churches. This claim to a divine calling partly explains why people respect and follow them.

In terms of involvement of spouses in the ministry, all the four leader-pastors have their wives fully involved in the ministry. Mrs Peace Okonkwo is a Bishop and the Presiding Pastor of the headquarters church, Pastor Shade Olukoya supervises the Children and Women Ministries of MFM, Pastor Nomthi Odukoya is involved in the ministry of TFOLC, and Pastor Nike Adeyemi is co-founder and preaching pastor at Daystar. However, some of the wives of these church founders are more visible than others and some are more involved in the leadership than others are. Among the four women, Bishop Peace Okonkwo is the most visible and highly involved in the leadership of the church, while the late Bimbo Odukoya was most visible from the start of TFOLC and popular in her own right even before the church led by her husband grew.

It is clear from the chapter that the official history of these churches and that of their founders as presented by these churches are different from the history that I have been able to reconstruct from other sources. The official history was crafted in such a way to display the charisma of these leaders and God's plan for the churches they established. Generally, the official narration of these churches removed the narratives that are characterized by disagreements and secessions.

After examining the histories of the four churches, the brands, the role of the founder and their wives are represented, I now turn to examine the charisma and leadership roles in the selected churches in more details in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR CHARISMA AND DYNAMICS OF LEADERSHIP

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an in-depth discussion and analysis of the leadership roles of the founders and their wives in the four selected churches. Specifically, this chapter examines various innovations introduced through their leadership abilities and the relationship between the leaders and their followers in these selected churches. The goal is to provide information on the aspects of the lives of these churches that will help in understanding the leadership roles and the creation of charisma of the founders and their wives in the lives of these churches.

The main question of this chapter is as follows: How have the founders of these churches used their charisma in branding their churches? It is argued that these leaders used their charisma to brand their churches through the particular innovations and programmes they introduced in their churches. The use of media and media technology is one innovation that is common to all these four leaders and their churches. Through media, they advertise and ‘sell’ their leadership skills and charisma, which their members have attributed to them, to a larger public, thereby making them global personalities. Also, the founders have created platforms and the enabling environment that has helped their wives to stand on the same level as their husbands in leadership. These, in turn, have helped the wives in branding their husbands’ churches and gaining supporters for their husbands’ ministries through the programmes they have introduced in their respective churches. Furthermore, these programmes have also helped these wives to build their power base.

The primary sources for this chapter consist of interviews conducted with members of these churches, participant observation by the researcher of various religious programmes organized by these churches, and literature published by these churches for internal and external consumption.

4.2 Dynamics of Leadership and Charisma of Bishop Okonkwo in TREM

Through his visionary leadership, TREM has grown to become a 21st Century Ministry. There is evidence of organizational structure, capacity building and human resource development. For example, TREM now has a college of Bishops and a Presiding Bishop over the College... The Presiding Bishop is the Spiritual Head of the Ministry.²⁶¹

²⁶¹Lizzy Ikem. *Empowered to Impact: A Biography of Bishop Mike Okonkwo, The Presiding Bishop of TREM*, 60.

The above statement succinctly summarizes the charisma attributed to and the impact of the charismatic leadership acumen of Okonkwo by TREM internal publications. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Okonkwo established TREM in 1981 after leaving UCC. In 1984, Bishop Okonkwo led his church to review the constitution of the church to stipulate that the head of TREM would be called a Bishop.²⁶² In 1988, the reviewed constitution became operational and the church consecrated Okonkwo as a Bishop. By 2005, his title was changed to Presiding Bishop to accommodate the newly introduced College of Bishops. The introduction of the College of Bishops brought about the consecration of four senior members of the church, (which included Mrs Peace Okonkwo) as Bishops on April 22, 2006.²⁶³ These series of changes are part of the institutionalization and routinization processes put in place in TREM. According to Ikem, ‘The Presiding Bishop is the Spiritual Head of the Ministry’ and leader of the church.

The newly introduced College of Bishops formed another organ and institution of the church, which would be filled as a Bishop retires or dies and responsibilities assigned to it. This means the introduction of another level of authority in the church. With these changes, the stage was set for Okonkwo to innovate and rebrand TREM. Some of these innovations will be discussed below.

As the spiritual head of the church and a charismatic leader, one of the things Bishop Okonkwo did was to cast a vision and mission statement for the church (Figure 4.1). The vision and mission statements, which were formulated in early 2003, provide the direction and guidance for the church in all its programmes, activities, and ministries. The vision statement of the church is

‘TREM is big enough to contain you, small enough to reach you, and powerful enough to deal with anything the devil brings against you. Here we do not look at the bigness of your problem but the bigness of our God’.

While the mission statement is,

‘This is a place where we gather together in quality praise and worship of the true and living God, equipped with the Word of God for growth and fellowship with one another in covenant relationship and released to make a formidable impact in our world for the Kingdom’.²⁶⁴

²⁶²Although from Biblical account, Bishop simply means pastor. However, in Nigeria context, Bishop is seen as an ‘affluent title’, a title that indicates that the bearer is more powerful and above all others. Thus, the title Bishop, has tactically introduced hierarchy in the church leadership.

²⁶³Other bishops include, Bishop Reuben Oke, Bishop Walter Mbamara and Bishop Kanayo Enuma.

²⁶⁴‘About The Redeemed Evangelical Mission’ <http://trem.org/home/about/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

The vision statement of the church according to Okonkwo is to make TREM one of the biggest churches around that can accommodate as many as would come into it. Also, to promote a close and cordial fellowship or relationship among the members so that each of them will feel he/she belongs. Okonkwo also desires that his church will be a place where God demonstrates his power against every malevolent spirit and any evil powers that war against the members so that each member will receive solutions to his or her problems as well as overcome all vicissitudes of life. The members believe this is possible since they see Okonkwo as a charismatic person and God's anointed servant.²⁶⁵

The mission statement in particular highlights the role of the church to the members and the church's expectation of the members. The church will help members engage in quality praise and worship, equip them with the word of God so that they can grow and have fellowship with one another. On the other hand, the members are expected to go and make a positive impact in the world— in their offices, businesses, areas, community and locations for God. The impact includes living a life of dominion (a life free from trouble, failure or pain) wherever they find themselves and winning souls into the kingdom of God. In fulfilling the Vision Statement, Bishop Okonkwo introduced multiple branches. TREM was operating as a single branch church until the International Headquarters of the church was moved to a new location, Obanikoro neighbourhood in 2001. By 2003, the exigencies of growth, location of members, traffic situation, and competition with other Pentecostal churches swayed Okonkwo to introduce multiple branches.

²⁶⁵This is based on my interviews with some members of the church.

Figure 4.1: Bishop Okonkwo and the Vision Statement of TREM²⁶⁶

Okonkwo used his charisma to brand the socio-economic fortune of his church. TREM, like many other Nigerian Pentecostal churches, is involved in social and business enterprises. As part of the vision of Okonkwo to empower his members for abundant life, he introduced a cooperative society known as *Tremendous Multipurpose Cooperative Society*. The cooperative has its office at TREM Headquarters and it is open to all the members of TREM worldwide. The cooperative society has diversified into real estate, has an estate (a separate and gated community) known as TREM High Flyers Estate, and sells land to interested members of TREM.²⁶⁷

TREM also has a microfinance bank, Rehoboth Microfinance Bank, which started in 2008. Other business programmes that Okonkwo introduced are Dunamis Publication and 'We Care Hospital'. Dunamis Publication is responsible for the publication of TREM books and magazines such as *Power in the Word*, TREM official bi-monthly magazine as well as books

²⁶⁶The researcher took the photograph on the premises of the TREM Headquarters, Gbagada.

²⁶⁷24th Kingdom Life World Conference Brochure, p.44.

written by Bishop Mike Okonkwo and Bishop Peace Okonkwo, while ‘We Care Hospital’ provides basic medical care for both TREM members and non-members.²⁶⁸

Bishop Okonkwo’s efforts at providing basic social services through his church are seen as an attempt to address the socio-economic problems plaguing Nigeria and also to make his church relevant in the effort to improve the socio-economic situation of the country. Provision of these facilities has helped to display the charisma of Okonkwo, whom through his special grace has been able to partner with the government in providing social services for some citizens.

A closer look at this rebranding and initiatives reveal an inter-play of charisma, routinization and bureaucracy. Okonkwo’s charisma is enhanced by making all these services available, but at the same time, his charisma is being routinized because other people in TREM, clergy, professionals and non-professionals are involved in these innovations. There are a set of rules put in place to govern them and their activities. For example, the church employs professionals such as doctors, nurses, administrators and bankers at the Hospital, Cooperative Society and the Microfinance Bank.²⁶⁹

Also, for the smooth operation of the hospital and microfinance bank, the leadership of TREM has put in place rules and regulations, which the church expects the staff to enforce. Furthermore, these organs have leaders, who report to Okonkwo through the Human Resource Manager of the church. Thus, bureaucratic procedures and hierarchies have become established in the organization and operations of TREM. The Bishop no longer gets involved in the day-to-day running of the various organs of the church. Instead, he has put in place rules to govern these organs and has appointed people to supervise and report to him.

Nevertheless, he still holds the overall supervising power and authority. It is safe to conclude that these organs are governed by both the logic of charismatic leadership and the rationalized logic of professionals and the Bishop himself. TREM members see these innovations (both the socio-economic services and the rationalization of the organisation) as the operation and the evidence of charisma of Okonkwo. Furthermore, the growth and professionalization of the various services and organs of the church also serve to advertise his charisma and make the church more visible in the competitive religious marketplace of Lagos.

Perhaps, the most popular religious programme introduced by Okonkwo in TREM is the yearly meeting tagged Kingdom Life World Conference (KLWC). It is the biggest annual

²⁶⁸Rev Kelvin Agovi, (a senior pastor of TREM serving at the headquarters, Gbagada) in a discussion with the author, February 2014.

²⁶⁹Agovi, in a discussion with the author.

ritual programme of TREM. The conference started in 1990 by the initiative of Bishop Okonkwo to gather all the members of TREM together to worship, fellowship, pray and experience the blessings of God.²⁷⁰ At its inception in 1990, the conference was held at the headquarters of the church then at Afolabi Brown Street, Akoka, Lagos until 2001 when the headquarters of the church was moved to its present international headquarters. Since then the conference has been held at the international headquarters of the church. The conference is open to anyone who wishes to attend, non-TREM members are especially encouraged to attend as a way of promoting and advertising the church to them and winning them into the membership of TREM.

It is a week-long programme of Bible study, preaching, lectures and talks covering all areas of human endeavours such as business, family, health, economics, politics and social issues. It usually starts on a Sunday evening and runs throughout the week with a thanksgiving service the following Sunday to round off the Conference.²⁷¹ Bishop Okonkwo and his wife (Bishop Peace Okonkwo) are the chief hosts and members of the church both within Nigeria and outside Nigeria are expected to attend this conference. All the pastors of TREM must attend KLWC.

From Monday till Friday, there are always two sessions daily for the conference. The morning session starts at 9.00 am until 12.00 noon or 1.00 pm and the evening session starts at 5.00 pm. The morning session usually consists of two programmes, Bible-based preaching or teaching, and a lecture or talk on various socio-political and economic issues. The Evening Session is mainly Bible preaching and prayer ministration. Speakers are usually well-known preachers or church leaders from within and outside the country. Besides, captains of industries, executives and business people within and outside TREM are usually invited to serve as resource persons at the conference.

Nevertheless, Bishop Okonkwo remains the main speaker at the conference. He is the one who will declare the conference open in a special service on Sunday evening and declares it closed the following Sunday in a thanksgiving service to mark the end of the conference. Through this conference, Okonkwo sells his ideas and philosophies to his church members.

²⁷⁰Agovi, in a discussion with the author.

²⁷¹The theme in 1994 was 'Pure Fire', 1997 was 'Manifestation of the Sons of God', 2000 'Signs, Wonders and Miracles', 2006 'And God Said', 2010 'Unshakable Kingdom' 2012 'Grace Grace'. The theme for 2013 KLWC was 'Open Heaven', while the theme for the 2014 Kingdom Life World Conference was 'God and God Alone' and it was the 25th Anniversary. Theme for year 2015 was Rest, while the same theme was repeated in 2016. .

The attendees leave the conference with Okonkwo's words ringing loud and clear in their minds.²⁷²

One unique thing about KLWC is the kind of interactions that take place during the conference. There are different levels of interactions. At the highest level is the interaction between Bishop Okonkwo himself, his wife and other prominent charismatic leaders of various ministries and churches who are invited as guest speakers. Some of these charismatic leaders come from outside Nigeria. Notable examples are Bishop Mensah Otabil from Ghana, Bishop Tudor Bismark from Zimbabwe²⁷³ and other leading charismatic Pentecostal church leaders within Nigeria. They usually sit together in the front row of the church auditorium that is very close to the altar. They are usually restricted from interacting with members of the church or the attendee except with special permission from Bishop Okonkwo or during their ministration when they can lay hand on members to pray for them. However, many attendees often struggle to move close to them so that these leaders can lay their hands on them or pray for them. The restricted interaction of these leaders is also a way to project themselves as anointed men of God and to set themselves apart from the ordinary members.

Often, government officials or captains of industries are invited to sit behind or close to these men of God and can interact with them. Some members have argued that these men of God must sit in a special place and their involvement and interaction with members should be restricted for security reasons. Some other members have argued that it is not necessary for the house of God since all are equal before God.²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Okonkwo seating and interacting with other charismatic leaders is a way to create and sustain the idea that he possesses a charisma that enables him to function as a man of God and sets him apart from other similar men of God.

²⁷²This is my opinion and it is based on what I observed at 2015 Kingdom Life World Conference.

²⁷³Bishop Mensah Otabil and Bishop Tudor Bismark are regular guest speakers at KLWC. For example, they were around for 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016 editions.

²⁷⁴These were the responses of some members of the church in the discussion with the author, November 2015.

Figure 4.2: A banner advertising 2016 Kingdom Life World Conference²⁷⁵

Furthermore, a closer look at the name of the conference, Kingdom Life World Conference reveals that it sets him up as a special minister, whose sphere of influence presumably reaches the whole world. After all, it is only a man with a worldwide influence that can call together such a world conference! The whole world is expected to attend! Although some members of the church outside the country do attend the conference, overall, the attendance at the conference does not suggest that it is a world conference. Rather, the name was just picked to show Okonkwo as a man whose charisma is of international repute.

Okonkwo uses media to publicize his programmes and activities, and for the furtherance of his charisma. There is an audio and video department in TREM headquarters known as TREM Media. The video unit records all the programmes of Okonkwo at both the headquarters and elsewhere. The Media department puts these recordings into DVD and sells them to members. The media department is also responsible for the recording of Bishop Okonkwo's television and Radio programmes known as 'Power in the Word' and 'Power for

²⁷⁵ A handbill issued by the church for the programme.

the Wise'. The Power in the word is a 30-minute television programme in which Bishop Okonkwo preaches and gives an invitation to his audience to embrace the Lordship of Christ and by extension, TREM. The programme is aired in some TV stations in Nigeria and on satellite broadcast. This includes Lagos Television, Kingdom Life Network, and Dove Media (Figure 4.3). The Power for the Wise is a 10 minutes' radio teaching programme, which is broadcast daily on Inspiration FM from 5.40 am – 5.50 am.

TREM has a well-designed and developed website.²⁷⁶ Though the website is the official website of TREM, Bishop Okonkwo is given a prominent position on the website. The website contains elaborate information on Bishop Okonkwo and his wife. Through the website, all the services at the TREM headquarters are streamed live. Besides, Okonkwo's sermons and messages are archived on the website for easy access. Okonkwo is also friendly with Nigerian media; he is a regular feature in most Nigerian newspapers and magazines. Through the media, Okonkwo is effectively projecting himself to the world as a powerful man of God worth following. Not only that, but he has also used the media to sell his church, vision, ideas, and messages to the world.

Figure 4.3: A poster showing Bishop Okonkwo and his Radio and Television Programmes schedule²⁷⁷

Bishop Okonkwo relates well with his members, but the relationship is more of a servant-master relationship. He is seen as a father figure that must be respected at all times. His pastors fear him since he is the supreme authority in TREM and can determine their lot and future in the church. None of his pastors stands erect to greet him; they always bow, while women kneel to greet him.²⁷⁸ This is similar to what obtains in many Pentecostal churches

²⁷⁶The official website of the church is www.trem.org

²⁷⁷A handbill issued by the church.

²⁷⁸This was observed several times I visited the church.

where the leaders are venerated and seen as a demi-god. The only time his pastors can shake hands with him is when he stretches his hands to them. None of them addresses him by name; they address him as Bishop or 'Big Daddy'. These forms of respects are part of some cultures in Nigeria, especially among the Yoruba of the Southwestern, to respect an elderly person or people who are in the position of authority, be it traditional, religious or political. However, the kind of respect being given to Bishop Okonkwo has turned to a form of veneration and hero worship. As a Bishop, he does not bow for any of his members, even those who are older than he is. The following are some of the ways his members perceive him:

The Christian Men Fellowship of TREM INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS celebrates the General of Generals, Bishop (Dr) Mike Okonkwo MFR²⁷⁹...Big Daddy we consider ourselves privileged and highly favoured to have a mighty Man of God like you as our spiritual father. You are a man of impeccable character, an inspirer, encourager and a highly anointed man of God we are proud of you.²⁸⁰

Another one says:

BIRTHDAY MESSAGE for BIG DADDY

69 hearty cheers to our dearly beloved Father, Mentor, Leader and Bishop. Big Daddy many of us are who we are today by the grace of God and the impactful fatherly role you've been playing in our lives over the years. We thank God for his sustaining grace upon your life. Your life and accomplishment have been an embodiment of grace.²⁸¹

A member says, 'I count it a great privilege to be yoked with His Lordship, Dr Mike Okonkwo'.²⁸² While another one says, 'From all of us in TREM HQ, we say happy birthday to our father, the pastor of pastors, the field marshal of God's army, the presiding bishop of TREM, Dr Mike Okonkwo'.²⁸³

Apart from the official title of Okonkwo, the Presiding Bishop, his most popular unofficial title is, 'Big Daddy'. Members of TREM call him this title because to them, he is not in the same class as other 'Daddies'. He is the Big Daddy, Daddy of all Daddies, and Daddy to all members of his church. As children look up to their fathers for help, care, provision, and assistance, so is his members look up to Okonkwo. They are his children and they must look up to him or depend on him for sustenance.

²⁷⁹MFR (Member of Federal Republic) is one of the national honours given to deserving and distinguished citizens of Nigeria.

²⁸⁰Dn. Solomon Ekeopara, 'President Christian Men Fellowship', *Power in the Word* (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, September 2014), 8.

²⁸¹Uche Ezeh, Chairman, Great Young Men Christian Fellowship, TREM, *Power in the Word* (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, September 2014), 12.

²⁸²Dns Regina Okonkwo, 'What Bishop Mike Okonkwo Means to me', *Power in the Word* (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, September 2014), 15.

²⁸³TREM HQ'S Pastorate, *Power in the Word* (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, September 2014), 21.

Besides, in African societies, a father or daddy is supposed to be a responsible person who plays a great role in the life of his children. A father or daddy protects, provides, guides, guards, instructs and defends his children. A father is expected to be a sufficient and capable person to fulfil his roles and responsibilities. Likewise, Okonkwo is more than capable and sufficient man of God to meet the needs of his spiritual children. Hence, he is their 'big daddy', capable of meeting all their needs, be it physical, spiritual, emotional, social, financial or economic needs. Furthermore, Christians call and see God as their Father, the heavenly Father, the all-sufficient Father who is more than enough to meet all the need of His children. He is a caring, merciful, gracious and loving Father. Just as God is the heavenly father to Christians, Okonkwo is the earthly father to all his members who are also his children in TREM. Okonkwo's case stands out. He is not just a 'Daddy', he is 'Big Daddy' and by this affectionate name, Okonkwo makes, enhances and sustains his charisma and leadership. On the other hand, all the affectionate and petty names being called Okonkwo by his members could be a way to earn his favour and probably get close to him to get a good position in the church.

In a similar vein, his members perceive him as a General, the Field Marshal. Such an officer must have been tested and won many battles and is capable of leading his army to war, and victory guaranteed. He is the Field Marshal of all the Pentecostal pastors whose sphere of influence any other general cannot subdue; he is capable of leading and giving victories to all his members in all their battles of life.

One of the reasons Okonkwo has become so endeared to his members is the belief that he is an eloquent speaker with a commanding voice that easily sways his audience to his side or to whatever side he wants them to go. Often, he may not dwell on the text of the Bible for his message but will use catchy phrases, which thrill and excite his listeners. Example of such catchy phrases is, 'It may not look possible but that does not mean it's not possible.' 'The enemy may resist you but resistance does not mean victory!'²⁸⁴ In a similar vein, Okonkwo thundered, 'Child of God, pure undiluted power comes from God; what men are demonstrating is the wisdom of dethroned powers'.²⁸⁵ In a similar breath, he proudly declared 'The wisdom of God stands on the word of God.'²⁸⁶ In one of his preachings, he declared 'A new era of grace has started in your life! Grace will speak for you and take you to places of favour. Grace will

²⁸⁴Lechi Eke, 'The apostle I Love', in *Power in the Word* (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, September 2014), 4.

²⁸⁵In a service I attended during the 2013 annual thanksgiving Sunday, on Sunday, 1st December 2013. Pentecostals generally believe that believers in God has power to overcome all malevolent spirits.

²⁸⁶Okonkwo's preaching at 2013 annual thanksgiving Sunday, on Sunday, 1st December 2013.

heal you and help you to live a fulfilling life to the glory of God! Your testimony begins now!’²⁸⁷

Because of the general notion among Okonkwo’s followers that he is a ‘powerful and eloquent preacher’, this reinforces the conviction that he is a ‘powerful man of God’. One of his members once said, ‘Big daddy has the word! His word has kept me to stay put in TREM, no other man of God can preach like him, so there is no point going elsewhere.’²⁸⁸ The statement below attests to the preaching prowess of Okonkwo. ‘For over forty-five minutes, the atmosphere was charged with prophetic declarations coming from the throne room of Jehovah through the mouth of His choice servant, Dr Mike Okonkwo.’²⁸⁹

There are testimonies from the members of TREM who claimed to have received miracles, healings, and solutions to their problems after being prayed for by Okonkwo or listened to his preaching. A member of the church gives one such testimony thus, ‘I was scheduled for a surgery to remove a lump on my left breast, but Big Daddy prayed for me. On the day of surgery, the doctor tried to locate the lump before cutting me open; behold he could not locate it. He called the attention of the second doctor and they could not find it!’²⁹⁰ Though such testimonies are very difficult to verify, yet members believe them and this reinforces their faith in Okonkwo as a charismatic leader, who is close to God and is endowed with power from heaven.

In addition to the issue of great preaching of Okonkwo, is the belief that he is a good administrator, who has brought his administrative acumen to bear in the growth and spread of the church. Many members of TREM believe that the administrative skill of Okonkwo is beyond the ordinary. To these people, they believe that God specifically gave the gift of administration to Okonkwo. This is a paradox when the fact that administration leads to bureaucracy is considered. This, many church members believe should not be operative in the church setting because the church is a religious and spiritual organization. It seems that, by seeing administrative ability as a divine gift, the dichotomy between dry bureaucracy and spirit-filled charisma is bridged.

²⁸⁷Bishop Mike Okonkwo preaching during the 24th Kingdom Life World Conference 2013 tagged ‘Open Heaven’.

²⁸⁸A female TREM member in a discussion with the author, April 2015.

²⁸⁹Samuel Ajayi and Lechi Eke, ‘UPROOT 20013: An October to remember’, *Power in the Word*, (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, January 2014), 23. Prophetic declarations are words uttered by someone who is believed to be under the influence of God or His spirit. In such moments, people no longer see him or her as ordinary human being, but as a prophet or an extra-ordinary person.

²⁹⁰See, <http://trem.org/home/hurray-big-daddy-71st-birthday-thanksgiving-service-trem-international-headquarters/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

Furthermore, his relationship to important people - businesspersons, politicians, captains of industries and government officials has greatly helped in enhancing his leadership skill and the enhancement of his charisma. Okonkwo relates well with these categories of people. For example, the wife of the former Governor of Lagos State, Dame Abimbola Fashola is a regular guest at Kingdom Life World Conference. Another example is the Government of Delta State under the leadership of the former Governor, Dr Emmanuel Uduaghan who led members of Team Delta, who competed and excelled in the annual National Sports Festival 2012 hosted by Lagos State to worship at TREM Headquarters for a thanksgiving service on Sunday, December 9, 2012. Associating with such public figures confers special honours and privileges on Okonkwo, proving his standing as a special man of God and an extraordinary leader.

4.2.1 Leadership Role and Charisma of Bishop Peace Okonkwo

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Peace Okonkwo is also a Bishop in TREM and she is the resident and presiding pastor of the headquarters church. This position gives her more advantage over the other four Bishops (who are members of the College of Bishops) because, as the resident pastor in the headquarters, she gives directives to other branches of the church, both within and outside the country. One of the pastors at the headquarters has said, 'Big Mummy supervises the pastors from here.'²⁹¹ With this, Bishop Okonkwo has tacitly placed his wife above all other pastors, including Bishops and brought her onto the same pedestal with himself. This action has created a platform and enabling environment for Peace Okonkwo to display her charisma and be recognized as a charismatic woman.

One area in which Bishop Peace wields influence is through her programme, International Women Prayer Conference (IWPC), which she started in 1997. It started as a prayer school, that is, a prayer meeting for women in 1995, and by 1997 it transformed to IWPC. According to the website of IWPC,

As the years rolled by, the vision extended beyond the TREM world and this gave birth to the International Women Prayer Conference (IWPC), an interdenominational gathering of women from every tribe, tongue, people and nation, irrespective of their denomination. Some people who hitherto were not Christians attend this program, after experiencing the power of God; they had no other choice than to accept Jesus Christ as their personal Lord and Savior.²⁹²

²⁹¹Agovi, in a discussion with the author.

²⁹²<http://iwpconline.org/about-us/> (accessed August 27, 2014).

As part of the activities of IWPC, a monthly prayer meeting is held every last Thursday of the month at TREM headquarters from 9.00 am to 12.00 noon and also a quarterly open counselling session for women tagged, 'Women: Let's Talk' is held. IWPC also organizes prayer conferences in other parts of the country and outside the country.²⁹³ The IWPC has given Bishop Peace a good platform to establish a non-governmental organization known as Women of Global Impact (WGI). The Vision of WGI is,

‘To be a veritable source of succour, inspiration and empowerment for women at all levels of the society’, while its mission is, ‘To positively affect and touch the lives of women for the better, enabling the full realization of women’s potentials and helping national development through empathy, trust, motivation and non-discriminatory support initiatives’.²⁹⁴

The major initiatives through which the Women of Global Impact network provide support for women include the establishment of Rehoboth Home and Skills Acquisition Centre, Widows Empowerment Initiative, Children Education Support and Free Cervical Cancer Screening Programme otherwise known as PEACE -Providing Early Attention for Cervical Cancer Everywhere.²⁹⁵

IWPC and WGI of Peace Okonkwo have served two purposes: first, they have provided massive support for Bishop Okonkwo’s TREM as many women who have participated in Peace Okonkwo’s programmes have ended up as members of TREM. Also, those who never knew Bishop Okonkwo before have come to know him through his wife’s programmes. Thus, Peace Okonkwo’s programmes have provided a good platform to rally support for the husband’s ministry. Secondly, the programmes have also helped Peace Okonkwo to acknowledge and affirm a complementary gender ideology where men are the head of the family, but their wives are undeniably powerful in their own right. They are the ‘necks’ that help the ‘head’ to stand and since no head can stand without the support of the neck, so women are important and powerful in their own right. Furthermore, the neck turns the head. Thus, in the word of Bernice Martin, ‘the Pentecostal gender paradox is one that benefits both women and men’.²⁹⁶

Besides, Peace Okonkwo has used these programmes to create an image of a charismatic person for herself in which members attributed some gifts (charisma) to her. ‘Most women ministers work behind the scene, but from era to era, Jesus lifts some women and brings

²⁹³Ubany, ‘Nwabuogo Marks 64 Years in Grace’, 6.

²⁹⁴<http://wgionline.org/about-us/> (accessed August 28, 2014).

²⁹⁵WGI Brochure, 1-3.

²⁹⁶Bernice Martin, ‘The Pentecostal Gender Paradox: A Cautionary Tale for the Sociology of Religion’ in *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Religion*, ed. Richard K. Fenn (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 56.

them to the forefront. Bishop Peace Okonkwo is one of such women.²⁹⁷ The above statement expresses one of the TREM members' perceptions of Bishop Peace Okonkwo. Like her husband, Bishop Peace relates well with TREM members. She is seen as a mother figure that must be respected at all times. Pastors in the church fear her since she is the wife of the Presiding Bishop and a Bishop herself. This is coupled with the fact that she is the resident pastor at the headquarters and from headquarters come rules and regulations that must be obeyed. Usually, the male pastors bow to greet her; while women (including female pastors) kneel to greet her.²⁹⁸ They address her as Bishop Peace or Big Mummy. Indeed, these forms of respects are part of the Nigerian culture given to elderly people and those who occupy the position of authority. However, as with her husband, the kind of respect given to Bishop Peace is beyond the ordinary. As mentioned earlier, just as the members affectionately call her, 'Big Mummy'; she is the mummy of mummies. She is mummy to all her members (children) in TREM. Mummy is the equivalent of 'Mama' or 'Mother'. Bishop Peace is a great mother, who loves and cares for his (sons and daughters) members and at the same time, compassionate to all.

As a mother, Bishop Peace is known by TREM members to be a prayerful woman or as a 'prayer warrior', who fights battles on her knees through prayer. A female member of the church proudly said, 'with the unceasing prayers of Big mummy, we are safe and secured.'²⁹⁹ Through her prayers, she is seen as having the power to perform miracles. For example, one Mrs Blessing Udo testified of being cured of 12 years haemorrhage when Bishop Peace prayed for her.³⁰⁰ Though this testimony may be unverifiable, to the members of TREM, it is evidence of God's divine power on her servant, Bishop Peace Okonkwo and evidence of her leadership capacity which has set her aside as a powerful woman of God.

4.3 Dynamics of Leadership and Charisma of Pastor Daniel Olukoya in MFM

Pastor Daniel Olukoya embarked on the branding of the church by introducing ideas and ministries to enhance and sustain his charisma as well as projects his church's image to the public. When the church started, some of the members who were educated and who preferred

²⁹⁷Lechi Eke, *Women in Ministry, Power in the Word* (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, June 2016), 9.

²⁹⁸I observed this several times when I visited the church.

²⁹⁹Sister Josephine Maus, (a female member of TREM, Surulere Branch) in a discussion with the author November 2014.

³⁰⁰Blessing Udo, 'Testimony: Like the woman with the issue of blood- year old Pile gone!' *Power in the Word*, (Lagos: Dunamis Publications, June 2016), 44.

to address him based on his academic qualification, addressed Olukoya as Dr Olukoya, while those who are less educated prefer to call him Pastor Olukoya. However, with the increase in membership and the need to make his members know who is in charge and for them to recognise his leadership and charisma, he officially adopted the title, General Overseer, while his wife became Mummy General Overseer (Mummy G.O). Among Nigerian Independent Pentecostal pastors, the word ‘Overseer’ means more than a pastor. It means the one in charge or control, the overall leader and boss, the one who supervises others. Therefore, Olukoya as the General Overseer (GO) of MFM means he is the supreme leader of the church. As the General Overseer, he oversees both the spiritual and the physical life of his church and members. For Olukoya, adopting such a title is a way to project his leadership and image as the ‘man of God’.

Olukoya is also believed to have formulated the vision and the mission statements of the church. These are:

- To propagate the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ all over the world
- To promote the revival of Apostolic signs, wonders and miracles
- To bring together children of God who are lost in dead churches
- To train believers in the art and science of spiritual warfare; thus making them an aggressive and victorious army for the Lord
- To train believers to receive Holy Ghost baptism and fire as well as a daily walk and relationship with the Holy Spirit
- To turn the joy of our enemies to sorrow. That is why we would always have a Deliverance ministry wherever we are. If you do not believe in deliverance, you are not supposed to be in MFM
- To build an aggressive end-time army for the Lord. MFM is an end-time church where we build an aggressive end-time army for the Lord. What is an end-time church? An end-time church is a church where a sinner enters with two options: he either repents or does not come back, contrary to the present-day church where sinners are comfortable and find things so easy and convenient
- To deliver those who have become slaves to pastors, prophets and apostles.
- To build up heavenly-bound and aggressive Christians. The priority in MFM is for people to make heaven. It is not a worldly Church.
- To build up prayer eagles.
- To purify the Pentecostal dirtiness of this age³⁰¹

The Mission and Vision Statement highlight three areas in which the church will function and what to do in these three areas. These areas are first, the world – the gospel of Jesus will be preached and the evil in the world such as Pentecostal dirtiness, fake servants of God and dead churches will be purged and revived. Second, the believers – they will be trained

³⁰¹ ‘About MFM’, <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about>, (accessed June 18, 2018).

in the art and science of warfare; help them receive Holy Ghost baptism; make them part of the end-time army and prepare them for heaven. Third, the church (MFM) will be a dispenser of grace, propagating the gospel of Jesus, promoting the revival of apostolic signs and miracles, turning the joy of enemies (malevolent spirits) to sorrow through deliverance, building an aggressive end-time army for the Lord, and raising prayer eagles. In essence, the goal of the church is to be a fundamental revivalist church. These mission and vision statements are the propelling force behind Olukoya's innovations and activities in the church. Some of these activities are examined below.

One of the activities of Daniel Olukoya geared towards the fulfilment of bringing together children of God who are lost in dead churches is the establishment of a campground, called 'the Prayer City'. The Prayer City project started in November 1997, when MFM acquired 50 hectares of land at kilometre 12, Lagos-Ibadan expressway. The work began on the site on June 9, 2000. The project was borne out of Olukoya's vision of having a place where prayers could go on continuously for 24 hours.³⁰² It is the second-largest religious camp in Nigeria³⁰³ and the main centre of religious activities in MFM. Anthropologist Buttici has described it as the main spiritual clinic of MFM.³⁰⁴

Prayer City is planned like a modern city with necessary social amenities such as bank, police station, shopping malls, shops, business centres, guesthouses, chalets, hostels, health centre, restaurants, and residential houses for MFM pastors and MFM members who bought a plot(s) of lands and built their own houses. There are other facilities such as multipurpose halls of different sizes and capacities, the international office of the church and a huge auditorium where most programmes especially 'Power Must Change Hands' programmes take place. This auditorium, according to Buttici's estimation seats almost one million people at a time.³⁰⁵ The church's newly established university, Mountain Top University, is also located there. There is also an Archive at the Prayer City housing some historical documents about the church.³⁰⁶ The two most important locations at the Prayer City are the intercession department and the deliverance department. The Intercession department is responsible for continuous prayer for the church, members, nations and any other issues that require prayer, while the deliverance

³⁰²Annalisa Buttici, "Crazy World, Crazy Faith! Prayer, Power and Transformation in a Nigerian Prayer City" in *Prayer in Religion and Spirituality*, ed. Giuseppe Giordan and Linda Woodhead (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2013), 247.

³⁰³Redemption Camp of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) is the largest prayer camp (city) in Nigeria.

³⁰⁴Buttici, 'Crazy World, Crazy Faith!' 247.

³⁰⁵Buttici, 'Crazy World, Crazy Faith!' 247.

³⁰⁶Pastor Aderogba Adewale Ralph is the one in-charge of the Archive.

department is responsible for setting people free through prayer from malevolent spirits troubling them.

Through Prayer City, Olukoya has succeeded in carving a niche for himself as the owner of one of the biggest religious estates and camps in Nigeria. Not only that, but he has also succeeded in carving out a sacred place, where thousands of people visit every month to receive divine power that will heal and set them free from evil spirits that torment and inflict them with misery and woes. This sacred place, the Prayer City is made possible through the leadership quality of Pastor Daniel Olukoya. In African society, success and popularity are measured by material possession; with Olukoya owning such a place as Prayer City, he is no doubt a charismatic leader and a successful man of God.

Similar to the role of Prayer City in the enhancement of the credibility of Olukoya's leadership skill and charisma is the role of the international headquarters of the church at 13 Olasimbo Street, Onike, Yaba, Lagos, which the church bought and moved into on Sunday 24th of April 1994.³⁰⁷ It was a large piece of land near the second gate of the University of Lagos. Contrary to all expectations, he transformed the slum into the international headquarters of the church. The church experienced rapid growth necessitating the buying of more land and property in the area to expand the church buildings. The whole area of Olasimbo has been bought over by the church. One of the former residents of the street has this to say, 'We have to give out our father's house to MFM in exchange for another house in Ilupeju (another part of Lagos) area.'³⁰⁸

The international headquarters consists of many buildings connected with a very big auditorium, which can seat about 100,000 people. The auditorium is where revival service on Wednesdays and Sunday service take place. Like Prayer City, prayers and deliverance services also take place here. The administrative building, School of Deliverance, Children and Teens church are also located in the international headquarters. The transformation of a slum area to a well-occupied area is no doubt a plus to Olukoya's leadership ingenuity. Furthermore, from just having a few plots of lands to hundreds of hectares of land bought over by MFM, is proof of the extent of the charisma of Olukoya as a powerful man of God.

As part of the vision to train believers in 'the art and science of spiritual warfare' Olukoya introduced a religious programme tagged, 'Power Must Change Hands'. This monthly

³⁰⁷ 'About MFM', <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about>, (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁰⁸ Rev Kayode Ilupeju (he is the senior pastor of Good News Baptist Church, Surulere), in a discussion with the author, March 2015, said that his father's house used to be on Olasimbo Street before it was bought over by MFM).

early Morning Prayer meeting is the most popular of all religious programmes of MFM. It is a prayer programme meant specifically for the deliverance of all people, especially, the attendees. The programme is opened to everyone, both the members and non-members of MFM. It takes place every first Saturday of the month at the Prayer City of the church located at Kilometer 12, Lagos-Ibadan Expressway. The programme usually starts at 7.00 am and lasts for about 4 hours, ending around 11.00 am. The average attendance at the programme according to the church is over 500,000 people. The programme is streamed live online through the church's website and the internet.

The Power Must Change Hands programme is well known to Lagos residents (both Christians and non-Christians) and the users of Lagos-Ibadan expressway who have to endure the agony of the monthly traffic bottlenecks that the programme causes. Through this prayer meeting, Olukoya has distinguished himself as a specialist in problem-solving with numerous claims of testimonies of deliverance from the people who have attended the programme and he is thus seen as a great man of God.³⁰⁹

The popularity of the programme and its significance is tied to what the name connotes. The name has to do with power. Power is a very important issue in Nigeria, also among Christians. Matthews Ojo, while writing on the importance of power, argued thus:

I am convinced that nothing occupies the attention of Africans as much as power, particularly its manifestation, whether in the form of material wealth, political and social statuses, traditional privileges like chieftaincy, colonial heritage, etc.... Power is focal to social relations for most Nigerians, amid a social milieu where 'power', whether in terms of ethnic linkages, financial resources, filial relations, or business connections, has been able to achieve much for them. Crucial to the life and activities of charismatic movements is the articulation and appropriation of new forms of power in very pragmatic terms to mediate and address the contemporary needs of Nigerians.³¹⁰

Tied to the issue of power among Africans and most importantly, Nigerians are the belief in spiritual warfare. As mentioned earlier, many Pentecostals believe that the backwardness, economic and financial hardship, political instability, run down and poor social infrastructures, ethnic rivalry and all social vices plaguing the country is the handiwork of demonic powers and malevolent spirits. These demonic powers or malevolent spirits can militate against the progress and well-being of individuals, families, an area, village, town or cities and even a nation. These malevolent spirits can even put people or nations in chains and hold them captive.

³⁰⁹This programme is similar to Redeemed Christian Church of God's monthly Holy Ghost programme in which the founder, Pastor E.A. Adeboye presides over every month.

³¹⁰Ojo, *The End-time Army*, 89.

Thus, individuals or groups of people must engage in spiritual warfare to break the bond of oppression and set the captives free. Breaking bonds of oppression and wickedness require wrestling power from the hands of malevolent spirits and putting them in bondage. Hence, 'Power Must Change Hands' provides attendees with the opportunity to experience the power of God through Olukoya, receive it, and overcome the various malevolent powers that disturb them. Attendees are promised divine power that will make them control their situation and destiny. Power, which has hitherto, resides in the hand of Satan, enemies and non-Christians will change hand and comes to the hand of attendees of the programme so that they will henceforth be powerful and be in control of their situations and destiny. Olukoya is presented as one of the elected leaders that can facilitate this changing of hands, from Satan to God. As his name suggests, he is the Daniel of our time.³¹¹

Another regular prayer programme for MFM members and non-members, which Olukoya introduced and is linked to him personally, is the annual Crossover Service. Crossover Service comes up every December 31 from 10.00 pm at the Prayer City. It usually starts on 24th December every year with prayer and fasting by individual members each day till December 31 when all the members of MFM will gather in Prayer City for the Crossover Service with the emphasis, 'Pray your way into the New Year and Prosperity Night'. The Crossover Service usually features praise songs, testimonies, prayer time and ministration by Olukoya. Daniel Olukoya is the only regular preacher at the programme. According to a member of the church, 'Ending the year and starting it with the powerful prayer of GO is wonderful, no demonic power can tamper with my life, the year and my future is secured, I have the power to deal with the enemies'.³¹² The philosophy behind the Crossover Service is that, whatever will happen in the New Year, people who attend the service can manipulate it for their good. Hence, every evil plan and occurrence of the New Year can be cancelled and turned to a good plan. Likewise, the attendees believe that they can prayerfully attract every good fortune of the year to themselves.

The prayer style of Olukoya has equally attracted attention and has provided a unique brand to MFM and its leader. The style is 'vigorous and violent prayers.' According to Buttici,

The peculiarity of the MFM prayer style gave the church a unique identity within the Pentecostal and Charismatic African churches. The growth, spread and wealth of MFM do owe a great deal to the power of its aggressive and violent prayer in

³¹¹Br. Samuel Austin, (a member of MFM) in a discussion with the author, November 2016.

³¹²A member of MFM in a discussion with the author, May 2015.

physically and spiritually fighting the evil forces causing individual, social, and spiritual afflictions.³¹³

Or, in the words of Olukoya:

Spiritual violence is needed. You must have violent anxiety. You must burst forth with holy anger, violent determination and faith. You must possess holy fury, fierceness, rage and madness. No soul that ever cried violently to God has been disappointed. There are prayers you must say and actions you must take so that fellow human beings look at you and say you are a mad person. If you want to survive in this crazy world, you need a crazy faith!³¹⁴

Olukoya went on to describe violent prayer thus, 'Violence means great power, forceful activity, damaging force, intense, severe and highly excited action, fury, fierceness, rage and rampage, madness and craziness, explosion, and storminess'.³¹⁵

Buttici argues that 'the style of MFM prayer has been strongly institutionalized through the production of a massive body of publications, translated into indigenous African languages'.³¹⁶ Particular to the MFM prayer style is that when prayers are offered, the last word or last phrase of the prayer is repeated at least 15 times. For example, 'Every demonic operation in my life die in Jesus name.' Then the word 'die' will be repeated about 15-20 times. It is not the repetition of the last word or phrase alone; everyone praying must also demonstrate his/her prayer through his/her action or gesticulation. Olukoya is not only seen as a man who merely teaches his members to pray or how to pray, but he is also seen as a very prayerful person, who can spend hours praying on his knees.³¹⁷

Preaching is another activity by which Olukoya demonstrates his leadership abilities- Daniel Olukoya's teachings revolve around deliverance from malevolent spirits. His sermons are usually based on African traditional ideas and worldview, especially as it concerns demonic manifestations and practices.³¹⁸ He will then use the scripture to support his ideas.

Furthermore, his constant exposition of the activities of demonic forces during his sermons fascinates many of his listeners. The reason for this is not far-fetched. Africans generally believe in the existence of demonic forces and their cohorts. Hence, when Olukoya

³¹³ Annalisa Buttici, 'Crazy World, Crazy Faith!', 244.

³¹⁴ Buttici, 'Crazy World, Crazy Faith!' 12.

³¹⁵ Daniel Olukoya, *Power Against Marine Spirits* (Lagos: Battle Cry Christian Ministry, 1999), 72.

³¹⁶ Buttici, 'Crazy World, Crazy Faith!' 24.

³¹⁷ Pastor Aderogba Ralph Adewale, (a member of MFM and the person in-charge of Archive at the Prayer City) in a discussion with the author, March 2014.

³¹⁸ It is generally believe in Africa and especially in Nigeria, that demons (malevolent spirits) can manifest by speaking through their victims, which they have possessed. Allan Anderson has written extensively on this. For detail, see Allan Anderson, 'African Pentecostalism and the Ancestors: Confrontation or Compromise?' in *Missionalia* 21, no.1, (April 1993): 26-39.

talks about them regularly and how to deal with them or overcome them, it thrills his followers and they have come to regard him as a man with unusual insight and power over the forces of darkness of this world. Furthermore, the promises of deliverance from the power of demonic forces causing poverty, lack, sickness, miscarriages, divorce, separation and pains is a great relief and source of hope to many who are constantly faced with the reality of poverty, bad governance and run-down social infrastructures.

Apart from the mission and vision statements of MFM, Olukoya has also directed his attention to social and civic engagements. In 2007, he started a football competition known as Dr D.K. Olukoya Youth Football Competition among all the branches of his church in Nigeria. By 2009, the competition extended to other branches of the church in West Africa. In 2013, Olukoya took over a Nigeria National Division One League club, Bolowotan Football Club of Ikorodu, Lagos and renamed it MFM Football Club.³¹⁹ In 2014, the club represented Nigeria in the Church World Cup Football Competition in India and won the trophy. The name of the club has since been changed to Mountain Top Football Club with the nickname, Olukoya Boys.³²⁰ Olukoya has maintained that the running of the football club and getting involved in sports is part of his agenda for the Nigerian youths because sport: 'is part of 70-Point Agenda in Mountain of Fire and Miracle Ministries, which is to reposition the youths of this generation for Christ Jesus, using sport as a tool...We are not using only football; there are other sports like athletics, basketball and table tennis.'³²¹ Since 2010, Olukoya through his church has been sponsoring the Under 18 National Athletic Competition.

Olukoya has also joined the league of a handful of founders of Independent Pentecostal churches that run a university³²² with the official commissioning of Mountain Top University on 21 December 2015 with 220 students.³²³

³¹⁹Prior to this time, MFM Football Club was only playing in Lagos State Amateur League see George Aluo, 'Olukoya wants MFM FC in Glo Premier League' *The Sun*, 27 December, 2014.

³²⁰'The Club' <http://www.mountaintopfc.com/the-club/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³²¹Abodunrin, Morakinyo, 'Dr. D.K Olukoya of MFM; My Life and Passion for Football' *The Nation*, March 30, 2014 <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/dr-d-k-olukoya-mfm-life-passion-football/> (accessed June 18, 2018), also see Aluo, 'Olukoya wants MFM FC in Glo Premier League'

³²²Benson Idahosa University, Benin of Church of God Mission; Covenant University (CU) and Landmark University of Winners Chapel of Bishop David Oyedepo; Redeemers University (RUN) of Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) of Pastor Enoch Adeboye.

³²³Admission is open to all categories of students (Christians, non-Christians, and international students), however, because of the strong emphasis on Christian principles and morality, majority of the students are from MFM. For now, the University has two colleges, College of Basic and Applied Sciences, and College of Humanities and Management Sciences with about 20 undergraduate programmes/courses. The Nigerian University Commission (NUC), the regulating body for universities in Nigeria, approves the University. <https://www.mtu.edu.ng/about-mountain-top-university/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

Olukoya through MFM uses media effectively to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ, proselyte unbelievers and maintain his charisma. The church has a functional and up-to-date website.³²⁴ Through the website, the programmes of the church both at the International Headquarters and at the Prayer City are streamed online.

Figure 4.4: The picture showing the gate of newly established Mountain Top University of MFM³²⁵

The website also hosts Mountain Voice Radio, an internet radio broadcast and a WebTV station through which Olukoya's messages are broadcast. The website also has a section for Olukoya's messages both in audio and video as well as transcribed messages (abridged form). Through the website, the church advertises her programmes and activities. The website also has a link to websites of other departments or activities of the church. Such links include a link to Mountain Top University, Mountain Top Football Club, Dr D.K. Olukoya MTU Foundation, MFM Music Ministry, God's Violent Victorious Army, Battle Cry Store, DKO E-Books, MFM Books, and Gen. 2:18 Singles. Olukoya is an active user of social media. He has a Facebook account.³²⁶ The website also has archives of Olukoya's preaching for ease of access.

A ministry known as Battle Cry Christian Ministries handles all of Olukoya books and messages. The ministry was established in June 1999 and the office is located at 322, Herbert Macaulay Street, Yaba, Lagos. The ministry publishes all books and literature authored by Daniel Olukoya and their services include worldwide marketing to major book distributors,

³²⁴The official website of the church is <http://www.mountainoffire.org/>

³²⁵<https://www.mtu.edu.ng/about-mountain-top-university> (accessed June 18, 2018)

³²⁶Daniel Olukoya's official Facebook account is <https://www.facebook.com/DR.OLUKOYA>

home delivery, and sales on the internet, for example on Amazon. The ministry has an arm known as The Battle Cry Christian Tape Ministry, which produces and distributes Olukoya's messages in CDs and DVDs formats, both in audio and video formats. Olukoya's messages are broadcasts on selected Nigerian television stations and foreign stations. For example, NTA 10 Lagos³²⁷ and LTV broadcast Olukoya's message 30 minutes every week, while Sky Channel 590 (a UK based TV station) broadcast Olukoya's messages on Wednesdays and Thursdays by 7.30 pm and on Sundays by 5.00 pm.³²⁸ Through the media, Olukoya sells himself to his followers all over the world and they continue to recognize his charisma.

Pastor Olukoya is seen as a highly spiritual and powerful person; hence, his followers revere him and are careful in their dealing with him lest they incur his wrath and the wrath of his God. A pastor at the International office of the Church in Yaba has this today, 'The GO deserves great respect because to disrespect him is to dishonour Gog's anointing upon him and incurs the wrath of God.'³²⁹ He is seen as a father figure who must be respected at all times and can always be looked up to for help in their time of needs. His pastors revere him since he is the 'General Overseer' and he could determine their lots and future in the church. His pastors bow to greet him, while women kneel to greet him.³³⁰

The following are some of the ways his members perceive him. When a female member of MFM was asked, who is Pastor Daniel Olukoya to you? She responded, 'I cannot call him Pastor Olukoya, he is GO, a powerful and true man of God'.³³¹ A male member of the church said, 'Pastor Olukoya is a prophet, prophet like Elijah'.³³² He is seen as Daddy or father, the one who cares, protects and defends his own. Just as God is the heavenly father, Olukoya is like an earthly father to all the members of his church. As mentioned earlier, Olukoya's official title is General Overseer or GO. However, some call him Daddy GO as can be seen in the handbill in Figure 4.5. He is the one in charge of both the secular and spiritual life of the members. He instructs them on what to do and what not to do. As a prophet, members see him as God's mouthpiece, hence whatever he says comes from God or they are what God asks him

³²⁷NTA 10 Lagos broadcasts Olukoya's messages twice every week on Thursdays and Saturdays at 5.00 pm and 6.00 pm respectively.

³²⁸<http://www.mountainoffire.org.uk/index.php/mfm-resources/watch-us-on-sky-590> (accessed on May 28, 2015)

³²⁹I observed this during my several visits to and worships at the international headquarters of the church at Yaba Lagos. Pastor Tade Martins, (one of the Pastors of MFM) also confirmed this observation in a discussion with the author, February 2014).

³³⁰I observed this several times I visited the church.

³³¹Mrs Lola Williams, (a member of MFM, at International Headquarters of the church) in a discussion with the author, February 2014).

³³²Mr Tunde David, (a member of MFM, at International Headquarters of the church) in a discussion with the author, February 2014).

to say. Furthermore, as a prophet, he is an intermediary between his members and God. He represents his members before God and represents God before his members. Just as Elijah in the Bible performed miracles, Olukoya is endowed with the power to perform miracles and heal people. Olukoya is so revered that members of his church often rush to stand, sit or prostrate where he often stands (pulpit area) to preach or go there immediately he leaves the place,³³³ to be connected with his anointing and receive their needed miracles.

Figure 4.5: A handbill describing Daniel Olukoya as Daddy GO³³⁴

There are numerous testimonies from members of MFM of miracles and breakthroughs they claimed they received when their Father in the Lord, Daniel Olukoya, prayed for them. Testimony time is a regular part of most services in MFM, especially during the monthly Power Must Change Hands Programme. A substantial part of the service is given to members to give testimony of miracles they have received from God. Some testimonies from February 2016 edition of Power Must Change Hands include a couple who claimed of being blessed with a child after 5 years of being barren. Another testifier claimed that his family received a breakthrough that enabled them to pay all their debts and build a house in Lagos; another one claimed that his sick child was miraculously healed. Of particular interest is a woman who claimed that she was a Muslim before coming to MFM, but through the God of Olukoya, she

³³³I witnessed this on several occasions during my visit to the International headquarters of the church in Akoka, Lagos.

³³⁴https://www.facebook.com/DR.OLUKOYA_ (accessed June 18, 2017)

was delivered of a baby girl after medical doctors had told her she had a fibroid growth and not a pregnancy. This miracle made her and the husband convert to Christianity and join MFM.³³⁵ However, these testimonies are unverifiable, but they build and project Olukoya's reputation as a charismatic leader.

4.3.1 Leadership Role and Charisma of Pastor Shade Olukoya

As mentioned in chapter three, Shade Olukoya is also a pastor in MFM. Before her marriage to Olukoya, she was never a pastor nor attended any pastor school. She was just a member of the choir at one of the branches of Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) in Lagos. However, after she got married to Olukoya and the church grew, Shade Olukoya became known and addressed as a pastor. This could be because of the desire of her husband, Olukoya to make her part of the leadership in MFM or the gradual manifestation of her gifts, which members began to notice in her. She is a singer and a soloist. She sometimes sings solos during the service or sings a duet with her husband. However, in recent times, members see her as a charismatic woman and address her as Mummy GO. This makes her be at the same pedestal with her husband, Daddy G.O. Furthermore, she is the International Coordinator of Women Foundation, which was inaugurated in September 2006 to cater to the affairs of women in MFM Ministries Worldwide. According to the information on the website of the North America Women Foundation,

Women Foundation can be described as the women arm of MFM Ministries Worldwide. This implies that in MFM Ministries Worldwide the Women Foundation would henceforth supervise anything and everything about women. MFM Women Foundation is, therefore, the new parent body set up to supervise, direct and regulate all activities relating to Women in MFM Worldwide. Besides, none of the Women departments stands independent of the MFM Women Foundation anymore. The MFM Women Foundation is a vital department, which would be in operation in all MFM branches Worldwide.³³⁶

Pastor Shade is the International President of the Women Foundation, while the husband is the International Coordinator.³³⁷ The Women Foundation has given Pastor Shade control over all the women in MFM. Moreover, since there is no branch of MFM without women,

³³⁵These testimonies were recorded and can be found on YouTube, Mountain of Fire Miracles Ministries Dallas Texas, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LyZG_4lh1Ek (accessed June 18, 2018).

³³⁶'About Us MFM North America Women Foundation', <http://mfmnawomenfoundation.org/wp/about-us/>, (accessed August 6, 2018).

³³⁷'About Us MFM North America Women Foundation' <http://mfmnawomenfoundation.org/wp/about-us/> (accessed August 6, 2018). President is more of a ceremonial leadership with limited executive power. The real power is with the Coordinator. However, Shade Olukoya still exercise control over the MFM women.

invariably, she has access and authority in all the MFM branches worldwide. With this, Pastor Shade is above every other minister in the church and she is clearly in the leadership position in the church. The website of the church attests to this by describing her thus, ‘Mrs. Shade Olukoya is the wife of our General Overseer and our Mother-in-the-Lord. With her beloved demeanour, she provides solid leadership alongside her husband at the MFM Church.’³³⁸ She is usually the main speaker in meetings and conferences organized by the Women Foundation, except on some occasions when the husband is also invited as the speaker (See Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7). These frequent opportunities for speaking or ministering to women all over the world has brought her to the same pedestal as the husband and has made many members of MFM see her as a charismatic woman pastor.

A critical look at the women programmes, Shade Olukoya presides over reveals that they are successful in terms of attendance and the audiences they reach. These programmes cut across all the MFM provinces and regions, even beyond the shore of Nigeria. They have helped in drawing support for her husband especially from the women folks. Some of them have become full members of MFM through their presence in these programmes. She is a well sought after in MFM women meetings through which many women have come to see her as a charismatic pastor with special gifts.

Figure 4.6: An invitation Card by North America Women Foundation to her 2nd Annual National USA Women Foundation Convention showing Pastor Shade Olukoya the International Coordinator of MFM Women Foundation as the main speaker.³³⁹

³³⁸‘Dr. Daniel and Sis. Shade Olukoya’, <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about/dr-daniel-and-sis-shade-olukoya> (accessed August 10, 2018).

³³⁹<https://www.facebook.com/DR.OLUKOYA> (accessed June 18, 2017).

She is seen as a mother figure that must be respected at all time. Pastors in the church respect her since she is the wife of the General Overseer, a pastor and at the same time, the worldwide leader of women in MFM. Hence, her rules and regulations must be obeyed. As mentioned earlier, just as Pastor Daniel Olukoya is called Daddy GO, Pastor Shade is also called ‘Mummy GO’ (Mummy General Overseer) or Mother in the Lord.

Figure 4.7: A handbill for the 4th Annual National Conference of North America & the Caribbean Women Foundation. Pastor Olukoya and His Wife, Shade, were the only speakers.³⁴⁰

She is not just a mother; she is a mother to the generality of all the MFM members. She is known to be a prayerful woman, who can pray effectively and miracles will happen. Members believe she is endowed with a gift to perform miracles and heal the sick as well as a gift for visions and dreams.

4.4 Dynamics of Leadership and Charisma of Pastor Taiwo Odukoya in TFOLC

Members of the church see Pastor Taiwo Odukoya as a charismatic and a great leader. Pastor Odukoya formulated the vision upon which the church continues to operate. According to its website, ‘The Fountain of Life Church is a place for people committed to making a difference; a home for the lost, and those in search of direction, purpose and calling’.³⁴¹ The mission clearly states what the church is expected to be, the church would be a place where members are committed to making a positive impact around them. It will also be a place where care, in the form of safety, provision, protection and nourishment to people who are lost- physically,

³⁴⁰<https://www.facebook.com/DR.OLUKOYA> (accessed June 18, 2017).

³⁴¹‘Our Mission’, <http://www.tfolc.org/about-us> (accessed June 18, 2017).

spiritually, emotionally and financially. For such people, TFOLC will assist them to get direction, a purpose for life and a call into a vocation. This mission statement remains the pursuit of Pastor Odukoya as he provides leadership for TFOLC.

TFOLC also has four assignments to render to her members and the world at large. This assignment, Odukoya termed ‘Our Call’, goes thus:

We are called to assist believers to become rooted, grounded and established in the Word of God. This we achieve by encouraging the saints to give God’s Word the first place in their lives. We are committed to raising leaders by building and equipping the saints to operate confidently in biblical principles. This way they can excel in all aspects of life and influence their worlds positively. We are called to proclaim the Lordship of Jesus Christ to all corners of the world by raising and providing support to missions. We are called to be a centre of refuge for the hopeless and underprivileged– the physically, emotionally and mentally abused. We are called to emphasize the importance of the three basic God-ordained institutions – the Family, the Church and the Government, for the benefit of all.³⁴²

The call focuses on the ‘world’ and believers. The world comprises of unbelievers, the hopeless, and the underprivileged. The church has a call to give refuge and hope to the underprivileged and all those experiencing one form of abuse or the other. This will be done through the proclamation of the Lordship of Jesus Christ to the entire world through missions. To the believers, the church is called to help them maximize their potentials by becoming the best in life through God’s word. The church also has a call to raise leaders in various human endeavours by helping them operate through biblical principles. Through Odukoya’s charismatic leadership, programmes to achieve these objectives were introduced. Some of these I will discuss briefly.

Perhaps the most popular programme that launched Odukoya and his church to the limelight and portrays him as a charismatic leader is the introduction of ‘Singles and Married’ programme which started in 1993 with his late wife, Pastor Bimbo, to minister to singles of the church. It started as a weekly meeting for single men and women who met separately with the Pastors but was later merged to form Singles Fellowship, under the leadership of Pastor Bimbo.³⁴³ Pastor Bimbo’s charismatic leadership and oratory skill helped the fellowship to grow and the scope was expanded to include even the married. The focus of the discussion was mainly relationships, especially to the opposite sex for singles, and between husbands and wives for the married. The programme soon attracted non-members of the church, and then

³⁴² ‘About Us-The Fountain of Life Church’ <https://www.tfolc.org/about-us/>, (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁴³ Odukoya, *Glorious Legacy*, 138.

was aired on some Nigerian television stations, through which it became very popular on campuses of higher institutions in Nigeria.

The programme became so successful that it transcended the shores of the country to other African countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ghana and South Africa. Apart from Pastor Bimbo being a good and passionate speaker, one thing that worked for her was that she boldly taught on relationship and sexuality, which was not common in churches then. Thus, she redefined the paradigm of the relationship and sexuality culture among Christians in Nigeria.³⁴⁴ She openly and fearlessly discussed issues such as premarital sex and sex within marriage, which was hitherto a closed and uncharted terrain both in the church and in the society. Though the programme stopped with the death of Pastor Bimbo, her recorded messages are still very popular and continue to project the image of the church as well as that of Pastor Taiwo Odukoya.

Another popular programme that shots Taiwo Odukoya into the limelight and projects his leadership is called 'Discovery for Men'. This is an outreach dedicated to equipping men to fulfil their God-ordained leadership position.³⁴⁵ It is organized through a quarterly rally or gathering of men that normally includes a popular Christian guest artiste, testimonies, preaching by Pastor Taiwo Odukoya and prayer time. The first Discovery for Men rally was held on Sunday, April 19, 1997. There is also Discovery for Men Enhancement Programme, which is occasional workshops, where celebrated family men, high-flying professionals and committed community leaders, are invited to share their stories and the godly principles, which form the bedrock of their life, family and professional accomplishments, with men.³⁴⁶

Discovery for Women is another popular programme in TFOLC and it is dedicated to challenge, empower, and motivate women to rise and become what God has ordained them to be in their different roles as wives, mothers and leaders.³⁴⁷ It started in 1998 and Pastor Bimbo coordinated it until her death in December 2005 when the husband took over its leadership. Pastor Taiwo Odukoya and his new wife, Pastor Nomthi are now the regular speakers. Discovery for Women also holds an annual enhancement programme to which distinguished women are invited to share their knowledge, skills and life lessons as Christians and leaders in business, politics and the corporate sectors.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁴See Matthews A. Ojo, 'Religion and Sexuality: Individuality, Choice and Sexual Rights in Nigerian Christianity' (Lagos: Africa Regional Sexuality Resource Centre, 2005), 2-3.

³⁴⁵'About Taiwo Odukoya' <http://taiwoodukoya.org/about/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁴⁶'Discovery For Men', <http://www.discoveryformen.org/about-us/>, (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁴⁷'Discovery For Women Ministry', <http://discoveryforwomen.org/dfw-ministry/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁴⁸'Discovery For Women Ministry', <http://discoveryforwomen.org/dfw-ministry/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

‘Thursday showers’ is a weekly Morning Prayer service which starts at 9.00 am every Thursday at the church auditorium and is open to both members and non-members. The programme includes testimonies and a sermon by Pastor Taiwo. During this time, he can also single out some worshippers for special blessings, especially the sick or people facing challenges in life. There is a weekly newsletter, *Thursday Showers Newsletter* devoted to publishing testimonies from the programme. It is a very popular and well-attended programme in TFOLC because of the belief that it is an avenue to receive blessings, solutions to life problems and miracles. The name itself is symbolic; it means a refreshing time, a time for members to be refreshed from pains and life troubles through his servant, Pastor Odukoya.

Odukoya is involved in social actions and engagements. The church runs what she calls the Lord’s Kitchen, as part of its social engagements. The Lord’s Kitchen provides free food for indigent members of the church as well as members of the public every day except on Sundays. The Lord’s Kitchen is located in the Ilupeju area of Lagos. The church also operates Grace Springs Cooperative Multipurpose Society Limited (GSCMS), which is licensed by the Lagos State Ministry of Agriculture. The cooperative commenced operation on 1st of June, 2012³⁴⁹ to provide soft loans to small and medium scale entrepreneurs and provide land and housing investment opportunities.

The use of media is also employed to boost the visibility of Pastor Odukoya and his charisma. The church has a well-designed and functional website. The website contains adequate information about the church and her ministries. The website also has links to websites of other ministries and departments of the church such as Discovery for Men, Discovery for Women, The Woman Leader, Church 3:16 (Teenagers Ministry), Just 30 Minutes (prayer request), PBO (Pastor Bimbo Odukoya) Foundation, Ruth & Boaz Fellowship for singles, separated, divorced, widows and widowers, Pastor Taiwo and Pastor Nomthi sites. Through the website of the church, Sunday worship service and special programmes of the church are streamed live. Past messages of Pastor Taiwo can also be accessed on the website.

The Church has a publication department, which is saddled with the responsibilities of printing church magazines and newsletter. The church has three regular and official publications. These are *The Fountain*, a bi-monthly magazine of the church, *Fountaineer Newsletter*, a quarterly newsletter of the church, and *Thursday Showers Newsletter*, a weekly newsletter of the church, which is devoted mainly to publication of testimonies given at the weekly Thursday Showers programme. The church also has a publishing house known as Grace

³⁴⁹Ruth and Boaz, ‘Cooperative’ <http://ruthandboaz.org/cooperative/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

Springs Africa Publishers that publish all the books written by Pastor Taiwo Odukoya and Pastor Nomthi. Grace Springs Publishers is run commercially both for members of the church and the public.

Pastor Taiwo Odukoya relates very well with his members, and he is highly respected because of the belief that he is a man of God who is highly empowered by God. Many of his members try as much as possible to copy and behave like him, hence during service when he shouts or makes any particular sound, they also mimic or repeat that sound.³⁵⁰ Though he is not often called any special name other than Pastor Taiwo, however, he is seen as a father, a spiritual father, who cares about the totality of the lives of the church members- spiritual, physical, social, economic and emotional.³⁵¹

Though his members do not call him by the title, prophet, his members see him as a prophet who sees beyond the ordinary, and whose words will meet their needs, solve their problems and bring needed solutions and breakthrough to their lives.³⁵² One of the members said of Pastor Odukoya, ‘And I can say authoritatively here that our Pastor is highly favoured of the Lord, when he decrees and makes a petition to God, God sends the heavenlies (angels) to ensure that He backs his word.’³⁵³ Another one said, ‘They should never joke with the vessels God is using to work through (sic), for if we believe His prophets, we will prosper. In my case, Pastor Taiwo is God’s prophet to me and always speaks through the office of my pastors. God can speak at any service, once we are expecting to hear from Him and He will perfect every good work that He starts in our lives’.³⁵⁴

When he preaches, he often utters what is called ‘prophetic revelations’ about the life situations of the members. Hence, many of the members believe he has the gift of vision and prophecy. They often give testimonies of his miraculous power, which has brought healing, provision, deliverance, breakthrough, promotion and blessings to their lives.³⁵⁵ Pastor Taiwo has compiled such testimonies into a book, which he published in 2014. Though many of these testimonies are unverifiable, his followers believe that these testimonies are proof of his leadership, charisma and the power of God in his life.

³⁵⁰I observed this on several occasions during my visit and participation in the church services.

³⁵¹Taiwo Odukoya is not seen like Olukoya, a perceived, miracle worker, hence, there is less emphasis on ‘special anointing’ The emphasis of the church is less on miracles, and more on psychosocial issues.

³⁵²Kayode Davies, (a member of the Church) in a discussion with the author, December 2014.

³⁵³‘Pastor Gbenga testimony’ <http://www.tfolc.org/component/hdflvplayer/615/title/Supernatural-Enlargement-by-Pastor-Taiwo-Odukoya./id/75/page/1> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁵⁴‘Tiwa Soriyan’s Testimony’ <http://nomthiodukoya.org/category/testimonies/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁵⁵Pastor Taiwo Odukoya himself has compiled these testimonies into a book titled, *The Proof: Real Life Testimonies of those touched by the power of God*.

Figure 4.8: The cover of a book authored by Pastor Taiwo Odukoya, which is a compilation of testimonies of miracles that his members claimed they have received through him.³⁵⁶

4.4.1 Leadership Role and Charisma of Pastor Bimbo Odukoya

As mentioned in Chapter Three, Late Pastor Bimbo Odukoya (1960-2005) was a gifted, eloquent and dynamic teacher and preacher. She singlehandedly nurtured and brought Single and Married Programme of the church into the limelight and make it a global ministry. She also coordinated and nurtured the Discovery for Women Programme. Church members affectionately called her Pastor Bimbo and attributed to her gift of teaching and prophecy. Many of the members believe that she was a teacher, preacher, encourager, a mentor and one endowed with the gift of prophecy. Testimonies and tributes paid to her by church members and associates are a part of the book written by her husband, Taiwo Odukoya.

³⁵⁶Picture taken by the author.

4.4.2 Leadership Role and Charisma of Pastor Nomthi Odukoya

‘In a little less than six years of marriage, I have learned and gleaned lessons on life and leadership. Not just that, he prunes, pushes and loves me into becoming all that God called me to be. And this tells me a lot about how Pastor Bimbo handled her fame and ministry’.³⁵⁷

The statement above made by Pastor Nomthi is an indication of the gradual way she is warming herself to the hearts of the church members and finding her feet in the ministry. Though Pastor Simangele Rosemary Odukoya popularly called, Pastor Nomthi is still relatively new in the church. She married Pastor Taiwo Odukoya on January 5, 2010, in Lagos. She is already getting deeply involved in the affairs of the church. This is made possible because of the enabling environment and a platform, which her husband has created for her to operate, develop and display her charisma and leadership skill. Before her marriage to Odukoya, she was not a pastor but soon after her marriage, she became a pastor. This is quite different from what obtains now in the church, any would-be pastor must go through a series of in-house training with evidence of spiritual commitment to the church or the person would attend a Bible school.

Nevertheless, according to Pastor Nomthi’s statement above, her husband has encouraged her to discover and deploy her gifts. She is not only a pastor; she now ministers along with her husband both within and outside the country. She is a part of the leadership of the church and she is officially addressed as the Associate Senior Pastor of The Fountain of Life Church, Lagos, Nigeria.³⁵⁸ It should be pointed out that she became a member of the church only after she got married to Taiwo Odukoya. She is now above those who have been in the church and held leadership positions before she joined the church. Members have seen and continue to see her as a charismatic woman and attributed some gifts to her. As part of the evidence of her gift, she has written four books³⁵⁹ and has set up two non-governmental organizations. The first is called Fountain Initiative for Social Development (FISD), which is a faith-based non-profit organization committed to entrepreneurial development and empowerment of underprivileged individuals and communities across Nigeria;³⁶⁰ she is the chairperson of the NGO. She has also established the Funda Wazi Foundation, a Zulu term translated as ‘Learn and Grow,’ the foundation is committed to providing child-friendly resources to equip children and adults to ensure children’s safety and well-being.³⁶¹ It was

³⁵⁷Odukoya, *Glorious Legacy*, 97.

³⁵⁸‘About Pastor Nomthi’ <http://nomthiodukoya.org/about/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁵⁹The titles of these books are, *No! Don’t touch me there*; *A bully is not a hero*; *Help! They are fighting again*, and *Boys and girls are different but equal*

³⁶⁰‘About Pastor Nomthi’ <http://nomthiodukoya.org/about/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁶¹‘About Pastor Nomthi’ <http://nomthiodukoya.org/about/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

launched on the 26th of May 2015. In her word, she revealed her passion and area of calling in the ministry, she said,

So my passion will be something that included children, but if I cannot reach them directly, I work with parents to reach them. So parenting would be my major ministry because we need to pass the baton on; we need them to know about God. That's part of the vision of the church: we are building relationship...we need to build the one between the children and parents as well.³⁶²

Figure 4.9: A handbill advertising the Discovery for Women programme and showing Pastor Nomthi as co-host and co-minister.³⁶³

This is what Pastor Nomthi has been doing in the Fountain of Life Church. She now heads and oversees the women and children ministries in the church. She has a personal website,³⁶⁴ through which she promotes her activities such as her blog, articles, words of encouragement and sharing of the testimony of TFOLC members. She is also the co-host of the Discovery for Women with her husband. She is not just a co-host; she is a co-minister in the programme and other programmes of the church. She ministered on Sunday 10th of May 2015 when the church observed the Mothers' Day Celebration and was honoured during the service by all the pastors of the church as 'the mother in the house'. Such honour is a way to portray her as the spiritual

³⁶²Nomthi Odukoya, 'Being in God's Plan Just Makes Me Happy' in *The Fountain*, Lagos: Fountain of Life Church, October 2013), 35.

³⁶³A handbill issued by the church.

³⁶⁴'Home', <http://nomthiodukoya.org/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

and surrogate mother of all the members of the church, a mother who is available and ready to meet the need of her household (church members).

Pastor Nomthi relates well with members and they respect her. She is also a free and simple person who mixes freely; hence many loves and appreciates her simplicity. Most members call her Pastor Nomthi, while some members call her Mummy. Members freely shake hands with her, however courteously; while some bow slightly to greet her. Her qualification as an educationist and life coach with a Master's degree in Global Human Resource Management is helping her to stand out; she is recognised as a counsellor and encourager. As a result, some members of the church, especially women often seek her counsel. Many of the members also love to read her blogs through which she encourages and counsels people. Other members of the church see her as a prayerful person and often seek her prayer ministration.³⁶⁵ Pastor Nomthi is still relatively new in the church and still a nursing mother with three young children to care for. She has alluded to this when she said, 'God has been good. As you know, the children came in quick succession. I've been too busy to know how long I've been here.'³⁶⁶ Hence, she shares her time with the ministry as well as her children. The full extent of her charisma and relationship with the members may not be fully known now but will be further evident as time goes on.

4.5 Dynamics of Leadership and Charisma of Pastor Sam Adeyemi in Daystar Christian Centre

At Daystar Christian Centre, the recurrent word is change. Timely and inspired change is the mark of a healthy church that is alive to the directive of the Holy Spirit. Daystar has evolved over the years, passing through a series of changes required for more effective church ministry and by implication a greater impact on the larger society.³⁶⁷

The statement above is a part of the welcome words to newcomers to Daystar Christian Centre. The focus of the church has evolved through the dynamic pastor, Sam Adeyemi who birthed the vision for the church and continues to drive the constant change slogan that the church is well known. The vision of the church is 'raising role models', while the mission statement is, 'To empower you and I(sic) to discover, develop, release and maximize our potentials in

³⁶⁵'Pastor Gbenga testimony' <http://www.tfolc.org/component/hdflvplayer/615/title/Supernatural-Enlargement-by-Pastor-Taiwo-Odukoya./id/75/page/1> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁶⁶Odukoya, 'Being in God's Plan Just Makes Me Happy' 32.

³⁶⁷Daystar Christian Centre. *Welcome To Daystar...The Home of Stars*. <https://daystarn.org/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

God'.³⁶⁸ Pastor Adeyemi's focus is to raise exemplary people in society, people who will make significant positive impacts wherever they find themselves in the world at large. Such models are the ones fit to take the leadership mantle in all human endeavours. Daystar Christian Centre's assignment is about leadership; raising leaders; people who will transform this country and who will change the world in all spheres of life.³⁶⁹ Adeyemi believes that the vision is God-given and the desired objective of raising models is to raise quality leaders that will transform society.

The process involves empowering people, especially Daystar members to discover their potentials or gifts, which come from God. To help members develop and maximize their potentials positively, the church has four core values that will influence and determine the extent and the manner to which the potentials will be deployed. These core values, Pastor Adeyemi has put in the acronym REAL that stands for **R**ighteousness, **E**xcellence, **A**ccountability and **L**ove.³⁷⁰ Thus, every member of the church is expected to be righteous by shunning evil and every ungodly practice, strive for excellence in all they do, both in the church and outside the church, be transparent and responsible. Lastly, members are expected to show genuine love to one another and non-members. Sam Adeyemi instil these core values into the members through the following programmes:

Daystar Leadership Academy (DLA) is a non-profit oriented Leadership and Management Development School, established in January 2002.³⁷¹ The vision of DLA is to raise exceptional leaders and managers who will transform the world globally.³⁷² The academy started with Basic Certificate Course in Leadership in March 2002 with about three hundred and fifty participants. Later, an Advanced Certificate Course was introduced. In 2006, the Weekend Leadership Certificate Course was introduced for those who could not attend the weekday classes. This involves both a Basic Certificate Course and Advanced Certificate Course. Recently, Executive Leadership Course in Basic and Advanced Certificates was introduced for company Chief Executive Officers, Senior Pastors and General Overseers of Ministries. Besides, a Teenagers' version of the programme has started for students between ages 13 and 19. The weekday programme runs for a full week, while weekend programmes run for six consecutive weekends. The school is open to members and non-members of the church. The president of the school is Sam Adeyemi himself with other associate pastors of the church

³⁶⁸'Vision' <https://daystarng.org/about-us/vision> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁶⁹'Vision' <https://daystarng.org/about-us/vision>(accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁷⁰'Vision' <https://daystarng.org/about-us/vision>(accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁷¹'Our History' <https://daystarng.org/about-us/history>(accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁷²'Our History' <https://daystarng.org/about-us/history>(accessed June 18, 2018).

as well as guest lecturers from outside the church. Similar to DLA is Daystar Academy, which is strictly for church members. It is the resources development school for the church. It is a training and discipleship programme, through it, the vision of the church and ‘the spirit of the house’ is passed on to the members. The programme runs six times a year with sessions of 5 weeks and a holiday of 3 weeks each.

Another programme is the Excellence in Leadership Conference (ELC) (Figure 4.11). This conference, which started in 2008, takes place in the first week of November every year. The aim of the conference rests on the vision of the church, to raise leaders as models. Each year a theme is chosen that has to do with the leadership issue.³⁷³ The programme usually lasts for three days (Wednesday to Friday). Accomplished personalities who have excelled in their fields of endeavour such as sport, entertainment, media, social, ministry, science and technology and so on are usually invited to come, share the secret of their successes, and challenge participants on how to attain leadership. The programme is open to members and non-members of the church. Anyone who wishes to attend must register online at least two weeks before the conference to get a space.

Pastor Adeyemi uses his leadership skills to harness and maximize the use of media and media technology in branding his church.³⁷⁴ The church has a well-designed and functional website.³⁷⁵ The website gives adequate and up-to-date information about the church. For example, for anyone to attend most of the programmes of the church such as Daystar Leadership Academy, DLA, Excellence in Leadership Conference, one has to register online through the website. Tithes and offerings can also be paid through the website. Programmes of the church are streamed live through the website. The website contains an archive of Sam Adeyemi’s past messages. The department is tasked with the recording and transmission of Pastor Adeyemi’s messages in and outside the church. Such messages are transferred into DVD for sale to members and non-members of the church. The department also edits Sam Adeyemi’s messages for broadcast on Television stations both within the country and outside the country as can be seen in Figure 4.12.

The church also has a publishing house known as *Pneuma Publishers*; this publishing outfit is responsible for publishing Pastor Adeyemi’s books, his wife’s books and other

³⁷³The theme for 2016 is ‘Maximize Your Influence’, while that of 2014 was, ‘The Exemplary Leader’.

³⁷⁴It needs to be pointed out that though Sam Adeyemi is not an expert in media and media technology, but he drives the idea of using media technology to brand his church. He sets the vision base on advice and counsel from other pastors and members of the church. He makes use of professionals to achieve his goal. He is an helmsman. Sam Adeyemi, (the senior pastor of Daystar Christian Centre) in a discussion with the author, October 2011.

³⁷⁵‘Welcome To Daystar... The Home of Stars’ <https://daystarng.org/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

publications of the church. Pastor Adeyemi also has a website for his ministry³⁷⁶ through which he advertises his books and seminars. The website contains articles written by him on success and leadership. A related website is a website for his Success Power programme.³⁷⁷ Through this site, he shares a secret of success and financial breakthroughs with his audience. The programme is broadcast for 15 minutes on some radio stations in Nigeria.

Figure 4.10: A picture of the handbill for the Excellence in Leadership Conference 2016
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Pastor Adeyemi preaches and teaches on personal development, relationship, families, leadership and success principles using Bible texts to support his teachings.³⁷⁹ The growth of Daystar Leadership Academy is seen as evidence of his leadership ability. The Academy has grown from an enrolment of 350 students when it started in 2002 to over 5000 students annually. His Success Power programme, a 15 minutes daily teaching on principles of success and financial management is a popular and well-loved programme by members. With media, he has transformed himself into a global person with a global audience and influence.

³⁷⁶ <https://samadeyemi.net/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁷⁷ 'Welcome to Success Power International' <http://successpower.org/> (accessed June 18, 2018). It is for both audio and video messages.

³⁷⁸ A handbill issued by the church

³⁷⁹ This was observed in several of my visits and worship in the church as well as watching his video online and his TV broadcast on Television Continental (TVC) station on Sundays between 4.00 - 4.30 pm.

DAYSTAR TELEVISION BROADCASTS

Our reach gets even wider; We're on new Stations; In new cities; On different days!
SPREAD THE WORD!

Watch us on

▶ THE WORD NETWORK USA	10.00pm GMT +1	Mon - Fri.
▶ FAITH TV - UK	7.30pm GMT +1	Mon, Weds, Fri.
▶ DAYSTAR TV	3.00pm (Thursdays)	Fridays (9.00pm)
▶ DSTV AFRICA	2.00am	Saturdays
▶ SOWETO TV	9.00am & 3.30pm	Sundays
▶ KICC TV	6.00pm	Mon, Weds, Fri.
▶ EBONY LIFE TV DSTV Channel 165	7.00am – 7.30am Daystar broadcast	Sundays
	7.30am - 8.00am RealWoman broadcast	Sundays
	10.30am – 11.00am Success Power broadcast	Sundays
▶ KINGDOM AFRICA	9.00am & 8.00pm	Everyday
▶ GALAXY	10.30am	Saturdays
▶ GATEWAY	8.00am	Sundays
▶ KWARA TV	7.30am	Sundays
▶ TVC	4.00pm	Sundays
▶ OSUN TV	8.00pm	Thursdays
▶ OMEGA TV (South Africa)	8.30pm	Sundays
▶ PRTV, JOS	6.00pm	Wednesdays
▶ CONFLUENCE TV LOKOJA	10.00am	Saturdays
▶ STV BENIN	8.00am	Sundays
▶ ACBN	6.00pm	Tuesdays
▶ ON MYTV NETWORK	9.00pm	Thursdays
▶ STV P/HARCOURT	8.00am	Sundays
▶ STV AKWA	8.00am	Sundays

Figure 4.11: The Figure shows the broadcast schedule of Pastor Adeyemi's messages³⁸⁰

Pastor Sam Adeyemi has also involved the church in social engagements and community service. Although these programmes are Daystar's church programmes, they are tied to him. He is the one who initiates them and, in some cases, gives his approval if the programme is initiated by another pastor or department in the church. He often leads in these programmes, his presence and participation in these programmes draws crowds and authenticates his charisma as well as the generosity of the church to the people. According to the church website, the reason for engaging in community development is because 'We believe that it is the responsibility of the church to impact the society by showing the love of Jesus in practical terms'.³⁸¹ Some of the involvements of the church in community development are on

³⁸⁰www.daystar.ng (accessed June 18, 2017).

³⁸¹'Community Impact', <https://daystarng.org/community-impact/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

renovation and provisions of facilities in public schools, and the establishment of an empowerment programme for young entrepreneurs.³⁸²

Pastor Sam Adeyemi relates very well with his members. Although as a pastor and church leader, members respect and honour him, yet they relate with him as a friend and a brother. He is simply referred to as Pastor Sam (and not Samuel, his full name). Respect for him is borne out of the fact that members see him as a true man of God, a man of integrity, a teacher, a preacher and an insightful person. Furthermore, members see him as a prayerful person and they believe that when he prays for them regularly, they will experience success and victory in all their endeavours. A section of the church's website is dedicated to testimonies from church members who claimed that they received miracles when he prayed for them. Some of these include a member who testified of being cured of glaucoma³⁸³ after he was prayed for, while another one testified of being healed of leukaemia.³⁸⁴ Though these testimonies may be unverifiable, yet to the members, they are evidence of Pastor Sam's leadership capability and charisma.

4.5.1 Leadership Role and Charisma of Pastor Nike Adeyemi

Nike Adeyemi is the co-founder and Deputy Senior Pastor at Daystar Christian Centre. She is a gifted speaker and charismatic woman, who has contributed to branding the church, thus advertising her charisma. She came into the limelight through her pet project, Real Women Foundation (RWF), a non-governmental and non-profit making organization. She started RWF in 1997 to reach out to commercial sex-workers with the gospel of Jesus Christ. The foundation has since grown, to include 'Love Home Orphanage', which caters for abused and abandoned children, and Peace Villa, which is a rehabilitation centre for abused and abandoned children. Two things have made the Foundation stand out. First, the Real Woman with Nike Adeyemi TV programme, through which Nike Adeyemi teaches on many topics with a particular focus on women and family. She also hosts professionals during the broadcasts where they discuss and proffer solutions to various life issues.³⁸⁵ The second one is the Real Women Seminar; where issues that have to do with women and family based on scriptural principles are discussed. The Seminar is held four times a year: March, June, September and December. Nike is mostly the main speaker. Furthermore, she is a popular speaker in women programmes and

³⁸²In a discussion with two of the Daystar pastors with the author, July 2016. The author has also being to some of these schools to verify the claim.

³⁸³'Eye Glaucoma Gone!' <https://daystarng.org/eye-glaucoma-gone/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁸⁴'Eye Glaucoma Gone!' <https://daystarng.org/eye-glaucoma-gone/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

³⁸⁵'Real Woman Media' <http://therealwoman.org/home/real-woman-media/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

conferences organized by other Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos. She is a passionate and vibrant speaker who can easily carry her listener along and sway them to her side as she speaks.³⁸⁶ She occasionally preaches in the church during the Sunday services and a regular speaker at the annual Excellence in Leadership Conference of the church.

LOCATION	TV STATIONS	TIME OF BROADCAST
USA	Word Network	Thursday - 9pm EST
UK & EUROPE	KICC TV	Mon to Fri - 9:00pm (Sky TV)
	Faith TV	Sunday - 4:30pm (Sky TV)
	ACBN INTERNATIONAL	7.30am-8am & 3.30pm-4pm Thurs & Fri
AFRICA	Ebony Life TV	Sundays - 7:30am (DSTV)
	Silverbird TV	Sundays - 8:00pm (DSTV)
	Kingdom Africa	Fridays - 8:00pm (DSTV)
NIGERIA	KICC TV	Mon to Fri - 9pm/10pm (MYTV)
	OMEGA TV	Thursdays - 9:30pm (MYTV)

To watch past & current episodes,
www.therealwoman.tv nikeadeyemi.com

Figure 4.12: A poster showing a schedule of Pastor Nike Adeyemi's TV programme³⁸⁷

Like her husband, Nike Adeyemi relates very well with members. The respect shown to her is devoid of any hero worship. Women greet her freely without having to kneel for her except those who are younger in age to her. Members respect her as a good speaker, preacher and a prayerful woman. She has no special name or title other than Pastor Nike. Respect for her is borne out of the fact that members see her as a true woman of God, a woman of integrity, a teacher, a preacher and a compassionate woman. There are testimonies of people who have

³⁸⁶ Observation by the author at the 2nd worship service on Sunday November 9, 2015.

³⁸⁷ <http://therealwoman.org/home/real-woman-media/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

been touched by her kindness and those whose marriages and homes have been transformed because of her teachings and the counsels she gave to them.

4.6 Women and Leadership in the Independent Pentecostal Churches

Despite the general notion that women are more religious than men,³⁸⁸ and the fact that women were instrumental in the founding and subsequent growth of the early Pentecostal movements,³⁸⁹ black as well as white church leadership in Independent Pentecostal churches has for long been dominated by men. Women are in most cases followers except where they are allowed to serve as assistant leaders. This is also the view of Nkululeko Malinga who argued that ‘Men have been, more often than not, aligned with leadership and this has made it difficult for women to locate spaces and obtain acknowledgement for their leadership’.³⁹⁰ This is similar to the observations of Heuser, Körner and Rosenfeld in South Africa: ‘while men took a leading role in shaping the church as an institution, women were subordinated to them as helpers and followers’.³⁹¹ Many reasons account for this scenario, one of them is the cultural belief and practice that men are natural leaders, while women are followers. It is also believed that nature and domestic responsibilities of women such as parenting and household responsibilities do not position women adequately for church leadership. Indeed, in the African Independent churches, especially the Aladura strand, the idea that the monthly menstruation of women will make them unclean and unfit for a leadership position is a strong factor. Furthermore, the wrong interpretation of the Bible passage (1 Corinthians 13:34-35 which can be contested) that women should keep silent in church meetings and should ask their husbands questions at home has strengthened the position that women are not fit for leadership in the church.³⁹²

However, rapid social change has brought up a new scenario in female leadership in Nigeria. Women in Independent Pentecostal churches in Nigeria and Lagos metropolis, in

³⁸⁸Paul D. Sullins, ‘Gender and Religion: Deconstructing Universality, Constructing Complexity’ *American Journal of Sociology* 112, no. 3 (2006): 838.

³⁸⁹ Charles H. Barfoot and Gerald T. Sheppard, ‘Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion: The Changing Role of Women Clergy in Classical Pentecostal Churches’ *Review of Religious Research* 22, no.1 (1980): 2.

³⁹⁰Nkululeko Malinga, ‘Are We There Yet? Perspectives on Women and Leadership’ *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, no. 65 (2005): 105.

³⁹¹Andreas Heuser, Peter Körner and Annette Rosenfeld, ‘Gendered Leadership in South African Churches: Case Studies of African Instituted Churches and the Dutch Reformed Church’ *Journal for the Study of Religion* 17, no. 2 (2004): 77.

³⁹²‘Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the Law says. If they want to inquire about something, they should ask their own husbands at home; for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church. 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 (NIV).

particular, have created space for the leadership position in the church like their male counterparts. The major reason for this is the change in churches' practices and understanding of the roles of women. Independent Pentecostal churches, unlike the mainline denominations such as Anglican, Methodist, Baptist and so on, which have not fully accepted female pastoral leadership, have been more dynamic about female leadership. Women, especially wives of the church leaders studied, have been ordained as pastors and have the same rights as their male counterpart. On this, Susan Kwilecki has observed that women have the same capabilities as men in the religious domain and could be vessels of service.³⁹³ Therefore, there is a new awareness and understanding in independent Pentecostal churches that women could similarly lead.

Furthermore, the desire for visibility on the part of the women in independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos; especially wives of church founders has led to the emergence of many women as church leaders. Women who see themselves as gifted have desired to be seen and not to be relegated to the background or play a secondary role to their male counterparts. For such women, the first step towards attaining leadership position is to make themselves visible by displaying their charisma such as in organising programme, establishing a ministry or an NGO, or preach in programmes like their husband. This is evident among the wives of the leaders of these churches. When this visibility is achieved, the next step is for these women to desire authority that will help them function in the church. Thereafter, their visibility is legitimised as they featured in programmes along with their husbands and leading departmental or sectional programmes for women and children or setting up of NGOs. By creating sub-groups and programmes for women actualisation, visibility and authority are achieved. The authority allowed the women to legitimise their visibility and allow them to be formally recognised. The authority also confers on them the power to act in a leadership capacity. The final stage is leadership for the women who have attained visibility, confers on them the authority which eventually takes them to a leadership position in these churches.³⁹⁴ Wives of the church leaders studied followed the steps enumerated above, except Bimbo Odukoya.

³⁹³Susan Kwilecki, "Contemporary Pentecostal Clergywomen: Female Christian Leadership, Old Style" *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 3, no. 2 (1987), 65.

³⁹⁴In another dimension, these wives probably do all these things in order to justify their high status as the GO's wife; after all, they are also pastor and co-owner of the church and its enterprises. Furthermore, they are also modelling 'successes' to other women, by combining the roles of wife, mother and successful but compassionate 'pastorpreneur'. In addition, they also help to establish their husbands as 'good men', who are safely married, and their closeness often seen in the pictures with their husbands, portray a model of deep affectionate and romantic relationship.

Consequently, leadership positions in most Independent Pentecostal churches are no longer the exclusive right of men; women too have been involved in the leadership in all the areas of church life.³⁹⁵ This view has also been supported by Sylvia Sweeney who submitted that ‘Leadership in this twenty-first-century church - at least in principle - is now open to almost all Christians, and all must be formed and prepared for that work’.³⁹⁶

4.7 Closing Remarks

This chapter has attempted to provide an answer to the central question of how the founders of these churches used their charisma in branding their churches. The chapter identified leadership roles of the founders and their wives in the four selected churches to include casting of vision and mission statements for their churches, which serve as a springboard upon which branding, activities and programmes of these churches rest. Each of these churches has a peculiar and distinct vision statement, hence each of them has different focuses, programmes and activities.

These leaders used their leadership skills to brand their churches through the innovations and programmes they introduced in these churches. The use of media and media technology is one innovation that is common to all four leaders and their churches.³⁹⁷ With media, they advertise and ‘sell’ their leadership skills and display their charisma to their teeming members and make themselves global personalities. As part of their leadership strategies, these leaders have created a platform and enabling environment for their wives to express their charisma and stand in the same pedestal with them in the leadership position. This shows that these wives are charismatic women in their own right. Hence, these women are involved in the leadership of the churches and co-create the brand of these churches, particularly in the areas associated with women, marriage, sex and relationships, parenting, and social work.

The followers like all these leaders and even revered them, although the relationship varied. The major type of relationship that exists is a follower-leader relationship. In this relationship, the members revere the leader and the wife. This kind of relationship makes the members honour their leaders, sometimes to the point of venerating them. All these leaders

³⁹⁵However, women are not yet fully allow taking up leadership position in mainline and Aladura churches. There is a limit to the leadership position they can occupy in these churches, men are still see as the de-facto leaders, while women as seen as subordinate leaders to their men counterparts.

³⁹⁶Sylvia Sweeney, “The Feminization of the Episcopal Priesthood: Changing Models of Church Leadership” *Anglican and Episcopal History* 83, no. 2 (2014): 144.

³⁹⁷For more detail on the use of media and media technology in Pentecostal churches, see Rosalind I. J. Hackett, ‘Charismatic/Pentecostal appropriation of Media Technologies, 266.

have identifiable gifts, which their members have attributed to them, and have made them dear to their members. According to the members of the churches of these leaders, the identifiable gifts include teaching, healing, preaching, wisdom, prophecy, counselling and working of miracles. There are testimonies from the members of the churches of these leaders about the charisma of their leaders in bringing miracles and blessings to them. Although these testimonies are not verifiable, the members believe that they are genuine miracles and they are evidence of the charisma of their leaders.

The next chapter will look at the administrative and organizational structure put in place by these leaders in their churches.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORGANIZATIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES OF THE SELECTED CHURCHES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the organizational and administrative structures of the selected churches to understand the functional relationship among the various offices and people in each of the four churches. By administrative structure, the researcher means the formalized processes such as the formal designation of roles as well as various departments or units and people involved in decision making and the day-to-day running of the activities of these churches. On the other hand, by organizational structures, the researcher meant the internal structure and workings vis-à-vis various organs of these churches. While by hierarchical relations, the researcher means the top-down relationship, that is, the relationship between the leaders and subordinates; especially as it concerns channel of communication, the flow of information and directives from top-down and down-up.

The goal of the chapter is to discuss aspects of the internal structures and workings of these churches that will help to understand how these churches respond to internal and external dynamics and external stimuli. The central question of this chapter is what informed the nature and the type of organizational and administrative structures in these churches with the way Charismatic authority functions? Also, how do these structures function to move the churches forward? The chapter concludes by comparing and contrasting the organizational and administrative structures of all the four churches. The primary sources for this chapter are mainly published materials emanating from the churches, interviews conducted with some key pastors and members of these churches. I also made use of participant-observations of various religious programmes organized by these churches. Lastly, the websites of these churches, as well as the website of the Corporate Affairs Commission,³⁹⁸ were also used.

Like in most Pentecostal churches, centralized and hierarchical organizational and administrative structures are put in place to manage the growth of the churches and at the same time, preserve their charisma. Although there is a process of routinisation going on in these churches, this process is yet to be completed, and it allows these leaders to maintain their charisma and remain relevant in their churches.

³⁹⁸Corporate Affairs Commission in Nigeria is a federal institution/agency established in 1990. It is an autonomous body charged with the responsibility to regulate the formation and management of companies in Nigeria. Its website is, <http://new.cac.gov.ng>

There is the scarcity of literature on the organizational and administrative structures of Pentecostal churches, especially Nigerian Pentecostal churches because most of the Nigerian Pentecostal churches hardly make known to the public their internal workings and arrangements.³⁹⁹ Nevertheless, it is required under the Nigerian law that certain activities and operations of formal organizations including religious organizations should be made public, especially before such organization is registered with the government through the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC).⁴⁰⁰ However, many of these churches only submit documents for registration with the government without making public their activities or operations. As a result, what they practice is quite different from the information they submitted to the government for registration. This is possible because the government does not closely monitor or supervise what goes on in these churches. Hence, in most Pentecostal churches, there are official position and role, which is mainly written procedures and governing logic, and unofficial position and role, which is about discretion and exigencies.

The formal position and role are usually captured in the constitution and are recognized by the law, while the informal position and role revolve around the charisma of the founders and the maintenance of the charisma. For example, the wives of these church leaders have a formal position in the constitution of their churches. They are recognized as wives of the founders and sometimes the constitution spells out the formal roles they are expected to play in the life of the church. However, in reality, they also have informal roles they play in their churches. For instance, the formal position of Peace Okonkwo, the wife of Bishop Okonkwo of TREM is that of a Bishop and at the same time, the wife of the Presiding Bishop of TREM. However, her informal role and function are that of the Deputy Presiding Bishop and overall head, of all women in TREM. For Shade Olukoya, the wife of Daniel Olukoya of MFM, her formal position is the wife of the General Overseer and the President of the Women Foundation. However, her informal position and role are that of a Pastor and Deputy General Overseer, and she influences the governance of the church. Furthermore, for Nomthi Odukoya, the wife of Taiwo Odukoya of TFOLC, her formal position in the church is just wife of the founder, but her informal position is that of the Co-Senior Pastor, which makes her function as the second in command in the governance of the church. Informally, she is also the overall head of the

³⁹⁹In most cases, Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches determines the kind of information they want to give to the public or make open. Sometimes, such information may include collection of offerings and tithes, donations and pledges, online payment, sponsorship, products and services. A good example of this is RCCG where there is adequate information on how to give to the church. This information is well given in Ukah's book, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power*, 152-157. However, none of them will make open to the public, her income and expenditure.

⁴⁰⁰For details on this, see The Companies and Allied Matters Act (CAMA) 1990 and amended CAMA 2020.

women in the church. Also, for Nike Adeyemi of Daystar, her formal position is that of Co-founder and Deputy Senior Pastor of Daystar Christian Centre, however, informally, she runs the church with the husband. It needs to be pointed out that at the beginning of these churches; the roles of the wives of these pastors were mainly formal. However, as these churches grow and the wives of these leaders begin to exhibit their charisma and stand on the same pedestal with their husbands, these wives begin to take up informal position and roles. Interestingly, these informal roles and positions have now become more conspicuous and important to the generality of members. Hence, it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between formal roles and positions, and informal roles and positions. This is possible since many members do not even know what roles and positions the constitution assigned and which ones were not assigned.

Three of the churches have registered with the CAC as can be seen in Table 5.1, while one, Daystar Christian Centre is yet to complete its registration as at 2018.

Table 5.1: A Table Showing Registration Details of the Four Churches with the CAC⁴⁰¹

YEAR OF REGISTRATION	NAME OF THE CHURCH	ADDRESS USED FOR REGISTRATION	REGISTRATION NUMBER
31/08/1992	Fountain of Life Church	% T. Odukoya House 25, Blk15, Maryland, Lagos.	6942
12/06/1997	The Redeemed Evangelical Mission	Afolabi Brown Street Akoka, Lagos.	2022
27/01/2000	Mountain of Fire and Miracle Ministries	National Institution for Medical Research, Yaba, Lagos.	7312
01/02/2002	Success Power International	71 Oregun Road, Oregun-Ikeja, Lagos.	14303
16/01/2002	The Real Woman Foundation	71 Oregun Road, Oregun-Ikeja, Lagos.	14277
23/12/2013	Mountain of Fire & Miracles Women Foundation	13 Olasimbo Street, By Unilag 2 nd Gate Onike, Yaba, Lagos	66280
08/12/2016	Nike Adeyemi Ministry	No.7b, Jubilee Road, Magodo, Lagos	93164

Churches are required by law to register with the government through CAC for licensing to conduct and issues official certificates for weddings. Churches also register with

⁴⁰¹The author prepared the Table based on the information on the website of CAC.

the government to make them become legal entities. This will afford them opportunities to use their name corporately and transact any official business in the name of the church and not in the name of the pastor. For example, this registration will enable them to open an account with banks and transact business.

For example, two ministries belonging to Nike Adeyemi are on the list of registered organizations. These are Real Women Foundation and Nike Adeyemi Ministry. Real Women Foundation is Nike Adeyemi's NGO and pet programme, which was registered in 2002. Officially, the two ministries are separate entities from the church and they officially belong to Nike Adeyemi as her ministries, while unofficially, they are part of the Daystar Church. It is interesting to note that Sam Adeyemi's teaching ministry, Success Power International is also registered with the CAC. It has been registered since 2002, the same time the Real Women Foundation was registered. We will return later to what the registering of personal ministries suggests about, for example, succession issues in the church organization. This suggests that charisma of the leaders is more important than bureaucratization because this will continue to give them control and make them be in charge of the ministry. In other words, by registering personal ministries, the founders of these churches and their wives ensure that they will still have a base of operations even if the CAC would enforce the rule that they cannot be head of the churches they now preside over. Moreover, they could give any of these churches over to any successor, which they would likely nominate.

The Women Foundation of MFM is also registered separately from the church. This indicates that the Foundation is officially a separate entity and perhaps belongs solely to Shade Olukoya, though unofficially it is seen as part of the church. Since the pastors/founders want their charisma to be preserved, they are not always ready to implement all the provisions of the constitutions they put in place for registration, which I will discuss in more detail below.

To sum up, there is a strong field tension that determines the structures and processes of these churches. These are, requirements of the CAC and bureaucratic authority, with charismatic authority in one hand; and the notion that the church is a family enterprise, often co-owned by husband and wife, with the implicit understanding that it will pass to the children. This field of tension is negotiated through leaving a large gap between official regulations and the actual functioning and roles of husband and wife in the church, and by establishing personal ministries for activities that in practice are part of the church activities.

5.2 Organizational Structure of TREM

‘Organizations are singularly complex systems, and it is far from obvious how their internal structures can best be described.’⁴⁰²

At the inception of the church, the organizational structure was simple. It consisted of Evangelist Mike Okonkwo⁴⁰³ as the overall head of the church, a few paid staff and volunteers who were heading various departments and units of the church. The paid staff were mainly administrative and security staff who provided secretarial support and secured the church premises. The meetings of the staff were irregular. The staff only meets at the initiative of Mike Okonkwo when the situation calls for it. The wife had no official role in the running of the church then, except in assisting the husband. However, with time and changes in the running of the church, the task and her size, the organizational structure changed and became more complex, especially, with the adoption of multiple branch system which necessitated a new structure. There are many units of administration with varying power. However, Bishop Okonkwo is the final and highest authority with a high concentration of power and authority in TREM. He is the Presiding Bishop and the Spiritual Head of the church.

The administrative headquarters of the church also known as the World Headquarters is located at a conspicuous location on the Oworonshoki Expressway, Lagos. This is also, where the main church auditorium, known as His Holy Habitation and Cathedral of His Glory is located. The headquarter accommodates offices for the Bishop, his wife, pastors and administrative staff, a bookshop, a restaurant, God’s Army Bible College, a nursery school, and official residence of Bishop Okonkwo and chalets for guest ministers. Presently, the church has five administrative blocks. This is illustrated in Figure 5.1. The lowest administrative block is the House Fellowship. This is a small group of members consisting of about 5-10 families meeting for fellowship once a week. A House Fellowship leader leads. In some big branches, the House Fellowship centres within proximity are grouped for easy coordination and supervision.⁴⁰⁴

The House Fellowships are grouped into Branches, headed by a pastor. Some Branches have more than one pastor.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰²Gregory K. Dow, ‘Configurational and Coactivational Views of Organizational Structure’, *Academy of Management Review* 13, no.1 (1988): 53.

⁴⁰³Evangelist was his title at United Church of Christ before he left the church to start TREM; hence, many people called him Pastor or Evangelist Mike then. However, nobody calls him Evangelist now; he is now addressed as the Bishop or Big Daddy.

⁴⁰⁴For example, at the Headquarters, House fellowship are grouped into 24 Areas with some Areas having about 16 House Fellowship centers, while some Area have just a center.

⁴⁰⁵As of August 2017, TREM has about 200 branches worldwide.

Table 5.2 Table showing Directorates, Various Ministries/Departments, and Unit at TREM Headquarters Church⁴⁰⁶

NO	DIRECTORATES	DEPARTMENTS/UNITS	LEADER/SUPERVISOR
1	Admin & Finance	Engineering, Environmental, Protocol, Web Team, Sanitation, Social Media Network, Database, Dunamis Publication, Security and Surveillance, and Transport and Logistics.	Dns. Doris Anyaoha
2	Maturity	Counselling, Follow-Up, Ministries in Training (MIT) (for converts and new members)	Pastor Mrs Bola Odiaka
3	Membership	We Care Ministry, Christian Men, Comfort Ministry, Couples and Intending Couples, Singles, and Young Men	Rev Kayode Odiaka
4	Ministry	Hospital Visitation, International Languages, and Vocational	Dcn. Isidore Nwagwu
5	Missions	Word Ambassadors, Evangelism, and House Fellowship	Dcn James Okoro
6	National Transformation	Community Development and Prison outreach.	Dcn. Tunji Adejumo
7	Women & Children	Royal Children's Teachers (Children Workers), Children Church, Christian Women, and Young Women.	Bishop Peace Okonkwo
8	Worship	Evangel Voices (choir), Greeters, Maranatha Power Play House (Drama), Ushering, and Power Media (Audio Unit and Video Unit)	Rev. Chinedu Nkere
9	Young People	Teens Church and Youth Fellowship	Dcn. Dotun Tokun

⁴⁰⁶The author drew the table based on the interviews conducted and the participant observations.

A Branch in TREM is a single congregation or unit of administration with a membership of between 100 (and sometimes less) and 500. A Branch Council consisting of heads of various departments or units which assists the pastor in the spiritual and day-to-day running of the Branch. Such departments may include Ushering, Choir, Technical, Audio-Visual, Medical, Benevolence or Welfare, Children and Teens Church, Security, Finance, Youth, Women and Men. Clusters of branches in a geographical area make an Area, led by an Area Pastor. The Area Pastor has a Branch where he ministers. The Area Pastor's church is usually called Area headquarters. Clusters of areas form a Zone, headed by a Zonal Pastor. The Zonal Pastor also has a Branch or church where he ministers. Usually, the Zonal Pastor's church is the biggest in the Zone and is regarded as Zonal headquarters. The entire TREM is divided into Zones and these meets and reports to the headquarters.⁴⁰⁷

The headquarters supervises all the Branches of the church through the Area and Zonal Pastors respectively. At the headquarters church,⁴⁰⁸ the departments are many and they are grouped into Directorates for ease coordination and supervision. There are nine Directorates namely: Admin and Finance, Maturity, Membership, Ministry, Missions, Worship, Women and Children, National Transformation, and Young People. All the directorates are illustrated in Table 5.2.

Figure 5.1: The Five Administrative Blocks of TREM⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁷ As of August 2017, TREM has 28 Zones worldwide.

⁴⁰⁸ The Headquarter Church is also a branch; however, it is a branch with a difference since it is the location of governance for TREM worldwide. It serves as a model for other branches.

⁴⁰⁹ The author constructed the organogram.

5.2.1 Hierarchy of Authority and Administrative Structure of TREM

‘Effective organization, smooth running of internal systems and the need to accommodate a growing number of Branches necessitated the change in organizational structure and evolution of the hierarchy of authority in TREM’.⁴¹⁰ With the adoption of a multiple branch system and the proliferation of Branches, the hierarchy of authority has been modified.

The change in structure began gradually in 2001 when the second Branch of TREM was established at Gbagada area of Lagos. The need to coordinate the activities of the two Branches necessitated the adoption of a more formalized and extended structure. The structure became more established with the official adoption of a multiple branch system by the church around 2005. Figure 5.2 shows the present hierarchy of authority in TREM.

The Presiding Bishop - at the apex of the church is the office of the Presiding Bishop, occupied by Bishop Mike Okonkwo, his authority is supreme. He presides over all the affairs of the church, both spiritually and in terms of administration. He determines the direction and structure of the church. He holds the final approval in all matters and issues in the governance of the church. In practice, his wife, Bishop Peace Okonkwo is the Resident Pastor at the Headquarters and she is above the College of Bishops in the hierarchy of power in TREM. As the Resident Pastor of the headquarters church, she oversees all other pastors in the headquarters. Interestingly, all the administrative work of TREM is done at the headquarters; hence, she has control over it and influences it.

The College of Bishops – Officially, the office of the College of Bishops, which consists of all the five Bishops in TREM, comes after the office of the Presiding Bishop. However, unofficially, it comes after the office of Peace Okonkwo, the Resident Pastor of the Headquarters Church. The College of Bishops is in charge of the spiritual life of the church. Also, each of the members has an oversight function of key arms of the church.

Bishop Peace Okonkwo, apart from being the Resident Pastor of the Headquarters Church, is the Coordinator of Women and Children. She is also in charge of TREM churches in Liberia and South Africa, while another Bishop is the National Coordinator of all the zones of TREM.

Board of Advisors and Trustees– The next in the line of authority after the College of Bishops is the Board of Advisors and Trustees. The Board is made up of nine members, which includes all the Bishops and an additional four other members of TREM. The chairperson of the Board is Bishop Okonkwo, while a non-bishop member of the Board serves

⁴¹⁰Pastor James Chukwu, (a pastor of MFM at the TREM Headquarters) in a discussion with the author, November 2014.

5.3 Organizational Structure of MFM

The organizational structure in MFM has evolved from simple to a complex organizational structure. In terms of administration and hierarchy of power, Pastor Daniel Olukoya is the final and highest authority with the highest concentration of power in MFM. His office is recognized as the office of the General Overseer. At the inception of the church, he was just Pastor D. K. Olukoya. Although there are administrative structures, he has the final say and final authority in all administrative and spiritual matters in the church.

The church has two administrative offices. The National Administrative Headquarters of the church located at 13 Olasimbo Street, Onike, Yaba, Lagos. The national headquarters provides offices for Pastor Olukoya, his wife, other senior pastors, administrative staff, a bookshop, an information centre, and a worship centre. The Prayer City on the outskirts of Lagos serves as the International Office of the church.

The church has five administrative blocks that are represented in Figure 5.3. The lowest administrative block is the House Fellowship. Over the House Fellowship is Branch. A Branch is led by a pastor and is made up of members organized on House Fellowships basis. Some Branches have more than one pastor. A cluster of Branches in a contiguous geographical area make a Zone and is usually led by a Zonal Pastor. The Zonal pastor has a church or branch, which he pastors and serves as the Zonal headquarters for all the churches in the zone. Several Zones⁴¹² form a Region usually led by a Regional Overseer and an Assistant Regional Overseer assists him or her. The seat of the Regional Overseer is the biggest branch in the Region, which serves as the Regional headquarters. The entire MFM is divided into Regions and they relate with the headquarters through the Regional Overseers.⁴¹³ The Pastor of the Headquarters church is the General Overseer, assisted by his wife and Assistant General Overseers.

⁴¹²As of August 2017, there are 28 Zones of MFM in Lagos.

⁴¹³As of August 2017, there are 35 Regions of MFM worldwide.

Figure 5.3: The Five Administrative blocks of MFM⁴¹⁴

The Headquarters of the church supervises all the Branches of the church through the Regional Overseers and Zonal Pastors respectively. A Branch in MFM usually has a membership of between 50 (and sometimes less) and 500, depending on the location of such a Branch. A Branch Council assists the pastor in the spiritual and day-to-day running of the Branch. The Branch Council consists of the head of various departments or units in the Branch. Such departments include Ushering, Choir, Technical, Audio-Visual, Prayer, Deliverance, Benevolence/ Welfare, Children and Teens Church, Security, Finance, Singles, Women and Men.

5.3.1 Hierarchy of Authority and Administrative Structure of MFM

At the inception of the church, the hierarchy of authority was made up of Pastor Daniel Olukoya as the highest authority (Figure 5.4). He was followed by other pastors and then departmental and unit heads followed the pastors. However, with the adoption of multiple branches and the proliferation of branches, a new hierarchy of authority and organizational structures emerged in MFM.

The General Overseer - At the top of the church is the office of the General Overseer, occupied by Pastor Daniel Olukoya. His office and position are revered. His authority is absolute and his order is final and unquestionable. He oversees all the affairs of the church,

⁴¹⁴Constructed by the author.

both pastoral and administrative. Formally, the office of the wife of the GO is not in the organogram of the church, but informally and in reality, it exists and functions. Pastor Shade Olukoya, the wife of the GO shares the highest authority in MFM with her husband. She is the International Coordinator, MFM Women's Foundation. Hence, she has final authority in anything that pertains to women's ministry in MFM both within and outside the country.

Assistant General Overseers AGOs – The office of AGOs is next in the rank of authority in MFM. Five AGOs serve as Pastor Olukoya's deputies with each of them taking oversight in terms of specific responsibility in the running of the MFM.

Senior Regional Overseers – Below the AGOs are Eight Senior Regional Overseers. They assist the AGOs to carry out their responsibilities.

Regional Overseers – There are 15 Regional Overseers in Nigeria and 20 Regional Overseers outside Nigeria. These Regional Overseers oversee all the Regions of MFM both within Nigeria and outside Nigeria. They oversee both the administrative as well as the spiritual affairs of the Region they have been assigned. They report to the GO through AGO Administration and AGO Mission and Evangelism. Assistant Regional Overseers assist them in carrying out their duties. In all, there are 41 Assistant Regional Overseers.

Zonal Pastors – Below the Assistant Regional Overseers are the Zonal Pastors. They oversee the affairs of different zonal divisions of the church. Zonal Pastors relates with the General Overseer through Regional Overseers and Assistant General Overseers. Zonal Pastors coordinate and supervise the affairs of their Zones.

Branch Pastors – Branch pastors oversee the affairs of their local church. Depending on the size of the Branch, there could be other pastors to assist the Senior Pastor in a Branch. The Branch Pastor relates with the Zonal Pastors and each Branch is said to be autonomous, but in reality, they are not. Each Branch of the church must seek and obtain permission from the AGO Administrations through the Zonal and Regional Overseer before it can organize any programme or even issue an advert either print or electronic for any programme in the Branch. In an interview conducted with one of the Branch pastors in Surulere, he lamented the frustration experienced by MFM branches due to lack of freedom to operate freely. He said that though the leadership of the church often gives the impression that each branch is free to run its affairs freely. In practice, each branch has to get permission from the Headquarters before any Branch can organise any programme. He queried, where is the freedom, where is

the autonomy? They are only on papers! Not in reality!!⁴¹⁵ Therefore in operations, each Branch is still under the control of the General Overseer through the AGO Administration.

House Fellowship Leaders – House Fellowship Leaders lead House Fellowship Centers assigned to them. They relate directly to Branch pastors.

The Administrative Structure of MFM–The Assistant General Overseer, Administration oversees the administrative structure of the church. Three Administrative Secretaries, two of whom are pastors assist the Assistant General Overseer, Administration

Figure 5.4: The Present Organogram and Hierarchy of Authority in MFM as reconstructed by the author

⁴¹⁵A pastor of MFM in one of the Branches in Surulere, Lagos in a discussion with the author, September 2017.

who handles anything that pertains to administrative matters and he reports directly to the General Overseer.

5.4 The Organizational Structure of Daystar Christian Centre

The organizational structure of Daystar Christian Centre has evolved. The structure is simple because the church operates as a single branch. Although there are administrative structures, Pastor Sam Adeyemi has the final authority in all administrative and spiritual matters in the church. His office is recognized as the office of the Senior Pastor.⁴¹⁶

The church has two administrative headquarters. One is located at 71, Kudirat Abiola Way, (formerly Oregon Road), Ikeja, Lagos, which was the former location of the church auditorium. It provides office accommodation for some pastors and administrative staff of the church. The second headquarters is located at Plot A3C, Ikosi Road, Oregon, Lagos, Nigeria. This is where the new church auditorium is located, and it accommodates a bookshop, a daycare centre and a primary school, office for the Senior Pastor and his wife, offices for some pastors as well as some administrative staff and a multipurpose hall known as Annex. Both sites are within the same neighbourhood and about a few kilometres apart. Although the church is a single branch with about 20,000 members, there are three layers of administrative blocks identified as Headquarters, Districts and House Fellowships (Figure 5.5).

The Headquarters – This is the highest administrative block in Daystar Christian Centre. The headquarters supervises the other two administrative blocks of the church.

District – The middle level of the administrative block is a district (this is a geographical area). The entire church membership is divided into districts for effective management and supervision. In all, there are sixteen districts. Each district has a pastor that oversees it.

House Fellowship – This is the lowest level of the administrative block. All Church members in a particular geographical location meet in small groups once a week for fellowship. A House Fellowship leader leads it. For effective supervision, the House Fellowships are grouped into zones (several zones make up a district). There are about 42 Zones. Each Zone has a Zonal leader who supervises and coordinates all the House Fellowships in his or her Zone.

⁴¹⁶He was a pastor in his former church, Rhema Chapel before he left to start Daystar; hence, many people called him Pastor Sam.

Figure 5.5: The Administrative blocks of Daystar as constructed by the author

At the inception of the church, the hierarchy of authority and organizational structure was simple. The structure consisted of Pastor Sam Adeyemi and his wife, followed by departmental heads in the church. However, with the expansion and numerical growth of the church, a new structure and hierarchy of authority have been put in place (Figure 5.6).

The Senior Pastor - At the head of the church is the office of the Senior Pastor, occupied by Pastor Sam Adeyemi. He oversees all the affairs of the church, both pastoral and administrative. Pastor Nike Adeyemi shares the highest authority in Daystar with her husband as a co-founder and the Deputy Senior Pastor. She is respected like her husband and has a say in any matter in the church. This position is her official position. Church members and church staff thus recognize her officially as the Deputy Senior Pastor.

Below the Deputy Senior Pastor is seven (7) other pastors who share the same level of a hierarchy of power but have different responsibilities. The church is structured along with the five ministry purposes or teams put forward by Rick Warren in his book, *The Purpose Driven Church*.⁴¹⁷ There are 5 teams, each focusing on one of the 5 purposes and led by a pastor. These teams are Membership, Maturity, Ministry, Evangelism and Mission, Worship, and then, Children Church and Administration (These are distinct from the 5 purposes mentioned above). The pastors report directly to the Senior Pastor, Sam Adeyemi. Each team is regarded as a level. Membership Team in 100 level, is regarded as the lowest, while worship is 500 level, and is regarded as the highest level. These five purposes or teams are:

⁴¹⁷ Rick Warren, *The Purpose Driven Church*, Zondervan: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1996.

Membership Team (100 Level) – This is for enlisting and integration of new members and converts into the church. It introduces new members to the Daystar family. It is designed to explain clearly, who and what Daystar Christian Centre stands for.

Maturity Team (200 Level) – This team seeks to disciple committed members of the church and help them grow in their faith in Christ.

Ministry School (300 Level) – This team focuses on equipping and preparing members of the Daystar for ministry

Missions and Evangelism Team (400 Level) – The goal of the team is to make the church grow larger through Evangelism and Missions.

Worship Team (500 Level) – The focus of the Team is to deepen the worship life of the church and church members. It is the last and the highest level that any member of the Church could reach. Anyone who reaches this level has become a Pastor and could lead any of the teams

House Fellowship Leaders – House Fellowship Leaders lead House Fellowship centres assigned to them. They relate directly with Maturity Team (leader) pastor.

The pastor in charge of Administration oversees the administrative structure of the church and reports directly to the Senior Pastor. As mentioned earlier, appointments, promotions, postings, remunerations and discipline of members of staff, both pastoral and non-pastoral is done through the office of the pastor in charge of Administration with the approval of the Senior Pastor.

Figure 5.6: The Present Hierarchy of Authority in Daystar Christian Centre as constructed by the author

5.5 The Administrative and Organizational Structure of TFOLC

The organizational and administrative structure of TFOLC is still evolving. The church operates a single branch with layers of administrative structures (Figures 5.7 and 5.8). The Senior Pastor who is also the founder has the final authority in all administrative and spiritual matters in the church. His office is recognized as the office of the Senior Pastor.⁴¹⁸ The church headquarters is located at 12, Industrial Estate Road, Ilupeju, Lagos. This is where the church main auditorium is also located, and it provides office accommodation for all the pastors and administrative staff of the church. It also has a bookshop, children's auditorium, office for the Senior Pastor and the wife, and car park. Although the church is a single branch, two organizational layers can be identified: Headquarters and House Fellowship (Figure 5.7)

The Headquarters is the highest administrative block in TFOLC and it supervises House Fellowships.

House Fellowships –This is the second level of the administrative block. All Church members in a particular geographical location meet in small groups once a week for fellowship. A House Fellowship leader leads it.

Figure 5.7: The Two Administrative blocks of TFOLC as constructed by the author

5.5.1 Hierarchy of Authority in TFOLC

At the inception of the church, the hierarchy of authority and organizational structure was simple. The structure consisted of Pastor Taiwo Odukoya and his late wife followed by departmental heads in the church. However, with the expansion and numerical growth of the church, a new structure and hierarchy of authority are evolving (Figure 5.8).

⁴¹⁸He was just a 'Brother', (a general name for a Christian brother) in his former church, TREM before he left to start TFOLC; hence, many people called him Pastor Taiwo.

The Senior Pastor - At the height of the church is the office of the Senior Pastor, occupied by Pastor Taiwo Odukoya. His office and position are esteemed and his authority is final. He oversees all the affairs of the church, both in terms of pastoral and administrative matters.

Co-Senior Pastor – Pastor Nomthi Odukoya shares the highest authority in TFOLC with her husband, as the Co-Senior Pastor. She is respected like her husband and has a say in any matter in the church.

Chief of Staff – Below the office of the Senior Pastor and Co-Senior Pastor is the office of the Chief of Staff, which one of the full-time pastors in the church occupies. The Chief of Staff deputizes for the Senior Pastor and the Co-Senior Pastor and coordinates other pastors. He reports directly to the Senior Pastor.

Other Full-Time Pastors – Another four full-time pastors oversee different aspects of church life. These are Pastor in charge of Administration and Finance, Pastor in charge of Facility and Technical, Pastor in charge of Programmes, and Pastor in charge of Media and Publications. Each of the pastors supervises and coordinates assigned area or ministries and departments and reports directly to the Senior Pastor.

Trustees – In the hierarchy of authority, Trustees of the church comes immediately after the office of the Senior Pastor and Co-Senior Pastor. The Board of Trustees is made up of nine members, which includes Senior Pastor and Co-Senior Pastor, Chief of Staff, Legal Adviser and other members appointed by Pastor Taiwo Odukoya. The chairperson of the Trustees is Pastor Taiwo Odukoya. The Board's role is purely advisory and it serves as the church's interface in legal and corporate matters.

Legal Adviser: He is one of the Pastors in the church and a member of the Trustees. He is directly responsible to the Senior Pastor. He advises the Senior Pastor on his public pronouncements.

Departmental Heads and House Fellowship Leaders – Departmental Heads and House Fellowship Leaders lead various departments and units such as House Fellowship centres assigned to them. They relate directly with the pastor in-charge of their units or departments.

Figure 5.8: The Present organizational structure and hierarchy of authority in TFOLC as constructed by the author

5.5.2 The Administrative Structure of TFOLC

The administrative structure of the church is simple. The Chief of Staff heads the administrative structure of the church. He is responsible to the Senior Pastor. Under him is the General Manager. He manages the Administration and Finance Departments as well as the Human Resources Unit. He is responsible to the Senior Pastor through the Chief of Staff. The Office Manager assists the General Manager in overseeing the administrative structure of the church. He reports directly to the General Manager. In terms of appointments, promotions, postings, remunerations and discipline of staff, both pastoral and non-pastoral, it is done through the office of the Chief of Staff with approval from the Senior Pastor. The Senior Pastor remains the final authority in both the pastoral and administrative matters of the church.

5.6 The Nature and Type of Organizational and Administrative Structures in the selected Churches

The type of organizational and administrative structures put in place by the selected leaders in their churches can be described as a centralized administration, positioning the church founders and their wives at the top and in control of all the affairs of the church. The administration and the organization of these churches thus revolve around the leaders and their wives. Without

their consent or approval, nothing can be done. Even when they delegate authority to other pastors or officers, they still have to give final approval to the officer acting on their behalf.

The channel of communication and flow of information is usually from the top (the founders) down (subordinates). The founders give information or instruction, which is then passed down to the other pastors or officers to act upon or pass it down to other subordinates until it reaches the officer or pastors that will carry out the instruction. However, in some cases, the flow of information originates from the bottom and flows upwards. An issue could be initiated from the House Fellowship leader to the Area leader, then zonal leader and finally to the church founder who will give his final approval or say on the matter.

Importantly, authority over financial matters ultimately resides with the pastor-founders. Although there are financial officers or accountants in these churches, the pastor-founders are the only ones who can approve any spending or transaction of the church. Even when there is an approved budget, yet no money can be spent without the consent of these founders. Some of them are also signatories to the church account. In terms of discipline, promotion, transfer and welfare of staff, these founders are also the ones that can give final approval. In a situation where the Human Resource Manager or Head of Administration has already decided on any issue, the founder can overturn such a decision.

The centralized administration also works against breakaway initiatives or allowing any of the subordinate pastors to become popular and lead a revolt against the leader/founder of the church. Whenever a pastor becomes too popular, he can be transferred to a position or place that will undermine his popularity. In a situation where a pastor tries to revolt (which, to my knowledge, has not happened in any of the four churches),⁴¹⁹ he can only leave the church with a few followers (as many people hate the stress and financial demands of starting a new church or being members of a new church) and with little or no damage to the church. The tightly centralized control creates clarity of structure, which is in the interest of the pastor founders, and in line with the entrepreneurial nature of setting up a church in Nigeria. It demands certain deference and obedience from those lower in the hierarchy that ultimately leads to the situation that emergent leaders might have to leave the church and set up their own, without causing much havoc to the existing church.

Indeed the churches have witnessed numerical growth, which has brought in more members in thousands unlike at the inception when the membership was only in hundreds. The

⁴¹⁹Though Taiwo and Bimbo Odukoya once attended TREM, they were never pastors there. Moreover, when they left to start TFOLC, it was not because of any schism. This explained why Bishop Okonkwo presided at the inaugural service of TOFLC.

need to cater adequately for the growing membership and to administer the people effectively is an added reason for the organizational and administrative structures. The need to preserve the charisma of these leaders and to continue to make them relevant in the day-to-day running of their churches is another strong factor why the present organizational and administrative structures have been put in place. A way for these leaders to continue to prove their charisma among their members is to be seen to be in charge, they assume the position of both the spiritual and administrative leader of their churches. They have turned themselves into executive pastor-leaders and chief executive officers of the church.⁴²⁰ To do this, power and authority must continue to revolve around them. Perhaps, the reason for this is to protect their investment, since their churches are also run like a business; and they have invested heavily in it in terms of material and financial resources. However, these leaders are torn between their charisma and its routinization in their churches. The charisma of these leaders is interconnected with governance and has a great impact on the running of their churches

5.6.1 Routinization of Charisma and Governance in the Selected Churches

As mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, the process by which charismatic leaders stabilize charisma and bring it into an everyday routine is known as routinization. According to Wasielewski, 'routinization consists of developing rules for the maintenance and succession of personally-held power'.⁴²¹ Weber posits that the routinization of charisma is dependent upon the institutional framework of a movement and especially upon the economic order.⁴²²

In the early life of these churches, there were no rules and no formalized ways of doing things. The churches were governed by the ideas and proclamation of the leaders. The relationship of the members with these leaders was simple, close and informal. However, with time, there was a need to routinize the charisma of these pastoral leaders. The reasons for these include the growth in membership and the geographical spread of these churches, especially the establishment of branches outside the headquarters. This made it difficult for the leading pastors to relate with all their members as closely as before.

Besides, improvements in the economic status of the first-generation membership, which enabled some members to move to distant affluent suburbs, necessitated the establishment of branches. Hence, there is the need to train, develop, and appoint leaders for

⁴²⁰Such practice has a link to the business culture and the terms are borrowed from the business world. This is because many pastors now see themselves as 'Pastorpeneurs'.

⁴²¹Wasielewski, 'Emotional Basis of Charisma', 208.

⁴²²Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 54.

the branches that have been established. This resulted in setting up rules that will govern the relationship of members with the pastoral leaders as well as the relationship of branch pastors with the leading pastors. Moreover, there is a need to retain the loyalty and commitment of second and third generations of membership by setting up rules that will guide their conduct. Lastly, the need to register these churches formally with the government through the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) necessitated the formalization of activities, procedures and the drawing up of a constitution⁴²³ for these churches as part of the legal requirement for registration with the government. Although routinization of charisma has set in, these pastoral leaders have not allowed complete routinization to take place. This is evident in the governance, that is, the day-to-day running of these churches.

5.6.2 Charisma and day-to-day Governance

Although there is a constitutional provision for an organizational structure in each of the churches of these pastoral leaders, the administrative and organizational structures revolve around these leaders. They are the ones that have the overall power to transfer, discipline, promote and retire any staff, be it pastoral or non-pastoral. Even when there is an officer, committee, or unit saddled with such a responsibility, the leaders remain the final authority that approves. For example, in all the churches, the leaders give the final approval to transfer, promote, appoint, discipline and retire members of staff.

In reality, there is no separation of self, personality and family from the church and church property owned by these leaders. This is possible because most Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches are run like a family business enterprise which involves the family (and most of the time solely) of the pastor-leader. Apart from the church services, many of these Pentecostal leaders run other businesses along with their churches. Such businesses often include printing and publishing houses, real estate, schools, media, hospitality and so on. For example, in TREM, Bishop Okonkwo's personal NGO, Empowering the Less Privileged, is a privately owned business by Okonkwo, which is run as an arm of the church ministry. Likewise, Peace Okonkwo's prayer ministry, International Women Prayer Conference, is regularly sponsored by the church. In MFM, all the books written by Olukoya are published by

⁴²³Constitution of any organisation is expected to treat or contains names of key officers or leaders, their tenure, process of replacement, organogram, succession plan, handling of financial matters, board of trustees and functions of each officers, and so on. However, in constitution of many of Pentecostal churches, the founder-leaders do jettison some aspects of the provisions of the constitution such as composition of officers, their tenure, functions, as well as succession plan.

the church's publishing arm; although they are personal books,⁴²⁴ yet, they are advertised on the official website of the church. In the case of Nomthi Odukoya of TFOLC, her books are advertised on the church website while her personal NGO is regularly publicized on the church's website and in church programmes. In Daystar Christian Centre, Real Women Foundation is a private and personal business (ministry)⁴²⁵ of Pastor Nike Adeyemi, yet it features prominently in the website of the church. Likewise, her husband, Sam has a personal and private business; he is the President of Success Power International, a Non-Governmental Organization, a Principal Consultant at Sam Adeyemi GLC, Inc., as well as the President of Sam Adeyemi Ministries.⁴²⁶ Thus, in reality, there is no distinction between the personal businesses and programmes of these leaders and their wives and those of their churches.

Running churches as a business enterprise are commonly referred to as 'Pastorpreneurship' or 'Churchpreneurship'.⁴²⁷ Victor Nweke sees 'Pastorpreneurship' as the act of setting up or belonging to a church to make financial gains,⁴²⁸ while Ughaerumba Chidiebere refers to 'Pastorpreneurship' as 'the business of using the word of God or God's name to make money and or earn a living'.⁴²⁹ He went further to argue that, 'the churches flourish as vibrant business enterprises with church founders and ministers (pastorpreneurs) operating in the praxis of entrepreneurs'.⁴³⁰ Usually, at the inception of these churches, the founder will only show the intention of starting a church; however, with time they turn the church into a business and will then start opening business arms for the church. In most cases, the pastor and his wife established the business arm of the church, with other family members working and overseeing the business. While there is nothing immoral for any church using a business model to run its

⁴²⁴There is a difference between church ministry and personal business. In church business, though the pastor-leader founded the church, yet, he is expected to be accountable to the church's structure of leadership. The church ministry still bears and identify with the name of the church or ministry. However, in personal business, the pastor-founder owns everything; he does not need permission or approval from the church to run his business and does not need to bear the name of the church. In addition, an individual cannot register church; other people have to be involved, whereas, an individual can register a personal business.

⁴²⁵She is the sole proprietor and does not give account to anyone concerning its da-today running

⁴²⁶For more details, see <https://daystarng.org/about-us/meetourpastors/>, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/dr-sam-adeyemi-64823263/>, and <https://samadeyemi.net/>

⁴²⁷For more on this, see, Karen Lauterbach, 'Becoming a Pastor: Youth and Social Aspirations in Ghana', *Young Nordic Journal of Youth Research* 18, no.3 (2010):259–278; Matthew H. Kukah, 'The Church, Politics, Reconciliation and The Future of Africa' *Journal of Inculturation Theology* 2, no.1&2 (2010): 3-32; Miranda Klaver, 'Pentecostal Pastorpreneurs and the Global Circulation of Authoritative Aesthetic Styles' *Culture and Religion* 16, no.2 (2015):146-159, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2015.1058527> (accessed September 3, 2019) and WiseGeek, 'What is a Pastorpreneur?' <http://wisegeek.com/what-is-a-Pastorpreneur.html> (accessed September 3, 2019).

⁴²⁸Victor Nweke, 'Professional Philosophizers and the Challenge of Churchmanship in Contemporary Nigeria: A Logical Analysis' <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323987728> (accessed September 3, 2019).

⁴²⁹Chidiebere A. Ughaerumba, 'Pastorpreneurship in Southern Nigeria and Weber's Protestant Ethic: Insights for National Development' *International Journal of Advanced Research (IJAR)* 4, no.8 (2016):1931.

⁴³⁰Ughaerumba, 'Pastorpreneurship in Southern Nigeria': 1931.

operations, but relegating the spread of the gospel (which is the mission of the church) to the background and concentrating on the business life of the church with the sole intention of running it for profit is not good enough.

In terms of adherence to the constitution, much cannot be said since none of the churches was ready to release her constitution to the public. Interestingly, church members do not have insight into the constitution of their churches. Only a few senior pastors have it, and none was willing to release it to anyone except with the permission of the overall leader. From this, it could be inferred that these church leaders are not adhering to the constitution of their churches. For example, most of the constitution stipulates the number of years a leader could lead before stepping down or rotate out, yet many of these leaders do not follow this aspect of the constitution. They often stay on leadership position permanently. As mentioned earlier, the constitution of these churches was drafted for formal registration of their churches with the government.

Furthermore, one could interpret this as a tactic to prevent members from knowing their rights and privileges and using them. Since many members of these churches are ignorant of their constitution, it gives the leaders the liberty to do what they like without anyone challenging them. Besides, not following the constitution of their churches by these leaders is a means of preserving their charisma because the constitution is antithetical to charisma. While the constitution is based on formalized (written) rules and strict adherence to these rules, charisma is subject to the whims and caprices of the holder. Furthermore, charisma in the Christian sense (not Weberian), often go against the rules since it is spirit led. Thus, the use of charisma promotes arbitrariness.

Virtually all the publicity apparatuses in these churches revolve around the leaders. All the programme booklets and church bulletins in all the branches of MFM and TREM bear the name of Olukoya and Okonkwo, their General Overseers respectively.⁴³¹ In all cases, the Branch pastor has to include the by-line ‘Ministering: Pastor D.K. Olukoya’ even when he will not attend. The practice is a bit different in TREM, not all the branches of TREM usually put the name of Okonkwo on the back of their bulletins or programmes. However, most banners and programmes refer to him as the Presiding Bishop. For Daystar and TFLOC, it is difficult to assess since the two churches are a single branch church. Nevertheless, the name of Adeyemi

⁴³¹In a discussion with one of the MFM pastors in Surulere on September 10, 2017, he said he did not know why this is so, but, it is a tradition that every branch of MFM honours the GO by putting his name on the back cover of every bulletin and programmes of the MFM churches.

with his wife and Odukoya with his wife is conspicuously displayed on the websites of the two churches. They also feature prominently in all the programmes of the two churches.

The lack of a succession plan is another way that these leaders prevent complete routinization and this impact strongly on the governance of their churches. All the four leaders have nothing concrete on the ground as a succession plan (at least publicly); therefore, the succession plan is subject to the whims and caprices of these leaders. Nevertheless, since the wives of these leaders are the deputy senior pastors or co-founders, there is the likelihood that they might succeed their husbands after their demise. There is also the possibility that one of the children of these leaders could succeed their fathers.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the organizational and administrative structures put in place by the four charismatic church leaders in their churches. It also delved into the hierarchy of power in the churches established by these leaders. The reasons for putting in place such organizational and administrative structures include the physical and social environment of their members, the growth of their church and its size as well as the need to preserve their charisma. In the utilization of their charisma, the pastoral leaders determine the administrative structure and the organogram they want and within which, their charisma will be protected and maintained. The administrative structures and organogram show the kind of power and authority available for the pastoral leaders and their spouses. This is done for them to remain relevant and be in control of their churches. Nevertheless, there are some differences as well as similarities in the organizational and administrative structures put in place by these leaders. Their similarities include these leaders ratifying and giving final approval to any decision made in their churches and not obeying or following the constitutions of their respective churches, as it should be done. Thus, their churches are run like a family enterprise or a joint venture between the husbands and their wives. Apart from the churches they established, they still have private and personal businesses and ministries they run separately apart from the church. Their absolute power helps them to make decisions that help protect their interests in the church. Through this, they continue to preserve, maintain their charisma and remain relevant in their churches.

There are also significant differences: MFM and TREM run multiple branches while Daystar and TFOLC run a single branch. MFM has five administrative blocks, TREM has four, while Daystar and TFOLC have three and two respectively. Nevertheless, Olukoya of MFM and Okonkwo of TREM still plan their programmes in such ways that their members still have

to come to the headquarters of their churches. Through this, they can demonstrate their charisma and sustain the loyalty of their members. In the area of administrative structures, MFM with five administrative blocks is the biggest of these churches, while TFOLC with just two, is the smallest in terms of followership and spread. This shows that the bigger the church, the more complex the structure. MFM has the most elaborate and complex administrative structure and organogram, while TFOLC, which is the smallest of the four churches, has a very simple administrative structure and organogram. While the MFM and Daystar have two administrative headquarters, TREM and TFOLC have only one administrative office.

The next chapter discusses the growth of the four churches, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

CHAPTER SIX

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP AND CHURCH GROWTH IN THE SELECTED CHURCHES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the church growth efforts of the four churches and attempts to answer the central question. What constitutes church growth in the selected churches?⁴³² Also, how is it measured? The chapter also examines the role of the leaders in the growth of their churches. All four churches have experienced growth, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Indeed, the growth in these churches has been due partially to the charisma of these leaders. The leaders and their spouses contributed to the growth of these churches through the dissemination of teaching, preaching in the media and claim of miracles. The greatest factor in the growth of these churches is the use of media and media technology because, through the media, the charisma of the leaders and their wives are advertised to the public. The more these leaders and their wives are seen on the media channels, the more the public attributes charisma to them. The chapter concludes by comparing and contrasting Church growth in the four churches. For this study, indices used to determine the growth of these churches are:

1. Membership
2. Finance or Income
3. Territorial Spread
4. Size of the Auditorium
5. Number of churches planted
6. Social and Media Visibility.⁴³³

6.2. Growth in The Redeemed Evangelical Mission

One observable and undeniable index of growth in The Redeemed Evangelical Mission is the increase in membership. The church started with about 30 members at the Inaugural Service on January 4, 1981. In the beginning, the membership strength increased, though slowly but steadily and later rapidly. For example, as of 2018, TREM main auditorium has a seating capacity of 15,000 and is usually filled up on Sundays. Although the church does not have

⁴³²That is, what constitutes church growth according to the churches themselves. However, the indices used to determine the growth are from both the author and the churches.

⁴³³The sources of information for this aspect are based on interviews conducted with pastors and members of these churches, figures from yearly reports of these churches, media reports, estimates based on the researcher's observations and other publications.

accurate figures of her exact membership, a cursory observation suggest a total membership of 250,000 worldwide. Also, the church started with a branch but now operates multiple branches. The growth in membership of TREM⁴³⁴ is mainly through proselytizing, migration and switches or transfer of membership.⁴³⁵ The church, which started with a branch in 1981, now has over 200 branches spread all over the world. The numbers are given in Table 6.1.

Related to the issue of the increase in membership and multiplication of branches is the issue of the spread of the branches. For the first twenty years of TREM, her two branches were located within the Lagos Metropolis, but since then, the church has grown in number and territorially. The branches of TREM are spread across Nigeria, Africa, Europe, the United States of America, Asia and the Middle East. Table 6.1 gives an overview of the territorial spread of TREM churches. It needs to be pointed out that the bulk of TREM churches are mainly in Lagos and Southwest of Nigeria (Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1). For example, there are about 14 zones in Lagos alone with about 90 branches; while in Southwestern Nigeria (excluding Lagos); there are about seven zones and 22 branches.

TREM has also experienced growth in terms of income and financial resources at her disposal. The financial income of the church is not known but the financial worth can be estimated to be in hundreds of millions of dollars.⁴³⁶ The church now boasts of a multi-million-dollar edifice as her headquarters building. The headquarters is located in what used to be a swampy area; hence, it cost a fortune to build on such land. The facilities in the church are of high quality. For example, the church auditorium is fully air-conditioned. Apart from the headquarters church, there are other big and beautiful branches of TREM spread across Lagos. The income of the church comes mainly through tithes, offerings, pledges, donations and gifts, as well as through the church's investments and businesses. For example, the church has a domiciliary dollar account, in which offerings and tithes in dollars are paid into.

⁴³⁴This assertion is based on discussions by the author with pastors and members of the church. The estimates were based on the author's observations.

⁴³⁵Although the three terms, proselytising, migration, and switches/transfer are related but are not the same. Proselytising is a deliberate effort to win or convert someone to one's faith. In religious term, it is call evangelism or soul winning. Migration in this context is joining another faith or church because of marriage or change of accommodation or relocation from previous place of abode. It is usually a personal and voluntary decision. On the other hand, switches/transfer is change of faith or place of worship, which is not base on any reason. It is also personal and voluntary. However, both migration and switches can be influenced by the activities of the church such as her teaching, preaching, mode of worship, leadership and so on.

⁴³⁶Though Naira is the legal tender in Nigeria, however, Dollar and Euro are used in order to give a more accurate estimate of the wealth of these churches.

Table 6.1 Territorial Spread of TREM Churches Worldwide as of December 2017⁴³⁷

Geographical Area	Number of Zones/Branches	Number of Areas	Number of Branches
Lagos	14 ⁴³⁸	32	90
Northern Nigeria	2	6	21
South-East Nigeria		6	20
South-South Nigeria	2	5	13
South-West Nigeria	3	7	22
America		5 Cities	6
Africa	2	18 Countries	18
Europe, Asia & Middle East		5 Countries	10
TOTAL	23 Zones	56 Areas and (23 Countries)	200

To give an idea of the size of donations that comes into the church's purse, at 2017 KLWC Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo of Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC), London, United Kingdom, while ministering in one of the sessions, challenged members to sow a 'seed for the miracle of completion', by giving ₦520,000.00⁴³⁹ (€1,250 or \$1,485) each to the church. Some members of the church responded to this call and gave the money instantly.⁴⁴⁰ Besides, other business activities that the church has embarked upon show that there is a considerable increase in the income of the church. The church now has a microfinance bank, a hospital, primary schools, bookshop and a publishing house.

When the church started in 1981, it was relatively unknown. However, with time, the church has grown and become visible on social media network using media technology. The church has a functional website through which her programmes and worship services are streamed worldwide through the internet. Also, the church has Television and Radio

⁴³⁷The author, through the information gotten from the church's website computed the table.

⁴³⁸A Zone may comprise of 3 to 4 Areas. An Area is made up of 2 to 6 Branches, depending on the location and the geographical spread.

⁴³⁹10,000 (€25 or \$30) for each week of the year!

⁴⁴⁰The author personally witnessed this during the KLWC 2017 of morning session of Tuesday 24 October 2017. Apart from this, there are also reports in the media of people who have donated as much as ₦1 Million (about €2,500 or \$3,000) to their church this is because they believe that the more you give to the church, the more your wealth will increase. See <https://www.dw.com/en/nigerian-pentecostal-megachurches-a-booming-business/a-45535263>

programmes known as *Power in the Word* and *Power for the Wise* respectively. *Power in the Word* is a 30-minutes television programme⁴⁴¹ through which Bishop Okonkwo preaches and gives an invitation to his audience to join TREM. The programme is aired in some TV stations in Nigeria and on satellite channels. *Power for the Wise* is a 10 minutes radio-teaching programme, which is broadcast daily from 5.40 am – 5.50 am.⁴⁴² This continues to make the church visible. Furthermore, the Media Department records Bishop Okonkwo's messages in DVDs, sell to people, far, and near. Again, the use of social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter continue to give visibility to the church.

Besides, the church relates with and invites government officials and renowned ministers of the gospel internationally to worship or minister in the church to enhance the social visibility of the church. Renowned pastors who have ministered at TREM are American televangelist Dr Morris Cerullo, Bishop Tudor Bismark from Harare in Zimbabwe, Bishop Joe Imakando of Zambia, Bishop Mensa Otabil from Accra, Ghana⁴⁴³ and Pastor Matthew Ashimolowo of KICC, London, United Kingdom.⁴⁴⁴

Related to the issue of media visibility are the social activities, which the church now engages in. Such programmes include Bishop Okonkwo Annual Lecture, Bishop Okonkwo Football Competition, Bishop Okonkwo National Bible Quiz Competition, Bishop Okonkwo National Essay Competition, the establishment of Rehoboth Microfinance Bank, We Care Hospital and Word of Power Group of Schools.

6.2.2 Bishop Mike and Peace Okonkwo and the Growth of TREM

The role of Bishop Mike Okonkwo and his wife, Peace Okonkwo in the growth of TREM is an important one. Some members give generously to the church with the belief that they are helping to support the cause and ministry of the Okonkwo's. Some members even believe that if they give to the church, the prayers of Bishop Okonkwo will attract financial blessings and breakthrough to their lives and businesses. This has resulted in increases in income.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴¹The programme is aired on LTV on Saturdays from 5.00-5.30 pm, on Dove TV Saturdays 8.30-9.00 pm and Kingdom Life Network Fridays 9.00 – 9.30 pm.

⁴⁴²This timing is strategic enough to catch the attention of Lagosians who will just be waking up to prepare for the activities of the day. Not only that, many people who are religious prefer to listen to prayer or someone praying for them before they embark on any activities for the day.

⁴⁴³These pastors were guest speakers at KLWC 2013 and 2014 editions respectively.

⁴⁴⁴Apart from the fact that some of these invitees are gospel ministers, some of them are also seen as celebrities, their presence attract crowds who wish to see, know and identify with them.

⁴⁴⁵This is the view of the author based on his observations and what some of the members said in a discussion with them.

Besides, Okonkwo is seen as a powerful preacher and astute administrator. Some members of TREM claimed to have received healings and miracles through the preaching and teaching of Okonkwo.⁴⁴⁶ Such members use such claims to invite people to join the church, assuring them that Okonkwo will give them the needed miracle. His personality has no doubt attracted people to his church and help in the growth of his church. Besides, members also see his wife, Peace Okonkwo, as a loving, caring and prayerful woman. Many have been attracted to the church because of the warm personality of Peace Okonkwo and this has helped in the growth of the church.

In the area of media and social visibility, Bishop Okonkwo uses the media to project his image. The name Okonkwo is seen as synonymous to TREM. As mentioned earlier in chapter four, there is Okonkwo Football Tournament, Okonkwo National Essay Competition, Okonkwo's Power in the Word and Okonkwo's Power for the Wise. All these have made the church to be visible, especially since the image of Okonkwo cannot be divorced from TREM. Nevertheless, it needs to be mentioned that some TREM pastors are also charismatic, and have helped their branches to grow.

6.3 Growth in Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries

MFM has experienced rapid growth from just a Bible study group of about twenty-four people at its inception to over 500,000 members with about 3,000 branches spreading across three continents of the world. Indices of growth in the church include the following:

Increase in membership, like TREM, the growth in membership of MFM is mainly through the 'church switchers' joining the church since the mid-1990s.⁴⁴⁷ The majority of the members of MFM were members of different churches before they switched their denominational/church affiliation to MFM. The church is good at proselyting for membership from the mainline Protestant churches, which the MFM believes are dead churches.⁴⁴⁸ MFM embarks on rigorous proselytising of both Christians and non-Christians to MFM. Hence, switchers to MFM cut across all denominations – evangelical, Pentecostal (both Classical and Independent), as well as African Indigenous Churches. According to Butticci, 'Today, this church is one of the most influential deliverance ministries in West Africa and has one of the largest Christian congregations in Nigeria, with attendances of over 100,000 members in a

⁴⁴⁶The author discovered this through interactions and discussions with some members of TREM at TREM Headquarters on 24 November 2014.

⁴⁴⁷Rev Uche Emeka, (a senior Pastor at the church's international headquarters) in a discussion with the author, February 2014.

⁴⁴⁸'About MFM' <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about> (accessed on June 18, 2018).

single meeting'.⁴⁴⁹ Furthermore, the first and second-generation members of MFM continue to lead their children to join the church thereby adding to the growth of the church.

As mentioned earlier in chapter three, the church started with a branch but in early 2000, it adopted a multiple branch system. From this initial single branch, many branches sprung up within and outside Lagos. As at July 2018, the church had over 450 branches in Nigeria, with Lagos having about 80 branches, 96 branches in the United States, 97 branches in the United Kingdom and about 35 branches in Africa (excluding Nigeria). In all, as of December 2017, MFM has branches in sixty-six countries spreading across the five continents.⁴⁵⁰

Related to the issue of multiplication of branches is the territorial spread of the branches. For the first twelve years of MFM, the church had just a branch and this was limited to Lagos alone. However, with the adoption of multiple branches, the church began to spread to other parts of the country. The church has at least a branch in each of the thirty-six states of Nigeria, and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory. The church has grown in number as well as its territorial spread. Branches of MFM are available in all the five continents as can be seen in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Territorial Spread of MFM Branches⁴⁵¹

Geographical Area	Number of Branches
Lagos	90
Nigeria (without Lagos)	360
United Kingdom	97
USA	96
Canada	12
Europe (without the UK)	13
Africa (Without Nigeria)	32
Asia & Middle East	8
Australia	4
TOTAL	712

MFM has also experienced growth in terms of income and financial resources at the disposal of the church. The church income comes through tithes, offerings, pledges, donations and gifts to the church. However, the actual financial income of the church is not known because the church does not make her statement of accounts public. The church can boast of a multi-million dollars edifice of her Headquarters building. Where the Headquarters church is located used to

⁴⁴⁹Butticci, 'Crazy World, Crazy Faith!', 24.

⁴⁵⁰'About MFM', <http://www.mountainoffire.org/about> (accessed on June 18, 2018).

⁴⁵¹The author, through the information gotten from the church's website computed the table.

be a swampy area, but the environment is now well paved and terraced and the flood well controlled. The main auditorium is big and has a seating capacity of over 50,000 worshippers. The church has purchased all the residential buildings surrounding the main auditorium. Apart from the Headquarters, there is also a Prayer City, with modern social amenities. Besides the Prayer City, there is the church's private university, Mountain Top University. The church owns a First Division professional football club, MFM Football Club, which is one of the top-rated football clubs in the First Division, Nigerian Professional Football League. The fact that the membership of the church has grown has also resulted in much income to its coffers. Furthermore, other business activities that the church has embarked upon show that there is a considerable increase in her income. She has schools (both primary and secondary), a university, bookshop and a publishing house.

When it started in 1989, the church was little known. However, in just three decades, it has grown and become visible with the aid of media and media technology as well as her social activities. It has a functional website through which her programmes and worship services are streamed live globally. Through social media, anyone can follow the live streaming of its worship and programmes; announcements of church events and Pastor Olukoya's preaching and teaching. Also, MFM has a 30-minute television programme, in which Pastor Daniel Olukoya preaches and gives an invitation to his audience to join the church. For example, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA Channel 10) Lagos⁴⁵² and Lagos Television (LTV) broadcast Olukoya's message for 30 minutes every Tuesday from 5.00 pm – 5.30 pm. Also, Sky Channel 590 (a UK based TV station) broadcast Olukoya's messages on Wednesdays and Thursdays by 7.30 pm and on Sundays by 5.00 pm.⁴⁵³ Furthermore, the church records Olukoya's messages in DVDs and sell to people, far and near. Partly through these broadcasts, those who have never heard about him and the church have had the opportunity to hear about Olukoya and the church.

Moreover, the social actions engaged by the church continue to help make her visible. The media, both print and non-print, carry news on such social actions, which includes the establishment of schools - primary, secondary and university, the award of scholarships to indigent students and undergraduates with first-class honours from the university.⁴⁵⁴ The

⁴⁵²NTA 10 Lagos broadcasts Olukoya's messages twice every week on Mondays and Thursdays at 5.00 – 5.30 pm and 6.00 – 6.30 pm respectively.

⁴⁵³<http://www.mountainoffire.org.uk/index.php/mfm-resources/watch-us-on-sky-590> (accessed May 28, 2015)

⁴⁵⁴For more on this see Ajose Sehindemi, 'MFM rewards 108 First Class students with N54m' *The Nation*, 6 August 6, 2015. <http://thenationonlineeng.net/mfm-rewards-108-first-class-students-with-n54m/> (accessed November 29, 2017).

successes of MFM Football Club in the Nigerian football scene have also greatly increased the social visibility of the church especially among football fans in Nigeria.

Besides, many of the books, especially those on prayers and deliverance which were written by Olukoya, have been translated into other languages such as French, Yoruba and Igbo. For example, his prayer books, *Prayer Rain* and *Prayer Passport* have been translated into many languages with many copies sold in Nigeria and other parts of the world. Olukoya's books are sold on *Amazon* online shops. Such books continue to give visibility to the church.

6.3.1 Pastor Daniel and Shade Olukoya and the Growth of MFM

Two pertinent questions that need to be asked are: would this church be as popular with someone other than its current leader? Are the brand of the leaders and the brand of the church identical? While the first question may not be easy to answer, nevertheless, depending on the personality, style, and charisma of another leader, the church could still be popular with such a leader, especially, if such leader also decides to follow in the footsteps of Olukoyas. However, if another leader who does not have the personality and leadership of Olukoyas and their charisma becomes the leader of MFM, he would not be as popular as Olukoyas. On the second question, the brand of the leaders and the brand of the church are identical because the leaders are the ones who have branded the church using their charisma, personality and leadership style. This is further discussed below.

The Olukoyas have branded themselves and their church as specialized in deliverance and praying, promising freedom from malevolent spirits, which wage war against the peace, progress and prosperity of Christians. This is in line with the African worldview that often links poor conditions and a state of poverty to the handiwork of malevolent spirits. Hence, people constantly seek solutions to their problems by thronging to MFM where they believe the Olukoyas will pray and set them free from the hand of these wicked spirits. Indeed, Olukoya's messages focus on African traditional worldview especially as it concerns demonic manifestations and practices. He uses scripture to support his ideas. Furthermore, his constant exposition of the activities of demonic forces during his teaching or preaching fascinates many of his listeners. Thus, his teachings and preaching attracts and draws people to MFM and is a factor in the growth of the church.

As mentioned earlier, MFM places a lot of emphasis on prayer as a tool for what it termed 'spiritual warfare'. MFM through Olukoya has developed a very particular style of praying that is unique only to MFM and is seen as effective within the framework of spiritual

warfare. The church believes in vigorous and ‘violent prayers’. According to Butticci, the uniqueness of the MFM prayer style makes the church stand out among the African Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. She attributes the growth, spread and wealth of the church to her unique ‘aggressive and violent prayers’ in fighting malevolent spirits.⁴⁵⁵ Olukoya went on to describe violent prayer thus: ‘Violence means great power, forceful activity, damaging force, intense, severe and highly excited actions, fury, fierceness, rage and rampage, madness and craziness, explosion, and storminess’.⁴⁵⁶

6.4 Growth in Daystar Christian Centre

Though Daystar is still a single branch church, however, the Church has experienced rapid growth. Indices of growth in the church include the following:

Increase in membership is an obvious indicator of numerical growth in Daystar. From the membership strength of fewer than fifty people at the inception of the church, the membership strength has grown to over 16,000 members. This number comprises of only those who worship in the church regularly and have their names on the church register. Some people are just occasional worshippers and admirers of the church, but not full members. Such people regularly watch Daystar programmes online. As in the other two churches described above (TREM and MFM), the growth in membership of Daystar is mainly through proselytizing and membership transfer.⁴⁵⁷ Furthermore, the House Fellowships have grown in number over the years. When the church started the Cell/House Fellowship system in June 1996, the total number of House Fellowship Centers was about fifty. However, with an increase in membership, the number of House Fellowship Centers increased and multiplied. As at December 2017, House Fellowship Centers have been divided into Zones and Districts, thus the church has 16 Districts, about 180 Zones and over 1500 Cells or Home Fellowships. Table 6.3 shows the distribution and spread of Daystar House Fellowship Centers in Lagos metropolis.

One important index of growth in Daystar is the establishment of multiple services. When the church was inaugurated in 1995, Daystar operated a single service since the congregation was still small and the worship centre could easily accommodate all the members who come to worship. However, with the upsurge in the membership of the church and the inadequacy of the auditorium for the members to worship, on October 15, 2000, the church

⁴⁵⁵Butticci, ‘Crazy World, Crazy Faith!’, 24.

⁴⁵⁶Olukoya, *Power Against Marine Spirits*, 72.

⁴⁵⁷Adeyemi, October 2011.

adopted two services on Sundays. By mid-2001, two worship services had increased to four worship services on Sundays. According to Sam Adeyemi, 'We fixed a date for October 15 and we broke into two services. Within ten months, we had moved from running one service to running four services. It was an explosion for us. Fellowship exploded, attendance increased, financial resources also increased'.⁴⁵⁸ Not long after, the services were increased to five services with the worship time as follows: 7 am; 8 am; 9:15am; 10:30am; 11:45 am (5 Services). However, with the movement of the church to the new and bigger auditorium in March 2006, the services had been reduced to four.

Related to the issue of multiple services is the emergence of satellite churches. As at December 2017, Daystar operated as a single church with four services. However, the growth beyond the capacity of the church auditorium necessitated the creation of satellite churches.⁴⁵⁹ A satellite church is not a full-blown branch but a semi-autonomous branch of the church. Each satellite church has a pastor assigned to lead it. On Sunday, members go to the location (satellite church) for worship. Each satellite church has its praise team, ushers and technical crew. The service at the satellite church starts at the exact time the service starts at Daystar Christian Centre. The satellite church follows the same worship outline just as Daystar Christian Centre. However, when it is time for preaching, it links up to Daystar Christian Centre through the internet to hear the sermon being preached at Daystar Christian Centre.⁴⁶⁰ In case there is a problem with the internet or the reception is poor, the Pastor at the satellite centre will then preach.

In reality, a satellite centre is more or less a viewing centre of the service at Daystar Centre (main church in Oregon). However, the reality on the ground is pointing to the direction of multiple branches, and in the nearest future, the church may adopt multiple branch system.

Beyond the establishment of the satellite centres, is the issue of centralization of charisma. Here, charisma is being made to reside and concentrate on Adeyemi alone. Hence, members who cannot come to the Daystar worship centre are being made to feel and share in the charisma of Adeyemi whose messages are relayed for the worshippers to watch and listen to at the satellite centres. Increase in membership has increased the income of the church. Daystar started with many financial difficulties. According to Sam Adeyemi, while commenting on the poor financial status of the church at its inception he said,

⁴⁵⁸Sam Adeyemi, 'The Birth of Daystar Vision' in *Daystar Christian Centre: A testimonial to the Power of Vision*, (Lagos: Daystar Christian Centre, 2005), 6.

⁴⁵⁹Pastor Seyi Olakanmbi, (a pastor of Daystar Christian Centre) in a discussion with the author, October 2017.

⁴⁶⁰Olakanmbi, October 2017.

The inauguration was an interesting period in itself in that we didn't have a lot of resources and we could not afford the type of accommodation we were getting either; hotels, banquet halls or some duplexes that were for between N200,000 and N250,000 per annum and they wanted us to pay for two years.⁴⁶¹

Table 6.3: A table showing the distribution and spread of Daystar House Fellowship Centres in Lagos Metropolis⁴⁶²

Districts ⁴⁶³	Zones	Cells/Home Fellowships
1	10	100
2	12	120
3	12	120
4	12	120
5	12	120
6	12	120
7	9	90
8	13	130
9	12	120
10	11	110
11	13	125
12	13	130
13	13	125
14	10	100
15	13	130
16	13	130
Total	180	1800

The situation was so bad for the church that the church had to hire a run-down facility which Adeyemi himself described thus:

It was so remote; people did not know it was there, even okada riders⁴⁶⁴ did not know the place. It was a dirty environment; a run-down building. Each time I went to church, there was muddy water all around and people sharing the building with us would sometimes play loud music during our services and we would have to plead with them to stop the music.⁴⁶⁵

He went on to say, 'We started quite small and with so much need and lack.... Those times were that of unimaginable discouragement as I struggled and stuck to the vision'.⁴⁶⁶ However, the story of the church has changed. The church has so much income and could be considered financially adequate by the beginning of the new millennium. Yet, it is difficult to give a figure

⁴⁶¹Adeyemi, *A testimonial to the Power of Vision*, 4.

⁴⁶²The author, through the information gotten from the church's website computed the table.

⁴⁶³Each district has a number and each numbered district has between 9 and 13 zones.

⁴⁶⁴These commercial motorcyclists use motorcycle to carry people as means of transport.

⁴⁶⁵Adeyemi, *A testimonial to the Power of Vision*, 5.

⁴⁶⁶Adeyemi, *A testimonial to the Power of Vision*, 5.

or know how much the church is worth; nevertheless, the financial worth of the church can be estimated to be in the hundreds of millions of naira (€1,850, 000M or \$1,900,000M). The church itself has testified of its financial strength thus:

Like God had chaotic earth and created beauty out of it, Daystar likewise has been lifted from obscurity to the glory which we see today. If Daystar, were to raise a few hundreds of thousands in those days required serious faith, believing, claiming and even fasting, has been raised to a state where those lifting Holy hands in the sanctuary can issue cheques in the region of millions.⁴⁶⁷

The church can now boast of a multi-billion-naira edifice as its headquarters building. The main church is big and has a seating capacity of over 5,000 worshippers for the main auditorium, another big hall of about 2,500 capacity known as Annex 1 and another hall (outside the premises where the main auditorium is located) almost opposite the main auditorium of about 1500 seating capacity known as Annex 2. The church has a multi-storey building, which used to house the Daystar Primary School but is now being used as the Children's church and another small hall for the Teens church. The Church can boast of a three-storey building for its primary school just opposite the premises where the main auditorium is located. This is evidence that the income that comes to the church's coffers through tithes, offerings, pledges, donations and gifts is huge. In an interview, Pastor Adeyemi disclosed that the church spent ₦250 Million (€590,000 or \$600,000) to renovate schools at Ikeja Military Cantonment and the expenditure of the church on diesel in 2010 was about ₦56 Million (€132,000 or \$140,000) annually. Furthermore, other business activities that the church has embarked upon show that there is a considerable increase in the income of the church. The church has a primary school as mentioned above, a bookshop and a publishing house known as *Pneuma*.

Over the past two decades, the church has grown and become visible with the aid of media and media technology as well as her social activities in the society. The church has a functional website through which her programmes and worship services are streamed live globally through the internet. Again, the use of social media increases the visibility of the church. Through social media, people can follow the live streaming of the church worship and programmes as well as the announcements of church events and activities. People, who have never heard about the church and Sam Adeyemi, have come to know the church and the pastor, Sam Adeyemi through social media platforms.⁴⁶⁸ Besides, Adeyemi has 30-minute weekly

⁴⁶⁷Adeyemi, *A testimonial to the Power of Vision*, 14.

⁴⁶⁸This submission is based on interviews conducted with some pastors and members of the church and estimates based on the author's observations.

television programme in many television stations both within and outside the country, in which he preaches and gives an invitation to his audience. The details of the Daystar TV broadcast schedule is shown in Figure 6.2. Furthermore, Adeyemi's messages are sold on CD to people far and near. CD's of Adeyemi's messages are also given out freely as part of the 'Welcome Package', to first-time worshippers in the church.⁴⁶⁹

Also, the social actions engaged in by the church continue to help make it visible. The media, both print and non-print, often carry the news of social actions that the church initiated, and she often put the news of such social actions on her website thus making her visible. Such social actions include the establishment of primary school; the renovation of about 6 secondary schools at Ikeja Military Cantonment, destroyed by bomb blasts in February 2002; Vocational Centers with free training for participants. Other social actions include the distribution of free exercise books to some public schools in Lagos; donation of science equipment, chairs and desks to some public schools in Lagos. Also, the building of laboratory, toilet facilities and school hall for Oregun Secondary School, Oregun, Ikeja; donation of medical equipment and drugs to some public hospitals in Lagos; donation of 10 cubicle toilet facility to Ajao Estate Junior High School, Lagos and the renovation of the Brighter Future School for the Deaf.⁴⁷⁰

Furthermore, many of the books written by Adeyemi are popular among the members and non-members of the church. For example, his books, *Parable of Dollars* and *Super Achiever Breakfast*⁴⁷¹ are very popular with many copies sold in Nigeria and many parts of the world. Adeyemi's books are sold on *Amazon* online store.

Also, the 'Real Women Foundation' a Non-Governmental Organization established by Nike Adeyemi, continues to give visibility to the church. The foundation has a TV broadcast known as Real Women. The organization also has a rehabilitation and orphanage home, which caters for abandoned children as well as street kids, prostitutes and drug addicts. As mentioned in chapter three, Real Women Foundation has its website as well as TV programmes. Through the activities of Real Women Foundation, many have heard about Daystar Christian Centre and ended up being members of the Church, especially those who have attended Real Women Foundation seminars and outreaches.

⁴⁶⁹The author was given a CD of Sam Adeyemi in the Welcome Package given to first Time worshippers on Sunday 16 November 2014. This is a usual practice of the church.

⁴⁷⁰Adeyemi, October 2011. The author visited two of these mentioned places, Ikeja Military Cantonments and Oregun Secondary Schools, Oregun, Ikeja on November 16, 2014 to confirm its truth. The facilities were actually donated, and they are still functioning.

⁴⁷¹The super achiever breakfast is also taught as an internet course, see: <https://successpower.tv/super-achievers-breakfast>. This is a personal effectiveness and goal-setting course.

DAYSTAR TELEVISION BROADCASTS

Our reach gets even wider; We're on new Stations; In new cities; On different days!
SPREAD THE WORD!

Watch us on

▶ THE WORD NETWORK USA	10.00pm GMT +1	Mon - Fri.
▶ FAITH TV - UK	7.30pm GMT +1	Mon, Weds, Fri.
▶ DAYSTAR TV	3.00pm (Thursdays)	Fridays (9.00pm)
▶ DSTV AFRICA	2.00am	Saturdays
▶ SOWETO TV	9.00am & 3.30pm	Sundays
▶ KICC TV	6.00pm	Mon, Weds, Fri.
▶ EBONY LIFE TV DSTV Channel 165	7.00am – 7.30am Daystar broadcast	Sundays
	7.30am - 8.00am RealWoman broadcast	Sundays
	10.30am – 11.00am Success Power broadcast	Sundays
▶ KINGDOM AFRICA	9.00am & 8.00pm	Everyday
▶ GALAXY	10.30am	Saturdays
▶ GATEWAY	8.00am	Sundays
▶ KWARA TV	7.30am	Sundays
▶ TVC	4.00pm	Sundays
▶ OSUN TV	8.00pm	Thursdays
▶ OMEGA TV (South Africa)	8.30pm	Sundays
▶ PRTV, JOS	6.00pm	Wednesdays
▶ CONFLUENCE TV LOKOJA	10.00am	Saturdays
▶ STV BENIN	8.00am	Sundays
▶ ACBN	6.00pm	Tuesdays
▶ ON MYTV NETWORK	9.00pm	Thursdays
▶ STV P/HARCOURT	8.00am	Sundays
▶ STV AKWA	8.00am	Sundays

Figure 6.2: A table showing broadcast schedule of Daystar programmes on television stations as of 2017⁴⁷²

Another index of growth at Daystar Christian Centre is the introduction of new ministries and varied innovative programmes. At the inception of the church in 1995, the major programmes and activities of the church were mainly Sunday worship services and mid-week programmes, which comprised of prayer meetings and Bible studies. The ministries in the church then were the choir, ushering, Women's Fellowship and Men's Fellowship. However, because of growth, new ministries and innovative programmes have been introduced. These new ministries include Benevolence/Hospitality, Singles, Greeters, Daystar Campus Fellowship, Daystar Leadership Academy, The Caring Heart Ministry, The Legal Aid Unit, The Publications Department and so on. Innovative programmes introduced in the church

⁴⁷²Handbill printed by the church.

include Daystar Leadership Programme, Excellent Leadership Conference and annual Christmas Carol Service. These are pieces of evidence that the church is growing and improving both in the number of ministries and quality of its programmes.⁴⁷³

6.4.1 Pastors Sam, Nike, and the Growth of Daystar Christian Centre

Like in the roles of the Okonkwos and the Olukoyas in the growth of MFM and TREM discussed above, the same pertinent questions come into mind: would this church be as popular with someone other than its current leader? Are the brand of the leaders and the brand of the church identical? Like in the response above, whether the church will be as popular with someone else other than its current leader will depend on the charisma, personality and the leadership style of such a leader. The brand of the leaders and that of the church are identical since the leaders are the one who has branded the church. For example, for many members of Daystar and admirers of Sam Adeyemi, he is a unique person and highly gifted as a teacher'.⁴⁷⁴ Hence, many come to either see him or seek for opportunities to associate with him. For many of these, the sure way of getting to know and get close to him is to become a member of his church, Daystar where they would have endless opportunities to relate with him closely.

Adeyemi's teaching is mainly on success and human capacity development. Such teaching is soothing and appealing to many people, especially young people who earnestly seek to know the secret of success and breakthrough in a society where poverty is a reality and many citizens live far below the living wage. Adeyemi's teaching is so popular on radio stations where he teaches on success principles. This programme is called 'Success Power'. Many who have heard his teaching on radio have been drawn into Daystar and ended up as members of the church. Another aspect of Adeyemi's teaching is on human capacity development, especially, on leadership. Daystar's Leadership Academy is well known for its teachings on leadership. Leadership Courses are organised in the church for both members and non-members. Many of those who have attended the leadership programme was attracted to the church. Moreover, they eventually became members of the church.

On the other hand, members and non-members of Daystar perceive Nike Adeyemi as an eloquent speaker and a kind woman. Her Real Women Foundation is a very popular programme on many television stations where she speaks and counsels women. Through this

⁴⁷³Daystar Leadership Programme and Excellent Leadership Conference are the two most popular and crowd pulling programmes of Daystar Christian Centre. These programmes have been discussed in detail in chapter 4 of this Thesis.

⁴⁷⁴Olakanmbi, October 2017.

programme, many have come to know her as a gifted speaker and have been attracted to her and her church, Daystar. Her involvement in social actions especially her orphanage home and centre for rehabilitation of commercial sex workers and sexually abused children is very popular in Lagos and has given hope to many people who have been rehabilitated and helped to go back to school or get something profitable doing. Many of the people she helped through her rehabilitation home eventually joined Daystar thus contributing to the growth of the church.

6.5 Growth in Fountain of Life Church (TFOLC)

Although The Fountain of Life Church (TFOLC) is still a single branch in Nigeria with another branch in the USA, the church has however experienced numerical growth. Indices of growth in the church are discussed below.

Increase in membership is an obvious indicator of numerical growth in the Fountain of Life Church (TFOLC). From the membership strength of less than twenty-five people at the inception of the church in 1992, the membership strength of the church grew to over 10,000 people by 2017. This number comprises only those who worship in the church regularly and have their names on the church register. Some people are just occasional worshippers and admirers of the church, but not full members.⁴⁷⁵ Besides, an ultra-modern place of worship was dedicated in June 2014 with a seating capacity of about 5,000 people. In an interview with Pastor Fred Ohiani, a founding member and a pastor in the church, while commenting on the growth of TFOLC said, 'I think coming from a room of just six people to about 10,000 people for Fountain alone, not to mention those who have moved on to start different churches, God has been good.'⁴⁷⁶ As in other churches described above, the growth in membership of The Fountain of Life Church (TFOLC) is mainly through the transfer of membership and proselytising.

One important index of growth is the adoption of multiple services. The church started with only one service, and before the end of 1992, the church had to move from its rented location within the Ilupeju neighbourhood in Lagos. In 1994, the number of Sunday services increased to two to cater for the teeming population. Soon, the venue became inadequate to accommodate the worshippers. Around 1996, the worship services increased to three. With the completion of a new and bigger church auditorium in 2014, the three services have been merged

⁴⁷⁵Pastor Akin Robert, (a pastor of TFOLC) in a discussion with the author, September 2017.

⁴⁷⁶Pastor Fred Ohiani, 'We Were Witnesses' in *The Fountain* (Lagos: Fountain of Life Church, April 2012), 22. Those who left the church did not leave because of schism or revolt, but felt led of God to start their own church and they left peacefully without taken away any member of the church. Majority of these were not even pastors of TFOLC.

into one.⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, the number of House Fellowships have grown considerably. The total number of House Fellowship Centers grows from twenty to about a hundred in 2017.⁴⁷⁸ The numbers of people per Cell/House Fellowship varies depending on the size of each fellowship. However, the average number of people per fellowship ranges from 12 to 20.

The inauguration of TFOLC took place in a rented hall, which the church used for its worship for about six months. The church moved to another leased property, eventually, the church was able to buy the leased property and converted it to an auditorium.⁴⁷⁹ The warehouse turned-auditorium later became grossly inadequate which necessitated the adoption of multiple services on Sundays. Finally, the church was able to buy a nearby property in May 2002, and the foundation of the new auditorium was laid in 2004. The auditorium, which took about ten years to complete, was finally dedicated in May 2014. Thus, the church now has a permanent place of worship, and a big auditorium.

According to Odukoya, the church's funds were inadequate in the early years, even to pay the rents. However, with time, the story of the church changed; the financial difficulty went and the church is now financially buoyant.⁴⁸⁰ The funds for the construction of the new auditorium were internally generated. Odukoya himself affirmed that the bulk of its funds were internally generated through tithes, offerings, and donations.⁴⁸¹ Other economic activities of the church such as the establishment of a hospital,⁴⁸² farms (Grace Springs Farm),⁴⁸³ rehabilitation home and vocational training centre are pieces of evidence of the growing income and wealth of the church.

The church started as a single branch. By late 1990s, the church has expanded and planted five branches in Lagos and a branch in Abeokuta, Ogun State. However, the church closed all these branches and granted autonomy to those of them that wished to continue as a church. Odukoya commenting on this said, 'The essence of branches is to take the message of the kingdom further than your immediate surroundings. This was our goal, but then we realized that too many issues were coming up which we did not prepare for. At a stage, we had to release all the branches to become autonomous and they are doing very well.'⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁷Sylvester Ojenagbon, A Story of Grace in *The Fountain* (Lagos: Fountain of Life Church, 2014), 6.

⁴⁷⁸Pastor Wale Smart, (a pastor of TFOLC) in a discussion with the author, March 2014.

⁴⁷⁹Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us' 12

⁴⁸⁰Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us' 12

⁴⁸¹Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us' 15.

⁴⁸²The hospital is located at 19, Oba Adetona Street Ilupeju, Lagos.

⁴⁸³The farm is located at Akinale Village, near Wasimi along the Lagos-Abeokuta Expressway, Ogun State, it is a cocoa and Oil Palm plantation farm with a recreational park.

⁴⁸⁴Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us', 19. Pastor Odukoya has been silent on the actual issues he had with these branches that led to their closure. The issue may likely be problem of managing these branches and the fear of

In the early 2000s, the church started planting and opening branches of the church outside the shores of the country. The church has since reconsidered its decision, Odukoya confirmed this when he said, 'We have since started branches in several foreign countries and will consider starting local branches again if we feel that it's God's will to do so. But we have to work out proper details before we do that'.⁴⁸⁵ This idea is gradually being implemented; the church now has a branch in Maryland, the USA known as Fountain of Life Grace Springs Church with Pastor John Odukoya as the senior pastor. There is also Fountain of Life Grace Springs Church, London, United Kingdom. Others are Fountain of Life Grace Springs Church, Johannesburg, South Africa, Fountain of Life Grace Springs Church, Switzerland, La Fontaine De Vie (The Fountain of Life Church), Republic of Benin, La Fontaine De Vie (The Fountain of Life Church), Lome, Togo, and Eglise La Fontaine De Vie, Cote D'Ivoire. This is proof of the growth and territorial expansion of the church

When the church started in 1992, it was in obscurity and unknown to many people. By 2018, the church has grown and become visible with the aid of media and media technology as well as her social activities in the society. The church has a functional website through which her programmes and worship services are streamed live all over the world via the internet. Again, the use of social media continues to give visibility to the church. The church became popular with the Singles and Married Programme anchored by the late Bimbo Odukoya and aired on many television stations. Furthermore, Odukoya's messages are on CDs, which are sold to people, far and near. Through this, those who have never heard about the church have come to know about Pastor Taiwo Odukoya and the church.

Furthermore, the social actions engaged by the church continue to help make her visible. Such social activities include the award of scholarships to indigent students, distribution of textbooks and notebooks to students in some selected schools in Lagos, medical outreaches with cervical screening, free vocational training programme and so on. Also, many of the books written by Odukoya are very popular among the members and non-members of the church. For example, his books, *The Proof* and *The Blessings* and *Perils of Power* are very popular with many copies sold in Nigeria and many parts of the world. Odukoya's books are sold on *Amazon*, an online store; and such books continue to give visibility to the church.

Another index of growth at The Fountain of Life Church (TFOLC) is the introduction of new ministries and varied innovative programmes. With the steady growth of the church,

incessant secession of branch pastors to establish a new church, which often depleted and affects the growth of the original branch.

⁴⁸⁵Odukoya, 'God has been Good to us' 19.

new ministries and innovative programmes were introduced. By 2017, there are enough people to handle these new ministries and programmes, which include Discovery for Men, Grace Springs Bible College, Thursday Showers, Media Department and so on. These show that the church is growing and improving both in the number of ministries and quality of its programmes.

6.6 Factors Responsible for the Growth of these Churches

Many factors have been identified as responsible for the growth of Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis.

Perhaps, the biggest factor responsible for the growth of these Independent Pentecostal churches is the use of media and media technology. These churches use all forms of media ranging from print, electronic, the internet and social media to advertise their churches and their numerous programmes. Through the churches websites, their programmes are streamed online. Posters, banners and handbills are also used to advertise their churches and invite non-members to their numerous programmes. Furthermore, radio and television stations broadcast their programmes to many homes. Through these avenues, many have come to know and become members of these churches.

Social activities of these churches are another factor in their growth. These churches' frequent assistance to both the members and non-members through numerous benevolent activities such as the award of scholarships to indigent students, provision of medical facilities such as hospitals and medical outreaches, and cash gifts to assist both members and non-members and to take care of their medical needs. Other benevolent activities include donation to government and non-governmental organizations, and community improvement programmes that have benefitted many people and made many to be favourably disposed to these churches. These kind gestures from these churches have served as a relief to many people who were beneficiaries of these programmes, and some eventually joined these churches. Furthermore, the establishment of vocational programmes for society by the church is another way through which many have been attracted to the membership of the church. Every year, at least over 25,000 people within Lagos Metropolis alone benefited from these vocational programmes.

These churches proselyte non-believers and non-members. Proselyting is done corporately through radio and television programmes. Apart from the radio and television evangelism, these churches have proselyting groups, which go out regularly to preach to the

unbelievers and invite them to these churches. The entire membership of these churches is also encouraged to go out individually and enlist non-members and unbelievers. Through the deliberate effort of these churches on evangelism, many have enlisted into the membership of these churches.

6.7 The Role of the Church Leaders in the Growth of these Churches

These leaders are the ones who cast the vision for the church. These visions are the forces that drive these churches and help them grow. These are not mere vision and mission statements but focus and goals expected of every member to key into and run with it.⁴⁸⁶ For example, the vision of TREM as scripted by Okonkwo is, ‘TREM is big enough to contain you, small enough to reach you, and powerful enough to deal with anything the devil brings against you. Here we do not look at the bigness of your problem but the bigness of our God’.⁴⁸⁷

A closer look at these vision statements partly reveals the driving force behind the phenomenological growth and spread of these churches, because it shows the direction these churches are moving and how to get there. Not only that, but many of the members of these churches are also fascinated by these vision statements and make it the slogan that propels them into action; forming the character and nature of the church. For example, the vision of Adeyemi to make every member of Daystar a role model is partly responsible for the qualitative growth of the church.

These leaders are also responsible for the introduction of innovative programmes, which attract people to their churches. This is done in two ways: First, by introducing new programmes and ministries that are appealing and attractive to both old and new members. These programmes and ministries have helped these churches to spread their teachings, ideals, vision, and missions and grow the church.

Second, innovative programmes introduced by these leaders are many and varied. Each section of the membership is targeted with appropriate and suitable programmes or ministries. For example, Adeyemi’s Daystar Academy was initially meant to be a form of an orientation programme for those who join the church newly but was rebranded to become Daystar Leadership Academy where leadership principles are taught to people. Recently, the programme was redesigned to cater for Teenagers; it is now Daystar Leadership Academy for Teens and Executives.

⁴⁸⁶The vision and mission statements of that of Daniel Olukoya and Sam Adeyemi have been examined earlier in Chapter Three.

⁴⁸⁷‘About The Redeemed Evangelical Mission’ <http://trem.org/home/about/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

The leaders of these churches also determined and set up the kind of administrative structure they feel will help their churches grow. At the inception of these churches, the organizational structure was simple and flexible; it was more of a democracy and joint decision-making structure. There was no special title or dichotomy between the followers and the members; every man is 'a brother' and every woman 'a sister'. However, with the transformation of these leaders into full-time pastors, the structure changed. These leaders put up a formalized organizational and administrative structure, which they believe, will help in the growth of their churches. The organizational structure they put in place in their churches is hierarchical in nature putting the leaders and their wives as the final authority in all matters and decision-making. The leaders are the ones that have overall power to transfer, discipline, promote and retire any staff, be it pastoral or non-pastoral staff. This hierarchical organization prevents bureaucracy and speeds up the decision-making process in these churches, which has positively helped these churches to record steady growth.

Moreover, there is concentration and centralization of power in the hands of these leaders. This was done to ensure that they are always relevant and are in charge. It makes them be the centre of attraction in the operation of these churches. These ensure and promote loyalty and commitment of other pastors and subordinates to them. It also reduces friction and secession.

These leaders determine the teaching and preaching in their churches. They and their wives are usually the main speakers and preachers. They preach and teach eloquently to motivate and give hope to their members. Each of these leaders has areas of focus in their teachings and preaching. For example, Olukoya's teaching and preaching focus on deliverance from malevolent spirits that hinder people from reaching their full potential, while Okonkwo focuses on power and prosperity. Odukoya and Adeyemi on the other hand focus on prosperity and leadership development. Through their teaching and preaching, they shape the thought patterns of their members. These teaching and preaching attract people to the church, thereby making the church to grow.

Furthermore, they use their preaching and teaching to draw the attention of their members to them. They present themselves as the dispenser of grace, favour and blessings. Through this, they make their members see them as super-human beings they can rely on. Such messages and teachings are very comforting, appealing, and attractive. They have drawn many people, who are seeking hope and solution to the problems of their lives to the church.

These leaders, though not media professionals and practitioners, determine the use, type and the extent of media and media technology in their churches. They lead their churches to

use media and media technology to advertise and promote their churches, its activities, ministries and programmes thereby becoming visible to the public. They lead their churches to procure media equipment, scout for and enlist capable hands to handle this equipment. They also ensure that the media department or team is well organized, trained and supervised. They determine what the media will focus on and broadcasts to the world. They determine the contents, timing and the medium.

The church leaders also lead their members to engage in social and civic activities such as the establishment of hospitals, schools, vocational centres and conduct medical outreaches. They are the ones who approve which social and civic activities to engage in and release funds for them. They also comment on social, economic, political and civic issues in the country. For example, Sam Adeyemi led his members to protest against the poor electricity situation in the country in what was termed, ‘Walk for Light’ in 2010. Okonkwo and Odukoya have severally commented on social and political issues in the country. Such actions give prominence to these leaders, make them visible in the society, and endear them to many members of the public who eventually end up as their church members.

6.8 Closing Remarks

The chapter has looked at the indices of growth in four Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis to understand the dynamics of growth of Independent Pentecostal churches. From the findings, growth in these churches includes social and media visibility, increase in membership, the introduction of new programmes and ministries, increase in income, multiplication of branches and territorial spread. It was discovered that factors such as the use of media and media technology, membership transfer, proselytising are key drivers to growth.

The next chapter gives a summary of the entire thesis and offers some suggestions on areas that can be explored for further research.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This study has examined the interconnection of charismatic leadership and organizational dynamics to the growth of Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis. This is to understand the pivotal role of charismatic leadership and organizational dynamics in the growth of these churches in Nigeria. In doing this, Pastoral leaders who are the founders of four Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis, who are known to be charismatic and have attained global prominence, were selected for the study. These leaders have also been around for more than two and a half decades, and have therefore been able to sustain their charismatic authority over a longer period. Lagos Metropolis was chosen for this research because of the prominence and a large number of Independent Pentecostal churches in the city and the availability of the media, both print and electronic, that give attention and visibility to these leaders and their activities both within and outside the church.

In this final chapter, I first briefly summarize the chapters, and then discuss the interrelationships between charisma, organizational developments and routinization, since these interrelationships were the key domain of my inquiry. I will then discuss the findings in more detail and close with questions and recommendations for further research.

Chapter one of this research work introduced the entire thesis. The chapter opens with the objective of the study, which is to explore the extent to which charismatic leadership impacts on the growth and the running of internal organizational systems of Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos Metropolis in Nigeria since the 1980s. The chapter gave an overview of the history of Christianity in Nigeria with emphasis on the development of pastoral leadership in Nigerian churches. The chapter argued that understanding Charismatic leadership concerning organizational dynamics in Independent Pentecostal churches is crucial to understand how these churches have been able to sustain growth and expansion of Independent Pentecostal churches, particularly in Lagos Metropolis. The researcher adopted the definition of charisma as propounded by Weber and his view on the routinisation of charisma for the study. This was so because the church leaders investigated are charismatic, but are torn between the use of their charisma and its routinization. Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature on the key concepts of the study and proposes a theoretical framework for the thesis. This framework builds on Weber's theories of charisma and charismatic authority; defined as 'the charismatically qualified leader as such who is obeyed by personal trust in him and his

revelation, his heroism or his exemplary qualities so far as they fall within the scope of the individual's belief in his charisma...'⁴⁸⁸ Leadership was defined as leading to achieve set goals. It is a process because it does not happen suddenly, time is required for the leader to emerge, and between the followers and the leaders to understand each other and build trust. It is also a property because the leader is expected to possess some qualities (social, intellectual, emotional, physical and spiritual) or traits that will help him or her to lead or influence the followers. Although there are many theories of leadership such as 'Great Man Theory', Trait Theory, Situational Theory and Contingency Theory, none of these theories is adequate to explain the emergence of a leader. Therefore, the researcher proposed an integrative approach to leadership that understands leadership in a way that draws on elements from various leadership theories, and defined leaders as people with unique traits and character, recognized by a group, and enjoy their devotion as he/she leads them to achieve a common goal. These qualities set a leader apart from followers and commend a leader to the followers. These qualities could be natural or in some cases supernatural, nevertheless, these gifts become enhanced and nurtured in a good and enabling environment. Furthermore, situations, circumstances and environment can easily throw up a leader, make him/her known and recognized by people who may decide to follow or listen to such a unique person.

The term, leadership style, refers to how leaders relate to others within and outside the organization, and the method by which they influence their followers to achieve a set goal. Of all the leadership styles distinguished in the literature, transformational leadership is most relevant to the study because it is most closely linked to the notion of charismatic leadership. Most of the Nigerian Independent Pentecostal church-leaders are charismatic leaders because many of them seem to have unique personality traits that attract people to them and their churches. The leaders of the selected Independent Pentecostal churches fall into Prophet-type religious leader and derive their authority from their charisma; the medium of their charisma is the power of the spoken word. Charismatic leaders stabilize charisma and bring it into everyday routine through the process of routinization and this often results in the institutionalization of charisma. Although bureaucratization and differentiation of roles is part of routinization and institutionalization of charisma, in the setting of Independent Pentecostal churches, every member of the church is expected to assist in achieving the goal and the vision of the church put forward by the leader. It is interesting to note that in the early years, Independent Pentecostal churches had no fixed administrative routines, but over time, have

⁴⁸⁸Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, 47-48.

grown to become big organizations with complex bureaucratic structures with specialized and professional leaders.

Another concept examined by the researcher was organization and was defined as the process of organizing human groups or activities into a stable association to achieve a common or set goal. Every human organization is driven by an orderly pursuit of goals and a desire for self-perpetuation; these goals determine the structures of the organization and the strategies for the pursuit of the goals. Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches as religious organizations fall within the scope of religious sects, however, they have developed into denominations over a period. Their process of becoming a denomination was largely due to changes in their internal structures as well as a response to external stimuli. In these churches, solitary leadership is embraced and has helped them to experience rapid growth, unlike in churches with collective leadership where growth is often hindered by bureaucracy. These churches also have organizational behaviour and culture. The organizational behaviour has to do with the attitude and behaviour of members as well as the behaviour and attitudes of these churches generally. The members have a culture of deferent to their leaders and are generally lively and liberal in their comportment, practices and beliefs.

On Pentecostalism, the researcher argued that the growth of Pentecostalism is due to its ability to meet both physical and material needs of members and then defined Pentecostals as Christians who believe in the *experience* of the working of the Holy Spirit and the *practice* of spiritual gifts. Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches emanated from the Charismatic revival on the university campuses in the early 1970s. It is difficult if not impossible to categorize Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches. The administrative and organizational structures in most Independent Pentecostal churches are hierarchical and centralized, especially around the founder. Other beliefs and practices of Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches include lively worship, recognition of women and their spiritual giftedness in the church, use of electronic media and media technology, placing of value and modelling of material success, branding of their church, and are generally liberal and permissive in nature.

The last concept examined was church growth. Church growth simply means an increase in the size, membership, and spiritual life of a church. There are two major dimensions of Church growth: quantitative and qualitative aspects. The quantitative aspect of church growth has to do with the numerical growth of a church; such as an increase in membership, financial offerings; and some churches planted. On the other hand, qualitative church growth has to do with the quality of life of church members such as new birth, commitment and dedication of members, rendering of services to the church, and obedience and loyalty to God

and the pastor-leader. The concern of the study has been majorly on quantitative growth; however, the qualitative growth was also briefly examined. Among Nigerian church leaders, especially in the Independent Pentecostal circle, church growth is believed to have two dimensions, the supernatural dimension and the human dimension.

Chapter Three gave the historical background of the four churches selected as case studies. In doing this, the writer reconstructed the narratives of the founding of these churches from both internal and external sources, contrasting the self-representation with sources that provide less polished accounts of the original histories of these churches. Furthermore, in discussing the (male) leader/founders of these churches, the role of wives and their roles in the establishment of these churches were brought forward as well, discussing an aspect of church history that is often forgotten in discussion of the emergence and growth of Pentecostal churches. Through bringing out the role of the wife, it became clear that both the husband and the wife co-founded some of the churches. However, not all the wives were considered charismatic from the inception of the church. Nevertheless, as the churches grew, the husbands provided a pedestal on which the wife can stand, share in their charisma and come to have charismatic qualities of their own attributed to them. Hence, there is charismatization of the wives of these leaders. In sum, the wives of the leader/founder have assumed leadership position along with their husbands, in some cases equal to their authority. This is contrary to Kalu's submission that 'generally, Pentecostal and charismatic movements recognize "sisters", and give women who are endowed with charismatic gifts the opportunities to minister those gifts at the ritual level, without challenging the patriarchal base of the polity'⁴⁸⁹ and Ojo's assertion that leadership position in the areas of preaching, counselling, and giving administrative directions, is almost the exclusive rights of men'.⁴⁹⁰ The wives of these leaders not only minister at the ritual level, but also hold a leadership position with authority that is equal to that of their husband.

Chapter Four provided an in-depth discussion and analysis of the leadership roles of the founders and their wives in the four selected churches. Specifically, the chapter examined various innovations introduced through the leadership ability, styles and characteristics as well as the relationship between the leaders and the followers in the selected churches. It also examined the role of leaders and their spouses in the leadership of these selected churches. The author posited that charismatic authority of these leader/founders does not tolerate rivalry or

⁴⁸⁹Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction*, 152. Also see, Olayinka, *Female Leaders of New Generation Churches as Change Agents in Yorubaland*.

⁴⁹⁰Ojo, 'Religious Leadership in Contemporary Nigeria', 4.

competition except through gendered differentiation. Finally, the writer also discovered that charisma is not only dependent on the introduction of new ideas and innovations by these leaders, but also on being perceived as a good husband and father as well as wife or mother. Members relate to the leader-founders of these churches as their spiritual parents, often calling them ‘Daddy’ and ‘Mummy’, respectfully bowing, or kneeling, down to them.

Chapter Five examined the organizational and administrative structures of the selected churches. Although these churches started with a small group of people, they have since their beginnings put in place centralized organizational and administrative structures in their churches with power and authority residing in the hands of the leader/founders and their wives. Thus, a pyramidal hierarchy characterizes all four churches. Although there is a process of routinization and bureaucratisation going on in these churches, these leaders have not allowed the process to complete, thus maintaining their charisma and ensuring that they remain relevant in their churches.

Chapter Six looked at the church growth efforts of the four churches. The Chapter describes the type of growth the four churches have experienced both quantitatively and qualitatively. The churches mainly emphasize quantitative growth. The relationship between charismatic leadership and church growth takes the form of a constant feedback loop: growth in these churches is accomplished through the charisma of these leaders, while the growth of these churches has also enhanced charisma of these leaders. The author discovered that contrary to the submission in the literature that strict churches or churches that enforce strict rules such as Roman Catholic grow more steadily than liberal churches,⁴⁹¹ liberal churches such as Independent Pentecostal churches that are permissive in nature grow more because members have the freedom to do whatever they like without anybody disciplining them. Moreover, liberal and permissive churches are more appealing to young people than strict churches that enforce rules and regulations.

7.2 The Inter-Relationships between Charisma, Organizational Developments, and Routinization

Weber described charisma as ‘A certain quality of an individual’s personality by which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least

⁴⁹¹This theory is not working in Nigeria probably because religion is not regulated unlike in the society where the theory was propounded. In addition, Nigerians are generally religious and their perception about religion differs from other societies. In Nigeria, religion is seen as a solution to life’s problems, hence everyone should embrace it.

specifically exceptional powers or qualities.⁴⁹² The leaders of the four churches being studied are known to be charismatic, because their members attribute unique gifts and abilities to them, which have set them apart from other members of these churches. This is in line with Weber's definition and the idea of charisma. The unique gifts ascribed to them could be classified into two: the natural and the supernatural.⁴⁹³ The natural include the oratory gift (which manifests in their teaching and preaching), administrative skill and winsome personality. Their supernatural gifts include the ability to heal and perform diverse miracles. These gifts set them apart and draw many followers to them, which has led to the growth of their churches. As more people hear about their charisma (as manifested in their teachings and preaching as well as the claim of miracles), many more throng their church and eventually became a member. Their extraordinary gifts continue to attract more members to the church, thereby causing the church to experience steady growth. The organizations of these churches at the beginning were simple, the leaders (founders) held no special position and access to them was easy and devoid of any bureaucracy. However, the growth of these churches necessitated the introduction of more formal administrative and organizational structures. Although no law compels churches to register and formalize the church organization, however, the need and the desire of the leaders to routinize and institutionalize their charisma has made these leaders register their churches with the government.⁴⁹⁴

Furthermore, the increase in membership and the spread of these churches into other areas from the headquarters brought about additional responsibilities on the part of these leaders. To lessen the burden of leadership and to sustain the loyalty of the members, distribution of responsibilities and delegation of authority was put in place. The first step in organizational development was the adoption of a title by the leaders to make a distinction between the followers (members) and the leaders. Voluntary supporting leaders were then elected to assist. As the churches continued to grow, the leadership responsibilities could no longer be done on a part-time and voluntary basis, the leaders had to become full-time workers.

⁴⁹²Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, 48.

⁴⁹³These are gifts or qualities ascribed to these leaders by their members who see them as unique religious leaders. Though, both types of these gifts are considered to have a supernatural source, however, a winsome personality or oratory skills alone would not be enough to make a leader to become a charismatic leader, so the supernatural gifts of healing and miracles, must be exhibited first and along with other type of gifts.

⁴⁹⁴The writer has officiated in wedding ceremonies in some of these churches. What these churches do is to issues out certificate printed by private printers of these churches (though not recognised by the Government) or asked the intended couple to go to Government marriage registry to be joined while the couple later returned to the church for celebration or thanksgiving and marriage blessing. Nevertheless, Federal Government of Nigeria is working to ensure that all religious houses (mosques and churches) are register, especially for the purpose of marriage licence.

For effective coordination and supervision, regular meetings were introduced and an organogram was created to formalize the lines of communication and reporting. With the establishment of more units and departments in these churches and the spread of branches of these churches to other areas, towns and cities, bureaucratic administrative structures were thus put in place. One of the central questions of this research project has been to the conundrum of how charismatic authority is stabilized and balanced with routinization, formalization and bureaucratization. This question can now be answered; although these leaders allowed some measure of routinization to take place, they continued centralizing the role of their charismatic appeal by ensuring that the provisions of the formalized constitution of their churches are not followed.⁴⁹⁵ Overall, their charisma legitimizes the organizational structures they put in place, while at the same time, the organizational structures they have put in place, enhance and preserve their charisma.

Moreover, the growth of these churches in turn also enhances the charisma of these leaders. As more people are attracted to these churches, the popularity and charisma of these leaders are enhanced and continue to soar. However, the growth also poses risks to the charisma of these leaders as more members with leadership ability and positions in the church could challenge the authority and the charisma of these leaders, and seek to break away from the church; although, such has not happened in any of these churches.

Furthermore, the establishment of formal bureaucratic and organizational structures necessitated setting up of rules to govern the administrative and organizational units in these churches. Also, the desire⁴⁹⁶ to register these churches formally with the government through the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) necessitated the formalization of activities, procedures and drawing up of constitution for these churches. In many cases, the members are not even aware of what is written in the constitution. In fact, in the day-to-day running of the church, the constitution does not play a role. Although routinization of charisma has set in, these leaders have not allowed complete routinization to take place, leaving all decision making power in their own hands as the one chosen by God to lead the church. The lack of a succession plan is another way by which these leaders prevent complete routinization. In the Nigerian

⁴⁹⁵A good example is that of the General Overseer of Redeemed Christian Church of God, Pastor E.O. Adeboye, who once said to his congregation that 'Bible, the word of God is their Constitution, not the Church constitution'.

⁴⁹⁶As of 2018, there is no law in Nigeria that makes it compulsory for churches to register with the government through its agency, Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC), however, the desire by some churches to enjoy certain privileges such as access to Government Marriage Licence and Certificate as well as opening of bank account, make them to register their churches with the government.

religious landscape generally, charisma and leadership often becomes hereditary or comes to be bestowed on whomever the leaders please, which in most cases, are his family members.⁴⁹⁷

The life of these churches revolves around the interpretations of the visions of the leaders. The leader also creates the main religious symbols prevalent in the organization, and members relate to these symbols as divine.⁴⁹⁸ Sometimes, it seems the leadership is collective, however, that is only between the leaders and their wives, and the leadership in these churches is singly and concentrated on the leaders and their wives. They give final approval and have the final say in all matters of administration. The concentration of authority on these leaders helps to maintain their grip on the control of these churches and to sustain their charisma. Any challenges to their authority and leadership are easily nipped in the bud by restructuring in the administration and organization in the church. Subordinates (assistant leaders or other pastors) and members who are known to be gifted or charismatic are either transferred from the headquarters or given a position that takes them away from where they can exercise any power or influence that can challenge the authority of these leaders and their wives. Thus, the kind of administrative and organizational structures in place in these churches are meant to protect and preserve the authority as well as the charisma of these leaders and their wives.

7.3 Findings

The following findings were made in the course of the research:

Firstly, these leaders lay claim to divine mandate or calling to the ministry. Hence, they left their former church to establish their churches. The narratives of their divine calling and the establishment of their churches are well crafted to reveal and emphasize their charisma. This claim of divine calling gives them a platform to exhibit their charisma and helps their wives to do the same. However, as the churches grew and spread beyond the geographical location where they started, there was a need to put up a formal organizational structure that will promote the doctrinal emphases and practices of these churches. The organizational structure was put in place by these pastor-leaders to determine how the leadership functions and role differentiation especially between these leaders and other pastoral and non-pastoral staff, which is crucial for the preservation of the charisma of these leaders. The establishment of formal

⁴⁹⁷A good example is the case of Late Arch-Bishop Benson of Idahosa, of Church of God Mission, Benin, after his death, none of his deputies succeeded him but his wife, Bishop Margaret Idahosa. Other Independent Pentecostal church leaders that have been succeeded by their wives includes Late Bishop Anayo Iloputaife of Victory Christian Church, Lagos, who was succeeded by his wife, Nkechi Anayo-Iloputaife and Late Bishop Gideon Kola Onaolapo of Abundant Life Gospel Church, Lagos, who was succeeded by his wife, Jane Onaolapo.

⁴⁹⁸Ojo, *The End-Time Army*, 93.

organizational structure necessitated putting in place administrative structures, and with time, these churches put up bureaucratic structures such as the establishment of departments and units.

With the establishment of formal organizational and administrative structures, these churches formulated constitutions and formally registered their churches with the Nigerian government through its agency, Corporate Affairs Commission. However, these leaders saw the need to protect and preserve their charisma, which the constitution will not allow. Therefore, they do not fully implement all the provisions of their constitutions, except when such provisions enhance their charisma.

Also, the organizational structure adopted by these leaders is hierarchical which concentrated power in their hands. With these organizational structures in place, no member can challenge the power or authority of these leaders and their wives. Hence, these leaders continue to enjoy the loyalty of their staff, and at the same time preserve their charisma. This was purposely done to make the leaders relevant, be in control and preserve their charisma and that of their wives.

Secondly, it was discovered that the utilization of charisma by these church leaders is interconnected with the organizational structures of their churches. These leaders determined the administrative and organizational structure of their churches. They put themselves and their spouses at the helm of affairs, they determined when and whom to appoint. They were the ones who had the final say in the transfer, promotion and discipline of the staff. They also served as the chief accounting officer; hence, no money can be spent in the church without their approval. This absolute power, which they hold, helps them to enhance and sustain their charisma.

In some cases, they have introduced multiple worship services to cater for the steady growing membership. Specifically, their efforts in growing their churches included the casting of vision for their churches, introduction of innovative programmes and ministries, the evolvement of organizational structure, their dynamic preaching and teaching prowess, leading of their churches to use media and media technology as well as their social and civic engagements. The wives of these leaders in their own right are also charismatic and they are using their charisma in a leadership position they occupied and lead some ministries and programmes in their churches, such as women and children ministries. Through this, they provided formidable support for their husband and their churches.

In terms of the involvement and the roles of these leaders and their wives in the growth of these churches, all the leaders and their wives are involved and have played significant roles in the growth of their churches. However, the involvement or the roles played by the wives of

these leaders differ. All the wives of these leaders are also pastors like their husbands, however, only Peace Okonkwo of TREM has another title; she is a Bishop like her husband. She is the only woman who is a member of the Council of Bishops, which makes her actively and directly involved in the decision-making in the running of the church. As already mentioned, though, they have their personal and private non-profit organizations, these women give publicity to their churches and get involved in the social and civic engagement programmes of their churches. Notwithstanding the evidence of growth in these churches, there is a need to compare and contrast growth in these churches as this chapter closes.

In terms of growth, the four churches have experienced unprecedented quantitative growth. However, the rate of growth differs from one church to the other. In terms of the highest growth, Mountain of Fire and Miracles comes first. MFM has the largest membership out of the four churches. Although there is no official record of the total membership of the church, a conservative estimate of the membership of the church is about 500,000 members. This is followed by TREM, while Daystar and TFOLC follow respectively. All the four churches have experienced numerical growth, which they emphasized; however, only Daystar emphasizes qualitative growth and sets indicators for measuring it. All the four churches engaged in deliberate evangelism or soul winning as a means of enlisting more members into their various folds. However, it is very difficult to determine which of the churches has been able to attract the highest number of members through deliberate evangelism or soul winning because there is no access to such records.

Related to the issue of membership size is the issue of multiple services. Daystar has the highest number of services on Sundays, conducting four services every Sunday with additional service in a satellite centre, while TFOLC conducts two services on Sunday. TREM and MFM have a single service on Sundays. Furthermore, in terms of the size of the auditorium at the headquarters, MFM has the largest auditorium both at the headquarters in Yaba and at the Prayer City, with each auditorium seating at least 100,000 people at a single service. This is followed by TREM auditorium, which seats about 15,000 people at a single service. TFLOC has the third-largest auditorium with about 5,000 seating capacity followed by Daystar auditorium with also about 5,000 seating capacity. However, in term of elegance and beauty, TREM has the most beautiful and elegant auditorium followed by TFOLC and Daystar in that order. MFM auditoriums both at the headquarters and at Prayer City are just tents.

In the area of social and media visibility, all four churches are well visible in the social and media arena. All the four churches have their programmes streamed online, however, only TREM and Daystar have both radio and television programmes. MFM has only television

programme while TFOLC did not have any radio or television programme as of 2017. Only Daystar has its programme being aired on satellite television stations.

It has been argued that strict and more conservative organizations especially religious organizations such as churches grow rapidly than organizations that are liberal and permissive. However, the finding of this research is contrary to this position. It is discovered that one of the factors contributing to the rapid growth of these churches is their liberal nature and permissiveness, which makes young people, and young adults find it more accommodating and easy to join and become a full member. This is contrary to what obtains in mainline Protestant and classical Pentecostal churches that teach and preach holiness, and have rules and regulations that forbid uncovering of hair, wearing of trousers by female members, painting of nails, perming of hair, dancing, using of a drum, shaking of hands with the opposite sex and so on. Except for MFM, all four churches are liberal and permissive in nature; nevertheless, they are growing steadily.

Thirdly, these religious leaders use media extensively to advertise their charisma and enlist members to their churches. In the use of media and media technology, these leaders determined the kind of media their church employs and to what use it is deployed. Media and Media technology range from print, audio, audio-visual, social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Internet, satellite television and radio. Other uses to which media and media technology are deployed include transmission of the founder or leader's vision to the members and non-members alike, advertisement of the church and the church founder, means of evangelism and proselyting, enlisting more members which result in the establishment of megachurch buildings. Hackett also puts this view forward when she argued that, 'Younger people, in particular, are attracted to the evangelists who have developed modern media images of themselves and their churches. It allows the potential participant or member to make choices before direct participation or commitment.'⁴⁹⁹ She went on, to sum up, other uses of media and media technology in Pentecostal churches thus,

The appropriation and use of modern media technologies facilitate the dissemination of the Word to the masses. The use of the media is clearly a tool of expansion, a reflection of globalizing aspirations, but it is also part of a calculated attempt to transform and Christianize popular culture so that it is safe for consumption by 'born-again' Christians. The 'modern' media are deemed an acceptable weapon for God's army in the battle against Satan.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁹Hackett, 'Charismatic/Pentecostal appropriation of Media Technologies' 266.

⁵⁰⁰Hackett, 'Charismatic/Pentecostal appropriation of Media Technologies' 258.

Media and media technology also can mediate and dispel power. According to Hackett, 'It is not uncommon for an evangelist to encourage his listeners to place their hands on the radio to receive healing or spiritual power.'⁵⁰¹ All these are the uses to which the leaders of these churches have put media. In recent times, they have engaged in social and benevolence actions by establishing non-governmental organizations, hospitals, microfinance banks and so on. However, they are also utilizing their charisma to enhance their economic base and build more wealth as evident in the establishment of economic ventures such as micro-finance banks, real estate and schools.

In the area of civic and social engagements, all the four churches engaged in social and civic activities such as the establishment of schools, hospitals, vocational schools and establishment of non-profit organizations. However, only TREM and TFOLC have hospitals, all the other churches except TFOLC, have schools; however, only MFM has a university, others have primary and secondary schools. Only MFM and TREM are actively involved in sports with MFM having a professional football team while TREM has an amateur football team. MFM and TREM also have national competitions such as the national quiz and essay competitions. Only TREM has a micro-finance bank.

Fourthly, women, especially wives of the leaders of the Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches are taking up leadership position in the church. Men are known to have taken dominance in pastoral ministry for long, especially in established or mainline churches such as Roman Catholic, Methodist, Anglican, Baptist and so on. This is the view of Rey when she argued that, 'Women's access to leadership positions has been hindered by discrimination and stereotyping'. She went further to say that, 'Internationally, women are still underrepresented in positions of power, responsibility and leadership'.⁵⁰² The reason for this submission is both cultural and theological. In the cultural sense, all societies are patriarchal in nature; hence, to varying degrees, men are dominant in leadership positions. However, this position has been challenged by Nigerian Independent Pentecostal churches that have elevated women to leadership positions. These women occupy leadership position and lead in their churches because of the gifts they possess and the members of their churches have attributed to them; thus, they are seen and recognised as charismatic leaders. Examples include late Bimbo Odukoya, Nike Adeyemi and Peace Okonkwo. This supports Kalu's submission that 'generally, Pentecostal and charismatic movements recognize "sisters" and give women who

⁵⁰¹Hackett, 'Charismatic/Pentecostal appropriation of Media Technologies' 267.

⁵⁰²Cheryl de la Rey, 'Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity', *Women and Leadership* no. 65 (2005): 6.

are endowed with charismatic gifts the opportunities to minister those gifts at the ritual level without challenging the patriarchal base of the polity.⁵⁰³ The wives of these leaders not only minister at the ritual level, but also hold a leadership position with authority that is equal to that of their husband. They preach, teach and hold administrative positions in their respective churches. They are recognized as de-facto co-leaders with their husband in these churches.⁵⁰⁴

Two reasons could be given for this. First is the fact that the leadership position in these churches is prophet-type, which is mainly based on the charismatic gift possessed by the leader. Since some of the wives of these leaders possess some gifts like their husband, this has made it possible for them to become and be recognized as leaders like their husband. Likewise, some spouses have shared in the charisma of their husbands as leaders of their churches. Also, since the charisma of their husband is being routinized and institutionalized, the position of these women as leaders is being institutionalized.⁵⁰⁵

A fifth finding relates to the strong competition for membership among the Independent Pentecostal churches and the influence this has on how churches position themselves. This has resulted in the use of marketing strategy by churches to sell themselves and their 'products' to willing buyers. One of the strategies is 'branding'. According to Adetayo, 'A brand can be viewed as a name, term, sign, symbol, group of words intended to identify the goods of one or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of the competitors.'⁵⁰⁶ He went further to say that branding adds value to the product. Each of the four churches has its brand. For example, the MFM brand is 'Deliverance and Prayer', TREM is 'Word' or 'Preaching' while Daystar is 'Leadership and Human Development' and for TFOLC, 'Faith and Human Emancipation' is the brand. Each of these churches emphasizes its brand and it is their selling point for their members and would-be members. This makes the religious economy in Nigeria and especially in Lagos Metropolis interesting and highly competitive. The frequency of various programmes and activities organized in these churches is to keep their members busy, occupied and win their loyalty.

⁵⁰³Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction*, 152.

⁵⁰⁴This practice is however a bit different in RCCG, one of the leading Independent Pentecostal church in Nigeria. Women, though are given opportunity to lead and hold any position in the church, but the wife of the leaders is usually operated behind the husband except when the husband is not a full time minister or not in the gospel ministry.

⁵⁰⁵Charismatic gifts are not gendered, male or female can possess any of the charismatic gifts. This assertion is base on the Scripture, 1 Corinthians 12:11, which says, 'All these are the work of one and the same Spirit, and he gives them to each one, just as he determines'. Thus, anyone could have any of the gifts irrespective of the gender. However, not all may have it in the same measure. This also shows that marital status has nothing to do with possessions of charismatic gifts; a married or single person could possess them.

⁵⁰⁶Adetayo, *Marketing Management*, 222.

Lastly, in terms of social activities, benevolent actions of these churches are usually advertised which sometimes elicit financial supports and goodwill from government and non-government organizations. These supports could be huge and bring more money to these churches. Thus, this social action could be a form of investment on the part of these churches and their leaders.

7.4 Conclusion

Weber argued that charismatic authority, rests on, ‘devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of a person, and the normative pattern or order revealed or ordained by them’.⁵⁰⁷ The members of these churches are committed and dedicated to these leaders, as it is evident in their obedience and loyalty to them. The members see these leaders as extraordinary people; people that God has empowered and equipped with supernatural gifts to perform heroic deeds such as healing, deliverance (exorcism) and to teach and preach extraordinarily. Therefore, these leaders are like heroes, hence their followers show devotion, honour and in some cases, worship them.

Weber posited that ‘by its very nature, the existence of charismatic authority is specifically unstable’.⁵⁰⁸ Hence, a person with charisma must continue to prove or demonstrate his charisma; else, his followers would no longer respect him.⁵⁰⁹ Indeed, these pastors continued to prove their charisma through various innovations, new programmes and activities, as well as their teachings and preachings, which has enabled them to keep the respect and loyalty of their followers. Furthermore, these leaders continue to build around themselves aura of the divine through claims of miracles and delegating authority to a trusted close associate, especially their wives, entwining the brand and organizational culture of their churches with their personalities and gifts. As Eileen Barker puts it, ‘charismatization’ is a process of stamping one’s charisma as a strategy of leadership on members of a group.’⁵¹⁰

In terms of the different leadership styles, the leaders of these churches can be regarded as transformational leaders. This is because their members have a feeling of trust, admiration, loyalty, and respect toward them. They inspire commitment and dedication, enhancing the self-motivation of members to go the extra mile in doing whatever they are asked to do. This is

⁵⁰⁷Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations*, 328.

⁵⁰⁸Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 248.

⁵⁰⁹Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building*, 344.

⁵¹⁰Barker, ‘Charismatization: The Social Production of an Ethos Propitious to the Mobilization of Sentiments’, 182.

often shown in their financial giving or pledges to the church. This is in line with Yukl's assertion that 'The job of the transformational leader is not simply to provide inspiration and then disappear. He is to be there, day after day, convincing people that the vision is reachable, renewing their commitment, priming their enthusiasm'.⁵¹¹

There is no doubt that these churches will continue to experience growth as long as these leaders continue to adopt the leadership style they have been using, and maintain the organizational and administrative structures they have put in place. Therefore, it can be submitted that the interconnection of charismatic leadership and organizational dynamics, which the leaders of Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos, have put in place have helped their churches to grow. Nevertheless, the interconnections of charismatic leadership and organizational dynamics, which has led the Independent Pentecostal churches to grow rapidly within three decades call for a re-evaluation of Max Weber's thesis on charisma and routinization when applied to the African context.

7.5 Recommendations for further research.

The major question that remains, however, is how this type of leadership can be taken over or transferred when the current leader dies or steps down? The charismatization of the wives might provide a clue to what will happen, although this process is not complete in all cases. This thesis has not discussed the charismatization of children of leader/founders; this area should certainly be looked into. Furthermore, succession plans are either not in place or not divulged. However, historically, there are already some examples of churches and movements who have transitioned between leaders, and it would be very interesting to make a systematic study of these cases. Lastly, it will also be interesting to further research into the impact of charismatic leadership on the organizational dynamics and growth of Independent Pentecostal churches outside Lagos metropolis, especially in the less urban areas, particularly in the eastern and northern parts of Nigeria.

⁵¹¹Gary Yukl, 'An Evaluation of Conceptual Weaknesses in Transformational and Charismatic Leadership Theories', 286.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GUIDE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE FOUR CHURCHES

Questions

- (1) How and when did your Church start?
- (2) Who is your Pastor? Can you give a personal and candid assessment of him? How do the members perceive him?
- (3) Does the Church have an Organogram? Can you please describe it?
- (4) Does the Church have a Constitution? If yes, to what extent does the Church make use and stick to the constitution
- (5) In your own opinion, what do you think are the likely factors responding to the growth of the Church?
- (6) What is the extent of the influence of the charisma of your Pastor on the growth of the church?
- (7) What do you think is the extent of the influence of the leadership of your Pastor on the followers and the growth of the Church?
- (8) How many branches does the Church have presently? How do you measure the growth of the Church?
- (9) How will you describe the leadership style of your Pastor?
- (10) In what way has the leadership style of your Pastor impacted on the organizational structure of the Church?
- (11) In what way does the Church exercise control in the area of organization and administration of the Church in terms of day to day administration, appointment, transfer, discipline, dismissal, the retirement of pastors, budgeting, finance and expenditure in the Church?
- (12) How visible is the church on media? Does the Church engage in social actions?
- (13) Does the use of media play any role in the growth of the Church?
- (14) How will you describe your church in respect to worship, programmes and organization?
- (15) Are there administrative procedures or plans for leadership succession in the Church?

APPENDIX II

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION GUIDE

1. Observation of place/venue of worship or programme – location, size, decoration and the people involved.
2. Time of worship/programme and the duration of the programme as well as the frequency (weekly, monthly, quarterly, yearly or occasionally).
3. The Conduct of worship/programme vis a vis – people involved, seating arrangement, instruments and facilities.
4. The Leader-Pastor- his dressing and composure, teaching or preaching, methods of conveying his message, gesticulation.
5. The worshippers/attendee – The number, attitude and response to the message (preaching and teaching) of the Leader-Pastor, the composition of the attendee/worshippers – age, sex, church members only or members from other churches.
6. Attendee/Worshippers and Leader- Pastor relationship – cordiality, posture, interaction or level of interaction.
7. Advertisement – how does the church advertise her programmes? Is it through handbill, poster, radio jingle or television advert?
8. The use of media and media technology – is the programme being recorded and transmitted live? What is the medium of recording and transmission?
9. Message – preaching/teaching, content and delivery, the ministers and main speaker
10. Worship/Programme – Bulletin, Programme Brochure, Church publication or magazine.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

S/N	DATE	INTERVIEWEE	LOCATION
1	9/10/ 2011	Pastor Sam Adeyemi	Pastor Sam Adeyemi office, Daystar Church Premises, Ikosi Road, Lagos
2	13 /02/2014	Rev Uche Emeka	TREM Headquarters Church Premises, Lagos
3	15/02/2014	Rev Agovi Kelvin	TREM Headquarters Church Premises, Lagos
4	22/02/2014	Pastor Tade Martins	MFM Prayer City
5	22/02/2014	Mrs Lola Williams	At MFM International Headquarters, Akoka, Lagos.
6	22/02/2014	Mr Tunde David	At MFM International Headquarters, Akoka, Lagos.
7	23/02/2014	Sister Veronica Williams	AT MFM Surulere Branch, Lagos
8	24/03/2014	Pastor Ralph Aderogba	MFM Prayer City
9	24/03/2014	Pastor Wale Smart	MFM Church, Surulere Branch, Lawanson, Surulere.
10	10/04/2014	Pastor Seyi Thomas	Surulere, Lagos
11	24 /10/2014	Dn. Abel Ololade	Good News Baptist Church Premises, Surulere, Lagos.
12	25/05/2014	Sola Martins	Daystar Christian Centre, premises
13	12/11/2014	Sister Josephine Maudi	Surulere Area, Lagos.
14	26 /11/2014	Pastor James Chukwu	TREM Headquarters Church Premises, Lagos
15	8 /12/ 2014	Kayode Davies	TFOLC Church Ilupeju, Lagos
16	8 /12/ 2014	Some members of the Church	TFOLC Church Ilupeju, Lagos
17	15 /03/2015	Pastor Bank-Olemoh	At MFM International Headquarters, Akoka, Lagos.
18	25/03/2015	Rev Kayode Ilupeju	Good News Baptist Church Premises, Surulere, Lagos.
19	24 /04/2015	A Young Female Member of TREM	Surulere Area, Lagos.
20	30/05/ 2015	A female member of MFM	Surulere, Lagos
21	18/11/2015	Some members of the TREM Headquarters Church	TREM Headquarters Church Premises, Lagos
22	6/06/ 2016	Rev Kayode Ilupeju	Good News Baptist Church Premises, Surulere, Lagos.
23	23/07/2016	Pastor Sobande Julius	Daystar Christian Centre, premises
24	23/07/2016	Pastor Aigbogun Caleb	Daystar Christian Centre, premises
25	25/11/2016	Br. Samuel Austin	A member of MFM Surulere, Lagos

26	5/09/2017	Pastor Chika Nnamdi	MFM Church, Surulere Branch, Lawanson, Surulere.
27	15 /09/2017	Pastor Akin Robert	TFOLC Church Ilupeju, Lagos
28	18/09/2017	Pastor Kayode James	TFOLC, Ilupeju, Lagos.
29	27 /10/2017	Pastor Seyi Olakanmbi	Daystar Christian Centre, premises
30	22/07/2015	Pastor Kayode Oladimeji	Ikeja, Lagos

CURRICULUM VITAE

Ojo John Olakunle was born on 31st July 1972 in Ogbomoso, Oyo State, Nigeria. He holds a Bachelor Degree (Education) in Religious Studies from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State Nigeria, a Master of Divinity Degree from the Nigeria Baptist Theological Seminary Ogbomoso and a Master of Education in Early Childhood Education from the University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Oyo State Nigeria. He also holds a Master of Arts in Theology (Praxis) from Vrije Universiteit VU, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

He is a minister of the gospel and has served as Education Minister, Ajegunle Baptist Church, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria. He is currently the Education Minister of Good News Baptist Church, Surulere, Lagos Nigeria. John Ojo is deeply interested in Children ministry as well as Teens and Youth Ministries. He is married to Rebecca Olufunke (Nee Balogun), an Hospital Administrator. The marriage is blessed with two lovely daughters, Precious Oluwadara and Marvellous Oluwaferanmi.

SUMMARY

Charismatic leadership, organizational dynamics and the growth of Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos metropolis

This study examined the interconnections of charismatic leadership, organizational dynamics and the growth of Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos metropolis, Nigeria and further discussed the processes of establishing, nurturing and consolidation of churches founded by four church leaders from inception until 2017. This study adopted Weber's definition of charisma as special qualities attributed to a leader by the followers. The study also examined the routinization process of the charisma of the leaders and organizational structures of selected Independent Pentecostal Churches. It further explored the extent to which the charisma of these leaders has influenced the growth of their churches.

The study utilized both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources comprised of structured interviews with pastors purposively selected in each of the four selected churches to understand the nature and usage of the charisma of these leaders in the administration of their churches and its impact on the growth of these churches. Participant observation was utilized in the visits to the selected four churches, which included participation in some regular and occasional events, programmes and services, and interaction with pastors and members over eight months. Furthermore, primary sources comprised archival materials such as annual reports, correspondences, newsletters and newspaper cuttings housed in the headquarters of these churches, as well as the websites of the respective churches. The secondary sources included articles in books and journals. The data collected were analyzed using historical and sociological approaches.

The result of the study showed that the claiming and ascription of charisma played a major role in the emergence of Mike Okonkwo, Taiwo Odukoya, Daniel Olukoya and Samuel Adeyemi as leader-founders of the selected Independent Pentecostal churches in Lagos metropolis. These pastors utilized their charisma to set up an organizational structure and introduced new ministries and programmes, made use of media and media technology, carried out deliberate evangelistic programmes, and engaged in social and benevolence activities, all of which assisted in the growth of the churches. The setting up of formal organizational and administrative structures enabled the leaders to cope with the challenges of expansion of their churches, to sustain the commitment of their church members and to preserve their charisma. Through these activities, the churches experienced growth in terms of an increase in membership, income, multiple branches, territorial expansion as well as multiple worship services. It was also discovered that the wives of these pastors have successfully taken up pastoral leadership position alongside their husbands; indicating that charisma can be shared, an issue Max Weber overlooked. Lastly, though, while Weber put forward the thesis of the routinisation of charisma, as a process through which it is stabilised, these pastors have not allowed it to manifest fully in their churches. Although routinization of charisma has set in, the leaders have managed this leave transition incomplete by projecting their leadership greatly, not adhering to the constitution of their churches and by not putting in place any succession plan.

The study concluded that the interconnections of charismatic leadership and organizational dynamics, which has led the independent Pentecostal churches to grow rapidly within three decades call for a re-evaluation of Max Weber's thesis on charisma and routinization when applied to the African context.

Key Words: Pentecostalism, charisma, leadership, church, organization and growth.

SAMENVATTING

Charismatisch leiderschap, organisatorische dynamiek en de groei van Onafhankelijke Pinksterkerken in de metropool Lagos

Deze studie onderzoekt de verbanden tussen charismatisch leiderschap, organisatorische dynamiek en de groei van Onafhankelijke Pinksterkerken in de metropool Lagos, Nigeria. De processen van het oprichten, uitbouwen en consolideren van kerken die door vier kerkleiders zijn gesticht vanaf het begin tot 2017 worden beschreven en geanalyseerd. Deze studie nam Weber's definitie van charisma over als speciale kwaliteiten die door de volgelingen aan een leider worden toegeschreven. De studie onderzoekt ook het proces van routinering van het charisma van de leiders en de organisatiestructuren van geselecteerde Onafhankelijke Pinkstergemeenten. Het onderzocht verder de mate waarin het charisma van deze leiders de groei van hun kerken heeft beïnvloed.

De studie maakte gebruik van zowel primaire als secundaire bronnen. De primaire bronnen bestonden uit gestructureerde interviews met voorgangers uit elk van de vier geselecteerde kerken om de aard en het gebruik van het charisma van deze leiders in het bestuur van hun kerken en de invloed ervan op de groei van deze kerken te begrijpen. Participerende observatie werd gebruikt in de bezoeken aan de geselecteerde vier kerken, die deelname aan enkele reguliere en incidentele evenementen, programma's en diensten omvatten, en interactie met voorgangers en leden gedurende acht maanden. Verder bestond de primaire bron uit archiefmateriaal zoals jaarverslagen, correspondentie, nieuwsbrieven en krantenknipsels die in het hoofdkwartier van deze kerken waren gehuisvest, evenals de websites van de betreffende kerken. De secundaire bronnen omvatten artikelen in boeken en tijdschriften. De verzamelde gegevens werden geanalyseerd met behulp van historische en sociologische benaderingen.

Het resultaat van de studie toonde aan dat het claimen en toeschrijven van charisma een belangrijke rol speelde bij het ontstaan van Mike Okonkwo, Taiwo Odukoya, Daniel Olukoya en Samuel Adeyemi als leiders van de geselecteerde onafhankelijke pinksterkerken in de metropool Lagos. Deze predikanten gebruikten hun charisma om een organisatiestructuur op te zetten en introduceerden nieuwe bedieningen en programma's, maakten gebruik van media en mediatechnologie, voerden doelbewuste evangelisatieprogramma's uit en hielden zich bezig met sociale en welzijnsactiviteiten, die allemaal bijdroegen aan de groei van de kerken. Het opzetten van formele organisatorische en administratieve structuren stelde de leiders in staat om de uitdagingen van de uitbreiding van hun kerken aan te gaan, de betrokkenheid van hun kerkleden te behouden en hun charisma te behouden. Door deze activiteiten ervoeren de kerken groei in termen van een toename van het aantal leden, inkomen, meerdere filialen, territoriale uitbreiding en meervoudige erediensten. Ook werd ontdekt dat de echtgenoten van deze voorgangers met succes een pastorale leiderschapspositie innemen naast hun echtgenoten; wat aangeeft dat charisma kan worden gedeeld, een mogelijkheid die Max Weber niet voorzag. Een belangrijke bevinding is dat de leiders van deze kerken de voltooiing van het proces van routinisering van charisma tegenhouden, door hun eigen leiderschap centraal te stellen, zich niet te houden aan de grondvesten van de kerk en geen plan voor opvolging vast te stellen.

Deze studie concludeert dat de interactie tussen charismatisch leiderschap, organisatie dynamiek processen laat zien die vragen om een bijstelling van de these van Max Weber wat betreft de relatie tussen charisma en routinisering wanneer het gaat om de context van Africa.