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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 thesis 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.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE -----	I
SUPERVISORS-----	II
ASSESSMENT COMMITTEE-----	II
ABSTRACT -----	III
DEDICATION -----	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS -----	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS -----	VI
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS-----	XI
LIST OF TABLES -----	XII
TABLE OF FIGURES -----	XIII
CHAPTER ONE -----	1
INTRODUCTION -----	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION -----	1
1.2 AN OVERVIEW OF CHRISTIANITY IN NIGERIA -----	4
1.3 RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH AND STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM-----	9
1.4 OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTION -----	11
1.5 SELECTION OF CASE STUDIES AND METHODOLOGY-----	12
1.6 DEFINITION OF TERMS -----	20
1.7 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS-----	21
CHAPTER TWO -----	22
LITERATURE REVIEW-----	22
2.1 INTRODUCTION -----	22
2.2 LEADERSHIP-----	23
2.3 THEORIES AND MODELS OF LEADERSHIP-----	25

2.4	LEADERSHIP STYLES AND LEADERSHIP AUTHORITY -----	27
2.5	CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP -----	30
2.6	RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP -----	32
2.7	THE NATURE OF CHARISMA -----	33
2.8	THE ROUTINIZATION OF CHARISMA -----	36
2.9	BUREAUCRACY AND BUREAUCRATIZATION -----	37
2.10	THEORIES OF ORGANIZATION -----	38
2.11	PENTECOSTALISM AND INDEPENDENT PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES -----	41
2.12	PENTECOSTALISM IN NIGERIA -----	44
2.13	TYPOLGY OF PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES IN NIGERIA -----	45
2.14	NIGERIAN PENTECOSTAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES -----	47
2.15	THE GROWTH OF INDEPENDENT PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES -----	50
2.16	CONCLUSION -----	51
CHAPTER THREE -----		53
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SELECTED CHURCHES AND THEIR FOUNDERS -----		53
3.1	INTRODUCTION -----	53
3.2	THE REDEEMED EVANGELICAL MISSION (TREM) -----	54
3.2.1	<i>Bishop Mike Okonkwo</i> -----	57
3.2.2	<i>Bishop Peace Okonkwo</i> -----	60
3.3	MOUNTAIN OF FIRE AND MIRACLES MINISTRIES (MFM) -----	62
3.3.1	<i>Dr. Pastor Daniel Kolawole Olukoya</i> -----	65
3.3.2	<i>Pastor Folashade Olukoya</i> -----	67
3.4	THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE CHURCH -----	68
3.4.1	<i>Pastor Taiwo Odukoya</i> -----	70
3.4.2	<i>Pastor Bimbo Odukoya</i> -----	70
3.4.3	<i>Pastor Rosemary Nomthi Odukoya</i> -----	72
3.5	DAYSTAR CHRISTIAN CENTRE -----	73
3.5.1	<i>Pastor Sam Adeyemi</i> -----	75

3.5.2	<i>Pastor Nike Adeyemi</i> -----	75
3.6	THE BRAND OF EACH OF THE CHURCHES -----	76
3.7	CONCLUDING REMARKS-----	80
CHAPTER FOUR-----		82
CHARISMA AND DYNAMICS OF LEADERSHIP-----		82
4.1	INTRODUCTION -----	82
4.2	DYNAMICS OF LEADERSHIP AND CHARISMA OF BISHOP OKONKWO IN TREM-----	82
4.2.1	<i>Leadership Role and Charisma of Bishop Peace Okonkwo</i> -----	94
4.3	DYNAMICS OF LEADERSHIP AND CHARISMA OF PASTOR DANIEL OLUKOYA IN MFM-----	96
4.4	DYNAMICS OF LEADERSHIP AND CHARISMA OF PASTOR TAIWO ODUKOYA IN TFOLC -----	109
4.4.1	<i>Leadership Role and Charisma of Pastor Bimbo Odukoya</i> -----	114
4.4.2	<i>Leadership Role and Charisma of Pastor Nomthi Odukoya</i> -----	115
4.5	DYNAMICS OF LEADERSHIP AND CHARISMA OF PASTOR SAM ADEYEMI IN DAYSTAR CHRISTIAN CENTRE-----	117
4.5.1	<i>Leadership Role and Charisma of Pastor Nike Adeyemi</i> -----	122
4.6	WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP IN THE INDEPENDENT PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES -----	124
4.7	CLOSING REMARKS -----	126
CHAPTER FIVE -----		128
ORGANIZATIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES OF THE SELECTED CHURCHES -----		128
5.1	INTRODUCTION -----	128
5.2	ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF TREM -----	132
5.2.1	<i>Hierarchy of Authority and Administrative Structure of TREM</i> -----	135
5.3	ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF MFM -----	137
5.3.1	<i>Hierarchy of Authority and Administrative Structure of MFM</i> -----	138
5.4	THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF DAYSTAR CHRISTIAN CENTRE-----	141
5.5	THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF TFOLC -----	144
5.5.1	<i>Hierarchy of Authority in TFOLC</i> -----	144
5.5.2	<i>The Administrative Structure of TFOLC</i> -----	146

5.6	THE NATURE AND TYPE OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES IN THE SELECTED CHURCHES	146
5.6.1	<i>Routinization of Charisma and Governance in the Selected Churches</i>	148
5.6.2	<i>Charisma and day-to-day Governance</i>	149
5.7	CONCLUSION	152
CHAPTER SIX		154
CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP AND CHURCH GROWTH IN THE SELECTED CHURCHES		154
6.1	INTRODUCTION	154
6.2.	GROWTH IN THE REDEEMED EVANGELICAL MISSION	154
6.2.2	<i>Bishop Mike and Peace Okonkwo and the Growth of TREM</i>	157
6.3	GROWTH IN MOUNTAIN OF FIRE AND MIRACLES MINISTRIES	158
6.3.1	<i>Pastor Daniel and Shade Olukoya and the Growth of MFM</i>	161
6.4	GROWTH IN DAYSTAR CHRISTIAN CENTRE	162
6.4.1	<i>Pastors Sam, Nike, and the Growth of Daystar Christian Centre</i>	168
6.5	GROWTH IN FOUNTAIN OF LIFE CHURCH (TFOLC)	169
6.6	FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH OF THESE CHURCHES	172
6.7	THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH LEADERS IN THE GROWTH OF THESE CHURCHES	173
6.8	CLOSING REMARKS	175
CHAPTER SEVEN		176
CONCLUSION		176
7.1	INTRODUCTION	176
7.2	THE INTER-RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CHARISMA, ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, AND ROUTINIZATION	180
7.3	FINDINGS	183
7.4	CONCLUSION	189
7.5	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.	190
APPENDICES		205

APPENDIX I -----	205
GUIDE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE FOUR CHURCHES -----	205
APPENDIX II -----	206
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION GUIDE -----	206
APPENDIX III -----	207
LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED -----	207
CURRICULUM VITAE -----	209
SUMMARY -----	210
SAMENVATTING -----	211

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

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 2.1: CATEGORIZATION OF NIGERIAN INDEPENDENT PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES USING OJO’S TYPOLOGY-----	46
TABLE 5.1: A TABLE SHOWING REGISTRATION DETAILS OF THE FOUR CHURCHES WITH THE CAC-----	131
TABLE 5.2 A TABLE SHOWING DIRECTORATES AND VARIOUS MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS AND UNIT AT TREM HEADQUARTERS CHURCH-----	135
TABLE 6.1 TERRITORIAL SPREAD OF TREM CHURCHES WORLDWIDE AS AT DECEMBER 2017 -----	157
TABLE 6.2: TERRITORIAL SPREAD OF MFM BRANCHES -----	160
TABLE 6.3: A TABLE SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION AND SPREAD OF DAYSTAR HOUSE FELLOWSHIP CENTRES IN LAGOS METROPOLIS -----	165

TABLE OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1.1 A MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING THE 36 STATES AND THEIR CAPITALS AS WELL AS THE FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY (FCT)	15
FIGURE 1.2 MAP OF LAGOS STATE SHOWING THE 20 LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AREAS-----	17
FIGURE 1.3 MAP OF LAGOS STATE SHOWING THE AREAS (16 LOCAL GOVERNMENTS) COMMONLY REGARDED AS THE LAGOS METROPOLIS-----	18
FIGURE 1.4 MAP OF LAGOS STATE SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE FOUR CHURCHES.....	19
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. -----	57
FIGURE 3.2: BISHOP MIKE OKONKWO AND WIFE, BISHOP PEACE OKONKWO, SHARING LEADERSHIP POSITION IN TREM. -----	61
FIGURE 3.3: PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING PASTOR DR DANIEL KOLAWOLE OLUKOYA, GENERAL OVERSEER OF MFM-----	65
FIGURE 3.4: PASTOR FOLASHADE OLUKOYA, THE WIFE OF DR D.K. OLUKOYA OF MFM-----	68
FIGURE 3.5: LATE PASTOR BIMBO ODUKOYA OF FOUNTAIN OF LIFE CHURCH. -----	72
FIGURE 3.6: PASTOR TAIWO AND PASTOR MRS.NOMTHI ODUKOYA, THE PRESIDING PASTOR OF FOUNTAIN OF LIFE CHURCH. ----	73
FIGURE 3.7: PASTOR AND PASTOR MRS SAM ADEYEMI OF DAYSTAR CHRISTIAN CENTRE. -----	75
FIGURE 4.1: BISHOP OKONKWO AND THE VISION STATEMENT OF TREM -----	85
FIGURE 4.2: A BANNER ADVERTISING 2016 KINGDOM LIFE WORLD CONFERENCE -----	90
FIGURE 4.3: A POSTER SHOWING BISHOP OKONKWO AND HIS RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAMMES SCHEDULE -----	90
FIGURE 4.4: THE PICTURE SHOWING THE GATE OF NEWLY ESTABLISHED MOUNTAIN TOP UNIVERSITY OF MFM-----	104
FIGURE 4.5: A HANDBILL DESCRIBING DANIEL OLUKOYA AS DADDY GO-----	106
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. -----	109
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.-----	110
FIGURE 4.8: THE COVER OF A BOOK AUTHORED BY PASTOR TAIWO ODUKOYA WHICH IS A COMPILATION OF TESTIMONIES OF MIRACLES WHICH HIS MEMBERS CLAIMED THEY HAVE RECEIVED THROUGH HIM. -----	114
FIGURE 4.9: A HANDBILL ADVERTISING THE DISCOVERY FOR WOMEN PROGRAMME AND SHOWING PASTOR NOMTHI AS CO-HOST AND CO-MINISTER.-----	116
FIGURE 4.10: A PICTURE OF THE HANDBILL FOR THE EXCELLENCE IN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE 2016 -----	121
FIGURE 4.11: THE FIGURE SHOWS THE BROADCAST SCHEDULE OF PASTOR ADEYEMI'S MESSAGES -----	122
FIGURE 4.12: A POSTER SHOWING A SCHEDULE OF PASTOR NIKE ADEYEMI'S TV PROGRAMME. -----	123
FIGURE 5.1: THE FIVE ADMINISTRATIVE BLOCKS OF TREM -----	135
FIGURE 5.2: THE PRESENT HIERARCHY OF AUTHORITY IN TREM-----	137
FIGURE 5.3: THE FIVE ADMINISTRATIVE BLOCKS OF MFM -----	139
FIGURE 5.4: THE PRESENT HIERARCHY OF AUTHORITY IN MFM AS RECONSTRUCTED BY THE AUTHOR-----	141
FIGURE 5.5: THE THREE ADMINISTRATIVE BLOCKS OF DAYSTAR -----	143

FIGURE 5.6: THE PRESENT HIERARCHY OF AUTHORITY IN DAYSTAR CHRISTIAN CENTRE-----	145
FIGURE 5.7: THE TWO ADMINISTRATIVE BLOCKS OF TFOLC -----	146
FIGURE 5.8: THE PRESENT ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND HIERARCHY OF AUTHORITY IN TFOLC. -----	147
FIGURE 6.2: A TABLE SHOWING BROADCAST SCHEDULE OF DAYSTAR PROGRAMMES ON TELEVISION STATIONS AS AT 2017-----	168

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, Imelone 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.

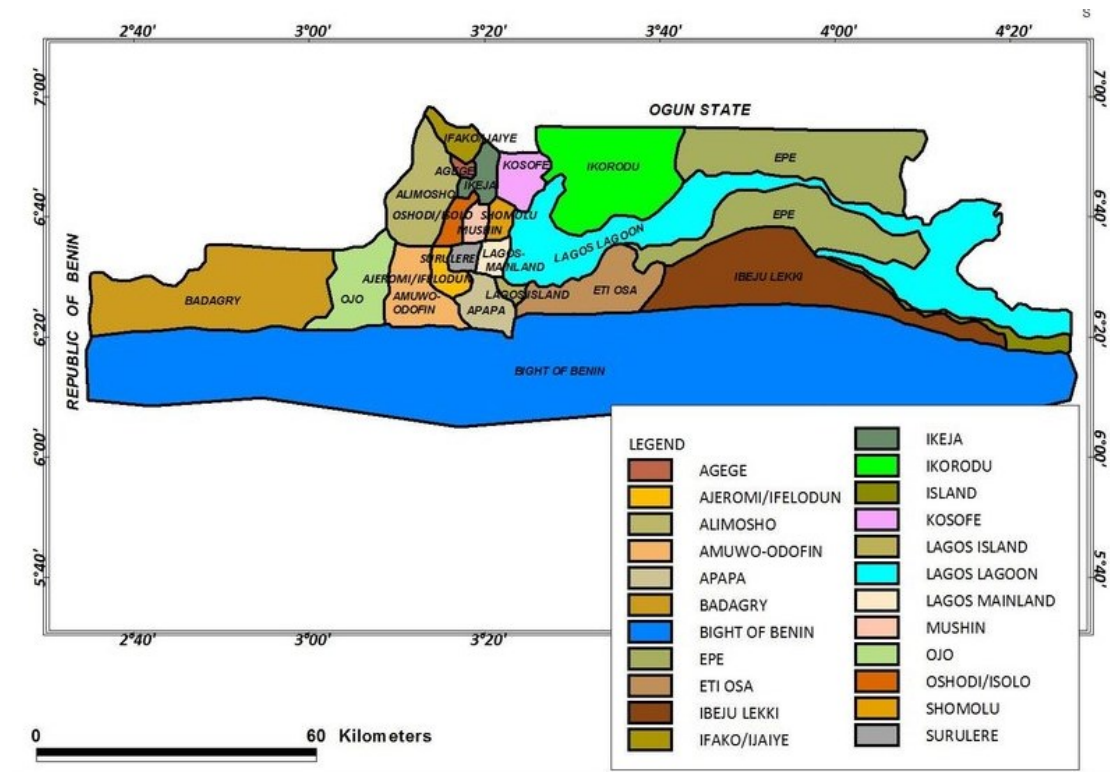


Figure 1.2 Map of Lagos State showing the 20 Local Governments Areas⁵²

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.

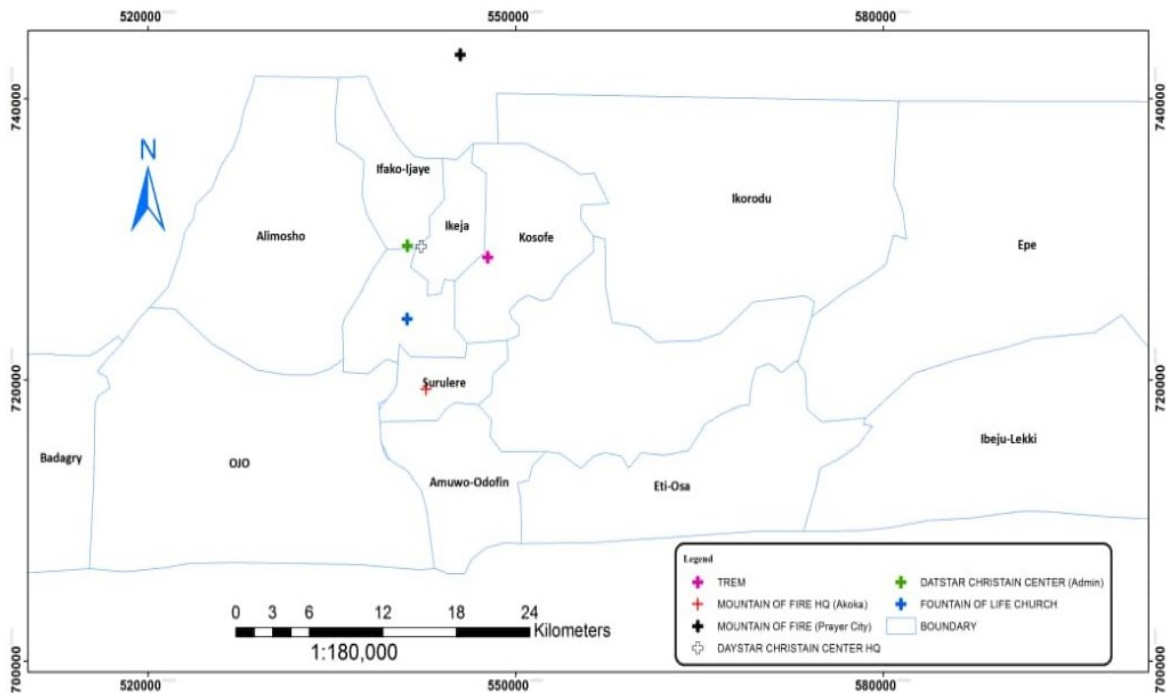


Figure 1.4 Map of Lagos State showing the location of the headquarters of the four churches⁵⁵

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,

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

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

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

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

¹⁵⁴Ojo, 'Of Saints and Sinners', 4.

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

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

¹⁵⁷Allan 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.

²⁰²Dr 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.auntybimbo.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://daystarn.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 June18, 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

²⁷⁵A 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 Ezech, 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 2013: 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 Mausi, (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 Butticci 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 Butticci, "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.

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

³⁰⁵Butticci, '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).